HOW WORKING POOR MAYA MIGRANT FAMILIES ACCULTURATE TO AN URBAN SETTING - DAILY ROUTINES AND ADAPTATION STRATEGIES

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ABSTRACT

Globally, an increasing number of people migrate from their rural communities to large cities. Despite the pervasive thinking that indigenous communities are solidified in space and strictly conserve cultural traditions, indigenous individuals and families increasingly leave their homelands to set up a new life in an urban environment - mostly driven by the hope for improved job opportunities and the prospect of better living conditions.

The present study investigates, on the basis of daily life activities, the adaption processes and strategies of poor working Maya migrant families within the urban environment of San Cristóbal de las Casas (SCLC), Southern Mexico. A multi-method study, consisting of semi-structured interviews (N = 125), ethnographic observations and talks, and a census, examined the routines and related attitudes of poor working Mayas males and females on different age groups with regards to migration history, living arrangements, working activities, gender roles, family planning, and elder care, etc.

Three major conclusions could be drawn from the observed adaptation strategies: (1) Maya migrants of all ages constantly swiveled between personal and family goals by pursuing individuality in the context of collectivism in order to succeed in city life. (2) A great variability of cultural values existed not only between individuals and families but also within individuals. Instead of relying on a general all-embracing attitude towards life - either traditional or modern – Maya migrants adopted varying attitudes and coping strategies depending on the particular aspect of life. (3) The hallmark of daily life activities and decisions was pragmatism towards
family well-being. People preferred either modern or traditional cultural concepts and practices, depending on which value system provided the better service to and protection of their family well-being.

The present study contributes extensive, tangible data to the field of cultural and cross-cultural psychology, in its effort to understand and explain social change and human development. In addition, its results can be used to inform hands-on programs and policies that intend to improve the living and working situation of poor indigenous migrant families in SCLC and elsewhere.
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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

“People develop as participants of cultural communities. Their development can be understood only in light of the cultural practices and circumstances of their communities – which also change (B. Rogoff, 2003).”

This phrase quoted from Barbara Rogoff’s book The Cultural Nature of Human Development represents the major viewpoint of this dissertation. Based on the notion that human development can be investigated only in relationship to its context, the current study seeks to shed light on the ongoing adaptation strategies of Maya families who migrated from rural areas to the urban setting, of San Cristóbal de las Casas (SCLC). To realize this research goal, family daily routines and individual attitudes of different aged Maya migrants related to these routines were the focus of this research project. Particular areas of interest were: current living situation and family composition, a family's migration history, working activities of different family members, youth and family's language use, intercultural contacts, leisure times activities, educational goals, resource management, dress style and appearance, cross-gender contact among adolescents, professional aspirations, gender ideal images, ideas about ideal marital age, family planning, and elder care.

Before representing the specific study aims, it is useful to provide some background information on the socio-cultural environment of this study's participants to better understand relevance and validity of the discussed research questions.
The Socio-cultural Environment of the Researched Population

The city of SCLC is located in the central highlands of Chiapas, Mexico (Figure 1). According to a 2005 census conducted by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI), around 26% of the 4.3 million people living in Chiapas are indigenous, which is one of the highest concentrations of indigenous populations in the Americas. The most-spoken indigenous languages are Tzeltal (37.9%), Tzotzil (33.1%), Chol (16.9%), Zoque (4.6%), Tojolobal (4.5%), Kanjobal (0.6%), Mame (0.6%), and Chuj (0.2%) (INEGI, 2005). Chiapas is one of the poorest states in Mexico with the lowest per capita income and the highest mortality rate for children under the age of five years of age of all states (INEGI, 2005). While official tables about religious affiliation in Chiapas list 64% of the population as Catholic, 14% as Evangelical, and 13% without religious affiliation, in reality many indigenous
communities and families practice a syncretic religion that mixes Catholic and pre-Hispanic Maya religious beliefs. SCLC is the cultural and economic center for a predominantly rural population of descendants of the Mayan culture. Before the 1960s, SCLC was predominantly a Latino town. Since the 1970s, SCLC has grown from a small town with around 25,000 habitants to a vibrant city of over 185,917 habitants in 2010 (Figure 2).

![Figure 2. Population Development in SCLC Between 1950 and 2010 With Respect to Family Background (Urban vs. rural) and Ethnicity; Source: (INEGI, 2005, 2010)](image)

Currently, an estimated 40% of SCLC’s habitants are indigenous families who have migrated from rural communities mostly due to economic hardship and religious persecution. Among those who have left their home because of religious persecution (because they converted to Protestantism), Tzotzil people from San Juan de Chamula (SJC) represent the largest group of relocated indigenous people.
In addition, indigenous groups from other municipalities inside Chiapas such as Zinacantán, Chenalhó, Mitontic, San Andreas de Larráinzar have moved to SCLC due to religious expulsion (Robledo Hernández & Cruz Burguete, 2005).

Most of those families live in the approximately thirty settlements that had developed since the mid 1970s on the outskirts of the city (Köhler, 2004). Locals commonly refer to those settlements as the periférico (ring road) or the Cinturón de Miseria (belt of misery), particularly for the many newer settlements and those that developed illegally on occupied land. They are characterized by poor housing conditions and a lack of infrastructure such as paved roads, potable water, and a properly functioning sewage system (Köhler, 2004; Van den Berghe, 1994). Most of the street-working children I had interviewed in 2006 came from these areas and lived in houses built from wallboards and corrugated metal roofs and that have either dirt or concrete floors (Tovote, 2007). While most of the children reported to have electricity and potable water, many of the settlements still lacked these basic provisions (Figure3).

Figure 3. Family Home in the Colonia Emiliano Zapata in SCLC (July, 2006)
However, all of the thirty settlements possess their own elementary and preschools. In three settlements secondary school education (junior high school, high school) is available. However, Köhler’s (2004) research revealed high rates of truancy and dropouts among the 80% of school age children whose parents stated that their children were enrolled in school. This problematic educational situation is representative for many regions in Chiapas. According to the 2005 INEGI census, Chiapas¹ has one of the highest illiteracy rates in the nation. Men spend an average of 4.7 years of school, whereas women attend school for only 3.2 years. In 2000, only 87% of the population had reading and writing abilities. However, in 2005 90% of the total population of Chiapas was able to read and write (INEGI, 2005). These improvements were mainly linked to the government social assistance program Oportunidades (Opportunities), which was designed by the Mexican government to help poor families in rural and urban communities by paying a stipend to those disadvantaged families who regularly send their children to school and to health clinic visits. The program was started in 1997 – under the name Progresa (Progress) - and has since then supported five million families of which around 85% lived in marginalized rural areas. In Chiapas, one of the poorest states of Mexico, in 2007 six out of ten families were enrolled in the Oportunidades program (Fernald, Hou, & Gertler, 2008). The stipends range between 105 Pesos (USD $ 10.50) and 660 (USD $ 66) per month, depending on the child’s gender and school grade. Grants for girls are higher, because they tend to have higher dropout rates than boys. Grants rise

¹ More specific information about illiteracy rates in SCLC was unavailable at the time of writing.
with the years of school attendance because dropout rates also incline with school years.

While migratory flows due to poverty and lack of work among Maya people in Highland Chiapas existed in centuries past, it was not before the 1970s that great numbers of rural Maya dwellers left their rural villages for the urbanized outskirts of SCLC. As Figure 2 indicates, since then there has been a continuous migratory flow of indigenous people settling in SCLC. The participants of the present study were part of this migratory flow and by getting to know their daily life activities as well as thoughts and attitudes related to it allowed me to better understand the living situation of poor working Maya migrant families in SCLC in general.

**How the Field (Re-)Formed the Research Idea**

Having conducted research in SCLC before and with a similar group of research participants (street working children), I entered the field with the conviction that I would work through my list of well-prepared research questions in the upcoming months. However, it was not before I had fully immersed myself into the environment of my field research site that the final version of my general research ideas emerged. This was due to the myriad changes I could observe wandering in the streets of SCLC during my first days of arrival. I took note of all these first-glance observations of change as well as the signs of continuities, and it led to the broadening of my initial research approach\(^2\) to a wider population of Maya

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\(^2\) I had planned to investigate the daily time usage of Maya elementary school children according to (Tudge, 2008)
migrants. The central research focus of the current study now became: To explore and understand the adaptation processes of complete poor working Maya families to city life.

The following paragraphs summarize an array of ethnographic observations, which not only triggered the modification of my initial research question, but also guided the development of the applied field methods such as semi-structured interviews and census of my multi-method, stepwise research design.

Comparing my ethnographic observations of 2006 with those of 2009, I detected that some practices and activities among poor working Maya street vendors seemed to have remained consistent over the last three years, while other practices had undergone some significant changes. As in 2006, in 2009 street working children commonly learned to work on the streets through a process of guided participation (B. Rogoff, 1990; Tovote, 2007). Young children accompanied older family members and observed as well as participated in street work for many years before they became independent vendors themselves. This apprenticeship process in the streets of SCLC followed a pattern in age and gender division as reported earlier by Maynard, Gaskins, and Kramer, who had explored models of childhood and child learning in Maya rural settings (S. Gaskins, 1996; Kramer, 2005; Maynard, 2002). The second main consistency was the gender distribution in the street. The 2006 street census revealed an almost equal number of Maya street vending boys and girls. In 2009, too, the streets were equally crowded by male and female street vendors. During those first ethnographic observations, I could not
detect a predominance of male street workers – as it is common in most other developing countries around the globe (Aptekar, 1994).³

However, other practices and activities in the street also still existed but either had undergone some significant change, or displayed first signs of change. In 2006, the two genders operated quite separately from one another in the streets. Girls mainly sold Maya craftwork, while boys worked as shoe shiners and *chicleros* (male candy and chewing gum sellers). In addition, boys and girls actively avoided contact while vending next to each other in the streets. In 2009, this observation still held true for most Maya youth street vendors, yet a small but significant proportion of the street vending youth had started to modify the rather strict code of gender division in work and cross-gender contact. Small groups of teenage boy and girls now could be seen talking to each other without any adult supervision. Another novelty was observable in the way Maya street vending youth dressed. While in 2006, Maya females almost exclusively wore their traditional costumes when selling, in 2009 it seemed to be quite common among young Maya females and girls to wear Western-style clothing. Those girls who still wore the Maya clothing, commonly fancied up their outfit by wearing makeup, sparkly jewelry, high heels, or fancy hair-dos. Some of the teenage boys had undergone changes in dressing as well. They no longer wore just any kind of Western clothing but could be seen in internationally distributed, fashionable skate- and surf-style brands and looked very much like any young hip teenage male around the globe. With these kinds of fashion statements both teenage girls and boys distinguished themselves significantly from their

³ The later conducted 2009 street census confirmed this observation, reporting an approximate ratio of 60% to 40% for male and female street vending youth.
parents and other Maya female and male adults. Furthermore, the strict gender division in street work had undergone some changes. While still no girl was engaged as a shoe shine, a small number of Maya girls now worked as chicleras, actively approaching customers to sell candy and chewing gums. In 2006, such forms of active candy selling had still been restricted to males only.

Changes also seemed to have happened within families and parental socialization strategies. During my ethnographic observations in 2006, children’s play did not take a central role in the daily street life. In fact, many Maya adults openly disapproved if children engaged in play over longer periods of time. In contrast, in 2009 I noticed that many Maya children brought along purchased toys (e.g., teddy bears, dolls, toy cars, balls, plastic dishes) while vending independently or in the company of older family members (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Maya Street Vending Girls Bringing their Toys to Work (August, 2009)
Another surprising novelty related to child rearing was that several young Maya fathers watched their children (between the ages of two and five) during their street work. Traditionally, female family members or older siblings had been responsible for the care of young children.

Last but not least, ethnographic observations and talks revealed a strikingly high amount of overt relational, and even more surprisingly physical aggression among young female street vendors. While I had not seen or heard of any kind of physical fights among Maya girls in 2006, in 2009, I was not only informed of these occurrences, but I could also regularly observe them. These incidents of overt physical aggression ranged from: pushing a competing vendor aside, to hitting a girl from a hostile vending group, to setting up fist fights in nearby parks.

All the above-described observations caught my attention directly upon my arrival in the field site and with each day in the field (watching and talking to people) my interest grew to explore more of the ongoing changes among poor working Maya families who exchanged in recent decades their rural family homes for the urbanized dwellings at the outskirts of SCLC. What were the reasons underlying these obvious and sometimes drastic changes? Were the different practices among the Maya community accompanied or caused by changed attitudes? These and other questions extended far beyond my original research ideas, but appeared central to the understanding of the daily life activities and challenges of the people I investigated. I felt that by describing and exploring the ongoing changes in the community of poor working Maya migrants, my dissertation study could serve as a concrete example of how cultural change occurs. Consequently, different
areas of apparent change were further addressed in ethnographic talks as well as observations, and semi-structured interviews were performed, consisting of questions that revolved around the identified adaptation processes within the Maya community.

**Study Aims**

The general research goal of the current study was to investigate and understand adaptation processes and strategies (changes in behavior, attitudes and values) of poor working Maya migrant families in the urban setting of SCLC. As a consequence this dissertational study is less guided by the testing of a certain number of hypotheses, but aims to provide a broad overview on occurring shifts in different life areas of Maya youth and families.

In particular, areas of interest in the daily life of poor working Maya families were: family structure, migration history, working activities of various family members, educational development, leisure time activities, language proficiency and preferences, intercultural contacts, mass media use, management and use of resources, clothing style, hairstyle, women’s use of makeup, and body modifications such as piercings or tattoos. Furthermore, I asked participants in more detail about practices and attitudes towards: importance of education, professional aspirations, female engagement in male work domains and vice versa, unchaperoned cross-gender contact among teenagers, teenage dating, having a boy- or a girl-friend before marriage, female car driving, gender equality inside the family home, clothing
style, women’s use of makeup, hairstyle, idealized womanhood, idealized manhood, ideal female and male marital age, family planning, and care of elderly parents.

By gathering data across this range of life areas and across different generations and genders of working poor Maya migrant families more light should be shed on the underlying mechanisms and adaptation strategies to a new cultural setting.
CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review provides an overview about the theoretical framework that guided my general research approach. This chapter also presents empirical research findings from research across different cultures as well as within the Maya culture.

Theoretical Framework

Ecological Theories and Theories on Social Change and Child Development are the two major strands applied, which inspired the research strategy, the study design, and its methodology.

Ecological Theories

All theories and models of this section are directly or indirectly derived from fundamental theories taking socio-historical, socio-cultural, and eco-cultural perspectives (Cole, 1996; Vygotsky, 1962; Vygotsky & Cole, 1978). Furthermore, they all have in common the intention to describe and explain an individual's (child's or adult's) development and well-being by focusing on the environments or contexts the person is part of (Pepper, 1942). Key concepts to those research perspectives are the so-called ‘ecocultural niche’ or ‘developmental niche’ (Barker & Wright, 1951; Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Cole, 1996; Farver, 1999; R. Gallimore, C. N. Goldenberg, & T. S. Weisner, 1993; Charles M. Super & Harkness, 1986; T. Weisner, 1984; Beatrice Blyth Whiting et al., 1988; B. B. Whiting & Whiting, 1975) as well the target person's ‘daily activities’ or ‘routines’ (Tudge, 2008; Vygotsky, 1962; Vygotsky & Cole, 1978). Consequently, those two concepts are also at the core of my research work, for which they hold two different, but highly interrelated functions:
Niche models bring awareness to the variety of systems and factors that have a direct or indirect influence on the setting a person or a child is participating in.

Activity or activity setting models deal with the manifestation of those influencing systems and factors in an individual's daily routines and transfer them into ascertainable and measurable units. Due to their great practicability and feasibility activity settings models are particularly useful to detect and explore changes in human behavior and development (e.g., child rearing, working activities, courtship), as well as societal new phenomena (e.g., the emergence of adolescence among Mayas) on the basis of day-to-day behavior.

Whiting and Whiting's (1975) psycho-cultural model is one of the best-known niche models. Their model describes the relations between individual and environmental factors, a child’s social partners, as well as the existing institutional and cultural values. As examples for environmental features that affect how a child is growing up, Whiting and Whiting include climate, flora, fauna, and terrain. They include migrations, borrowing, and inventions as historical events that form the developing child's niche. Maintenance systems that contribute to the child’s learning environment are subsistence patterns, means of production, settlement patterns, social structure, systems of defense, law and social control, and division of labor. More apparent factors that contribute to what and how a child learns are the learning settings, i.e., present caretakers and teachers, the nature of assigned tasks and, for instance, the mother's workload. All these factors form the responses of the social environment to the child’s needs, drives, and capacities. Based on those
experiences the child grows into an adult with certain behavioral styles, skills and abilities, values and priorities.

Bronfenbrenner took a similar stance in his *Ecological Model of Child Development* (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1986), in which he puts the child in the center of four general systems: the microsystems, which are represented in settings such as the family, child care, school, peer groups, or neighborhoods; the mesosystem, which comprises the connections between the microsystem settings; the exosystem, which only has an indirect effect on the child via the child’s direct social partners (e.g., a parent’s work place); and he also describes the larger cultural context the child belongs to such as the political and economic situation of the region or country where a child grows up. In fact, the current study is particularly interested in what happens to families who, due to voluntary or involuntary migration, undergo a change of their exosystem and how this is related to adaptations on the micro- and mesolevels.

Sarah Harkness and Charles Super followed the tradition of Bronfenbrenner and Whiting and Whiting to include the child’s ecology in order to describe and explain developmental outcomes (Harkness & Super, 1992; Charles M. Super & Harkness, 1986). The *developmental niche model* concentrates on the individual child and her relationships with three different kinds of subsystems: the physical and social settings; prevalent child rearing and caring customs; and the psychology of the caregivers such as parental beliefs, socialization goals, and the like.

Based on their developmental niche model and the concept of cultural models (Holland & Quinn, 1987) Super and Harkness introduced the now widely
applied concept of parental ethnotheories (Charles M. Super & Harkness, 1986). Cultural models represent a cluster of ideas that characterize cultures on a general level and have extensive consequences for the functions and organization of human development as well as social relationships (Harkness, Super, & van Tijen, 2000). Parental ethnotheories evolve when cultural models filter and determine the adaptation of parental socialization goals and strategies to different ecological environments (Keller, 2007).

The eco-cultural theory as proposed by Weisner and others (Gallimore & Goldenberg, 1993; Ronald Gallimore, et al., 1993; T. Weisner, 1984, 1997, 2002) is also derived from Bronfenbrenner’s (1979, 1986) as well as Whiting and Whiting’s theories (1975) but additionally includes concepts and insights developed by activity theorists (Cole, 1988, 1992b; Leontiev, 1981; Luria, 1976; Vygotsky & Cole, 1978). The core assumption of activity-oriented eco-cultural theories is that the children’s engagement in daily routines is the single most powerful influence on their development. Weisner (1996) reasons that giving a child a specific culture, which stands for a certain set of cultural beliefs, practices, meaning and settings is paramount for a child in order to thrive and develop. In their research, Weisner and his colleagues (R. Gallimore, C. Goldenberg, & T. Weisner, 1993; T. S. Weisner, Gallimore, & Jordan, 1988) ask parents and children about the five “W’s” that characterize each activity setting: who, when, what, where, and why. This means that they investigate the present personnel, the nature and frequency of certain tasks or activities, the cultural scripts that are followed, motivations, as well as the cultural beliefs and goals. Weisner and his affiliates successfully used activity setting analysis
to learn how families and children adapt to ongoing as well as upcoming challenges in order to maintain stability and family well-being. For example, a significant amount of research was conducted with families of disabled children, immigrant families, and working poor families affected by major social welfare reforms all (Bernheimer, Weisner, & Lowe, 2003; Gallimore & Goldenberg, 1993; Ronald Gallimore, et al., 1993; Lowe & Weisner, 2004; Yoshikawa, Weisner, & Lowe, 2006).

Using activity settings and observable daily routines as basic units of analysis can resolve two major critiques of earlier ecological theories (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1986)– that they are too static and too holistic. The focus on families’ and children’s daily activities in various contexts breaks down the complexly connected, holistic and therefore rather static perspective of the Bronfenbrennerian research tradition into simpler and measurable units of analysis. Being able to follow a child or a family through different settings in different times allows the researcher(s) to investigate the naturally occurring dynamic changes in those families.

Theories on Social Change and Child Development

Keller introduced two different cultural prototypes (or patterns) of ecocultural environment, which are based on the distinction of rural and urban communities and their varying socio-demographic characteristics (Keller, 2003, 2007).

Keller’s approach. Keller portrays rural traditional communities as subsistence-based, with a lot of face-to-face interaction and in which formal education is basic or in some cases unavailable. Hierarchical structures based on age, gender and communal roles are prevalent within those families and communities. Most of those
rural agrarian families aim for a large number of children, who therefore receive less individual attention from their parents (in comparison to children from smaller Western middle-class families). Children in those societies are expected to support their families from a very early age and to continue to do so as adults by taking care for their elderly parents later. Inspired by Kagitçibasi’s study on the Value of Children (VOC) (Kagtcibasi, 1982) and her Model of Family Change in Cultural Context (Kagitcibasi, 1996b, 2002, 2007), Keller describes the value of children in such families as psychological and economical at the same time, whereas Kagitçibasi (1996b) herself characterizes those as family models of total interdependence.

In contrast, modern industrialized urban communities are characterized by large-scale societal life, money-based economy, rapid technological and social change, individual achievement, as well as high levels of formal education. Women usually are older when they give birth to very few children. In those societies children are not expected to support their families in the present or in the future but instead receive a lot of child-focused assistance. Parents as well as grandparents provide for their offspring for 20 or more years, so that the children can focus on a high quality formal education (Keller et al., 2006; Keller & Zach, 2002). In accordance with Kagitçibasi’s family model of independence (Kagtcibasi, 1996b) the value of children in those kinds of ecocultural environments is psychological but not economical. Based on Markus and Kitayama’s widely acknowledged model of the dependent and the interdependent selves (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) Kagitçibasi and Keller conclude that children socialized in rural, agrarian socioeconomic environments that foster the development of an interdependent self will learn to see
themselves as part of a larger social system (the extended family). They learn to obey hierarchy and conformity rules and to have a strong sense of duty toward other family members (Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2003). Maintaining harmonious relationships with others and the well-being of the family are central values in the self-construal of children growing up in traditional rural communities and families. In contrast, self-concepts of individuals growing up in urban and industrialized environments facilitate autonomy and separateness (Kagitcibasi, 1996a). Their ecocultural settings emphasize formal education, individual achievement, and independent thinking. Assertiveness, uniqueness, self-reliance, self-expression, and the development of an independent self are highly valued attributes in those settings.

**Greenfield’s Approach.** In her *Theory of Social Change and Human Development* (2009) Patricia Greenfield expands the presented and other cultural theories by predicting instead of just describing what effects socio-demographic changes have on the pathways of child development (Figure 5). Similar to Keller, she builds her theory on two different socio-demographic extremes or social groupings, which she labels as *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (society) (Greenfield, 2009). In 1887, the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies introduced the terms *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* to describe processes of social change (Redfield, 1941; Tönnies, 2005) and the idea was revived by the anthropologist Robert Redfield in his book about *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Redfield, 1941). The fact that the *Gemeinschaft-*

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4 While the concept of ‘Independence vs. Interdependence’ is the more psychology-oriented version and ‘Collectivism vs. Individualism’ is the more sociology-oriented version of the same idea and therefore the two concepts are often used interchangeably.
*Gesellschaft Model* was used in two very different places (Germany in the 1890s, but also Mexico in the 1950s) indicates the usefulness and validity of this rural-urban distinction across regions and times. However, Greenfield emphasizes that distinctions within this conceptual frame should be made on a continuous rather than a dichotomous or categorical scale. Furthermore, Greenfield points out that the social complexity and heterogeneity of larger societies (*Gesellschaften*) allows multiple subgroups (*Gemeinschaften*) as well as social classes to be nested within. The general direction of historical changes (we label the current one as globalization) leads to an increase of the population in large-scale, independence-fostering environments and a decrease of people living in small-scale environments that rely on day-to-day contact and lifelong interdependent relationships (with kin).\(^5\) Besides this general societal change (during which people remain in the same place while the place changes) a similar development occurs when people transfer from one ecology to another one. For example, when people migrate from rural small-scale communities to more industrialized cities (nationally or internationally) it is often motivated by various reasons such as economic deprivation, or political or religious persecution.

\(^5\) *A United Nations* (UN) reports revealed that by the end of 2008 for the first time in history half of the world’s population lived in urban areas (retrieved from: http://www.un.org/apps/news/story/story.asp?NewsID=25762&Cr=population&Cr1)
The key concept in Greenfield’s model is *adaptation*. Greenfield states that each of the two socio-demographic environments leads to different pathways of child or human development, which is mediated through distinct cultural values and learning environments, because each socio-demographic environment demands a certain set of behaviors and values in order for people to adapt successfully. More specifically, in order to assure the child’s well-being and best developmental outcomes, parents create - based on their cultural values and socialization goals that are expressed in their parental ethnotheories - certain learning environments,
which will foster the child’s thriving in the existing ecology. However, parents and children both actively take steps to adapt to the challenges of the new environment. Children realize this most often in quicker and more radical ways than the parents, as we can read from the acculturation literature on immigrant families (Berry, 1997; Coll & Magnuson, 1997). For more detailed information on those acculturation processes and in particular from the perspectives of adolescents please read pp. 42.

The design and analysis of the current study is predominantly based on the following three theoretical frameworks: Greenfield’s theory of social change (2009), Weisner’s understanding of a child’s ecocultural niche (Weisner, 1984), and the activity analysis approach developed by Gallimore and colleagues (Ronald Gallimore, et al., 1993).

**Informing Empirical Research Areas:**

**Across Cultures and Within the Maya Culture**

In the following section I will present cross-cultural findings as well as findings related to Maya culture, which shaped the overall research question as well as distinct research variables investigated in this study. As mentioned above I am particularly interested in learning how poor working Maya migrant families adapt to an urban environment. Hence, my research endeavor relies on the following

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6 Greenfield shows the usefulness of her theory by providing explanations for findings made in previous cross-cultural research: The importance of schooling for Maya mothers in Guatemala and how it affected the learning environment the mothers provided for their children (Chavajay, 2006; Chavajay & Rogoff, 2002); how participation in commerce and cash economy of the Oksapmin people in New Guinea influenced their cognitive development in the domain of mathematics (Saxe, 1999), or the cultural differences between Latino or Vietnamese immigrant parents, children and teachers in L.A. in the mid-1990s (J.S. Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2002; Raef, Greenfield, & Quiroz, 2000; Zhou & Bankston, 1998)
cross-cultural and cultural research areas: models of childhood and gender socialization; formal and informal education; children’s participation in domestic and wage labor; the emergence of adolescence; and understanding adaptation processes in the context of migration and acculturation.

To this end I will present insights from cross-cultural research on those topics, and whenever possible provide findings that are generated through research with Maya populations in the highlands of Chiapas, as well as with other Maya groups in nearby regions in Mexico or Guatemala. I also ground my research on knowledge generated in the context of my Master’s thesis with street-working boys and girls in SCLC in 2006.

Fortunately, my dissertation research can be grounded in many years of anthropological and psychological research in the Mayan culture. In 1957, the Harvard Chiapas project was founded by Evon Z. Vogt to study various aspects of culture in Zinacantán, Chamula, Huistán and San Andrés Larrainzar (Mayan communities near SCLC), as well as the town of SCLC itself (Vogt, 1969, 1970, 1994). In this research project scholars from various disciplines participated and conducted intensive ethnographic and experimental research on different Maya populations in the Chiapas. Cancian (1992), J.F. Collier (1968, 1973), Gossen (1974), Haviland (1978), Laughlin (1975), and Wasserstrom (1978, 1983) provided useful information about economy, public life, and social stratification of the Mayan people during the previous 50 years and earlier (Cancian, 1992; J.F. Collier, 1968; J.F. Collier, 1973; Gossen, 1974; Wasserstrom, 1978, 1983). June Nash’s work contributed to a deeper understanding about beliefs and behavior in a Maya
community (Nash, 1970). Furthermore, Greenfield, Maynard, and Childs were able to identify and to follow three important tasks - weaving, making tortillas, and collecting firewood - of Maya womanhood through the last 30 years (Childs & Greenfield, 1980; Greenfield, 1973; Greenfield, Maynard, & Childs, 2000). The recent works of scholars like Gaskins, Maynard, and Rogoff represent a continuation of this research tradition? (S. Gaskins, 1996, 1999; Suzanne Gaskins, 2000; S. Gaskins, 2003; Maynard, 2000, 2002, 2004a, 2004b, 2005; Maynard & Greenfield, 2008; Morelli, Rogoff, & Angelillo, 2003; Rogoff, 1981; B. Rogoff, 1990, 2003). In particular, the works of Maynard, Gaskins, and Rogoff provide extensive insights into Maya parents’ beliefs systems and children’s daily routines and how the former influence the children’s socio-cognitive development.

**Models of Childhood & Gender Socialization**

“Cultural differences in child development must be understood and not judged, because they may not be one right way in which children develop? (Gaskins in Göncü, 1999, p. 9).”

**Models of childhood.** Works such as the *Children of Six Cultures: A Psycho-Cultural Analysis* by Whiting and Whiting (1975) and its extension *Children of Different Worlds* by Whiting and Edwards (1988) exemplify in an outstanding manner the need to explore concepts of childhood and child development from a culture-sensitive perspective rather than to pretend the existence of an universal or “generic child” (Göncü, 1999) as is still common in mainstream psychology.

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7 Though Gaskins’ and Rogoff’s work in Maya communities outside of Chiapas, many of their findings bear similarity to the research findings from Chiapas.
The Whitings and their colleagues observed children of various cultural communities to learn more about the influence of contextual factors on the formation of children’s social behavior. In the final chapter of their book *Children of Different Worlds*, Whiting and Edwards (1988) conclude that even though children from different cultures are born with similar equipment for survival (e.g., the urge to seek proximity to caregivers), and share some generic, transcultural forms of behavior (e.g., to emulate more experienced family and community members), cultural influences such as social expectations from caregivers and other community members, the social experiences a child is most frequently exposed to, and central cultural goals and values shape a child’s social development. They found out that across cultures, children’s experiences and the social scripts they are expected to follow become more and more divergent with age.

Suzanne Gaskins summarizes her extensive studies with Maya families from a village in the Yucatan Peninsula by pointing to three cultural principles of child engagement that determine the nature of child activities such as personal maintenance, play, work, and learning. These three principles are: primacy of adult activities; importance of parental belief; and independence of child motivation. One question of this study is whether or not parental ethnotheories will be maintained or abolished while families acculturate to an urban environment. The prevalent attitude in those Maya families is that work has to be done and that children are supposed to not interrupt working adults (S. Gaskins, 1996, 1999; Suzanne Gaskins, 2000). However, because the children usually stay within earshot, they persistently observe their parents in their working activities and are also allowed to participate
in those parts of the task that they are already competent in (S. Gaskins, 1996, 1999). For a Maya community in Guatemala, Rogoff and her colleagues notice that it might be less necessary for Mayan children to be engaged in child-focused activities like lessons, adult-child play, adult-child-related conversations, etc. to prepare children for in adult community practices, because they are already regularly participating in them (Morelli, et al., 2003).

During my Master’s research study about street working children in SCLC in 2006, I made similar observations. Young Maya children frequently accompany their mother and/or older siblings in their street work and two- and three-year-olds frequently participate in vending activities (e.g., reaching out with their little hands to offer home-made Maya-style bracelets to tourists). This practice provides them with many years of informal apprenticeship, so that they already will be full-fledged street vendors by the age of nine or ten (Tovote, 2007).

As it is typical of parents around the world, Maya mothers and fathers take active measures to secure the child’s physical, psychological, and spiritual integrity, e.g., by protecting the child from injuries, disease, violence, and other negative influences. However, parental ethnotheories around the world differ significantly in how this goal is realized (Keller, et al., 2006). As already mentioned, Maya beliefs about childhood and child rearing differ greatly from Western parenting concepts and styles. For example, Vogt noticed that Zinacantec Maya parents would take great efforts to protect a young child’s spiritual integrity. In the Maya worldview each person has two different types of soul, the inner soul (ch'ulel) and an animal spirit companion (chanul). Even though the inner soul, which is placed by ancestral
gos into the body of the unborn fetus, is seen as eternal and indestructible, in infants it may get lost, at least temporarily (Groark, 2008; Vogt, 1969). Therefore, whenever a Maya mother and her infant would get up from a spot on the ground outside the family's home, the mother would brush the spot where they sat with her shawl in order to make sure to not leave any parts of the child’s soul behind (Vogt, 1969).

Gaskins (1996, 2000, 2008) also portrays the ways that cultural and parental belief systems influence the child’s daily social and physical interactions. Maya parental beliefs about important premises for children’s social, cognitive, and emotional development vary significantly from Western parental theories. Even though one can observe different age-related developmental stages among Maya children, Maya parents traditionally do not believe per se that a child has to reach a certain developmental stage at a certain age. Instead, Maya parents consider the child’s development as a gradual and continuous process that is driven by the child’s inner forces and less by specific child-focused stimulation or education. In their view, child development occurs automatically and therefore does not need to be closely monitored. Maya parents also pay great respect to the independent will of a child. For example, they do not make great efforts to determine a child’s motivation and interests in certain activities. At the same time, a Maya child usually has little expectations about how much adult attention should be directed towards herself. Even though Maya children stay close to older working family members, they do not demand entertainment, appraisal, or lessons. For example, Gaskins reported that it seems to be the child’s sole decision if and when she volunteers to take over
household chores (S. Gaskins, 1996, 1999). This self-driven motivation to engage in certain kinds of activities is also observable in other areas and settings of the child's life. Ashley Maynard reported that children growing up in the village of Navenchauk, near SCLC, decide by themselves if and when they attend school, take medicine, eat, or sleep (Maynard, 2002). Through my previous research work with street working children in SCLC, I found that most children decide on their own if, when, how often, and how long they engage in street work. In contrast to the public belief that parents of street working children commonly force their children to work in the streets, the street boys and girls of SCLC claim to pursue work on their own initiative (Tovote, 2007).

**Gender socialization.** The Six Cultures Studies of Socialization (SCSS) and Children of Different Worlds were also the study project to investigate the cultural influences on the development of gender differences, including gender socialization, both systematically and from a cross-cultural perspective. SCSS was launched in 1954 by social scientists of three American universities (Harvard, Yale, Cornell). Its field phase took place between 1954 and 1957 in various rural and urban communities around the globe. Field sites were established in: Mexico (one urban and one rural community), India (one urban community), the Philippines (several rural communities), Japan (rural community in Okinawa), Kenya (several small rural communities) and in the United States (urban community). In the cross-cultural project the naturally occurring behavior of 134 children aged two to ten years was observed via open-ended methods of ethnography and naturalistic observation (R. A. LeVine, 2010; B. Whiting & Edwards, 1988). Among other insights
the project revealed that families are the place where innate biological sex differences are first modulated through the caregivers’ reactions to a child’s behavior, the caregiver’s function as role model for certain forms of behavior, as well as families’ activities (Best, 2010; B. Whiting & Edwards, 1988). Further cross-cultural studies (Barry, Bacon, & Child, 1957; Munroe & Munroe, 1977; Munroe & Romney, 2006; Rogoff, 1981) confirm and amend the following cross-culturally observable gender differences: While girls exhibit more nurturing behavior than boys, boys display more egoistic dominance than girls. In addition, boys are socialized to be independent at an earlier age than girls. Instead, girls are encouraged to show more responsibility, nurturance, and obedience than boys. Boys also spend more time with their fathers than girls do. However, in general both genders spend more time with their mothers than with their fathers, who often pursue work engagements away from the families’ homesteads. With age, both genders extend their spatial sphere beyond the family’s household, courtyard, and neighborhood (of course, influenced by the overall safety of the surrounding environment). Boys, however, go out of the home on their own, at an earlier age, and more frequently than girls. Hence, girls are usually found closer to home than boys. This phenomenon is also related the heightened engagement of girls in household tasks. As a consequence, boys spend more time with free play than girls. Also, girls are more often seen to serve as caregivers for younger siblings and relatives than boys, who have also been observed to serve as sibling caregiver but mostly only if due to a specific family situation where no age-adequate female counterpart is
available (Best, 2010).\(^8\)

The results of gender-focused research in Maya communities are predominantly in line with the just-stated cross-cultural findings concerning gender roles and forms of behavior. In Maya settings, domestic work is mostly seen as female work. Similar to Maynard, the anthropologist Karen Kramer (2005) states that food production, food preparation, collecting water and firewood, running errands, tending herds, sewing, washing and cleaning as typical female work tasks among Mayans of the Yucatan Peninsula (Kramer, 2005; Maynard, 2000). From a very young age, beginning when they are two to four years old, girls take care of their younger siblings. In cases where no age-adequate female sibling is available, Mayan boys also engage in childcare (Maynard, 2004a). However, the male developmental pathway as a work force in the family is typically very different from the described female one. In general, Mayan men do more fieldwork and other outside-the-compound work than females. Traditional male tasks are processing seeds for planting, transporting goods between the villages and fields, as well as hunting and trapping (Kramer, 2005). According to this tradition, boys spend more time in the fields than girls. Kramer calculated in her ethnographic research that boys allocated 13 percent of their time to fieldwork, compared to only seven percent of the girls’ time. Interestingly, Gaskins (1996) states that at age twelve, boys usually spend less time working than girls. She assumes that this might be caused by the boys’ somewhat harder fieldwork. Consequently, the boys might spend more time resting when they finished their work. Maynard showed that despite highly salient gender

\(^8\) For further details on gender division in work, please also read the succeeding subsection, *Children’s Participation in Domestic and Wage Labor*, pp. 37).
segregation after infancy, both male and female caregivers are able to teach their younger siblings activities that are traditionally female-related. “In the context of sibling caregiving, boys ages five to eleven taught two-year-old girls to do things that girls would need to know how to do” (Maynard, 2004a). However, although both genders could observe during their early childhood a similar amount of female tasks, girls had more direct experiential practice in doing female tasks. At the same time young boys seem to receive training in typical masculine activities, which are taught to them by their older brothers. By playing increasingly with older brothers when growing up, young boys make a smooth transition from the female activities they were exposed to in their first years to more male-appropriate activities (Maynard, 2004a).

From these findings mostly obtained in rural settings, an important question for the present study arises: How does the development of Mayan children in traditional, rural settings translate into the urban setting of SCLC?

**Formal and Informal Education**

In the following section I will discuss aspects of formal and informal education as well as their manifold, reciprocal relationships.

**The impact of formal education.** There is a large variety of cross-cultural literature reporting the impact of schooling on children’s development, in particular their cognitive development (Cole, 1992a; Cole, Sharp, & Lave, 1976; Huttenlocher, Levine, & Vevea, 1998; Morrison, Smith, & Dow-Ehrensberger, 1995; B. Rogoff, Correa-Chávez, & Navichoc Cotuc, 2005; Saxe, 1981; Stevenson, Chen, Lee, & Fuligni, 1991). Studies that carefully controlled for the children’s age revealed significant
effects of at least one year of schooling for phonological awareness, free-call memory, accuracy in mental arithmetic, understanding of complex sentence structures, knowledge of the alphabet and recalling stories (Bisanz, Morrison, & Dunn, 1995; Cahan & Cohen, 1989; Mandler, Scribner, Cole, & DeForest, 1980).

Other national and cross-cultural studies confirmed the different effects of schooling on logical thinking, memory, planning, concept formation, metacognition, and, of course, literacy (Das & Dash, 1989; Dash & Mishra, 1989; Scribner & Cole, 1978; Segall, Dasen, Berry, & Poortinga, 1999; Stevenson, et al., 1991; Tanon, 1991).

Schooling also impacts additional areas of child development. However, often the relationship is less obvious than in the above listed examples. Yet from a socio-cultural perspective, school is just another distinct cultural setting that promotes and enforces certain structures, rules and values (Gallimore, 1996). For example, traditional Western classrooms are characterized by hierarchical organizations in which usually one teacher directs certain (cognitive skills) tasks and roles to a rather large group of same-age children by utilizing decontextualized talk (R. A. LeVine et al., 1991) and verbally-oriented teaching methods from a distant spatial position (Chavajay, 2008; Chavajay & Rogoff, 2002; Maynard, 2004b; Tharp, 1989; T. S. Weisner, et al., 1988).

In culturally homogenous societies, the transition from home into school is a fairly smooth process because the children’s home and school environment rely on similar cultural models of human development and child socialization (Greenfield & Suzuki, 1998; Serpell, 1993, 1996). For example, many European American middle-class families’ styles of conversation correspond to the conversation styles used
between teachers and students in classrooms. In those conversations parents frequently engage their children in conversations that follow a question-and-known-answer pattern and give them lessons about academic and social topics (Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; Lipka & Mohatt, 1998; Ochs, 1988; B. Rogoff, Mistry, Goncu, & Mosier, 1993).

However, in large-scale multicultural societies, home and school settings often rely on very different sets of values, beliefs, and practices. While schools commonly put an emphasis on intellectuality, independence, self-expression, critical thinking and assertiveness, the home environment of children who come from immigrant and/or indigenous families might enforce more collectivistic values such as interpersonal relationships, group harmony, cooperation, and respect for the elderly (Blake, 1993; Suina & Smolkin, 1994). The latter also includes the social expectation that children do not ask adults too many questions, whereas raising questions and critical thinking is a highly desirable behavior in the school setting. In many collectivistic communities, older community or family members traditionally do not provide children with formal, instructive lessons in order to learn. In contrast, providing formal instruction is one of the main functions of a school teacher.

Previous research on learning and teaching in the Mayan culture identified learning through observation (Suzanne Gaskins & Paradise, 2010), scaffolding, and guided participation (Morelli, et al., 2003; B. Rogoff, Paradise, Arauz, Correa-Chávez, & Angelillo, 2003) as predominant models of learning in different home and work settings in Mayan villages (Greenfield, 1984; Maynard, 2004b). Although it may be obvious that observation is an important component of the learning process,
ethnographic research indicates that for Mayan children observation plays a much more important role than for US children of European heritage (B. Rogoff, 2003). Gaskins states that two- to three-year old Maya children spent a great deal of time silently observing ongoing activities of the extended household. This setting is also characterized by the principles of the adult’s work priority and the belief that a child autonomously develops and realizes his own interests (S. Gaskins, 1999). By accompanying his family in their daily activities, the child is permanently exposed to a learning environment of cooperatively working parents and older siblings. Eventually, the children will start to participate in certain parts of the family work while receiving scaffolding instructions and guided participation (Rabain-Jamin, Maynard, & Greenfield, 2003; B. Rogoff, 1990). Through their interaction with more experienced members of their community, the children can accomplish tasks they are not yet able to do just by themselves. As described by Maynard and Greenfield scaffolding and guided participation is the most common teaching and learning strategy among Maya females in the community of Zinacantán (Maynard and Greenfield 2003). The Maya learning setting is characterized by long phases of observation, “[...] contextualized talk, bodily closeness between the teacher and the learner, highly scaffolded interactions, the expectation of obedience, and having more than one teacher for a given task [...]” (Maynard, 2004b).

Furthermore, Maynard and Greenfield found that those procedural features are almost always present when Mayan girls learn to weave, to make tortillas, or to gather firewood - three essential activities in the traditional life of Mayan womanhood (Maynard & Greenfield, 2005).
With raising rates of school attendance in Maya communities in recent decades, these forms of learning are transformed by the simple fact that now Maya children spent a significant amount of time in school and less time with older and younger family members in their home environment. It is not groundless to assume that this discrepancy may lead to home-school conflicts at the expense of the Maya child. A commonly reported ‘problem’ is that indigenous children often try to collaborate with each other on assigned tasks, even though this is considered as cheating from their teacher’s perspective. But there is also less problem-oriented research which shows that the interaction styles the children acquire in school environments also have influence on the children’s home environments. Maynard’s (2004a) research with Zinacantec Maya children revealed that those who attend school for a year or more use more verbal discourse and talk more from the distance when they teach various life skills to their younger siblings at home. For the future, Maynard expects -with more children going to school regularly - a shift in the Maya community’s household discourse styles toward a more abstract school-like teaching style. That the effects of schooling on discourse styles in the families’ homes also remain effective in the long-term is shown in research studies conducted by LeVine and others (1991) as well as Chavajay and Rogoff (2002). Both research teams compared schooled with unschooled mothers and found out that maternal schooling changes the way mothers organize the interactions with their children in the direction of a more abstract interaction style characterized by hierarchical

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9 For example, in the Maya Zinacánte village Navenchauk schooling rates grew from 29.35% in 1969 to 50.38% in 1991. During this time male schooling increased from 47.06% to 75.93% and female schooling from 7.32% to 32.91% (Maynard & Greenfield, 2008)
division of labor. In addition, a study by Maynard and Greenfield (2008) revealed an effect of women’s schooling on child socialization. Their research with Zinacantec Maya mothers showed that schooled mothers not only change their weaving style by utilizing more paper patterns, but that schooling also influences the mother’s assessment of the importance of weaving in comparison to schooling. Only schooled Maya mothers find it more important that their daughters attend school than learn how to weave. In general, schooling, along with other ecocultural shifts such as the participation in a money-based economy, the use of communication technologies, and the access to mass media, leads to an emphasis of formal education and to a devaluation of traditional Maya female work activities such as weaving, collecting firewood, or making tortillas (Maynard & Greenfield, 2008).

The determinants to formal education. Up to now, this section has exclusively focused on effects of schooling by reviewing literature, which is primarily concerned about the cognitive and social developmental outcomes of children’s schooling. Not much attention has been paid to the question of what factors determine school attendance. This question might be less relevant in industrialized nations with compulsory formal education, regulated and enforced by federal and local governments. However, it has a high social impact in less developed countries such as Mexico, in which despite existing compulsory schooling laws there are many children who never attend school or drop out of it prematurely. The fields of educational sociology and economics provide three major theoretical perspectives to explain differences in educational inequalities: (a) family expectations about the return on the investment of schooling in the future (Parish & W., 1993; Armer &
Gerwitz, 1986; Becker, 1968) (b) present economical constraints of the family which require child labor (Fuller, Singer, & Keiley, 1995; Horan & Hargis, 1991) and (c) traditional cultural values that oppose child school attendance (Csapo, 1981; Mishra, 2011; Salaff, 1981). However, most studies of those fields operate on the macro-level by exploring the influence of family structure and economy on school enrollment instead of also including more individualized child-centered perspectives on the micro-level (Buchmann, 2000; Irwin, Engle, Yarbrough, Klein, & J., 1978). One goal of the present study is to shed more light on factors that either promote or impede school attendance from the perspective of the individual child and her family.

**Children’s Participation in Domestic and Wage Labor**

At the beginning of the twentieth century, most Western societies strictly regulated children’s work by law to protect children from exploitation. Children’s participation in work is largely considered a risk to their social and educational well-being. In these modern settings children are no longer considered to be economic assets but have become economic liabilities (Valsiner, 2000). Consequently, the majority of developmental studies focus on how families invest in children, but fewer studies report on children’s investments in their families. Nonetheless, globally, there is great variation in how much children or adolescents contribute to family incomes. From a cross-cultural perspective there is a lack of research that investigates children’s investments in their families. That is somewhat surprising, because ethnography of the last several decades in various cultures around the globe has revealed that, particularly in poor countries (but not only there) children
frequently support their families by engaging in domestic work, sibling caretaking, work in the family business, or even self-dependent money-earning activity (street work, factory work, etc.). Parental and child workload have been found to be reliable predictors of developmental transitions as well as social and cognitive development (T. Weisner, 1994). For example, Sameroff and Haith connected the cognitive shift occurring between the age of five to seven to increased parental expectations towards the child's assistance in sibling caretaking, cooking, home safety, teaching and further tasks, which make up important contributions to the family life (Sameroff & Haith, 1996). Rogoff and others point out that children acquire many life skills by engaging in family and community work alongside older family and community members. In communities in which children have direct and daily access to adult engagement the children are expected to learn by observing and imitating more mature members of their family or community. In addition, already from an early age children are expected to take part in work processes to the extent of their own abilities. However, in those communities adult members rarely provide lessons to children. Instead children are expected to observe and obey adult orders and learn mainly through guided participation, which means that children only take over responsibility for those parts of a task they are competent in, while for the rest more mature members of the family or community will pitch in (B. Rogoff, 1990; B. Rogoff, et al., 2003).

Across cultures, expectations regarding a child’s contribution to work in the family are completely different (Goodnow & Lawrence, 2001). For example, while Lebanese Australian mothers were alienated by questions about the household
responsibilities of their five-to-six-year-old 'babies' (Goodnow & Collins, 1990), those children's same-age counterparts in a Yucatec Maya Village in Mexico run errands outside the family home, take care of younger siblings, and will help quickly and effectively with whatever jobs they feel competent enough to do (Gaskins, 2000). Of course, there is also individual variation in how much a child is engaged in working activities. The kind and amount of work a child is engaged in will vary with gender, age, birth order, sibling age differences, family size, parental workload, family economic situation, the existence of a family business, as well as individual child characteristics such as temperament, motivation, and competence (Tienda, 1980).

However, despite the multiplicity of factors that influence child work, cross-cultural studies from around the world point to some general patterns in children's labor engagement. In developing as well as developed countries girls are more likely to be responsible for household chores than boys (Chick, 2010). Newman and colleagues found similar patterns of gender differences in the responsibility of household chores for 10-to-11 year old boys and girls in Bulgaria, Taiwan, and the United States (Larson & Verma, 1999; Newman et al., 2007; B. Whiting & Edwards, 1988).

Gender socialization also leads to differences in the nature of the tasks boys and girls are responsible for. Girls are traditionally more often found doing work in the domestic sphere such as cooking, helping with laundry, washing dishes, and taking care of younger siblings (T. Weisner & Gallimore, 1977, 2008). In contrast, boys are often assigned to tasks outside the family's home such as running errands, helping
with field work, herding animals or trading (B. Whiting & Edwards, 1988; B. B. Whiting & Whiting, 1975). Rogoff found for Guatemalan Maya that by age four both genders are involved in the same kind of tasks such as running errands, sweeping, or shelling corn. However, by age five or six, children show increased awareness of gender and consequently children’s engagements eventually shifts toward gender typical work assignments (Rogoff, 1981). Similarly, LeVine and his colleagues reported that five-to-eleven year old girls in rural Africa are frequently responsible for the care of younger siblings (Robert A. LeVine et al., 1994).

However, virtually all studies reporting on gender divisions in children’s working engagement also notice that children are engaged in cross-gender activities if no child from the appropriate gender and age group is available (Maynard, 2004a). It is also reported that first-born children frequently are expected to take over a greater amount of responsibilities from an early age, while their later born siblings often have to contribute much less.

Research on child street work reports similar gender division in children’s work engagements. While boys of very poor families in Colombia are socialized to earn money outside the home from a very young age, mothers expect their daughters to remain in the family home and to help with household chores as well as child care (Aptekar & Heinonen, 2003). Similar gender-oriented socialization strategies can be observed in many impoverished families in developing countries across the world and might provide the most conclusive explanation as to why we see far more boys working in streets than girls (Aptekar, 1989).
The dark side of children’s work engagement is exploitative child labor that violates children’s rights and needs and represents a threat to child well-being. Whereas in the Western world exploitative child labor has been virtually abolished and is considered non-ethical, in the Asian Pacific, Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean regions abusive child labor is still a widespread phenomenon (Basu & Tzannatos, 2003). UNICEF distinguishes between child work, child labor, and worst forms of child labor in order to differentiate between kinds of child work which are still acceptable in the context of their societal meaning (i.e., child work), and work that is considered harmful for the children and needs to be abolished instantly (i.e., child labor) (UNICEF & Fund, 2006). Child work is described as children’s participation in economic activities- in a way not negatively affecting their health and development or interfering with education, and is permitted from the age of 12 years under the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 138. Examples of these kinds of non-exploitative work within the family network are housekeeping, child care, running errands, helping with agricultural work, participating in the family business, street selling, etc. Nieuwenhuys notes that these kinds of child engagement play an important role in their socialization and training as future productive community and family member (Nieuwenhuys, 2008).

The present research study intends to provide more detailed descriptions of Maya children’s and adolescents’ domestic and wage work employment and its social meaning in the context of the urban poor socio-cultural environment the children are part of. An important aspect of this question is if a certain working
activity is appropriate for a child’s age. A work activity such as independent shoe shining in the city center in the late evening hours might be acceptable for a 14-year old teenager but less for a nine-year old. This of child engagement is also related to another phenomenon this study pays special attention to: The emergence of adolescence in the Maya culture.

**The Emergence of Adolescence in an Indigenous Community**

It is striking that until recently most research conducted in the Maya culture did not make an explicit distinction between childhood and adolescence. In fact, most studies concentrated on young and middle-age children and less on adolescence. This situation is caused by the fact that adolescence was virtually nonexistent before Maya youth started to attend school more frequently and for longer periods of time. Furthermore, the age of marriage has been increasing, and young people live at home, unmarried, for many years longer than before (Maynard, personal communication, 2012).

Historically, adolescence is, even from a Western perspective, a relatively new phenomenon, characterized by rapid change and variable boundaries. In pre-industrial societies, which did not require lengthy training and educational phases before an individual could enter the labor market, adults and children very often were engaged in the very same working activities. Not until industrialization in the late 19th century was there a heightened need for formal education and training before entering the job market. As an outcome of this phenomenon, the developmental phase of adolescence emerged. From a cross-cultural perspective, the period of adolescence as a definable phase between child- and adulthood is an
even newer occurrence, which in many communities of developing and emerging countries was not apparent until recent decades (Durkin, 1995; Gottlieb, Reeves, & TenHouten, 1966; Hurrelmann, 1994). Although Schlegel and Barry state that the idea of adolescence and related initiation rites (to mark the end of childhood and the beginning of adulthood) exist in many communities around the world, the nature of this phase of adolescence differs considerably across cultures (Schlegel & Barry, 1979, 1991). While in many societies that Schlegel and Barry investigated, adolescence represented a rather selective, short-lived event, often characterized by time-limited ceremonies, in Western societies adolescence is marked by many years of transition and development. As stated above, the increasing importance of formal education, which contributes to a deferral in marital age and a later onset of child rearing has been identified as the main cause for the emergence of adolescence. Across most cultures the youth phase is now perceived as distinct period because within it, processes of identity formation and individuation take place and establish the foundations for developments in adulthood. Being equipped with advanced cognitive, emotional, linguistic and social skills allows adolescents to reason about the world in a more complex way than children. At the same time they still have not reached adult maturity concerning these skills. This transitional stage, hence, is commonly connected to self-critical thoughts, as well as diffusion and fragmentation of a youth’s identity (Erikson, 1959). Adolescents have to find their very own way to adjust to the society’s preset system of rules, norms, and behavioral expectations.

It was G. Stanley Hall who in 1916 published his book Adolescence and who first explored theoretically and empirically adolescence as a unique period of life-
span development (Hall, 1916). Since then many researchers (Hurrelmann, 1994; Schlegel & Barry, 1979; L. Steinberg, 2010; J. W. M. Whiting, 1990; Worthman & Whiting, 1987) have followed and deepened this line of research, exploring adolescence in multiple places around the globe. In her famous work *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928) cultural anthropologist and ethnologist Margaret Mead challenged the then widely-accepted assumption that adolescence is inevitably connected to social, emotional, and psychological turmoil. Mead was a pioneer in studying adolescence from a socio-cultural angle (Mead, 1928). Nowadays it seems obvious that the characteristics of adolescence as a distinct period also differ within one community (or culture) in accordance to social, class and gender. In the country of Mexico, Echeverria distinguishes in Hurrelmann’s *International Handbook of Adolescence* (1994) between three different pathways of adolescence: the Indian (i.e., Indigenous) adolescent (1), the peasant and low skilled worker adolescent (2), and the middle and upper class adolescent (3) (Echeverria, 1994). His distinctions stem from the existing great economical and cultural diversity prevalent in Mexican society. About the educational situation of indigenous youth Echeverria reports that around half of them have not completed primary school. Among those who completed it, only very few pursue further education, due to various reasons such as living in isolation in rural communities without access to higher institutions of education, the need to work for the family’s survival, and, especially for female teenagers, the common attitude of indigenous families that it is inappropriate for a girl to spend major parts of her daily life outside the family’s sphere of supervision and control. Regarding the youths’ economic situation, Echeverria writes that the
earners of most Indian families, who commonly work in agriculture, low-skill work, small businesses, and office work, do not earn enough to provide for their family and children a stable income that allows them to use the minimum health and social services (Echeverria, 1994). Hence, it is common for indigenous adolescents to be involved in work for cash. Echeverria summarizes the Indian youth social and family background in the following way:

“Within the Indian populations, the family is second only to the strict rules and beliefs dictated by the elders or shamans. In these communities, women rarely have a religious role and are therefore considered social inferiors. Their roles with the family are to cook, work, bear children, and serve their husbands, who frequently treat them as property. Daughters are rarely allowed to attend school, even when there is one in the community. They are expected to help by selling the products of the land they work, in the nearby markets. They are also responsible for educating the children in the beliefs and the traditions of their elders, including the idea that they are to be pure and humble. [...] Marriages among adolescents are still often arranged by the fathers of the future spouses and confirmed by gifts. Marriages outside the community do take place, although they are rarely approved. A typical age for marriage of an adolescent boy is 16 or 17 and 14 or 15 for an adolescent girl. Young adolescents are expected to emulate their fathers as hunters, fishermen, or farmers, and they are often discouraged from attending school because of fear that unnecessary knowledge would tempt them to migrate from the area. For adolescents growing up in this type of community, there is little freedom to think for themselves, and autonomy is rarely encouraged. Respect and obedience are values that are highly cherished. The transition from childhood to adulthood is smooth in the sense that they know what is expected of them and they usually comply with it. Their introduction into the world of work and into the formation of their own families is closely monitored by their elders with little resistance from the adolescents themselves.” (Echeverria in Hurrelmann, 1994, p. 261-262).

More current research, however, describes a more detailed and dynamic picture of the current living and socialization environment of Indian Maya youth. For example the work of Manago and Greenfield (2008) addresses gender identity development in the face of rapid social change within the Zinacantec Maya community of Navenchauk, Chiapas. They conclude that with the increasing significance of education not only career choices of youth are extended, but that
education combined with processes of urbanization and globalization also foster multiple, individual perspectives at the expense of traditional cultural beliefs (Manago & Greenfield, 2008). Manago’s example of intergenerational differences in regards to cross-gender contact illustrates this development: While a teenage girl perceives it as her personal choice whether or not to interact with male school colleagues, her grandmother’s perception towards such cross-gender contact is still characterized by traditional norms and rules, which condemn premarital cross-gender contact without adult supervision (Manago & Greenfield, 2011). Furthermore, Manago also mentions that social activities, which traditionally occurred predominantly within the nuclear and extended family, now increasingly are carried out with same-age peers (outside the family). These activities are often also connected to the choice of their own romantic partners. In regards to work activities, traditional subsistence-based, household and/or agricultural work engaging several cooperating family members, now shifted into cash economy-based jobs, which are usually pursued independently by single individuals and less often by a network of several cooperating family members. In their case study of one Zinacántec Maya family Greenfield, Maynard, and Martí (2009) report for a 10-year period the following changes of a family’s engagement in commerce: increased use of technologies; an increase of individuation and individual choice; an increase of economic specialization; increased importance of formal education - particularly for females; an increase of intercultural contact, often with strangers; an increase of women’s economic contribution to the household income; and an increase of unsupervised cross-gender contact among youth. In many of those changes
adolescent boys and girls serve as pioneers and are among the first to comply with the new role requirements. While in 1997 the focal family of the study still mostly lived and worked together most of the time in the village setting, in 2007 the family possessed a warehouse in the city. Family members now spent more time apart from each other and interacted more often with non-family members of a different cultural background because part of the family remained in the village while other family members operated the warehouse in the city. Even though new technologies such as cellular phones allowed the family members to stay in regular contact, face-to-face interactions and opportunities for social control decreased. Young female, non-married family members now ran the family-owned business in the city without being supervised by an older and/or male family member. Instead, the girls themselves negotiated prices, made business decisions, interacted with strangers, and so on. These forms of behavior are in sharp contrast to traditional cultural norms regulating the behavior of young Maya women and adolescent girls. According to traditional cultural norms, young females are expected to behave submissively toward males and elder family members, to show modesty in public settings, to avoid contact with non-related males (Greenfield, Maynard, & Martí, 2009).

In addition, Greenfield, Maynard, and Martí state further concrete examples, through which the ongoing change in the daily life of Maya adolescents are manifested: shrinking family size, increase in individual choice (e.g., food); increase of privacy zones in family homes, decrease of visitors in the family home; and changes in clothing styles. Overall, the process of transition from child- to adulthood
for Maya youth nowadays is very different from what their parents and grandparents experienced. Young Maya people today cannot just emulate their fathers’ and mothers’ roles, which predominantly were characterized by prescribed gender roles within the family and to some extent the community setting (Vogt, 1969). Instead, nowadays youth identity development is challenged by the interplay of various existing environments and influences such as the traditional family and community setting, the urbanized and globalized setting of the city (engagement in commerce activity, a broad range of products), institutions of formal education, and peer-dominated settings (e.g., leisure time activities). Last but not least the presence of mass media such as TV, movies and internet, which conveys distinct male and female stereotypes, lifestyles, career pathways, and so on can interfere with youth identity formation. Having to carve out their own developmental pathway with only limited parental guidance bears the risk for various psychological and social problem behaviors such as youth delinquency, drug consumption, (sexual) health problems and extremist political behavior (A. J. Fuligni & Eccles, 1993; Gray & Steinberg, 1999). However, experts such as Lawrence Steinberg point out that mass media contributed to the exaggeration to anti-social youth behavior and that despite the existing public belief, the majority of youths pass through this period of time without any major behavioral problems. Most risk-taking youth are only engaged in occasional experimentations instead of enduring patterns of dangerous behavior. Those who stick with enduring patterns of risky behavior often have already exhibited forms of troublesome behavior long before adolescence (L. D. Steinberg, 1999). However, to the best of my knowledge no particular research has been
conducted so far to explore the existence and course of psychosocial problems among indigenous Maya adolescents. Hence, so far we can only fall back on cross-cultural observations in order to speculate about the social and psychological meaning of being Maya and adolescent in a socio-cultural environment, with a main culture (the Latino culture) different from the youth home culture. However, from cross-cultural research (Weinreich, 2009) we know that

“[...] ethnic minority adolescents are less likely to have achieved advanced identity status than their peers from the dominant culture [...]. In a sense, minority adolescents have to face threats to their identities because part of who they are becoming may be devalued by the dominant social groups. (Weinreich, 1983).

The quoted description could also be true for Maya youth living in the city of SCLC. Even though they have never left their country of origin, but simply moved from their rural villages to the city, the colonial city of SCLC is predominantly Latino. Despite the fact that in recent decades the Latino and Maya culture in SCLC have blended to some degree, differences in language, family rules, mixed gender contacts, etc. remain. Also even though race discrimination against indigenous people has become more subtle in recent decades in SCLC, it is still widespread. Maya adolescents have to deal with those challenges in a sensitive period of their life, in which they have to find and establish their own identity, which includes also their ethnic identity.

It is another goal of this study to learn more about the social meaning of adolescence in the daily life of poor working Maya adolescent in the urban center of SCLC. As mentioned in the introduction adolescence is a rather novel phenomenon in the Maya culture. Hence, many aspects of this newly emerging phase in the life of
Mayans are still unexplored. For example, how do values originating in the dominant Ladino culture and values based on traditional Maya culture interplay in regards to questions such as cross-gender contact before marriage, teenage dating, appearance, dress- and hairstyle, and the like?

The emergence of adolescence is just one of many phenomena related to the adaptation processes the Maya migrants undergo in their new urban environment. To better understand the motives, the meanings, and the outcomes of these adaptation processes it is useful to examine the study results through the lens of the following three social constructs: adaptation, migration, and acculturation. Hence, each of these constructs is shortly introduced in the following section.

Understanding Adaptation Processes in the Context of Migration and Acculturation

According to Berry “[...] adaptation refers to changes that take place in individuals or groups in response to environmental demands. These adaptations can occur immediately, or they can be extended over the longer term (Berry, 1997, p.13).”

**Adaptation.** Searle and Ward distinguish between the two distinct but interrelated concepts of *psychological* and *sociocultural* adaptation (Searle & Ward, 1990). Whereas *psychological adaptation* refers to an individual's internal mental outcomes, such as: mental health, personal identity, cultural identity, and satisfaction etc., *sociocultural adaptation* “[...] is a set of external psychological outcomes that link individuals to their new context, including their ability to deal with daily problems, particularly in the areas of family life, work and school.” (Berry,
In empirical reality these two concepts are highly interrelated, and are often accompanied by a third, economic form of adaptation (Aycan & Berry, 1996). Economic adaptations commonly describe changes in work behavior and organization due to a change in the economic context. While all humans constantly adapt to their current (dynamic) environment, people who change from ecological environment to another, such as migrants, are required for even greater psychological, socio-cultural and economic adaptation abilities.

Migration. "Migration is a vehicle of adaptation, it is an inevitable, and often not desired, event." (Valsiner, 2000, p.139.) For a better understanding of this study and its findings it is helpful to take into account that in reality there exist most often not only a single, but various forms, of migration parallel to one another in one place. Valsiner describes those various concepts of migration in the following manners. He talks about permanent migration if an individual moves to a new region (nationally or internationally) without return to the previous residence place. The term quasi-permanent migration explains a situation in which a person establishes a new residence place elsewhere but preserves relationships with his original home place (e.g., possesses of property, family ties). These quasi-permanent migrants frequently re-visit and sometimes even reinhabit their old community for some periods of time. This form of migration is most commonly found in rural to urban migration movements, where the new urbanites keep their relationships with rural kinship-governed territories. Family celebration, village festivities, or agricultural work of still-owned fields serve as occasions to maintain social ties with a person’s original community. In some cases the two homes serve as potential ‘back ups’ of each other
in cases of emergencies. Crises in the urban setting (e.g., military or economic invasions) might force a person to seek safety in the countryside, or vice versa, crises in rural areas (such as drought, famine, etc.) might cause a move to the city in order to assure survival. The expression temporary migration is used when a person moves between different locations for limited periods of time. This term also encompasses child migration, which frequently occurs when impoverished families send their children to work in foreign locations in order to assure the child’s or the family’s economical survival. For example, a family might send their daughters to work as in-house living domestic servants to foreign households to relieve the family’s economic pressure and/or for access to formal education, which might not be available in the child’s community of origin. Constant migration is a special form of migration, which might not be recognizable as a form of migration in the first place, but which describes an individual’s participation in two or more different environments in quick succession. For example, this might include children who on a daily basis attend school, live and help at home, and pursue work in the streets. In these different environments the children are frequently exposed to very different set of cultural rules and norms, which often stand in conflict to one another (e.g., while school commonly emphasizes individual achievement and critical thinking, the children’s home environment might ask for cooperation and obedience, in contrast). Valsiner states that street children are subjected to a specific form of constant migration. Street children migrate between two (or more) very different environments with high frequency and need to adapt quickly to the rules and scripts
of each environment in order to survive (e.g., being an independent-acting vendor in the streets and being an obedient son or daughter at home) (Valsiner, 2000 #567)

Closely related of the aforementioned constructs is the process of:

**Acculturation.** Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936) suggested one of the first definitions of acculturation. Their classical definition, which referred to acculturation as changes in original cultural patterns due to ongoing, direct contact between individuals or groups of different cultures (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936), was expanded by the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) in 1954 in order to emphasize that the two essential key concepts of acculturation are *change* and *adaptation* (Broom, Siegel, Vogt, & Watson, 1954). Today’s acculturation literature grounds its foundations on these two seminal definitions of the term, but still lacks clarity in the use and measurement of the construct. One underlying cause for the existing problems of conceptualization and measurement is that the term acculturation was developed and used parallel in the field of sociology, anthropology and psychology. Furthermore, it is also important to recognize to what kinds of groups of individuals the construct acculturation is applied to.

Acculturation among immigrants, refugees, or sojourners encompasses very different aspects. Therefore, it is helpful to take into account the following three criteria - mobility, permanence and voluntariness (Berry, 1997). For example, questions such as whether the individual(s) choose to relocate (e.g., sojourners), or did not relocate but experienced acculturation due to (neo-) colonization and other invasive cultural developments (e.g., indigenous people) are critical for the acculturation process. It is also important to know if the individual’s change of
residence is permanent (e.g., immigrants) or transient (e.g., sojourner). And last but not least, one needs to know if the participation in intercultural contact is forced (e.g., refugees) or voluntary (e.g., sojourners). Ward distinguishes between three different major theoretical and empirical strands in the field of acculturation research: stress and coping, cultural learning, and social identification (Ward, 2001). Each of the strands emphasizes different aspects of acculturation: research concerned about the stress and coping mechanism of acculturation focuses on affective aspects and psychological adjustment of individuals; cultural learning research centers on the behavioral outcomes such as cultural skills and introduced the construct of sociocultural adaptation; whereas social identification approaches concentrate on cognitive dimensions of acculturation being mostly concerned with the construct of a social or ethnic identity (Jean S. Phinney, 1990, 1993).

A well-known model of acculturation is Berry’s model of acculturation strategies (Berry, 1990, 2003). With this two-dimensional model Berry proposes that both the relationship with the traditional culture, as well as the relationship with the new or dominant culture determine acculturation processes. The wish to maintain traditional cultural values and the traditional cultural identity (the extent of cultural maintenance) stands in an orthogonal relationship with an individual’s wish to seek out contact and the wish to participate in the new culture. As a consequence, Berry suggests four different possible outcomes of the acculturation process: assimilation, which means that a person moves towards the dominant culture and shows no interest in preserving her original cultural identity;

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10 Please read Ward (2001) for a more detailed elaboration and excellent synthesis of this topic.
integration if an individual integrates the values of the two cultures; rejection if a person focuses on the traditional culture exclusively and becomes segregated from the dominant culture; and marginalization if a person becomes alienated from both, the new and the old, culture. In Berry’s acculturation model, integration clearly seems to be the most desirable outcome of an acculturation process.

However, very recent research (Weinreich, 2009) suggests that enculturation and not acculturation is better suited to understand individuals’ adaptation processes due to permanent intercultural contact. Weinreich points out that even though Berry’s acculturation model seems to be valid at first glance, it is based on some incorrect, and as of yet unquestioned suppositions. First, it assumes that both the dominant and the heritage cultures are accommodating and that phenomena such as intolerance, racism, or other forms of oppression are non-existing. Unfortunately, reality shows that in many countries around the world the opposite is the case. Hence, if the dominant culture is characterized by hostile behavior towards an ethnic group, it might be beneficial for the well-being of the members of this group to seek separation. Second, Berry’s model assumes that the dominant culture’s values and norms of are not in conflict with the value and norm system of the heritage culture. However, in pluralistic communities societal important topics such as women’s rights and gender equality are common sources of conflict between different cohabiting cultures. Third, Berry’s model erroneously implies that people consciously choose what cultural values they want to maintain or to replace. In fact, people do not make conscious choices whether they aim for assimilation, integration, separation, or marginalization. Hence, also in pluralistic societies,
neither an absolute and integral preservation or rejection of traditional values, nor an absolute and integral acceptance or rejection of new values, are likely to occur.

As a consequence Weinreich puts forward that the term *enculturation* is more adequate to describe ongoing adaptation processes to new cultural environments. He defines *enculturation* as a “[...] continuing incorporation of cultural elements of any available ethnicity, mainstream or otherwise, that are significant to the individual” (Weinreich, 2009, p.125). Hence, a person might keep traditional cultural values in some areas of his or her life, while at the same take taking over mainstream cultural values in other life areas in order to assure personal and/or family wellbeing.

In the Zinacánteč Maya community Maynard and Greenfield (2008) conducted a longitudinal study to track ecocultural shifts due to globalization and social change. Even though Maynard and Greenfield do not present their findings in the framework of acculturation theories, the processes they describe exhibit clear signs of adaptation and acculturation (or according to Weinreich: enculturation). For instance, women’s schooling was connected to improved language proficiency of Spanish - the dominant language in commerce as well as formal institutions; changes in textile production with an increased use of paper patterns; a change in maternal socialization priorities with an up-valuation of schooling and a devaluation of weaving in daily life; an increase use of mass communication technologies; and an increased participation of female participation in commerce. At the same women continued to fulfill traditional roles in the gender division of work, such as cooking, cleaning and weaving (Maynard, 2008).
Preceding research in Mexico outside as well as within Maya communities also indicates how phenomena of cultural change such as children's and women's schooling lead to adaptive strategies: a decrease of the average number of children per family (Uribe, LeVine, & LeVine, 1994); a shift in mother's communication with her children towards a more interactive style (Zukow, 1987); a change in sibling teaching style with an emphasis of distant and verbal discourse including decontextualized talk (Maynard, 2004b); and a shift from a traditional horizontal maternal problem solving style in collaborative tasks with children towards a more hierarchical, division-of-labor oriented style (Chavajay & Rogoff, 2002). The recent research of Greenfield, Maynard and Martí (2009) also provides many examples of how commerce and urbanization transform the day-to-day learning environment of Maya families. In their case study-mentioned before in the context of adolescence-they followed a Maya family who pursues a flower and vegetable trading business, initially located only in their home village and later also in the city of SCLC, over a period of 10 years. Greenfield and her colleagues report on the variety of changes observable during this time. Their investigations reveal: an increased importance of formal education; an increased and more independent involvement of women in commerce; a specialization in economic tasks; an increased utilization of technology such as TV and cellular phones; a decrease of face-to-face contact of family members; an increase in individual choices, for example in food and clothing choices; a decrease of visits in the family's home; higher frequencies of non-family contacts; a freedom for young Maya females to have unchaperoned contact with young males, who are not family-members (Greenfield, et al., 2009). The above
reported results are also in line with the findings of Manago and Greenfield (2011) in a four-case study with Maya female migrants, living currently in the city of SCLC and narrating about their personal background, their motives to relocate from their rural villages to town, and consequent adaptation to assure their and their children’s survival in the urban context of SCLC. In summary, their research shows that the women’s collectivistic values such as cooperation, high sense of family responsibility, family cohesion etc. are not abolished, but in fact supplemented by individualistic values and forms of behavior, which assure the women’s and their family’s well being. Individualistic values such as independence, individual responsibility, the ability to earn their own money, public expression, and gender equality are strategies these women acquired over time to adapt to the challenges of city life (Manago & Greenfield, 2011).

This review of the literature has framed the research presented in this dissertation. Grounded in ecological theories of child development and culture, this research examines the effects of migration and culture change in a population of children bridging the cultures of rural and urban indigenous life. The next chapter lays out procedures followed in the research.”
CHAPTER 3. PROCEDURES

All of the following procedures were derived from the theoretical frameworks laid out in Chapter Two. The Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the University of Hawaii approved all procedures for this research project. Parental consent for the youths’ participation was waived because of the low-risk nature of the semi-structured interview and because most interviewed youth operated in the streets without any adult supervision. As in my previous research with street-working boys and girls in SCLC, the study was organized in a stepwise, culture-sensitive and multi-method research design (Tovote, 2007), which consisted of quantitative as well as qualitative measures. In order to the strengthen the rigor of the study data as well as to achieve in-depth knowledge of the object of research, a triangulation of methods and data sources was applied (Denzin, 1989; Flick, 2004; Yegidis & Weinbach, 2006). Several data and methods were triangulated with the aim to depict the complex and multi-faceted study field and to improve the construct validity of the study (Flick, 2004; Patterson, Thorne, Canam, & Jillings, 2001).

Critical Study Preparations

Naturally, before entering fieldwork, the researcher will read the relevant theoretical and empirical literature, stock up necessary research equipment, arrange arrival and residence at the field site, activate helpful social and professional networks from inside and outside the local field community and so on. However, other critical steps cannot be accomplished until the actual arrivals in the
field site and in fact, these steps of preparation are often part of the initial field research activities. All this held true for my research work as well.

**Recruiting Field Assistants**

A crucial step for my research project was to find research assistants with insider knowledge such as language, cultural knowledge, social contacts etc. from the local Maya community. I was lucky to receive the support of four local research assistants – two of them assisted me in the development of the interview guides, and two of them assisted me in conducting the interviews.

A bilingual (English-Spanish) Mexican-American university student, who was previously engaged as an interviewer and translator in another social science research project in Chiapas was involved in the development of the interview guides. His main task was to control for the language equivalence in Spanish of my interview questions, which I originally developed in English. I also recruited a local Tzotzil-speaking Maya woman who held a B.A. in social anthropology, and had ample research experiences interviewing indigenous families residing in the colonias (settlements) at the outskirts of SCLC. She was part of a research team for a local research institute of social anthropology, called Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social (CIESAS). Her assistance was critical for the development of culture-adequate semi-structured interview guides. With her, I discussed relevant cultural concepts, as well as each question of the interview guide. Unfortunately, other work obligations would not allow her to assist in the actual conduct of the interviews. For the actual interview phase, I found two local Tzotzil- and Tzeltal-speaking sociology students, whom I made contact with during my
ethnographic work in the streets of SCLC. In fact, they caught my attention while conducting interviews with the local street community for the final thesis of their university work. They agreed to assist me in conducting the semi-structured interviews with male participants, with whom I, as a female, could not get into close contact without risking my reputation among the rest of the Maya street- and market-vendor community. After a training focusing on the meaning and conduct of the semi-structured interviews, the use of a digital voice recorder, and an introduction to on-spot note taking, the two local students were able to conduct the interviews independently. In order to assure data accuracy and quality, they always interviewed as a team and divided responsibilities in question asking, tape recording, and note taking among between each other. Thanks to their previous interview activities in the local community, the two local research assistants also could recruit eligible participants without any help from me. For their assistance I paid each member of my mix-gendered, multi-cultural team either a salary of 30 Mexican Pesos per hour, or a fixed salary of 30 Mexican Pesos ($2.55 USD), or respectively 40 Mexican Pesos ($3.40 USD) per collected interview (30 Mexican Pesos for shorter interviews with children, and 40 Mexican Pesos for interviews conducted with adult and teenage males).

**Establishing Rapport**

Because I had conducted research in the Maya street working community in SCLC before, I knew that one of the most critical steps in my research project would be to get accepted by and to establish rapport with my participants. In my previous research project, I also learned that “hanging out” as many hours as possible in the
streets was the most successful way to realize this goal. If I wanted people to talk and open up to me, I first had to talk and open up to them. Different from 2006, I this time entered the field accompanied by my husband and my son, who was 20-months-old at the time. This influenced the course of my research work more than I had anticipated. Taking along a blonde, blue-eyed toddler with me through the streets of SCLC, which were crowded with various international tourist adults, yet devoid of little Caucasian children, catapulted me from being an unobtrusive observer who could be taken for just any other tourist, to the center of attention of the Maya youth and adult street community. In my previous research trip, I invested much time in the development of strategies to get in contact with my potential participants. I spent long hours at the same places in the city center day after day; I invented games for the children; I used their offered services (buying food, candy, souvenirs for friends and family, textile products which serve as artifacts for my research); and taught them English terms which were useful for their work, e.g., the number system, product names, salutations, and terms essential for sale negotiations (Tovote, 2007). This time, being accompanied by a lively "exotic"-looking toddler led to an accelerated process of contacting the children as well as adults on the streets. Younger and older Maya street sellers, predominantly females, showed little hesitation to approach us, touching my son, asking all kinds of questions about him and my family, starting to play with him, and expressing their excitement about the “different” look of his very bright eyes and hair (Figure 6).
Thanks to my little “gate opener” I was able to have animated and lively discussions about child development, child socialization, and family habits right from the beginning. It became comparably easy to ask children about younger male and female siblings and adult women about their children, nieces, and nephews. Also thanks to my son, I was given an immediate credit of trust and credibility, which I certainly would not have received so quickly and deeply without his presence. In the ethnographic phase of the upcoming weeks and months, daily encounters in the streets and markets helped me to stabilize those relationships despite the fact that my little “field assistant” then spent most of the day in child care or at our local home with his father.
One of my original dissertation committee members\textsuperscript{11}, who I was lucky to
meet with in my field site for a short period of time, had a great idea for another
‘gate opener’. He suggested me to offer the street vendors to take their picture and
return a copy of it to them a few days later. To my surprise, and in contrast to
previous experiences of unsuccessful attempts to take pictures and tape record in
my field research in 2006 (Tovote, 2007), the offer was very well accepted in the
community, especially among Maya teenagers. In fact, having taken one’s picture
became so popular in the street community that I had to set a limit to the amount of
pictures I would take per person. This phenomenon was in line with my
ethnographic notes about an increased use of modern technologies such as mobile
phones, digital cameras, mobile MP3 players, and the like among Maya street and
market vendors. In hindsight, I analyzed that around 63\% of my later female
interviewees had asked me to take a picture of them before they agreed later on
participating in the interviews.

The above mentioned gate openers (being accompanied by a young child;
distributing personal photos as gifts), “hanging out” in the streets on a daily basis,
and the help of two male Maya research assistants, who had conducted interviews in
the street and market vending community previously, resulted in a smooth
recruitment process of my 125 interview participants. I had talked to most of the 60
female interview participants at various occasions (to differing extents, though)

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{11} I would like to thank Dr. Kevin Groark for the short, but very fruitful coffee house conversation we had,
when our ways crossed during our fieldwork stances in SCLC.
before the tape-recorded semi-structured interviews were carried out. The rest of the female participants (around 25%) were recruited through snowball sampling, i.e., already interviewed females invited their female friends to participate as well.

I arranged only around five of the 65 interviews with males, while my two local research assistants recruited the rest of them through the social network they had established through their previous interview work in the street vending community and as well through snowball sampling.

**Descriptions of Applied Methods**

The language of all applied methods was Spanish. Even though most of the participants spoke Tzotzil (and to a lesser degree Tzeltal) as their first language, Spanish was the predominant language of use in street vending activities in SCLC. Although Spanish is not my first language I am a fluent Spanish-speaker because I studied Spanish in Germany for several years at the university level, and I subsequently worked and studied in several Spanish-speaking countries.

In some cases, Tzotzil terms and translations were used to describe cultural concepts, which are non-existing in the Spanish language (e.g., terms for kinship or clothing) and if participants had difficulties understanding and/or speaking Spanish. Through pre-field private studies with Tzotzil textbooks, as well as attending a Tzotzil language school in SCLC at the beginning of my research stay, and with the help of present family members and friends, I was able to use basic Tzotzil terms or short sentences while interviewing. My bilingual Maya field assistants applied the

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12 Hence, to many (but not all) of my female interview partners there exist additional ethnographic field notes reporting about their personal life at home and in the streets.
same method of interviewing by conducting the interview in Spanish and only using Tzotzil terms or sentences when needed.

A design using multiple data sources and methods (Figure 7) was chosen for this study to assure the validity and reliability of the collected information about the working poor Maya families in SCLC.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnography</th>
<th>Census</th>
<th>Semi-structured Interviews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Observations and talks in street and home community</td>
<td>City center of SCLC</td>
<td>125 participants (65 males)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72 days (July – October 2009)</td>
<td>14 days:</td>
<td>6 groups divided according to gender (male, female) and age (children, adolescents, adults</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) Unstructured field observations;</td>
<td>7 days during school holiday; 7 days during school season</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Activity settings analysis based note taking;</td>
<td>4 times a day (9:15 am, 12:15 pm, 4:15 pm, 7:15 pm)</td>
<td>Topics of interest: family structure; migration history; language use; education; work;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Journal style notes reflecting on the study insights and necessary study</td>
<td>Record of location, work activity, gender, age, clothing</td>
<td>future aspirations; leisure time activities; dress styles; body modifications; intercultural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjustments</td>
<td></td>
<td>contacts; cross-gender contacts; gender roles; family planning; care for elderly parents.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 7: Overview of Methods

**Ethnography**

Ethnographic observations and talks were conducted mainly in the city center of SCLC and sporadically in two home communities of Maya street vendors, the colonias (glossed as “settlements”) San Antonio del Monte and San Juan del Bosque (at the outskirts of SCLC). Based on positive research experiences of 2006
(Tovote, 2007), I chose the plaza catedral (cathedral plaza) of SCLC as the main and starting point of my ethnographic work. Similar to the situation in 2006, the places proved to be well suited for the purpose of my study, not only because the open plaza catedral is the most popular vending place among adult and child street sellers in SCLC, but also because its spacious layout allowed for unobtrusive observation studies made from distant positions. Two colonias at the outskirts of SCLC were chosen as additional places for ethnographic talks and observations. The two colonias were the home communities of a significant part of the participating interviewees: 24 of the interviewed 60 female interview participants, and at least 6 of the interviewed 65 male interview participants were living there (at least 24% of all interviewees). In those settings street vending family members who had invited me to their homes served as my main informants and also guided me around the colonias.

In both settings (street and home community) I utilized three different formats to organize my ethnographic notes collected in the street and home environments. The first format encompassed information, that described the behavior and talk of different-aged Maya family members in a continuous but deliberately unstructured manner. I intentionally did not use pre-determined categories in the first phase of my ethnographic research in order to avoid a premature restriction of potentially important areas of information relevant for understanding the adaptation strategies applied by the researched Maya families. The semi-structured interview guide of this study relies heavily on information gathered through this unstructured ethnographic work. Continuing this form of
ethnography during the developmental phase of the semi-structure interview guide allowed me to reassess the usefulness of my interview questions (Bernard, 2006; Yegidis & Weinbach, 2006).

However, after four weeks of fieldwork, I added a second, more structured observational format to capture and describe repeating and therefore important activities of Maya street and market vending families (i.e., their routines). Using activity setting analysis (Ronald Gallimore, et al., 1993; C.M. Super & Harkness, 1997) I selected in each case a focal person based on gender and age, and systematically recorded the personnel by whom the person of interest was surrounded, the nature of activity and task the person was following, the script the person followed and, if detectable, the motivations, feelings and goals the focal person expressed in this situation. The majority of vignettes, which are presented in the results section (Chapter 4) of this work, were acquired through this method of note-taking guided by an activity settings approach.

A third format that I used in this field study was a journal style notebook in which reflections on gained insights and necessary adjustments coming up in the course of the study were collected. Some of these notes led directly to modifications of applied study procedures (e.g., adding ‘clothing’ as a category in the census), others were used as amending notes in the interpretation of the ethnographic notes. My applied ethnography was inspired by Michael Agar’s book The Professional Stranger (1980):

“In ethnography [...] you learn something (“collect some data”), then you try to make sense out of it (“analysis”) then you go back and see if the interpretation make sense in light of new experiences (“collect more data”) then you refine your
interpretation ("more analysis") and so on. The process is dialectic not linear” (Agar, 1980).

**Census**

I conducted a census in the center of SCLC that systematically captured the following information for each observed street-working child or adolescent in a given time period: gender, age, working activity, clothing style, with or without company of an older family member), time of day, and weather conditions. The census followed the basic census format I developed and conducted in 2006, which in turn was based on previously conducted ethnography as well as archival research (Tovote, 2007).13

The category “clothing style” was not included in the previous census format because back in 2006 there was no need to record females’ clothing styles. In 2006, virtually all of the Maya female vendors wore traditional Maya clothing, while all male Maya street vendors wore Western-style outfits. This was no longer true in 2009 and led to the insertion of this new category.

The 14-day long census was conducted at two different points in time. Seven succeeding days of census were conducted during school summer holidays of 2009, and seven succeeding days of census were conducted during the second week of school instruction in fall 2009. Records were taken four times a day, at 9:00 am, 12:00 pm, 3:00 pm, and at 7:00 pm.

The census allowed to not only capture the status quo of the community of the street working children and youth in summer and fall 2009 but also to keep

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13 However, since the pedestrian zone, the predominant area of street sale in the city center of SCLC, was expanded between my previous and my current census, I also extended the census area to include this area, which was added to the original pedestrian zone and which was now also frequently used for street selling.
track of continuities and novelties in the communities of young poor working male and female street vendors between 2006 and 2009.

Semi-structured Interviews

A total of 125 participants was recruited in public places and streets in the city center of SCLC through personal contacts and less often through snowball-sampling after a six week-long period of ethnographic observations and talks, including a one-week long period of pilot testing of the semi-structured interview questions. The inclusion criteria for the participant were: Maya descendant, being directly or indirectly engaged in street and market sale in the city center of SCLC, being nine years or older. The interviewees were divided into six different interview groups in accordance to their age and gender. The interview groups were divided into male (N= 65) and female (N=60), as well as into the following three different age groups: nine to 12 year-old (children), 13 to 17 year old (teenager), and above age 18 (adults). Each interview group answered similar semi-structured interview guides, adjusted for age and gender. Please read Appendix B (B1 to B12) for the Spanish and English versions of the interview guides of the six participant groups.

Table 1. Overview of Participant Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Children (n=38)</th>
<th>Adolescents (n=46)</th>
<th>Adults (n=41)</th>
<th>All Ages (n=125)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All interviews were conducted from September to October 2009, digitally tape recorded, and lasted from 25 to 60 minutes. In addition to tape recording hand-
written notes about the interviewee responses, response style, surrounding circumstances (noise, behavior of additional attendees, interruptions, etc.) were taken on the spot. I carried out all the interviews with female participants, while two of my male research assistants conducted all interviews with participating males. Adult and teenage interviewees received 40 Pesos ($3.40 USD) and child interviewees received 30 pesos ($2.55 USD) per interview.

**Data Management and Analysis**

To summarize and analyze the census data, the data I originally entered into Microsoft Excel for Macintosh and then converted into Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 20 for analyses. Mean comparisons, frequencies, percentages were used to detect patterns concerning gender and age division in work, working times, working hours and working places as well as differences between street work during the holiday season and times of schooling.

I entered and coded my ethnographic field notes in Microsoft Word. After inserting the data in the left column of a tripartite table, I read and re-read the text line by line in order to search for upcoming topics and patterned regularities (Creswell, 2007). The codes generated through this open coding process I entered in the second column. In the third column I labeled the clustered codes with general categorical terms. In line with *Grounded Theory* as introduced by Glaser und Strauss (1967), topics of interest emerged out of the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). My data collection process was also characterized by a forth-and-back process between data collection and analysis, a core feature of Grounded Theory. However, while studies
representative of classical *Grounded Theory* (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) focus on interview data only, in my study I relied on various mutual informing data methods (ethnography, semi-structured interviews). Also the course of my study did not follow the classical course of data collection and analysis as suggested by Grounded Theory theorists such as Strauss and Corbin. Instead of not continuing data collection before a point of *saturation* (Strauss, 1990 #666) was reached though a lengthy and thorough data analysis, I would enter the field with a particular set of questions and/or assumptions (derived from previous ethnographic work) and conduct ethnographic observations and talks related to this specific set of questions and assumptions. After a brief, first glance analysis of the collected ethnographic notes while entering them into the computer in the evening hours, I would return to the field site the very next day in order to advance my observations of the previous days. Only after I had left my field site and reorganized my complete date set in the above tripartite table system I could start an in-depth data analysis process.

Each digitally recorded interview was transcribed in Spanish and translated into English. Microsoft Excel 2008 for Macintosh was utilized for data management and organization purposes of the interview information (Leahy, 2004). To organize the interview data sets, table rows listed participant numbers as well as participants’ first or code names, table columns contained the collected quantitative and qualitative data provided for each single interview questions (as depicted in Figure 8).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>How old are you?</th>
<th>Where were you born?</th>
<th>In which colonia do you live?</th>
<th>How many children do you have?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participant 1</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Chanal</td>
<td>San Juan del Bosque</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant 2</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Venustiano Caranza</td>
<td>Leñadores</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant 3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>San Juan Chamula (SJC)</td>
<td>San Juan del Bosque</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 8. Example Abstract From Interview Data

Using an Excel matrix for data storage and organization offered the advantage to be able to simultaneously retrieve quantitative as well as qualitative data either by accessing all information available per interviewee (reading per row) or by accessing all obtained information concerning a specific interview question or a specific set of interview questions (reading per column).

For quantitative analysis purposes columns with continuous quantitative (e.g., age, school years, number of siblings duration of stay in SCLC etc.) and categorical data sets (e.g., gender, school attendance) could be easily transferred into and analyzed in Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 20. Statistical procedures I applied to detect patterns of adaptation and acculturation strategies were frequencies scores, percentages, ranges, and measures of central tendency (mean, median, mode).

Excel spreadsheets were also useful to conduct qualitative analysis by inserting extra columns for memos and coding categories alongside each column of interview question (Leahy, 2004). Although *Grounded Theory* also inspired my
interview data analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990), I did not
strictly follow the classical procedures of Grounded Theory. For example, in my
interview analysis I at first aimed for thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) instead of
building theories as suggested in Grounded Theory. As with my ethnographic notes I
read and re-read my interview results line by line in order to search upcoming
topics and patterned regularities (Creswell, 2007). The codes with which I labeled
the identified topics of interests I entered into a second column next to the relevant
text passage of column one. For memos, which filled in and elaborated on the codes,
I used a third column. I kept in mind that the research data is always based on
interaction of the researcher with her social environment. The socio-constructivist
Kathy Charmaz describes this phenomenon with the following words: "[...] we are
part of the world we study and the data we collect. We construct our grounded
theories through our past and present involvements and interactions with people,
perspectives, and research practices" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 10) Hence, in the current
study I provide as much transparence as possible not only about the rationale of my
research but also report the concrete questions my field assistants or I asked the
interview participants and their answers.

In addition, I applied a triangulation of data methods and sources in order to
encompass, whenever possible, various aspects of a certain topic of interest. I think
that triangulation is a useful procedure for the development of thick descriptions.
The combination of results derived through various data methods and sources
allows drawing a multi-facet picture of an observed phenomenon. In practice,
applying data triangulation can lead out to three different outcomes. The different
data methods and/or sources: (a) all point to a similar result and therefore confirm each other; (b) highlight different facets of a complex topic and therefore stand complimentary to one another; (c) contradict each other and suggest that the topic of interest has not (yet) been fully explored. In addition some innovative (maybe unconventional) data interpretations may develop from these findings, which could appoint into a new direction in future research questions. In my result section the reader will come across those various outcomes of ‘triangulated’ research.

In summary, all the above listed data analysis procedures (quantitative and qualitative) serve the purpose to detect patterns of behaviors and attitudes that provide information on the adaptation and acculturation processes made by poor working Maya families to assure their well-being in the urban setting of SCLC. Further nuances concerning the nature and the extent of those adjustment processes should emerge through within-group comparisons.
CHAPTER 4. RESULTS

The results of this study are divided into the following subsections: general personal information regarding the sample; the role of work; sharing responsibilities and resources; language use and intercultural contacts; Maya gender roles in an urban setting; the emergence of adolescence; and life goals related to family and work. In the last section of this chapter data is no longer organized by topic but in brief biographical summaries of 12 individuals in order to also illuminate the living situations of the participants from the perspective of the individual.

General Personal Information

This section provides the age, the migration history, and the family structure of the six participant samples.

The interview sample encompassed a total of 125 interviews consisting of six subsamples (please see Appendix A) of approximately equal size.

The interviewed females \(n = 60\) from poor working families were divided into three different groups: child interviewees (9-to-12-year-olds), adolescent interviewees (13-to-17-year-olds), and adult interviewees (18 years and older). For the interviewed girls \(n = 19\) the mean age was 11.1 years \((SD = 0.85)\), for teenage girls \(n = 21\) 14.3 years \((SD = 1.2)\), for adult women \(n= 20\) 33.9 years \((SD = 11.4)\).

Male interviewees \(n = 65\) also were divided into the same three age groups. Male child interviewees \(n = 19\) had a mean age of 11.8 years \((SD = 0.42)\), teenage boys \(n = 25\) had a mean age of 14.2 years \((SD = 1.6)\), and adult males \(n = 21\) had a
mean age of 31.9 years ($SD = 17.5$). In the group of adult men 18-year-olds were overrepresented (7 out of 21 interviewed adult males, 33%).

**Migration History**

**Current Place of Residence**

Not all, but most, interviewees had their permanent residency in SCLC. Table 2 displays the participants’ current places of residence.

**Table 2. Place of Residence**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Children</th>
<th>San Cristóbal de las Casas (SCLC)</th>
<th>San Juan Chamula (SJC)</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Missing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female (n=19)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male (n=19)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Adolescents**

| Female (n=21) | 17*                                | 4                      | -     | -       |
| Male (n=25)   | 19                                 | 2                      | 2     | 2 (Ixtapa) |

**Adults**

| Female (n=20) | 20                                 | -                      | -     | -       |
| Male (n=21)   | 16                                 | 2                      | 3     | - (Chanal; Mitontic; San Andres Larrainzar) |

* 1 girl alternates between SCLC and SJC.
This means that 95% of all interviewed female children and 90% of all interviewed male children resided permanently in SCLC. Among adolescents 81% females and 83% of all male lived permanently in SCLC. All interviewed adult women (100%) had their current place of residence in SCLC, but only 76% of the interviewed men had. Those who did not live in SCLC permanently either commuted between their villages and SCLC (mostly young males from SJC), or rented an inexpensive place in SCLC for a period of several weeks or months, but lived otherwise with their families in the villages. Only adolescent and adult males rented a place to live in this manner. No females did so.

**Place of Birth**

Table 3 indicates clear differences between younger and older interviewees concerning their places of birth. While it was more common for younger interviewees to be born in SCLC, older participants were predominantly born outside the city. The tendency for younger Mayas to be born in the city and older ones in other areas in Highland Chiapas was also confirmed when inquiring young Mayas about the birthplaces of their fathers and mothers (please see Appendix C and Appendix D).

In summary, these numbers show that interviewed children were mainly born in SCLC. Adolescents were either born in SCLC, or they migrated early in their lives to the city. Adult Maya interviewees or parents of minor interviewees were often first generation migrants who predominantly arrived from poor rural regions of Chiapas.
Table 3. Place of Birth.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SCLC</th>
<th>SJC</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Children</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(n = 19)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Male</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n = 19)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adolescents</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n = 21)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adults</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n = 20)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n = 21)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*These adult participants are all 18 years old.

These numbers also show that my sample is representative for the larger population of poor working Mayas in so far that its participants and/or their families originated to a great extent in the small hamlets in the municipality of SJC,
but also came from other regions inside Chiapas such as Zinacatán, Huixtán, Ixtapa, Larráinzar, Mitontic, Chenaló, Chanal, Oxchuc, Oxcosingo, Venustiano Carranza, and Teopisca.

**Reasons for Migration**

As reasons to migrate to SCLC with their families, interview participants across all age and gender groups stated: lack of work in the rural communities, saving travel time and money to get to the market, religious expulsion, political violence, lack of land in the communities, family illness and death, family problems and differences, (family) disputes over land, eviction, education, marriage, parental will, as well a general preference for city life. As Appendix E\(^\text{14}\) illustrates the most frequently mentioned motivations to come to SCLC were the need for work due to insufficient work place and poverty in rural areas, as well as religious expulsion of families who had converted to Protestant churches. Hence, the majority of migrants left their home community not by choice but because they had to.

However, some interviewees in fact stated different reasons why their families have migrated to the city, e.g., poverty and political violence. Ethnographic talks revealed a similar pattern. Hence, reasons often seem to be multilayered as well as interrelated. For example, religious discrimination within the home community was very likely to be accompanied with the break off of economic relationships within the community as well. This situation led to a further intensification of poverty.

Also narratives indicated that in several cases migration was not a time-limited event but occurred as a process over several months and years, when

\(^{14}\text{Multiple answers were possible. Hence, the frequency distribution is based on the number of provided answering comments (not on the number of participants).}\)
different family members commuted to SCLC regularly and/or moved one by one to the city.

The investigations about the interviewees’ current place of residence also revealed that a significant number of participants only migrated to SCLC temporarily and planned to return to their rural family homes after having earned enough money to assure the family’s survival for a certain period of time.

A 12-year-old Maya girl delivered an additional reason, which caught my attention. She stated that her family had moved from a Zinacantec hamlet to SCLC because her parents has wanted their children to acquire an education, which was not available in their village community. It was the first time that I heard that a whole family and not only a single child had migrated to an urban setting because of education. Her family also stood out in further education-related topics. Among all 125 interviewees, only very few had close relatives who held a university degree. In the girl’s family three of her older siblings worked as schoolteachers. However, the girl also stated that her and her younger siblings’ educational careers were uncertain because her father had died in a car accident just a few months ago.

**Length of Stay in SCLC**

Most participants I interviewed have lived already for longer periods of time in SCLC. Unfortunately, not all youth participants were able to recall when their families had migrated to SCLC. Especially younger ones often did not know when their families had moved to SCLC. This inability leads to an incompleteness and potential distortion of the results, which are displayed in the following table. Table 4 indicates that the families of younger interviewees have lived significantly fewer years in
SCLC than those of older participants.

Table 4. Years of Family’s Residence in SCLC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Mean Years of Residence</th>
<th>Range of Years of Residence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female (n=16)</td>
<td>8.9 (SD=4.5)</td>
<td>2-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male (n=16)</td>
<td>10.88 (SD= 7.2)</td>
<td>3-30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adolescents</th>
<th>Mean Years of Residence</th>
<th>Range of Years of Residence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female (n=17)</td>
<td>13.3 (SD= 6.6)</td>
<td>3-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male (n=22)</td>
<td>7.3 (SD= 6)</td>
<td>1-20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adults</th>
<th>Mean Years of Residence</th>
<th>Range of Years of Residence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female (n=19)</td>
<td>21.3 (SD= 8.8)</td>
<td>1-35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male (n=19)</td>
<td>15.6 (SD= 8.7)</td>
<td>1-34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What cannot be read from Table 4 is the difference between those female adults who possessed their own market stall and those who just worked as mobile street vendors. While street vending women have lived in SCLC on average for 16.5 years (SD = 7.3), adult women who owned their own market stall have lived in SCLC on average for 28.8 years (SD=6). This difference in years of residence between the two subgroups can be interpreted as an indicator that over time Maya women indeed were able to improve their earning opportunities in the city. However, it is also noticeable that this professional improvement still occurred within the boundaries of traditionally assigned gender roles in work. It is also striking that the women’s professional advancement is not built on any kind of formal education. This statistical observation was also in line with statements made by interviewed
women who now owned their own market stalls, but who had started out as mobile street sellers upon their arrival in SCLC. They claimed hard work as the main reason for their improved working situation. In return, adult and young women, who were currently engaged as mobile street sellers, commonly expressed their wish to owe their own market stall one day in the future.

**Family Structure**

Investigations about common family structures and household compositions among the interviewed poor working Maya families also produce interesting insights - in particular, when putting these numbers in relation with working activities and family planning.

**Number of Children Per Family**

We asked all participants for the existing number of children in their family (Table 5). Looking at Table 5, one might be surprised by the significant differences in the number of children per families of the two younger interview samples (female children and adolescent sample) compared with the two adult samples. However, in consideration of the fact that the interviewed adult men and women were on average between 31 and 33 years old, and hence were still in the midst of their reproductive years, it is likely that the number of children in their families will still grow. Whereas the parents of the interviewed teenagers and children who were on average 14 and 11 years old, were more likely to have (almost) reached their final number of children. Obviously, there were no families without any children in the groups of the interviewed child and adolescent interviewees. In contrast, there were
Table 5. Numbers of Children per Family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean Number of Children per Family</th>
<th>Range in Number of Children per Family</th>
<th>Frequencies in Number of Children per Family</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Children</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Female (n=16)</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>2 - 15</td>
<td>2 children: 1</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>3 children: 3</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 children: 5</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 children: 3</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10 children: 1</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12 children: 2</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15 children: 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male (*)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adolescents</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Female (n=17)</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>3-10</td>
<td>3 children: 1</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>4 children: 1</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>5 children: 1</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 children: 4</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7 children: 1</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8 children: 5</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>9 children: 2</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10 children: 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male (*)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adults</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Female (n=20)</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>0-10</td>
<td>0 children: 5</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 child: 1</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>2 children: 3</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>3 children: 1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>4 children: 4</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>5 children: 1</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>6 children: 2</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7 children: 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10 children: 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male (n=22)</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>0 - 7</td>
<td>0 children: 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 children: 4</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>4 children: 5</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 children: 2</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 children: 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7 children: 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Interviewer did not pay attention to the functional equivalence of the term sibling in Spanish and in Tzotzil.

five interviewed female adults and nine interviewed male adults who were childless,
either because they were still unmarried or because they could not have children for
medical reasons. Ethnographic as well as semi-structured interviews revealed that having children was still considered a highly desirable goal in the Maya community of SCLC. However, female informants in particular pointed out how important it is to be married and to have a good work before having children. Virtually all of the interviewed male and female teenagers who attended or had firm plans to attend secondary school emphasized in their interviews, that they intend to complete their educational career before having children.

**Living Arrangements**

Living in nuclear families and living in extended families was roughly equally common among the interviewees. It was, in contrast, very uncommon that participants lived all by themselves. Of the interviewed 125 participants, only one 60-year-old female market seller lived all by herself, even though her children supported her occasionally with food and money.

Furthermore, it was still common practice for just married young Maya couples to move in with the husband’s family for a certain amount of time. Young couples most often stayed with the husband’s family until their first child was born and/or until they had saved enough money to build their own home in the nearby neighborhood or on the family’s compound. Some couples, however, would continue living with the family because they would inherit the family home. Young couples who did not have the support of the family until they could afford their own home often struggled economically by having to pay rent and having to save up money for their own home simultaneously. The case of the 24-year-old mobile street vendor Maricela, a mother of four young children ranging from six months to seven years,
and married to an unskilled laborer on construction sites, shows which severe consequences a premature departure from the husband’s family home could have.

Maricela lamented in the interview:

“Sometimes they did not treat us well, the family of my husband. This is because my husband is from a different place. He is from Mitontic and I am from Chamula. Yes, yes! Yes, and there are problems with my mother in law, problems from gossiping. And so we started to fight, and I don’t know, we did not get along with my mother in law […] We are renting right now. We need to keep our money together, we need to keep our money together very well. Because the lack of work. My husband is an unskilled worker in construction. He is the helper of the bricklayers. The bricklayers earn well. But they just talk. And the helpers earn less.”

A further consequence of the family’s lack of family support and struggle with money was that none of her children possessed a birth certificate because in addition to the existing bureaucratic burdens there is a significant processing fee for issuing birth certificates. However, the possession of a birth certificate is a necessary requirement to enter school. Hence, so far her seven-year-old daughter had not yet started school and her two sons of five and three years could not go to kindergarten, despite Maricela’s great wish to send all of her children to school.

Interviewing participants about their living arrangements still revealed some further interesting insights. Please see Appendix F for a more detailed list of the living arrangements of child and adolescent participants. In this list differences in the household composition of street vending male and female children stand out. While among street working boys only one boy (8%) lived without parents but with relatives, almost 50% of the street-vending girls lived in households in which the father (37%), the mother (5%), or both parents (5%) were absent. Hence, girls living in household composition deviating from the ideal of a two-parent family with
the father as the main breadwinner might have been more prone to contribute to the family's economic survival by earning money through street work. A work in public space, which these days was not uncommon for Maya females but still was in conflict with traditional ideas and ideals about gender roles in the division of work. Ethnographic talks revealed in line with past research findings in Maya communities (please see Chapter 2, Literature Review) the widespread ideal for a woman to still operate predominantly in private settings (being engaged in household chores, childcare, and weaving) while males commonly worked in public.

Supporting this finding are data generated by interviewing adult Maya women about their household composition. Of the 20 interviewed women, 50% lived with their husbands and 50% lived without husbands. Of the 10 women who lived without husbands, five lived together with their children in separation from their husbands, four never had married, and one woman's husband had died. A closer analysis of the data concerning the household composition of adult women revealed that five out of the six interviewed women who were engaged in street vending (in contrast to owning a market stall) lived without husbands. This result could indicate that women, who had to raise their children without the help of their partners, faced greater economic hardship than women who were supported by their husbands. This could mean that street vending was an adaptive strategy of women and girls who lived in female-headed households and who lacked the economic support of a male breadwinner to assure the families' survival.

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15 Unfortunately there exist no complete data set about the living arrangements of male adult participants.
16 24-year old Maricela, about whose financially difficult living situation we reported above, was the sixth of the six street-working Maya women I interviewed.
The Role of Work

One of the biggest contrasts the families of the interviewees displayed compared with middle class Ladino families in SCLC and also with Western families was the central role work plays for virtually all family members older than nine years of age, in some cases even before. Depending on the specific family situation (e.g., number of children, one- or two-headed household) and an individual child’s ability and motivation, even six-year-olds made a significant contribution to the family survival by taking care for younger siblings, assisting with household chores, or even being involved in commercial activity.

Male Work Domains

However, similar to traditional Western middle class families, also in poor working Maya families it was ideally the fathers who served as the main breadwinners in the family household. Following is an overview of the working activities male adults were typically involved in.

Adult male working activities. Adult males predominantly worked as construction workers and unskilled laborers on construction sites (e.g., 43% of all fathers of all female teenage interviewees, 50% of all fathers of male teenage interviewees). They also worked as drivers, street- and market sellers for fruits, clothes or leather belts, chicleros (street vendors for chewing gums, candies, cigarettes etc.), mobile ice-cream sellers, painters, employees in taco or sandwich shops, sellers of illegally produced CD and DVDs, and carriers at local market places. Some fathers were also engaged in the production and sale of Maya craftwork,
mainly when the families possessed their own market stall for Maya craftwork. If the interviewee’s family still resided in a village outside SCLC, fathers were most often engaged in agriculture. Less mentioned occupations were: policeman, watchman, hairdresser, restaurant employee, mobile seller for plastic wares, or employment in the United States of America. Some of the interviewed adult males pointed out that they, in fact, worked several jobs: such as working as a watchman during the night and as a shoe shiner during the day; being engaged as a street vendor in SCLC but in agriculture in the home community; or working as a chewing gum seller in times of unemployment between two construction jobs. Almost all of the mentioned jobs for male adults had in common that they were characterized by being positioned in the informal work sector, low-paid, without a secure income, and without any health or pension benefits.

In many families fathers were absent or financially supported the family only on an irregular basis. Hence, it was not uncommon that children (first born sons and daughters more often than their younger siblings) stopped school prematurely in order to earn money necessary for their families’ survival. Children pursued part-time or full-time work, depending on their situation.

**Male teenage working activities.** Adolescent boys were commonly engaged in the following activities: shoe shining, selling candies (chiclero), selling pirate copies of music CDs, selling sandwiches, selling clothes, selling Maya craftwork, working as waiters and kitchen aids in inexpensive restaurants, working as carriers at local market places, assisting in their small family business, assisting their father in construction work, assisting their father in market sales, assisting their father in a
taco shop and assisting in mini-buses. The census revealed that shoe shining was the most common activity, and vending as a chiclero was the second most common activity for teenage boys, who worked in the city center. But also boys younger than 13 years commonly held full-time or part time work engagements such as those listed below.

**Male child working activities.** According to interviews and ethnographic observations child males most often worked as shoe shiners, chicleros, or ice-cream sellers, or they assisted in selling Maya craftwork, assisted father in construction work, and helped at home. However, many of the interviewed females reported that younger boys were less often engaged in working activities than their female counterparts. “They just play” was the statement of many female interviewees when asked about male children’s working activities. In contrast to those reports is the information provided by 48-year old market vendor Andrea about her oldest, now, adult son:

"And my boys sold chewing gums. My first son became a chewing gum seller when he was four years old. He started selling chewing gums. He said to me: ‘Look mummy, I also want to sell chewing gums.’ This is what he said. Yes, in those times selling chewing gums was a very good business."

During my ethnographic observations in the streets and in the home communities, I frequently noticed groups of boys (approximately age eight to 14 years) in public places playing soccer, cards, or coin-tossing games often for several hours in a row. In contrast, I never spotted groups of same-age girls being engaged in such sessions of intense and obvious play. This does not mean that I never saw girls playing. However, the nature of play was more unobtrusive, less scripted,
involved fewer playmates and occurred over shorter periods of time while being engaged in household chores and street work.

**Female Work Domains**

Despite the still persisting ideal of gender division in work, which relied on the idea that males commonly worked in public and females in private areas, nowadays a great number of women and girls were engaged in working activities outside the family home in order to assure the families’ survival. Below are listed the different working activities Maya adult, adolescent, and child females were occupied in according to ethnographic notes, semi-structured interviews, and the census.

**Female adult working activities.** Adult Maya females predominantly engaged in the production and sale of Maya artisan work. In more detail, 73% of all interviewed girls and 80% of all interviewed female teenagers named this as their mothers’ working activity. Among the interviewed female adults, 95% of them work as artisans of Maya craftwork. Virtually all of the interviewed adult women also held the main responsibility for the family household. They were artisans in addition to being homemakers who maintained the family home, cooked, did laundry, and took care of their children. Other common but less mentioned working engagements were agricultural work, being a market seller for fruits and clothes, producing candies for street sale, working in a restaurant kitchen, weaving baskets, and working in the United States.

**Female teenage working activities.** The working activities of poor working Maya teenage girls resembled those of their mothers. The girls were mainly engaged
in the production and sale of artisan work as well as in general household and child
care-related work engagements. They were also employed in foreign households, at
market stalls selling fruits or clothes, in shops, or in restaurant kitchens.

**Female child working activities.** Unsurprisingly, also for female Maya
children the most occurring work engagements was the sale and production of Maya
craftwork. Younger girls usually began with the simple artisan work pieces such as
knotted bracelets and belts. For example, in week one of the census (vacation time) I
counted two accompanied female children for every independent operatingly minor
or adult craftwork vendors.

A rather new female working activity, which was only mentioned by very
few interviewees but could be confirmed thorough ethnographic and census data, is
the engagement of women and girls in the street sale of chewing gums (candies and
cigarettes) with vendor trays. For example in week two of the census (school time)
there was one female candy seller for every seventh female craftwork seller and
evety fifth male candy seller. This job activity represents an interesting example of
females in an originally male work domain (sell also: *Cross-gender work
engagements*, p.103).

In summary, one can easily recognize that virtually all of the compiled
females’ working activities were positioned in the informal work sector, which was
characterized by low payment and instabilities concerning income and job security.
Among all 125 interviews only one woman mentioned that her oldest daughter was
employed as an accountant and one 12-year-old girl reported that three of her older
siblings (two males, one female) worked as teachers.
Another noticeable fact was that the female work sector seemed to be less diverse than the male sector. While women were mostly engaged in working activities which were tied to the traditional fields of work of Maya women such as housekeeping, food preparation, child care and weaving or embroidering, most men were no longer engaged in the traditional male work of agriculture, but now worked in a variety of sectors such as in the construction, transportation, commerce, and the service sectors.

However, all sources of data collection (ethnography, interviews, and census) also indicated that gender division in work among poor working Maya families was dynamic, meaning that the traditional borders between male and female work domains had become more open. The next section provides a more in-depth picture about the current state of gender division among working poor Mayas in SCLC.

**Cross-Gender Work Engagements**

This study took special efforts to detect existing dynamics in the gender division of work among Maya families. To this matter, I asked the interviewees about typical work engagements of Maya males and females of various ages (e.g., *What kinds of work do girls of your age do? What kinds of work do boys of your age do?* and the like).

Unsurprisingly, the results of these inquiries resembled the pattern of male and female work engagement existing in the families of the interviewees. For example, 68% of the 9-to-12-year-old females and males expressed that girls of their age typically are involved in the production and sale of Maya craftwork as well as in the assistance with household chores such as cleaning, cooking, child care, etc.
According to the same group of informants it was characteristic for boys to work either as shoe shiner or chiclero (candy sellers). Fifty percent of all interviewed female and 40% of the male children shared that idea. The census, however, revealed that Maya males up to the age of eleven or twelve years were even more often engaged in the sale of Maya craftwork (an original female work domain) than in candy selling. As we will see later on this - unconsciously or consciously - misperception of boys’ work engagements is representative for an overall distorted perspective on male work engagement in female work domains.

When asking Maya teenagers about their same-age peers’ work engagements, 46% of the teenage girls mentioned that girls of their age most typically work as artisans. Around 28% of male teenagers also thought that girls of that age would typically work as artisans. An almost equal number of 25% thought that teenage girls were commonly engaged in their families’ household chores. Most Maya male and female teenagers believed that Maya teenage boys mostly worked as shoe shiners (male interviewees: 15%; female interviewees: 18%), chicleros (male interviewees: 15%; female interviewees: 26%), or assisted at construction sites (male interviewees: 15%; female interviewees: 8%). These results were confirmed by the census.

Among Maya adults the predominant answer was that girls and boys usually learn the work, which was pursued by their mothers or fathers, respectively. Hence, also they thought it was typical for girls to be engaged in the family household or as artisan, and for boys to work as shoe shiners, chicleros, or assistants in construction work.
More interesting is the analysis of differences between adult and teenage females. Being engaged in public settings other than street and market vending of artisan work seemed to be more common for female teenagers or very young female adults than for adult Maya women. Work engagements mentioned as typical for teenage girls but hardly mentioned for adult Maya women were: assisting in clothing shops, assisting in any kind of other shop, selling CDs, selling books, selling *Bon-Ice* (popular ice bar distributed by franchises of a major Columbian company); and selling fashion jewelry. Ethnographic observations supported those findings. Most Maya females employed in small clothing and other shops seemed to be around 20 years old or younger. None of them pursued her work in her traditional Maya costume.

To better explore the boundaries between male and female work domains we explicitly asked participants what kind of male work would be also acceptable or unacceptable for women to pursue and vice versa. Typical male jobs, which were clearly unacceptable to be pursued by females, were construction work and shoe shining. Ninety-five percent of adult women, as well as 94% of all interviewed girls (children and teenagers) held a negative attitude towards women working in construction. Males of all ages also named construction work as an area that is exclusively pursued by men. The most common thought among interviewees was that women do not have the physical strength necessary to carry around heavy building material such as cement and bricks. According to all groups of participants, it was also improper for Maya girls and women to get engaged in shoe shining. However, in contrast to the variety of answers informants provided to argue against
females being engaged in construction work, most participants had difficulties with the expression of arguments against female shoe shiners. Only very few females noticed that they would feel “ashamed” doing that kind of work.

However, when we asked participants in a more abstract and general way if females can do male work and males can do female work, a rather diverse picture of different attitudes - allotted across all six interview groups - stood out (Table 6, Attitudes Concerning Cross-Gender Work Engagement)

Table 6. Attitudes Concerning Cross-Gender Work Engagement*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Children*</th>
<th>Attitude Towards Males in Female Work Domains</th>
<th>Attitude Towards Females in Male Work Domains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Positive: 78%</td>
<td>Positive: 11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negative: 22%</td>
<td>Negative: 90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>-**</td>
<td>-**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adolescent*</th>
<th>Attitude Towards Males in Female Work Domains</th>
<th>Attitude Towards Females in Male Work Domains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Positive: 71%</td>
<td>Positive: 53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negative: 30%</td>
<td>Negative: 32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intermediate: 16%</td>
<td>Intermediate: 16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Positive: 47%</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negative: 37%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intermediate: 16%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adults*</th>
<th>Attitude Towards Males in Female Work Domains</th>
<th>Attitude Towards Females in Male Work Domains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Positive: 57%</td>
<td>Positive: 43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negative: 33%</td>
<td>Negative: 33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intermediate: 10%</td>
<td>Intermediate: 24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Positive: 65%</td>
<td>Positive: 86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negative: 35%</td>
<td>Negative: 13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Each participant group referred to their age group.
** Interviewer missed question.
The numbers show that although it was still acceptable for Maya boys up to the age of 12 to pursue typically female work activities (Maynard, 2004a) this behavior became less acceptable with age.

However, across all age and gender groups, the numbers of participants who accepted such a behavior was bigger than the number of those who were opposed to it. For the work engagement of females in male work domains seemed to exist an almost opposite trend. Young boys found it mostly unacceptable that girls would do male work (90%). The boys gave reasons for this unequal attitude in cross-gender work engagements of children by pointing out that boys commonly assisted with household chores, child care, and the sale of Maya craftwork, but that girls could not work as shoe shiners or chicleros or assist in construction work. Unfortunately, the data set lacks the answers of 9-to-12-year-old girls’ attitude toward cross-gender work engagements. However, in ethnographic talks the girls also reported about younger brothers who helped with household chores and child care (even though to a lower degree as same-age girls). Also in these talks, the girls expressed rather rigid attitudes against females working as shoe shiners and in construction work.

With age male and female participants became more tolerant towards an engagement of females in male work domains. Hence, the majority of adults hold a liberal position towards female engagement in male work domains. Those two contradictory trends can be taken as indicator that the liberal perspectives, which are conveyed through urbanization and globalization developments, have already reached the Maya families but were not yet able to override the rather strict traditional norms concerning Maya manliness (Vogt, 1970).
However, more in-depth discussions on this topic disclosed that in reality in many families fathers and older brothers regularly pitched in by doing simple Maya craftwork, child care or household chores, especially in times in which men were unemployed, e.g., in between two construction jobs. However, this situation was rarely made public because this would make men feel ashamed (span. ‘Porque dan pena’; statement of a 13-year-old mobile street vendor). Another 13-year-old girl expressed it with the following words: “Men cannot be homemaker because they have to carry home the money. They work.” (Span. ‘Los hombres no pueden ser ama de casa es que traen el dinero. Es que trabajan’). Further inquiring of adult men about this situation revealed that some men assisted in household chores as well as Maya craftwork on a regular basis, while others pointed out that they perceived this kind of work as inappropriate for themselves. Interviewees also pointed out that such an untypical male behavior was only acceptable in the city, but not in the villages. When talking with adult females about male engagement in female work, the following insights came up. In particular, women who possessed their own market stall at the Santa Domingo craftwork market said that their husbands were also engaged in the production and sale of Maya craftwork. Other women admitted that their husbands and sons also helped with the production of Maya craftwork as well as household chores, e.g., doing laundry – but that they would only do this in private settings. Also these women mentioned that some males would feel ashamed if anyone would see them doing women’s work in public. My personal impression from the interviews with each of these women was that in most families, men were indeed engaged in female work domains but that each family saw this situation as
an exemption from the existing social norms about gender division in work. However, a female work domain, which was described as being exclusively for women by all participants, was the production of the Chamulan wool skirts (naguas) commonly used by Chamulan women and girls. There existed the overall opinion that men could not and should not make naguas.

Overall, the study results demonstrated a great diversity in the attitudes of Maya migrant in the question of gender division in work. Surprisingly, we could not find any gender- or education-related (and only very few age-dependent) patterns concerning this question. Instead, each participant group and, in fact, each person seemed to hold a very individualized mixture of traditional and modern ideas about gender roles in work. In addition, the study revealed that males in private settings males were very often engaged in female work sectors – but that this was often kept secret from the public.

One Maya teenage boy, who was one of the most educated participants of the sample, perfectly summarized this current state of transition and pluralistic perspectives, with the words ‘everything just changes at the moment’ (Span. ‘todo se torna en momento’). His words can also be taken as the quintessence of this section about the role of work.

**Sharing Responsibilities And Resources**

The following subsections evince how families and children’s daily lives were characterized by the need to assure the families’ economic survival, and how families realized this goal. A striking phenomenon, which characterized these efforts,
was the interplay of individual efforts and achievement with family cooperation and cohesion in regard to work, informal work apprenticeships, and resource management.

Learning to Work

As mentioned before in urbanized poor working Maya families, earning money to assure the family's survival was not parental responsibility only, but was shared between various family members. Of course, for children work engagement was dependent on the child's age and maturity level. In my previous study in SCLC about daily activities of street working children, I had found that in SCLC Maya children learned street vending through guided participation. Different from other cities, street engagement in SCLC was a process of gradual apprenticeship, in which small children participated in the work activities of older family members by taking over more and more subtasks of the vending process in accord with their own abilities. For example, they first carried around and offered small bundles of self-made bracelets, then they learned step-by-step further vending activities such as: how to arrange the items, how to make price offers, how to negotiate, etc. (Tovote, 2007). I made similar observations in 2009. Through their step-wise engagement children learned to successfully operate in the street environment before starting to work independently. Hence, for most children street work represented a continuity and not an interruption in their developmental pathway - as is often the case in other cities around the world. The just-described process of guided apprenticeship realized in a network of different aged family members (mother, sisters, aunts, cousins) was of special importance for female children. Their main work in the
street, the sale and production of Maya artisan work, was grounded the traditional engagement of Maya women in weaving (Maynard & Greenfield, 2005). Being able to work as artisans allowed girls of working poor Maya families to earn money in the streets in a self-determined manner and without at being as risk for exploitation. While in other cities girls and women working in the streets are at special risk to be physical and sexually harassed due to their femaleness and hence often lack the possibility to successfully support their families in street sales (Rumbidzai & Bourdillon, 2003), street-vending Maya women and girls were a common phenomenon in the streets of SCLC (Tovote, 2007).

**Multiple Earners within the Families**

Between ten and 12 years of age, many boys and girls started earning money on the streets without any adult supervision. Mostly in same-gender groups, consisting of siblings, cousins, friends or neighbors, the boys and girls operated completely independently from their parents, having full executive power over the selling process and deciding all by themselves about working times, working location, prices, reinvestments, etc. Interviews with older children and adolescents revealed that most of them decided all by themselves on whether they would like to go selling in the streets on certain days or not. This result is in line with Suzanne Gaskins’s (2003) reports about Maya child socialization on the Yucatan Peninsula. She calls it the ‘independence of child motivation’. According to the interviewed youth participants, very few of the poor working Maya parents in SCLC forced their children to work in the streets (exemptions to this rule have been found in families, which were troubled by alcohol and other forms of drug abuse by parents). Instead,
the youths’ decision for street work was heavily characterized by the high sense of responsibility they felt for their family. Different from their same-aged counterparts in developed countries, those children did not expect their parents to provide for all their living costs such as for food, clothing, or schooling. This attitude is expressed by 11-year old Cristina Guadalupe with the following words: “I like to maintain myself” (Span. Es que me gusta mantenerme yo solo). Like Cristina Guadalupe many children expressed pride about their ability to contribute with their work to the family income.

Moreover, most children were satisfied with their work engagement in the streets of SCLC. Fifteen out of 18 interviewed 9-to-12-year-old boys (83%) expressed that they liked the work they were doing. Just one boy (6%) stated that he liked it only ‘a little bit’ and two boys (11 %) stated that they disliked their work. Out of 16 interviewed 9-to-12-year-old female children 15 (94%) liked the work they were doing in the street. Only one girl, 10-year-old Laura, reported that she rather stayed at home instead of selling in the street. It was her position as the oldest daughter of a family with many young children, which forced her to follow the street work she would prefer not to do. In contrast to many of her street vending colleagues who came from families with several siblings of adequate age for street sale, so that the children often could choose whether they preferred to help at home or to sell in the streets, Laura was the only family member other than her parents who possessed the maturity level to operate independently in the streets.17 Another street vending girl, 12-year-old Cristina, revealed in ethnographic talks that she

17 Some days Laura would also bring along her mentally handicapped seven-year-old brother who due to his impairment, needed more supervision and assistance than other seven-year-old Maya boys.
liked her work in the street in general, but that she disliked that her unemployed, alcoholic father pushed her to sell more and longer than she would like to. Strikingly, also she was the eldest daughter of a family with three young children.\textsuperscript{18}

When the girls were asked for the reasons for their work satisfaction, the majority stated that they enjoyed the fact that they earned their own money, which allowed them to support their mothers or to pay for their school supplies. Ethnographic work also revealed positive “side effects” of street work, which the children could not experience to the same extent in their home communities: the opportunity to meet with friends for long periods of time; the opportunity to get in contact with the other gender without adult supervision; opportunity to self-determine the balance between working and leisure time (such as chatting, playing, resting); opportunity to buy their own food with part of the money they earned; opportunity to use resources provided by child-friendly organizations such as the local street child organizations \textit{Melel Xojbal} (Engl. True Light) and \textit{Chantik taj tajinkutic} (Engl. Playing in Order to Learn); becoming friends with benevolent local businessmen and women; receiving small gifts such as candies, pens, or small toys from tourists; getting invited for drinks, meals, snacks, or ice-cream by tourists\textsuperscript{19}. Teenage girls stated that they enjoyed the possibility to earn their own money, but many of them also pointed out that they just liked the work itself, i.e., to produce

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{18} Cristina’s family was one of the poorest of the sample. During a home visit I could see that their home was one of the most simple in the neighborhood. The health conditions of her mother and her two younger siblings were much worse than that of the rest of the participating Maya families. Relatives and neighbors confirmed that the father regularly physically abused his wife and his children after using their few earnings to buy alcohol.

\textsuperscript{19} This additional access to nutrition and health care is probably the reason why above-mentioned 12-year-old Christina was in better health than the rest of her family.
\end{flushleft}
something with their own hands, which they could then sell. Several of the teenage girls who previously were employed in shops and foreign house households (inside or outside SCLC) announced that they preferred to work in the street because there nobody would order them around or scold them, as had happened in their previous work places.

**Use of Income**

The independent character of children’s engagement as street vendors was also demonstrated in the use of their earnings. Even though most street working youth saw themselves as important contributors to their families’ economic survival, most children could keep at least part of the money they had earned in the streets for their own use. The extent to which they could keep the money and decide about its use depended on their overall family (economic) situation as well as their age and gender. Unsurprisingly, older youth possessed more independence than younger ones. It was striking, however, that boys commonly seemed to have more autonomy in the use of their earned income than girls. While a great majority of teenage boys stated that they would use the money to buy their own clothes, make savings, and to come up for other personal costs such as drinks, food, and school supplies, the most common answer for teenage girls was that they would hand over most of the money to their parents (most often the mother) and that in return their parents supported them when they needed clothes, food, school supplies, or other necessities. Moreover, even among younger boys and girls gender differences seemed to exist in regard to the autonomy of money use. While only 30% of the boys
said they would give most of their earnings directly to their mother, 65% of the girls claimed to give the money to their mothers and in some few cases other caretakers.

Ethnographic talks and interviews indicated that the difference between the two genders concerning autonomy in money use was at least in part related to the tradition that at marital age young men ideally not only need to be able to build their own house and maintain their future families but in many cases also have to hand over a bride price to the girl’s family. Some informants claimed that bridal prices between 10,000 and 15,000 pesos ($810 to $1210 USD) were common. Hence, teenage boys who had the intention to get married around the age of 18 years (the most often mentioned ideal marital age for young men) had some pressure to build up their own assets in order to be able to move on in their personal development.

**Coping Mechanisms to Economic Scarcity**

Despite the above described, economic adaptation strategies of the families, ethnographic and semi-structured interviews revealed that a great part of the poor working families were still commonly faced with challenges related to a lack of money, food, clothing, and basic household items. For example, among 9-to 12-years-old girls, 50% of the girls confirmed that their families ‘regularly’ lacked money to buy needed food, 43% of the girls stated that this ‘sometimes’ happened, while only 7% claimed that their families ‘never’ lacked the money to buy food. Sixty percent of the girls further mentioned that their families ‘regularly’ lacked the money to buy needed shoes or clothes, 20% said that this ‘sometimes’ happened, and only 20% reported that usually someone in their family would have the money to buy the needed items. Among adult women 77% said that they ‘sometimes’ did
not have the money to buy food, and 86% mentioned that they did not always have
the money for purchasing the shoes or clothing a family member needed.

Nonetheless, most girls and women claimed that at the end of the day their families could somehow gather the money to purchase urgently needed items. To do so, the families applied various coping mechanisms. The most common strategy was to have all earning household members to cooperate to purchase the needed necessity, e.g., food. The second most common mentioned strategy was that all household members intensified their working activities until they had gathered the money required for the needed purchase. “We first work and we then eat” was a highly internalized view, even among very young interviewees. If the nuclear family members were not able to come up with the money, many families turned to extended family members and friends to borrow money for short periods of time. However, not all families had relatives and friends living nearby who were able to help them out. Most participants expressed their rejection to borrow money from professional loaners, because of the high interest rates. It was striking that only families who owned their own market stall mentioned the possibility to buy something on credit from food selling merchants. Obviously their positions as stall owners - the status as well as the relationships that came with it - provided them with enough credibility to receive short-term credit. Hence, possessing their own business provided them with the indirect economic advantage to be considered as creditworthy in the eyes of other Maya community members.

Further listed coping strategies, which were connected to the family’s specific situation of need, were: ‘we just eat less, just beans, vegetables, oat meals
and tortillas', 'we repair the clothing or shoe as often as needed until we gather up the money'; 'we try to work harder'; 'we wait'; 'we wait for the holiday season which usually brings better sales', 'we try to save money in advance for those times'.

‘Living from hand to mouth' was how a 36-year-old market seller described her family's economic situation. Whatever money was left at the end of the day, they used to buy food. However, she also said that she felt more privileged then other women because she had a very supportive and loving husband, and the family actually could live from the income of two market stalls - her stall with Maya textile craftwork and her husband's one, through which he sold self-made leather craftwork.

All these answers taken together made clear that the families mainly relied on the following strengths and resources to cope with poverty: the family's (nuclear, extended) strong solidarity and coherence, the willingness of each individual (adults and minors) to work hard, social networking, endurance, patience and creativity in solving upcoming problems. However, the answers also brought attention to the struggles families faced, when one (or more) of the adult family members did not show family responsibility. In some of the participating families, one parent (most often the fathers) had left the family, or suffered from some drug or alcohol addiction and in consequence did not support their wives and children in any form. In these families the lack of solidarity, coherence, and sense of family responsibility among all family members, resulted in forms of extreme poverty.
Working in Shifts and with Multiple Work Engagements

Many families took further steps to counteract the instabilities connected to their working activities in street and market sales. The family of 17-year-old Mari provided a good example for the efforts families undertook in order to beat poverty. Mari alternately worked as artisan producer and seller, *chiclera*, or she assisted with household chores and childcare in her family of eight. Mari had a sister of 19-years and four younger male siblings, of whom the youngest had just turned one. I got to know Mari, who had an outgoing personality, because she frequently had built up her vending tray with candies, chewing gums, and cigarettes at a corner of the main shopping road in the pedestrian zone of SCLC. Most of the days, her eight-year-old brother was sitting next to her. However, in the late afternoon and evening hours I also saw Mari walking around selling Maya craftwork together with same-aged cousins and girlfriends. Then I noticed an adult man around the age of 50 standing at the corner next to Mari’s vending tray. When I asked Mari about my observation, she explained to me that her family would take turns in the various working tasks the family was involved in. When Mari started to sell craftwork in the streets, her father arrived from his daytime job in construction and took over the vending tray until the late evening. This gave Mari the opportunity to sell Maya craftwork in the early evening hours during which the city center of SCLC was most crowded by tourists. Many of the self-made belts and bracelets she sold then, she had produced during the daytime while she had waited for customers next to her vending tray. On some days, however, it was Mari’s older, more introverted 19-year-old sister who watched over the vending tray during the day. On these days, Mari stayed home to
help her mother with household chores and childcare, to produce Maya craftwork, or to follow up other obligations. While she usually liked to be in the streets selling (and meeting her friends), she also appreciated staying home on some days. Then her sister who more often chose to stay home took over Mari’s working activities in the street. On some very few occasions and usually for very short periods of time (rarely longer than 15 minutes), when Mary Mari and her sister could not watch over the vending tray (e.g., when they needed to use the bathroom, when they went to buy tortillas and the like) their eight-year-old brother was running the vending tray all by himself. Hence, the vending tray whose purchase and maintenance costs are not to be underestimated for a low-income family such as Mari’s, was operated in the street for a maximum of hours by four different persons, parallel to activities which also assured the family’s survival (the father’s construction job, the production and sale of Maya craftwork, the household chores, and child care).

Mari’s family was not the only family who operated vending boxes in shifts to assure the family income. I recorded at least four other families in the city center of SCLC who ran their vending boxes in a similar manner. Two of the families even went a step further than Mari’s family. In contrast to 2006, in 2009 I observed for the first time young girls selling chewing gum ‘like men’, meaning that the girls walked around, carried around their vending tray in front of their bellies, and actively offered their wares to costumers (Figure 9).
This male vending behavior of chewing gum selling girls (chicleras) was unseen in 2006. Back then girls and women would exclusively sell their wares as immobile, passive sellers. They would either sit or stand next to the vending tray waiting for customers to approach them instead of actively seeking contact with them. When arriving to or leaving from their daily work as chicleras they would carry the vending box wrapped in a shawl on their backs, the way Maya females traditionally carry around whatever they need to transport: children, firewood, groceries, handworks, or wares for sale. Interestingly, different from others in a traditional manner and dressed in traditional clothes, these 9- to 11-year-old girls would wear exclusively Western clothes such as jeans with T-shirts, or sweat suits, while selling. My street study in 2006 had revealed that even immobile chicleras were still
considered a new phenomenon in the streets of SCLC (Tovote, 2007). The fact that in 2009 some younger girls had started to conduct that work in a way, indistinguishable from males - mobile, active offering, wearing Western clothes - could serve as an example how females of poor working Maya families advanced their job opportunities. They gradually transcended the boundaries between female and male work domains in order to adapt to the globalized and urbanized challenges of city life. Concerning this phenomenon it is noticeable that all of the interviewed chicleras – whether they were involved in passive or active candy selling – came from families in which male family members had been engaged in street candy selling already for long periods of time. Hence, even though the women and girls appeared to operate as individual sellers on the first glance, their engagement was based on family tradition. The girls acted as a part of a collective (their families) in order to take advantage from the family's existing resources (vending trays, merchandise) and insider knowledge (best-selling locations, selling strategies, successful purchasing).

The working activity of street candy selling also displayed the diversity of value systems, which existed within the Maya community. While some interviewed male and female participants clearly identified candy selling as exclusively male activity, other male and female participants determined candy selling as a work activity, which was commonly pursued by both genders.

Another area of work, which was associated with a similarly controversial set of answers, was agricultural work. While some interviewees were convinced that agriculture was a work area, which could be pursued by males only, many others
stressed that males as well as females commonly worked in agriculture. These are just two examples, which represented the existing diversity in attitudes and forms of behavior, and which were arrayed between traditional and modern perspectives on the gender division in labor.

The results of this research testified that work engagement has a central role in the adaptation of working poor Maya families in SCLC. The families responded to challenges related to the city's capitalistic economy with a mixture of individual aspiration and family coherence. The families shared resources and responsibilities in order to flexibly adapt to the market and to make ends meet.

**Language Use And Intercultural Contacts**

To understand the families’ psychosocial adaptation and acculturation processes to the traditionally Ladino city of SCLC it was also useful to track down processes of language acquisition and use of Maya migrant workers. Family members had positive as well as negative intercultural contacts with non-indigenous people - another indicator of their adaptation or acculturation to city life. Table 7 indicates the distribution of the first languages of each interviewee group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Adolescents</th>
<th>Adults</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male (n=19)</td>
<td>Female (n=19)</td>
<td>Male (n=25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzotzil</td>
<td>90% (17)</td>
<td>90% (17)</td>
<td>68% (17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzeltal</td>
<td>10% (2)</td>
<td>5% (1)</td>
<td>12% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5% (1)</td>
<td>20% (5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7 reveals that the majority of 125 answering interviewees spoke Tzotzil as their first language, and that only very few individuals (between one and two individuals per interview group) spoke Tzeltal as their first language (nine interviewees in total). It is striking that even younger people who were born in the Spanish-speaking city of SCLC still spoke their family’s indigenous language as their first language.

Switching Between Languages

An interesting result concerning language use was that individuals and families frequently switched between languages in reference to the settings they were engaged in.

The interviews revealed that within the home Maya families predominantly communicated in their indigenous language(s) (Table 8). This was also in line with the results of another question we raised: Where do you most commonly speak Tzotzil? Around 74% of the male children, 68% of the female children, 57% of the male teenagers, 86% of the female teenagers, 50% of the male adults and 56% of the women stated that in their daily life ‘the family’ is the setting in which Tzotzil was spoken most consistently. But of course, they also frequently spoke Tzotzil in many other settings of their daily life: in church, in school, at work, in the neighborhood, with friends, etc. However, participants also commonly mentioned that in these settings it was more common than at home to also communicate (at least in part) in Spanish.
Table 8. Language Used Between Parent and Child

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Use:</th>
<th>Language Use:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mother-to-Child</strong></td>
<td><strong>Father-to-Child</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Children</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzotzil: 83%</td>
<td>Tzotzil: 84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzeltal: 11%</td>
<td>Tzeltal: 5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish: -</td>
<td>Spanish: -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzotzil and Spanish: 6%</td>
<td>Tzotzil and Spanish: 11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzotzil: 83%</td>
<td>Tzotzil: 69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzeltal: 11%</td>
<td>Tzeltal: 6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish: -</td>
<td>Spanish: 6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzotzil and Spanish: 6%</td>
<td>Tzotzil and Spanish: 19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adolescents</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzotzil: 79%</td>
<td>Tzotzil: 83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzeltal: 4%</td>
<td>Tzeltal: 4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish: 17%</td>
<td>Spanish: 13 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzotzil and Spanish: -</td>
<td>Tzotzil and Spanish: -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzotzil: 95%</td>
<td>Tzotzil: 75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzeltal: -</td>
<td>Tzeltal: -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish: -</td>
<td>Spanish: 5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzotzil and Spanish: 5%</td>
<td>Tzotzil and Spanish: 20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adults</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Tzotzil: 50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tzeltal: -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spanish: 33 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tzotzil and Spanish: 17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzotzil: 57%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzeltal: -</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish: -</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzotzil and Spanish: 21%</td>
<td>Tzeltal, Spanish, Tzotzil: 21%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The study results indicated that work was the setting in which Maya participants most commonly spoke in Spanish. For example, 71% of all interviewed boys stated that they predominantly spoke Spanish when working in the city center. For children and adolescents ‘school’ was the second most mentioned setting, in which they would frequently use Spanish. Other repeatedly provided answers were: ‘whenever someone approaches me in Spanish’; ‘all day long and whatever
moment'; ‘everyday'; ‘with friends'; ‘with extended family members who do not speak Tzotzil'; and ‘in church’.

Naturally, our next question was then, *where and how* the interviewees *had acquired the Spanish language* (Table 9).

Table 9. Acquisition of Spanish Organized by Source

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th></th>
<th>Adolescents</th>
<th></th>
<th>Adults</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Neighborhood</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Neighborhood</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other City</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alone</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First language</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 9 one can detect interesting differences between the different interview groups, which were obviously related to age and gender. More children than teenagers, and more teenagers than adults, had learned Spanish in school. Meaning that with rising age more interviewees had acquired Spanish not in school, but mainly through their work engagements in urban settings. Gender-related tendencies were also detectable. More male teenagers (30%) and adult men (39%)
than female teenagers (23%) and adult women (20%) had acquired Spanish in school. Interestingly, this difference could not be detected anymore between male and female children. Both groups displayed an astonishingly similar distribution concerning their Spanish language acquisition.

I further investigated the use of language(s) in the context of media consumption and school environment. During my ethnographic observations in the streets, at markets and at homes, I noticed that many families used portable radios receivers to listen to various radio shows while working. In SCLC there were several local Tzotzil and Spanish language broadcasting programs, so that families had a choice in what language they would like to listen to on the radio. Since during my ethnographic work it was not possible to determine in what language most families preferred to listen to, we asked about it in the interviews. The diversity in radio language consumption was confirmed through the results of the semi-structured interviews (Table 10). Overall, 47% of all participants liked to listen to Tzotzil as well as Spanish language broadcasting radio. Exclusively Spanish broadcasting radio shows were preferred by 36% of the participants, especially by male teenagers (69%), which at the same time also displayed the highest number of native Spanish speakers. Only 17% of all interviewees listened exclusively to Tzotzil language radio programs.

Another interesting context of language use was the school environment (Table 10).
Table 10. Language Preferences in Radio Consumption

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Spanish only</th>
<th>Tzotzil only</th>
<th>Both Languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Children</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male (n=18)</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female (n=17)</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adolescents</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male (n=24)</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female (n=20)</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adults</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male (n=21)</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female (n=20)</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite the fact that only eight percent of the participants spoke Spanish as their first language, 60% of all 87 inquired participants were trained in literacy in school in Spanish only, or predominantly (15%). This led to a number of 75% of all participants who learned to write and read mostly in a language, which was not their native language. Only around 21% of all students learned Spanish and Tzotzil in equal parts, which would be, in fact, the most adequate language training needed, given the needs of their everyday lives. Ethnographic work indicated that there was no single policy concerning the language of instruction in schools in SCLC. Whether children received a monolingual or bilingual education seemed to depend on the concept of each single school, or in many cases simply on the individual teachers’ attitudes or language abilities.
It is striking that during school recess the ratio of the use of Spanish and Tzotzil was almost exactly reverse. In the schoolyard 69% of the interviewed students reported to speak mainly Tzotzil and only 19% stated to speak only Spanish. At this point, we should point out that these results largely refer to the primary school settings the majority of the interviewees were attending at the time of the interview. Ethnographic talks and further interview results suggested that in secondary school settings (junior high school, high school) the language of instruction was almost always Spanish, and that secondary school students also mostly communicated in Spanish, or in a mixture of Spanish and Tzotzil, during recess. This situation was certainly related to the mixed-ethnic composition of secondary schools in SCLC.
Intercultural Contacts

However, also in primary school settings the ethnic composition of each school influenced whether the children mostly spoke in Spanish, in Tzotzil, or in both languages. The school’s ethnic composition was directly related to the ethnic composition of the neighborhood. Ethnographic work revealed that while some neighborhoods were inhabited by indigenous dwellers exclusively, e.g., la colonia San Antonio del Monte, other colonias such as La Hormiga were inhabited by Maya, as well as Ladino families. These observations were also represented in the answers male and female children provided about the presence of Ladino children in their schools. Around 37% attended mixed-ethnic school settings, in 11% of the school very few Mestizo children were present, while 52% attended schools with indigenous children only. All interviewed children also confirmed that they had good relationships with their non-indigenous schoolmates. In further inquires no youth could recall any race-related problems between Maya and non-Maya schoolmates.

Outside the school setting friendships with non-indigenous children were also not unusual. Only among adult women it seemed to be unusual to have non-indigenous friends (Table 11). In all the other interview groups having Mestizo friends was more common than not having any Mestizo friends. Among the group of adult women, those who sold at the market were more likely to have friendships with non-indigenous people than adult female participants who did not possess a stall. Of the six street-vending women five claimed to not have any non-indigenous friends.
Table 11. Intercultural Friendships

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Having Mestizo friends</th>
<th>Having No Mestizo Friends</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male (n=18)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>72% (13)</td>
<td>28% (5; 2 SJC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female (n=19)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>84% (16)</td>
<td>16% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adolescents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male (n=24)</td>
<td>67% (16)</td>
<td>33% (8; 4 do not reside in SCLC permanently; 5 do not go to school anymore)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female (n=21)</td>
<td>86% (18)</td>
<td>14% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adults</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male (n=20)</td>
<td>75% (16)</td>
<td>25% (4; 2 do not live in SCLC permanently; 3 no school)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female (n=20)</td>
<td>40% (8)</td>
<td>60% (12)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fact that for adults and youth interethnic friendships were very often related to work was also expressed in information provided related to the place of origin of the intercultural friendship (Figure 11).

Further analyses also indicated that the development of intercultural friendships was also related to the number of years a person's family resided in the city. For example, relating the existence of intercultural friendships among male indigenous and non-indigenous teenagers to the number of years the indigenous
boys’ families resided in SCLC led to the following results: Those adolescent boys who had intercultural friendships had lived on average for 9.4 years in SCLC. Those who did not have any intercultural friends had lived on average for 4.5 years in SCLC if only those are included who resided in SCLC at the time of the interview. If the sample also included boys who did not have any Mestizo friends and worked but not lived in SCLC, their mean of years living in SCLC was 2.3 years. Hence, one can conclude that the longer a boy’s family has lived in SCLC the more likely the boy was to have non-indigenous friends.

In our study we also intended to learn more about various forms of racial discrimination interviewees might have experienced in life or still experienced at the point of the interview. However, a surprisingly low number of participants reported negative experiences of that kind. One obvious explanation for this
phenomenon was that interview questions were raised in an inadequate manner, so that participants either could not understand the question properly, or if they did, they rather preferred to not answer it. Hence, we can provide only very limited data about experienced racial discrimination of the interviewees. For example some adult men and teenage boys reported that some Mestizo people would call swear words after them, saying something about their ‘color’, or call them ‘Indios’. One man claimed that he and his friends were betrayed for their salaries and badmouthed by some Ladina women in Mexico City because of their indigenous heritage.

I was surprised when I raised the question about the discrimination experiences of adult and adolescent females. Originally intended to inquire about forms of racial discrimination, many women and especially teenage girls used the question to vent their frustrations about the social and sexual forms of discrimination community they regularly experience within their own Maya community. Teenage Maya girls reported sexually offensive behaviors from Maya teenage boys and young men. Adult Maya women and teenage girls complained about made-up about rumors and gossips, which were based on their femaleness and which were threatening their and their families’ reputations.

**The Role of Formal Education**

The following sections reports on: the amount of literacy poor working Mayas of SCLC received; the different perspectives children and parents possessed in regard to formal education; existing obstacles that prevented youth from
attending primary and/or secondary school; and the underlying reasons for gender differences in reference to academic careers, in particular secondary schooling.

**Literacy & Schooling**

One of the most obvious and significant changes among different generations of Mayas belonging to poor working families, was the amount of formal education children currently received in comparison to the amount of education older generations had received. The below listed figures and tables concerning literacy and years of schooling clearly mirror this trend.

In line with the official state census the data indicated that literacy was highly related to age and gender, i.e., younger participants were more likely to possess reading and writing skills than older ones (Figure 12). Men were more likely to be literate than women. This last effect did not seem to be true any more for primary-school-aged participants. In our interview sample school-aged girls and boys equaled one another in respect to literacy knowledge. Among adult and teenage interviewees one can notice a notable number of participants who stated

![Figure 12. Literacy Sorted by Age and Gender (Percentages)](image-url)
that they could read and write ‘a little bit’. Further analysis showed that these persons most commonly attended primary school at some point, but had stopped school after around three to four years of schooling before they had obtained full literacy. Individuals who had attended school for one to two years only, were usually unable to read and write, unless, as it happened in the case of two teenage girls, their parents had taught them to read and write. Concerning the data about literacy of the adult sample we could derive some further insightful results. As mentioned above, 18-year-old men were overrepresented in the adult male sample. A within group analysis of the sample indicated the following: Eleven of the men stated that they could read and write properly (55%). These men had spent on average eight years in school. These men were on average 23.4 years old. Five men (25%) claimed that they could read and write ‘a little bit’. These men had spent on average four years in school. They were on average 33 years old. Four men (20%) said that they could not write and read at all. They had spent on average 0.5 years in school. They were on average 52.3 years old. The split of the male data by age showed clearly that with younger age the likelihood of being literate rose significantly. The same effect, but to a more moderated extent could be observed in the female adult sample. The women who claimed to be literate were on average 31 years old and went to school for 5.3 years. Among them was a 60-year-old woman, who attended primary school for only three years. However, I could observe her reading the Bible on a daily basis and she also confirmed to me in ethnographic talks that her well-developed readings skills were highly related to her conversion to Protestantism and less to the short years of formal education she had received as a
child. If we excluded this woman due to her exceptional behavior from the sample of literate adult women, the mean age of adult women with reading and writing skills was 25.2 years and the mean numbers of years of schooling was 5.8 years. Among the adult women of the sample who had basic literacy skills only, the mean number of school years was 2.3 years and their mean age was 30.3 years. The mean age for illiterate adult females of the sample was 36 years. They only had attended school for 0.13 years (please also see Table 12.).

Table 12. Number of Years in School Sorted By Gender and Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Mean years of schooling</th>
<th>Range of years of schooling</th>
<th>Never attended school (%)</th>
<th>Still attended school (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male (n=19)</td>
<td>4.4 (SD = 2.6)</td>
<td>0 – 7</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female (n=19)</td>
<td>3.8 (SD = 2)</td>
<td>0 – 6</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adolescents</th>
<th>Mean years of schooling</th>
<th>Range of years of schooling</th>
<th>Never attended school (%)</th>
<th>Still attended school (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male (n=25)</td>
<td>5.8 (SD = 1.7)</td>
<td>1 – 11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female (n=21)</td>
<td>3.9 (SD = 2.7)</td>
<td>0 – 9</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adults</th>
<th>Mean years of schooling</th>
<th>Range of years of schooling</th>
<th>Never attended school (%)</th>
<th>Still attended school (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male (n=21)</td>
<td>5.1 (SD = 3.9)</td>
<td>0 – 12</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female (n=20)</td>
<td>2.2 (SD = 2.6)</td>
<td>0 – 9</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*18-year-olds are overrepresented in the male sample.

Table 12 requires further explanations in order to draw a more realistic picture about the schooling of the child, teenage, and adult interviewees. First of all, one
should notice that the majority of the child interviewees and some of the teenage interviewees (48% of the males but only 14% of the females) were still in the midst of their school education when being interviewed. This means that they will display a higher number of mean years of schooling once they all will have finished their formal education. There was also a significant number of adult men who still attended continuing schools at the time of interviewing and hence will display higher mean years of schooling once they will have finished their educational careers (20%).

Our interview results pointed out that especially women and older girls fell behind in educational matters. While around half of the poor working teenage boys and a significant number of young adult men pursued schooling, this number was much lower among the interviewed teenage girls and women. Only three girls of the interviewed 20 teenage girls attended school, of which only one 15-year-old girl was a secondary school student. None of the interviewed young adult women attended or had plans to attend secondary school. There is the possible explanation that it was less common for females than for males to work in the street or market while attending school. However, a census conducted by the Mexican state (INEGI, 2005) also displayed similar disadvantages for females concerning education. Therefore, it became an essential part of our investigations to learn more about the reasons why fewer Maya females than males continued schooling.

**Motivations and Obstacles Concerning Schooling**

Hurdles to schooling existed not only for females, but also for males despite existing compulsory schooling for primary education in Mexico since 1917. Hence,
special attendance was given to the most commonly stated reasons that prevented children of poor working Maya families gave for not attending school. We, however, also looked at factors that fostered school attendance.

Even younger children were aware that the more formal education they acquired, the more likely it became to find a better work later as an adult. Virtually all interviewed adults stated that they thought that education was ‘important’ for their children’s future life. In line with younger and older children, adults pointed to better job opportunities educated persons had in general. Most parents thought that formal education would help their children to not have to work in the streets, which the parents related to a lot of insecurities and suffering. Very few adults also referred to the mind-opening effect schooling possessed. A 34-year-old mother, who never had attended school herself, expressed it in the following way: “[...] so that they don’t end up like me. But that there [in school] they open up their eyes a little bit. Yes.” (Span. “Que no son igual como yo estoy. Pero abren un poco sus ojos ahí. Sí.”)

The very same woman, a single mother of ten children, commented also during a home visit that she would rather prefer ‘to eat only vegetables and rice’ than to not send her oldest daughter to secondary school. She was one of two unschooled women in the interview sample who were exceptionally motivated to find a way to enable their daughters to receive higher education. Both women led a life characterized by poverty and without a chance to get any access to formal education for themselves. For them education was the only way that could prevent their daughters from following their sorrowful pathways. Also among male informants some individuals stood out for the great efforts they made in order to send their
children to school. A 45-year-old man made the following statement: “Yes. Well, if there is no teacher, we don’t know anything.” (Span. “Si. Pues, es que no es el maestro, nos no sabemos”). For another 35-year-old father of two children getting an education was ‘the most important thing in life at all’, because this provided one with the possibility to choose what kind of work one would like to get engaged in later on. Among the interviewees was also another 35-year-old father of five children, who repeatedly and passionately pointed out during the interview how much he regretted to not be able to support the further educational career of his oldest son, who is apparently very talented and had at age 14 already successfully graduated from junior high school (9th grade). During the interview the father did not stop emphasizing that his son’s school drop out represented only a momentary situation, and that he and his whole family made great efforts to save up the money necessary to send his oldest son back to high school in the upcoming school year.

However, not all adults displayed similarly strong motivations concerning schooling. One 22-year-old man claimed that going to junior high school would be ‘enough’ education for someone to succeed in life. Most adults stressed that their economic situation simply did not allow them to send their children to school beyond elementary school. One father underlined that sending his sons and daughters to school did not bring any immediate personal benefits for him, but only for his children. He, nonetheless, tried to send all of them to school at least for some time. Other parents referred to their children’s own decision to stop schooling. Those parents felt that they could not force their children to continue schooling and
that it mostly depended on their children’s own motivation to obtain formal education.

The reasons why children stopped attending school were manifold. Of course, poverty was the principal reason that prevented school attendance. Also most of the further stated obstacles to formal education were either directly or indirectly related to poverty. Below are listed the reasons interviewees named most commonly for never attending school or giving up schooling after a short period of time. The answers of unschooled 9-to-12-year-old interviewees were: I don’t have a birth certificate; my family does not have the money for the school uniform; I just don’t like to go to school; because my school mates used to beat me up daily; because my teacher did not like me and used to beat me regularly. Thirteen-to-17-year old interviewees provided the following answers: because I wanted to earn money; because I needed to earn money; because my school colleagues beat me up on a daily basis and I could not stand it anymore; my family moved away to work in Playa del Carmen; it was my own decision because I was bored in school; it was my own decision because school became too difficult for me. Several of the teenagers who had dropped out of school pointed out that it had been their own decision to leave school and that they had done it against their parents’ wish, but that their parents had not forced them to return to school. Adult participants gave the following reasons why they had not received any or only a limited amount of formal education. Thirteen male adults stated the following reasons: we lacked the money; I needed to start working; there was no school in my hamlet (in fact no
infrastructure at all such as streets, medical care, etc.); I did not have parents; I did not have a father; because my father died.

While most obstacles were related to poverty (69%), it was striking that 31% men mentioned missing parental (mostly paternal) support as an obstacle to schooling. The children lacked support because of parental/ paternal absence, death, or alcohol addictions.

Twenty adult women stated the following reasons for their lack of formal education: my family could not afford it; my mother had died; I needed to take care of my younger siblings; I was sent away from home in order earn money as a domestic servant in another household; it was my own decision to stop schooling because I wanted to earn money; I was not allowed to go to school because I was a girl; there was no school in my hamlet; there were many difficulties in our hamlet in SJC; we moved to SCLC so I did not continue school.

Also for women most school-preventing reasons were related to a lack of resources (54%) and missing parental support (16%). However, some women mentioned that they had not attended school because of their gender (16%). They were expected to stay in the home sphere, assisting with household chores and childcare instead of attending school (please read the following paragraph for further details on gender and schooling).

In this study we were also interested in finding out what prevented children who graduated from elementary school to continue with secondary school. Some of the 9-to-12-year-old already knew that they would not continue with school after graduating from primary school for the following reasons: we lack the money for it;
I am already bored in primary school; I don’t want to wear a mini-skirt; I am afraid to return late at night; I won’t be able to work; secondary school might be too difficult for me; I just don’t want to go there. When we asked them to speculate why children from other families did not continue schooling, the children came up with the following ideas: lack of money; lack of stipends. However, some girls also added that many mothers would not give their daughters permission for further schooling based on the fear that their daughters would prematurely become sexually active if they attended secondary school.

Teenage interviewees named the following reasons for not continuing schooling: we do not have the money to pay the inscription fee, uniform, books and other school supplies; I do not have a stipend; secondary school might be too difficult for me; because I still have to finish my primary school education; I stopped schooling before graduating from primary school; because I want to work instead; because I need to earn money (some further gender-related will be listed in the following section).

Female adults listed the following causes why the children of many poor Maya families did not attend secondary schooling: poverty; missing birth certificates; children’s lack of motivation and diligence; children’s lack of confidence; children’s wish to become a contributor to their families’ economic survival (especially in single-headed households); parental fear that children will consume alcohol and drugs; parental fear that their children will become victims of youth violence; parental fear of becoming alienated from their children; because parents had not attended secondary school, so they also did not want their children
to go to here. (Some further reasons adults mentioned are related to gender and are listed in the following section).

**Schooling & Gender Differences**

As mentioned above, poverty and a lack of resources were the most common reasons for early dropouts from school. But because all interviewed participants belonged to the same community of poor working Maya families, the inequality between male and female school attendance could not be sufficiently explained by economic scarcity only. Ethnographic talks in 2006 revealed that the belief that receiving an education was less important for females than for males was still widespread in the Maya community. In contrast, at time of the interview in 2009 an almost equal number of interviewed male and female children attended elementary school (please read above Table 12, p. 123). So we asked male and female child interviewees about the importance of schooling for the two genders. Interestingly, among male and female child interviewees, a very high number (89.5% of the males and 81.8% of the females) said that schooling was equally important for boys and girls. Two female child interviewees thought that school was more important for girls than for boys, and two of the interviewed boys thought school to be more important for boys than for girls. In this context we also wanted to know from the children *who knows better how to study*. The great majority of children considered boys and girls to be equally qualified, 94.5% of the boys and 58.3% of the girls. In fact, 5.6% of the boys and 41.6% of the girls claimed that girls were doing better in school (mainly because girls make less trouble in class). These study results indicate a shift in attitude concerning schooling and gender at least among younger children.
Ethnographic talks with a larger pool of child, teenage and adult-aged informants about the females’ educational aptitudes pointed in the same direction. Virtually all informants believed males and females to be equally intelligent and talented. So why do we did not find more girls attending secondary schools (junior high school, high school) among poor working Mayas? Most of the answers focused on risks related to the girls’ female sexuality and consequent negative outcomes for the girls’ societal status. Gender-specific reasons for girls not to attend secondary school were: necessity to fulfill the role of the homemaker or to assist full time with household chores and child care; resistance to participate in physical education, which is considered inappropriate for Maya females; resistance to the wear the required school uniform (many Maya informants associated the school skirt with a mini-skirt and therefore inappropriate to wear); resistance to long commuting between home and school without the presence of other family members; fears of commuting in the dark; fears of unsupervised contacts between the two sexes in mixed-gender schools; fears of disrespectful male behavior toward female students; fear of the social stigma and gossiping teenage girls experience when having too much unchaperoned contact with males (as is it is common in mixed-gender schools); parental urge to protect daughters from any harm (physical, social stigma, etc.); parental fear of unwanted pregnancies; lack of maternal or paternal permission to attend school (many of them were motivated by fear for the daughter’s integrity as a Maya woman).

The answers also indicated that it was usually seen as the duty of a girl’s mother to watch over her daughter’s physical as well as social integrity. Hence, from
the perspective of many Maya families, mothers who allowed their daughters to go
to school gave up some of the control of their daughters’ daily behaviors and social
contacts, and by doing so risked their daughters, their own, and last but not least
their family’s reputation. Mothers who allowed their daughters to continue
schooling were aware of those risks and in addition to their already strenuous
workloads, took great efforts to protect their daughters, e.g., by accompanying them
on their way home from school.

**Balancing School and Work Life**

The paragraph above focused on hurdles to schooling. The following section
will explore the daily life of children and teenagers who managed to work and go to
school simultaneously. While during my field studies in 2006 only very few street
working children and adults had seemed to be aware about school stipends
provided by the governmental program *Oportunidades*, in 2009 most people I talked
to knew about the program. Among the 9-to-12-year-old girls who go to school, a
high number of 73.3% participated in the program. Among 9-to-12-year-old male
interviewees, 50% were enrolled in the program, which paid money to a child’s
family for sending the child to school and medical health checks on a regular basis.

However, in order to come up for the costs related to school attendance such
as inscription fees, examination fees, school uniform, books, and school supplies, the
youth also needed to generate some money. Street work provided the possibility for
children to earn some of the needed money. A great majority of children and parents
confirmed that the children’s school attendance would have been impossible, unless
the children themselves contributed to the school costs. This situation presented the
children with the challenge to attend school at the same time while earning enough money to finance their education. This was in addition to the daily participation in household chores and childcare of many of the youth, but in particular girls.

Most 9- to 12-year-old interviewed school children attended school in the morning from eight or nine o’clock until one or two o’clock in the afternoon (91.6% of all interviewed male children; 86.7% of all interviewed female children). Teenage boys mentioned similar time frames for school and work: they go to school from seven or eight o’clock in the morning to one or two o’clock in the afternoon and arrive at their work in the city center at around 3 o’clock. A small number of children and teenagers attended afternoon schools and therefore worked morning hours during which the streets were less crowded with tourists, yet there were also fewer competing street vendors. In some families, some siblings attended school in the morning, some in the afternoon. Through this division, the usage of work tools such as shoeshine boxes or vending boxes could be optimized.

During the interviews with children who faced the challenge to balance work and school life, I noticed a very disciplined attitude toward work times. The sincere way the children could reported on their daily work times reminded me of clerical workers rather than school children. For example, 12-year-old Maria and her 10-year-old sister Pascuala informed me that every day, they would leave work exactly at six o’clock to catch the bus to their family home in the colonia Getzemaní.

Becoming curious by their firm statements and also a little bit suspicious, because I never had spotted one of them wearing a watch, I observed them and other school

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20 Due to the low number of school attending teenage girls, we did not inquire them about their school times.
children who had made similar strict remarks about their work schedule for several days in a row. They indeed stopped work at the mentioned time (maximally five minutes earlier or later), packed up their sale articles and tools and set off to the bus station like little office-workers at the end of a work day. They did not make any more attempts to sell when passing by tourists but proceeded with walking towards home in a determined way.

Furthermore, other street working school children who did not reside in nearby colonia, but in more remote places surprised me by their very rationalized reasoning about their work input and output. Using the high amount of time and travel costs to support their argument, they pointed out to me that it only made sense for them to come to work in SCLC at certain days. Different from children whose families resided in near distance to the city center and who regularly came to work in the city for three to five hours after school, those children who commuted longer distances came to the city center for whole work days only (e.g., nine to five o’clock). Hence, they would work days there was no school. These interview results were also confirmed through data we obtained from street ethnography and the street census (Figure 13). On the weekends more street working children were observed than during the week. Furthermore, during vacation time the number of children who worked in the streets in the morning doubled the number of children who work in the streets in the mornings during school times.
During vacation times\textsuperscript{21}, children who during school time did not work in the streets also came to sell. In addition, those children who usually worked as part-time sellers during school times became full-time sellers.

Part of my study was conducted during the summer vacation of 2009. In this time period the youth came to work between eight and ten o’clock in the morning and stayed very often until late evening. During vacation time children commonly doubled or sometimes even tripled their street working hours. The newly introduced artisan night market at the cathedral plaza contributed to this phenomenon. Triggered by the market activities in front of the cathedral the streets of the whole city center were crowded with tourists and child and adult street

\textsuperscript{21} Christmas and summer vacation are also tourist peak seasons.
vendors. In fact, different from my observations in summer 2006 during which the streets had emptied out significantly around sunset, in summer 2009 more adult as well as child street vendors offered their services until late evening (often until midnight) than during daytime. This change in work times between 2006 and 2009 was so dramatic that it led to some methodological troubles concerning my census records. While in 2006 I had stopped taking census data from street working youth after seven o’clock in the evening due to the low number of youth who had still been apparent in the streets, in 2009 I was unable to take an exact record of the children and youth after seven o’clock because of their high number and the difficulties to keep track of them in the emerging darkness. Despite the fact that I was unable to keep track of all street-working children at my counting round at 7pm, I still recorded one third more girls at 7 pm than at 3pm and 12 pm on the same day. During summer vacation time during in which much more children pursued street work than during school times anyway.22 Male street-working children also worked to a much higher number during the evening hours in 2009 compared to 2006. However, the 2009 census confirmed my 2006 census in so far that boys tended to work more in the morning and afternoon hours than after sunset (Tovote, 2007). In particular, shoe shiners (which still was the most common working activity among males) naturally pursued their work when there was daylight and clients paid more attention to the apparent cleanliness of their shoes. Hence, in 2009 the additional numbers of boys who worked in the evening did not work as shoe shiners but

22 My personal estimations were that one could add another 50% to number of girls who had worked during the afternoon hours of the very same day.
assisted in the sale of Maya craftwork at the nighttime market as well as in the streets.

The children’s manifold obligations and responsibilities related to school, work, and home workloads did not always coexist without friction. Many of the children admitted that they had skipped school on some days for various reasons. Even though the most commonly mentioned reason for skipping school was sickness, it was also common to skip school because of competing work responsibilities outside and inside the family home. Among 9- to 12-year-old boys the following mostly work-related reasons were mentioned: I have to earn money (50%); I have to help at home (20%); I have to watch my little siblings (20%); I get up too late (10%). For 9- to 12-year old girls the most common reasons to skip school were: I have to watch my little siblings (36.4%) (when their mothers were sick or were unavailable otherwise); I need/ I want to earn money (31.8%); I do not want to go (18.2%); there is a lot of work at home (9.1%); when someone in my family has died (4.6%).

The study was also interested in the support children received concerning their school homework requirements. According to ethnographic and semi-structured interviews many children could, if needed, ask older siblings for homework assistance. Fifty percent of 9-to-12-year-old girls could ask an older sibling – they would ask an older sister (35.2%), or brother (14.3%). Around 43% of the boys could also ask an older sibling for help (28.6% asked an older brother; 14.3% asked an older sister) for help. However, 35.7 % of the girls and 21.4 % of the boys stated that they did not have anybody they could ask for assistance if they had
difficulties with homework. Most often these children did not have older schooled siblings available in the household. Furthermore, 21.4% of the boys said that their teacher would help. For 7% of the boys a friend would help them. It was striking that only one girl and one boy each mentioned a parent as homework helpers. The girl claimed that she would ask her mother if the homework task was in Tzotzil and not in Spanish, but she also added that this rarely was the case. Another boy said that ‘sometimes’ his father would help. Hence, different from Western family settings (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2001), most Maya parents were not involved in their children’s homework assignments. Instead older siblings or teachers were most commonly approached for help.

Last but not least, I would like to point to some age- and gender-related differences concerning the wish to attend secondary school. Among 9-to-12 year-olds, 93.3% of all interviewed boys but only 60% of all interviewed girls expressed their wish to attend secondary school. Hence, one third more boys than girls wished to continue school. This was a surprising result given the above stated results concerning the children’s attitudes towards school qualifications. As stated above, interviewed boys and girls considered each other as equally qualified for school and they also considered school as equally important for the two genders.

Among teenage girls23 an even lower number had plans to attend secondary school. Only 33.3% expressed their wish to attend secondary school. Among the children and teenager who expressed the wish to continue schooling, many added that they were uncertain about its realization because of a lack of financial resources.

23 Unfortunately, there was no data set available about the wish of teenage boys to continue secondary schooling.
Only very few children claimed that they were ‘very sure’ that they would continue schooling because they had already discussed this matter with their parents, who were exceptionally highly motivated to support their children’s academic career.

**Maya Gender Roles in an Urban Setting**

With this study I also intended to learn more about existing gender roles in urbanized working poor families. An important aspect of this question was the extensively reported gender division in work (please see pp. 86). In summary, our investigations revealed that despite still existing traditional ideals about gender division in work, many work areas, in particular commerce-related working activities, nowadays were occupied by the two genders. Only very few kinds of work are still unacceptable for the other gender: such as working as a construction worker or shoe shiner for females; and producing the traditional woolen Chamulan skirts for men.

Further areas of life we selected to learn about existing gender roles were: the most common daily life activities; leisure time activities (including media use); car driving; dress style; gender equality in reference to decision making within the household; the distribution of power between men and women; and existing ideals about Maya manhood and womanhood.

**Main Daily Life Activities**

Ethnography and semi-structured interviews confirmed that for both genders of all ages ‘work’ played a central role in daily activities. All participants mentioned work as their primary daily activity. The next second important daily
activity for male children and teenagers was ‘school’ and at third place was ‘helping at home’. Whereas, girls and teenage girls listed their engagement in ‘household work’ at second place and ‘school’ at third place. ‘Playing ball with friends’ (soccer, basketball) was an activity that was mentioned by many child and teenage boys but never by any female participant. However, different from boys, girls commonly mentioned ‘talking to girlfriends’ and ‘going to church on Sundays’ as important activities in their lives.

Inquiries about daily work activities also showed that the majority of children were satisfied with their daily work. Among 9- to 12-year-olds 83.3% of the boys and 93.8% of the girls claimed that they ‘like’ the work they did on a daily basis. Only very few children, one girl and three boys wished to rather stay home or do another work. Further talks with these four children, showed that different from the rest of the street working children, these children lacked the choice of whether they would prefer to work in the streets or stay at home. The majority of the other street working children had siblings who also were at an age that allowed them to work in the street, so there was some choice within the family as to who preferred to assist at home and who went to work in the streets. In fact, several teenage girls complained to me that their parents would not give permission to work in the street as often as the girls wanted. While in some families, the youth decided all by themselves whether they liked to be engaged in street work activities, other families restricted their daughters’ access to the street either because they needed their assistance with household work and child care, or because they wanted to protect their adolescent daughters’ social and physical integrity. Even though street
working females were a common phenomenon in SCLC for many decades now, it nonetheless deviated from the still existing ideal of women being main stakeholders in the home sphere (and not in public settings such as the street). All interviewed adolescent girls (N = 16) liked their work engagement in the streets and often preferred it to household chores (100%). The attitude of teenage boys towards their daily work was similarly positive, 82.6% of the boys liked the nature of their daily work. Reasons for this were: that it provided them (and their families) with money; that it was fun; that they could spend time with friends; that nobody ordered them around (as some of them had experienced it in former job engagements in household, restaurants, and shops). As disadvantages of their jobs they mentioned the insecure income and that it could be very tiring on some days.

However, four teenagers did not see their work as positive. One boy did not like at all his work as a shoe shine. Three other boys found that their work was ‘more or less’ okay, given the fact that they did not have many other options to earn money besides studying. It became clear that especially males who attended secondary schools considered their street work engagement as a pragmatic, transitory solution only. Interestingly, we could not find a similar attitude among teenage girls, of whom the majority was inclined to pursue selling Maya craftwork in streets also during adulthood.

**Leisure Time Activities**

There were gender differences in leisure time activities. Child and teenage males most favorite leisure time activities were playing ball games with friends. This was followed by going out for walks, meeting and talking to other friends, and to a
lesser amount watching TV, reading, going swimming, doing homework and relaxing. Some of the school-attending boys pointed out that they considered going to work in the city center as part of their leisure time. This perspective expressed that for them school and studying holds the prime position among their daily activities and that for them street work was considered as an extra activity, done during leisure time. However, this attitude did not hold true for youth who did not attend school and who were engaged in street work full time. Young females liked to spend their leisure time playing with friends; talking and hanging out with girlfriends; going for walks and going to church, as well as watching TV.

My ethnographic street work during the first weeks of research prompted me to include TV use to my semi-structured interview guide. As we can see in Table 13, regular TV use had become part of the daily life of most poor working Maya families. Please read Appendix G for further information on the participants’ TV favorites. While most male participants preferred to watch cartoons, fight shows and news, female participants frequently followed a variety of telenovelas (Engl. soap operas). Most of those time-limited series dealt with fairytale motives such as Cinderella or Snow White, or contemporary, critical topics such as women’s emancipation, poverty, class differences, and racism. During the hours of ethnographic work with street working Maya girls I could overhear many lively discussions about the ongoing dramas of these show formats. Hence, the transmitted cultural values and gender images were certainly another influencing factor in the developmental and acculturation processes of Maya teenage girls. However, due to my limited language skills in Tzotzil, and due to the fact that
Table 13. Regular TV Use Distributed by Age and Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>“I watch TV regularly.”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Children</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male (n=19)</td>
<td>100 % (19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female (n=19)</td>
<td>68.4% (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adolescents</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male (n=25)</td>
<td>92% (23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female (n=21)</td>
<td>85.7% (18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adults</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male (n=21)</td>
<td>85.7% (18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female (n=20)</td>
<td>60% (12)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

during those usually very passionate discussions the girls usually switched between languages, I could only collect very limited data about those talks (which would certainly be worth a complete study topic in itself!). Boys and men, however, only reluctantly admitted to follow *telenovelas*. In their eyes *telenovelas* were women’s business. Only very few males stated soap operas as their TV favorites. Instead young males preferred to watch internationally known cartoons such as *The Simpsons* and *Sponge Bob* and as well sport and fighting shows (*lucha libre* (wrestling), karate movies, etc.). Both genders, but in particular schooled males, mentioned that they liked to watch local and international news. Overall more males than females of all age groups seemed to watch TV on a regular basis.
Driving Cars

Ethnographic observations and talks in the beginning of the study also had led me to ask interview questions about driving cars. In comparison to my research stance in SCLC in 2006, in 2009 I had observed more Maya women driving cars. I considered this development an obvious sign of women’s emancipation in SCLC. Hence, I decided to inquire with participants about their attitudes towards driving cars and especially about their attitude towards Maya women driving cars (please see Appendix H). Even though car driving was in the general public still considered a male domain and male drivers still dominated in traffic, our interview results showed that both genders had a highly positive attitude towards women driving. The majority of the interviewees welcomed women driving with arguments such as: it is the women’s wish to do so; women have the right to do it; women have the same rights as men; it’s a good thing for emergencies; in some families it is a necessity; this way women can show men that they are also able to do it; it’s good because it means a woman owns enough money to possess a car. The few concerns related to women driving cars circled around: the risk to crash (several of those participants had experienced family deaths due to car accidents); the acceptance of car driving women in the city but not in rural villages (e.g., SJC). Several participants of all interview groups pointed out to us existing differences towards women driving between urban and rural dwellers. In the villages, women who drove cars were at risk of gossip, rejection, and even violence. In contrast, this negative attitude did not exist in the city. Furthermore, I could not find any age or gender differences related to participants’ attitudes towards indigenous women driving cars.
Clothing style

One of the most obvious differences between Maya men and women was their use of modern and traditional clothing. While Maya men and boys had adopted Western clothing in their daily lives (Figure 14), Maya women and girls continued to dress in traditional clothing still were commonly seen in SCLC and especially in nearby communities.

This difference between Maya male and female dressing style had existed already for some decades in SCLC. However, recent years brought some significant changes in the dress style of Maya women. While most of the older Maya women still exclusively wore the traditional clothing, many younger women and girls nowadays preferred to switch between traditional and Western clothing styles (Figure 15).

However, there still existed various attitudes between different families and often even within one and the same Maya family concerning this matter. While in some families and for some individuals wearing non-traditional clothing was still unthinkable, others held a quite liberal attitude concerning female dress style and favored both clothing styles.

Overall, it was more common for young Maya females to use both dress styles - traditional and Western clothing - when compared with their mothers and grandmothers (Figure 16).
Figure 14. Male Maya Youth Dressed in Fashion Wear (August 12, 2009)

Figure 15. Maya Girls switching Between Traditional and Western Clothing Style (August 7, 2009)
While around half of the young Maya girls liked to use both dress styles, fewer adult Maya women liked to do that (21%). The census data confirmed those interview results. The 14-day counting revealed that around two thirds of the street-working female children and teenagers wore traditional clothing while working, whereas the last third went to work wearing Western clothing (vacation week: 67.5% versus 32.5%; school week: 60.1% versus 39.9%).

Hence, there existed some clear intergenerational differences concerning dress style. Also within the female adult participant group age differences were recognizable. The mean age of women who liked to wear both dress styles was 25.4 years. The mean age of women who preferred to wear only traditional clothing was 39.3 years. These results were also in line with statements provided by adolescents about their mother’s dress style: 93.3% of the girls’ mothers and 95% of the boys’ mothers wore only traditional clothing.

For those females who used both dress styles, the clothing style often depended on the context they were part of. Visiting relatives in the village, going to
church, going to festivities, or vending Maya craftwork were highly connected to wearing traditional clothing. On the other hand, going to school, doing laundry and hot weather were often related to the use of Ladino clothes. The motivations to not use Ladino clothes varied broadly. Some women and girls argued that they would feel embarrassed and uneasy wearing Ladino clothes, while others just simply lacked the money to buy that kind of clothes. In contrast, some girls stated that they, in fact, wore Ladino clothes because it was cheaper than traditional clothing.

Unexpectedly, my interviews revealed that those women who wore traditional clothing only did not hold a rejecting position towards a Ladino clothing style. Most of them just felt that it was not for them, and that they would feel disguised wearing it, but they actually liked to watch other women wearing that kind of clothes. Some of the girls and women, however, condemned it if indigenous women used an extreme form of Ladina clothing style, e.g., very tight fitting clothes, heavy make-up, and ostentatious jewelry, etc. These females thought that indigenous women dressing in that way wanted to look like Ladinatas but in fact ‘they look[ed] like indigenous women who do not know how to dress’.

Different from what I had expected, most parents did not determine which dress style their daughters had to wear. Around half of the parents of teenage girls (52.6%) left it totally up to their daughters, which dress style the girls preferred. In the other half of the families, parents wanted to influence their daughters dress styles, but in only 26.3% of the families did the parents hold a very rigid attitude towards Western clothing, forbidding their daughters from wearing it. In the rest of the families, discussions about adequate clothing seemed to be a common
phenomenon. While for very young girls parents very often did not mind having them wear Western clothing (e.g., dresses, sweat pants), some parents wished that their teenage-age daughters dressed in the traditional way. In ethnographic talks and interviews, I learned that in those families on some occasions the parents enforced their will, but at other occasions the girls did. Also some girls admitted that they would occasionally put on jeans and pants without their parents knowing. For example, 15-year-old Elsa confessed that at times she and her best girlfriend put on jeans clandestinely to go out for strolls.

I also tried to capture the male perspective of female dress styles by including interview questions about boys’ and men’s preferences in female dress style. In addition, I asked adult women about their husband’s preferences in regards female dress style. The following Figure 17 displays the results of those inquiries. Similar to females, there was wide variance in their preferences concerning female dress styles among male interviewees.

![Figure 17. Male Preferences in Female Dress Styles](image)
Schooling seemed to influence dress style preferences. Four out of five teenagers who attended secondary school preferred women to either wear Western or both clothing styles. Further analysis revealed that males residing permanently in villages and working only temporarily in SCLC preferred their wives and daughters to wear traditional clothing. It also should be added that many of the women I interviewed about their husbands’ preference for female clothing, used the occasion to point out to me that their own clothing preferences was their personal decision and that their husbands had only little saying in it.

**Distribution of Power Between Males and Females**

The original question (*Do women and men have equal power in household decisions?*) of the interview guide asking about gender equality and power distribution between men and women in public and private settings was found to be not well grasped by the interviewees and did not lead to any meaningful answers. Therefore, I simplified my original question by asking teenage girls and adult women “*Quién puede mandar mas - hombre o mujer?* (Who can command more - man or woman?). Among teenage girls, 84.6% of the participants thought that men could command more. Only two girls (15.4%) thought that men and women could command in an equal manner, and none of the girls mentioned that women could command more than men. Among adult women 73.3% of the participants saw men to be in command, and 26.7% claimed that both genders were equal in command. However, analyzing further narratives of the females concerning the power distribution between males and women revealed a more differentiated picture. About women in public settings, a 48-year-old market seller made the following
statement: “Well, in some meetings we have... the women have almost no right to speak. More the men. Yes, men more.” However, several women mentioned that within the household, decisions, e.g., concerning financial management, were very often made by both spousal partners or by the women, especially in families in which the woman also pursued a money-earning work. In contrast, another woman explained that since men ‘go to work and earn the money’ it was common that women followed men’s orders in the family home, e.g., serving them food, doing their laundry. A similar explanation to gender inequality in power distribution was provided by a 14-year-old, unschooled street vending female teenager:

“Men! Because it’s a man and because his wife is married to him and has a baby [from him], so that she cannot just leave like that. And with the baby and being married, she cannot leave.”

One woman emphasized the role her family’s conversion to Protestantism had on the gender equality within her family:

“Who can give orders? Well, the two equally. Sometimes the man gives orders, sometimes the woman, because it has already changed a little bit because we now listen to God’s word. Yes, because of the church. Before, only men were in command. The woman was nothing. Now it is already much better.”

After ethnographic talks with several market selling families who converted to Protestantism I noticed repeatedly the great influence religion had for their general value system as well a for their daily life decisions. In particular arguments in favor of gender equality, abstinence from alcohol and other drugs, as well as the emphasis on literacy, education, and hard work were repeatedly underpinned by these families with the need to follow God’s word.24 In other families there still

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24 Also in the semi-structured interviews, participants’ religious beliefs (mostly Protestantism) frequently gave reason to their attitude toward life, attitudes toward particular topics, certain forms
existed more traditional perspectives on gender issues, as the following quote from a 25-year-old mother of two, shows: “Men [have more rights]! I don’t know [why]. I think because they have more power in their hearts. Yes.” A similar explanation was delivered by a 14-year-old schooled teenage girl: “Men. Because they are men. They are strong. Because men are strong [...].” In all interview groups participants alluded to the great differences in gender equality that existed between single families. “We are equal. In other households...I believe men are [in command]. But in contrast in our household not.” (34-year-old female market seller). Two teenage male participants brought up in their interviews that the gender equality in power distributing, which existed within their own family, was restricted to their own households, and that in many other families, gender issues were still handled in a more traditional manner. In those families women still possessed less power than men. In addition, some of the younger participants brought up that existing age hierarchies in power distribution and decision making were at least equally important or even more important than gender hierarchies.

In interviews with female participants it also became transparent that local social organizations and churches had taught the women about their rights for gender equality as well as further human rights. However, several women pointed out to me that they struggled to establish those principles in their daily lives - within and outside the family.

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of behavior, and daily life decisions. Unfortunately, in order to limit the interview extend length of the semi-structured interviews, inquiries concerning religious belief systems and religious practices were taken out of the original interview guide. However, narratives during the interview process indicated that for many poor working religious families who migrated to SCLC religion played a major role in daily life decisions and activities.
Current Idealized Cultural Beliefs About Manhood and Womanhood

Adult and teenage interviewees were also asked how they would describe an ideal Maya man, or ideal Maya woman, respectively. In respect to their own personal life situations interviewees referred to different aspects of this question. Being aware that this question might be too abstract for some of the participants, I decided during the interview process to modify the question to ‘What characterizes your best (male/female) friend?’, whenever the interview partners had difficulties grasping the abstract concept of a ‘ideal’ ('good') man or woman.

Idealized manhood. Twelve teenage boys named the following characteristics of what they considered an ideal man: ‘he respects others’; ‘he does not fight’; ‘he does not mistreat others’; ‘he is usually in a good mood’; ‘he does not say anything’; ‘he does good things’; ‘he has a good face’. Some boys gave descriptions of what they considered to be a good male friend: ‘he cares for me’; he gives me good advice; ‘he does not force you to drink (those who do that are not your friends)’; ‘he helps you’; ‘he helps out with money’.

Interviewed adult Maya males (n=17) thought in the following ways about ideal manhood: ‘he uses proper talk’; ‘he behaves correctly’; ‘he is hardworking’; ‘he has a good mood’; ‘he is neither drinking nor smoking’; ‘he has a good face’; ‘he has good eyes’. Describing a ‘good friend’ three men enumerated: ‘he gives you advice’; ‘he does not ask you to drink, smoke or use drugs’. Interestingly, the two oldest males of the interview sample automatically connected ‘having friends’ to cigarette consumption as well as other forms of misconduct. In their eyes ‘having friends’ was
not desirable, instead they insisted one should focus on the family as well as God’s word.

Eighteen teenage girls shared their ideas of a ‘good’ man. For many of them it was important that a man knew how to talk properly (21.2%). Related to this around 12% of the girls mentioned that they appreciated it when a man greeted them and talked to them nicely when they met. One girl emphasized how important it would be for her that men do not use vulgar language. Taken together, around 35% of teenage girls’ comments referred to male speech behavior. Further comments circled around men’s willingness to share resources and to provide support (18.2%). For several girls it was important that a man made gifts to or invited a woman for drinks, snacks, food and such, if he was not yet married to her. A married man ought to share his income and resources (money, food, clothing) with his wife and family. For around 9.1% of the interviewees it was important that a man was hardworking, and that he also assisted his wife in household chores (especially if she became sick) (6%). Six percent of the girls pointed out that a good man should not physically abuse his wife or his children. Further comments referred to be affectionate towards women in general and (if married) towards wives and children. This was expressed in statements such as: ‘he likes and misses his wife’; ‘he takes his wife along when he goes out’; ‘he takes me for a walk’; ‘he likes his children’; ‘he is friendly with his family’; ‘he treats women well’; ‘he behaves like a friend’; ‘he does not tell lies or gossip about me’.

Adult women most often found the following characteristics important in men: ‘he treats women with respect’; ‘he talks nicely’; ‘he is not abusive’; ‘he
supports his wife and children financially'; 'he works'; 'he does not look for other women'; 'he is not drinking'; 'he is not smoking'; 'he likes his family'; 'he is calm'; 'he is friendly'; 'he helps at home'; 'he greets'; 'he pays attention to women's needs'; 'he cares for his wife when she is sick'; 'he understands his wife'; 'he is open to learn and help his wife'; 'he is Christian'. The age of the women seemed to play a significant role for what women expected from men. Women above the mean age of 33.7 years most often referred to men's obligation to maintain his wife and family, whereas younger women (below the mean age of 33.7 years) more often emphasized friendliness, understanding, affection, and respectfulness in their ideas about ideal manhood. It was also striking that all age groups of women warned of abusive men.

To further investigate about what Maya women criticize in men, I also asked female participants about negative male characteristics. The most predominant negative images about males among female teenagers were: 'hitting their wives and children' (17.9%); 'becoming angry, loud, and critical towards their wives' (17.9%); 'talking in a vulgar way to women' (7.1%); 'not supporting their families with money, food or clothing' (7.1%); 'getting drunk' (7.1%); 'looking for other women' (3.6%); 'staring at women but not talking to them' (3.6%); 'spreading gossip and lies about women' (3.6%); 'disowning their girlfriends or wives' (3.6%); 'molesting women' (3.6%); 'having a bad face' (3.6%); 'stealing' (3.6%); 'killing' (3.6%). In summary, in the eyes of females a man should talk properly, be respectful, supportive, hardworking, caring, non-aggressive, and drug-free.
Furthermore, I also wanted to find out about existing ideals about Maya womanhood among poor working Mayas in SCLC.

**Idealized womanhood.** For 13-to-17-year-old boys ideally a woman: ‘does not rant’; ‘knows how to do things’; ‘has a good face’; ‘talks nicely’; ‘has good character’. Adult men emphasized that they expected good women to: ‘talk properly’; ‘behave well’; ‘to be hardworking’; to have good character’; ‘to have a good heart’; ‘to usually be in a good mood’; ‘to know how to do things before getting married’; ‘to not drink or smoke’; ‘to have good eyes’. Further inquiries about the expression ‘know how to do things’ revealed that this term referred to women’s skills related to household management (e.g., cooking, cleaning, child care).

Teenage girls thought that a good woman shared her food, invited others for food, gave gifts to friends, and helped friends out with money (26.3%). She also should be friendly and talk in a friendly manner (13.2%). She did not talk badly or criticize others (13.2%). She socialized with female friends by walking with them while selling in the city, by returning home together from the city center, and by playing with them (10.5%). She was able to talk well with others (10.5%). She gave good advice to her friends (5.3%). She helped out others whenever she could (5.3%). Further comments girls made about the traits of a ‘good’ woman were: ‘she respects others’; ‘she greets’; ‘she behaves well’; ‘she treats others well’; ‘she cooks and takes care of the laundry of their husband’; ‘she has a good face’ (each 2.6%).

Adult expectations towards a ‘good’ woman can be summarized in the following way. A good woman was a hard-working woman who cared for her husband and her kids by cleaning the house, cooking, doing their laundry. She also
helped her friends with their work, encouraged them to work, shared her knowledge and gave food (or other things) to those in need. She had ‘good behavior’, was friendly to everyone, and she was not bossy. She was not looking for other women’s husbands and was not strolling around. She was understanding, talked well, and was easy to talk to. She smiled at you when seeing you, but she did not smile too much. She was calm, obedient, and she knew what she was expected to do. She also earned her own money so that she could contribute to the food and clothing costs for her family.

I also asked teenage girls \( n=19 \) about negative images of womanhood. In the eyes of the interviewed girls a ‘bad’ woman regularly criticized others (21.4%). Around 18% of the girls mentioned that they disliked it if women hit others (either other girls, husbands, or children). Also around 18% of the girls condemned it when women did not take care of their children properly, e.g., providing food, taking care of them, or mistreating them. Further negative stereotypes were: ‘does not talk to other women’ (10.7%); ‘quickly gets mad’ (10.7%); ‘has the evil eye’ (7.1%); ‘does not share food’ (3.6%); ‘yells’ (3.6%); ‘insults others’ (3.6%); ‘does not take care of her house’ (3.6%). Also 17 adult female interviewees provided their ideas concerning this question. Their answers were quite diverse, but circled around a woman’s dismissal to work and to care for her husband and children by not cooking for them, not keeping the house clean, and not washing the family’s clothes. Also from their perspective a 'bad' woman: ‘goes out a lot’; ‘spends the money for herself, buying unnecessary things’; ‘drinks’; ‘uses a lot of makeup’; and 'looks for other men'. Furthermore, they thought that women of that kind might end up with a lot of
children from a lot of different men. In the interviewees’ eyes it was also bad to be demanding and demand the husband around. ‘Bad’ women talked back instead of being obedient. They also talked about bad things, and did not show any respect toward their husbands. They carried around a lot of anger and had the evil eye. They did not greet, or talk to people, even when they knew them. They might even hit their husbands, if they were stronger than their husbands. ‘Bad’ women did not possess a forgiving character.

In some aspects the existing ideal of ‘womanhood’ was very similar to that of ideal ‘manhood’. Both men and women were expected to know how to talk properly as well as to be caring, non-aggressive and cooperative with family and friends. Also both genders were ideally hardworking. However, for men the ability to work hard referred mainly to cash-economy-based work areas outside the family home whereas for women it usually referred to household management skills such as preparing food and taking care of the children, and less to earning the resources necessary for family’s economic survival. Hence traditional images such as that of the man in the role of the main breadwinner, and that of the woman as the nurturing force of the family, were still highly valid among poor working Maya families in an urban setting – despite a different day-to-day reality in most interviewed families.

One of the most striking differences in the ideals about the two genders was that women but not men were expected to behave obediently and modestly in private and public settings. At home they were expected to follow their husband’s orders and they were also not supposed to talk back to them. In public meetings it was still considered unusual if women spoke up for themselves. But also here,
reality drew a more diverse picture. Most of the market stalls were owned and
operated by women. Husbands and sons most commonly assisted them in setting up
and dismantling the vending stands, and sometimes also helped vending, but
women were the definite experts and decision makers in the artisan business.

**The Emergence of Adolescence**

As already mentioned, upon my arrival in SCLC in summer 2009, I was struck
by the many apparent changes in the city life of SCLC, which had occurred since my
visit in 2006. One change, which stood out the most and which indicated some
significant ongoing societal change, were the many Maya adolescents who now
resembled in their appearance, demeanor, and forms of behavior, adolescent visible
in any other Western city around the world. When I now observed the various
groups of shoe shining boys and Maya craftwork selling girls on the plaza in front of
the cathedral, I could not help but notice some resemblance to the habitus and social
dynamics of adolescent groups and cliques of Western settings such as school yards,
school cafeterias, youth centers, etc. At the plaza of SCLC, where groups of teenage
boys and girls would commonly hang out, a lot of thoughts and activities circled
around the ‘see and be seen’, or ‘he said she said’, and questions such as *Who was
associated with whom? Who liked whom? Who was considered popular, good looking
and so on.* This is a quite remarkable phenomenon, given the fact that until recent
decades the phase of adolescence hardly existed in the Maya Highlands of Chiapas.

To capture current developments among working poor Maya teenagers we
gathered data in regard to the following topics of interest: appearance; intra-gender
contacts; inter-gender contacts; and leisure time activities. Ethnographic insights and current research literature on adolescence served as the basis of these foci.

**Appearance**

**Teenage girls.** During my census in 2006 I had not written down any female youth (between 6 and 17 years) or adult woman wearing Western clothing while working in the streets. Only girls beyond six years an age span, that was not connected yet to firm gender roles and expectation, could have been seen wearing Western clothing such as dresses, skirts, or sweat suits.

As mentioned above, in 2009 my census records showed that roughly two thirds of the girls worked in traditional clothes and one third of the girls worked in non-traditional garments. In addition, the girls and young women commonly spiced up their looks by wearing inexpensive fashion jewelry, tank tops, tight-fitting cardigans or jeans jackets. Maya adult women tended to be much more discreet in their appearance.

In addition, teenage girls tended to prefer more unique hair looks. While most adult women opinionated that a woman should have long hair, typically worn braided (63.2%), and without any changes in color, only 38.1% of the teenage girls preferred the traditional hairstyle.\(^{25}\) Instead, the girls liked to color their hair (and a significant part of them already had), liked to cut it shorter (but rarely shorter than shoulder length), liked to wear (or already wore) blond, white, or red highlights, and liked to (or had it) cut their hair with fashionable bangs (e.g. side swept bangs).

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\(^{25}\) A within group analysis among interviewed adult women also revealed that women with traditional hairstyle preferences were on average 37.3 years old, while those who preferred a more modern style had a mean age of only 20 years.
However, around 60% of all interviewed women held a negative attitude against their teenage daughters’ wishes to cut or dye their hair. Many of the adult females saw it as inappropriate, and as a waste of money. However, 30% of the women pointed out that it is their daughters’ personal decision and 20% of the women admitted that their daughters already either cut or dyed their hair without asking for parental permission. Adult women who possessed a positive attitude concerning a modern hairstyle of their daughters had a mean age of 26 years (33.3%). Among interviewed adult men resistance towards their daughters having a modern hairstyle was even higher, only one out of 16 interviewees liked his daughters to wear their hair in a non-traditional way. The rest, 93.8% of the men, argued: “that short hair looks bad on women”; ‘that it does not look normal’; ‘I just prefer women to have long hair; ‘that indigenous women do not do that, only in the city’. Also the men feared that other people ‘would think bad about the daughter’, and that people would conclude ‘that she hangs out in the streets’, ‘that she does not have a proper education’. The fathers also disliked that their daughters had modern hair styles because this was “against what the Protestant church allowed”.

Adult and teenage Maya females also differed from one another in the use of make-up. Eighty percent (16 out of 20) of the interviewed adult women never had used any make-up in their lives. Reasons for the non-use of make-up were: ‘lack of money’ (n=6); ‘because it’s against indigenous tradition’ (n=4); ‘because it’s not natural’ (n=3); ‘because indigenous women do not know who to use it’ (n=2); ‘because it does not look good’ (n=1). The four adult women, who stated that they used make-up, were 18, 18, 24, and 25 years old, with a mean age of 21.3 years. The
two 18-year-olds reported that they used it on a daily basis, while the 24- and 25-year-old used make-up on a regular but not on a daily basis. Among teenage girls 70% of the girls claimed to not use any make-up. However, the truthfulness of this result was may have been influenced by effects of social desirability and pressure. Hence, I also asked the girls how many of their girlfriends used make-up.

Concerning this more harmless question, 47.6% of the girls answered that their girlfriends used make-up regularly, 19.1% said that their girlfriends ‘sometimes’ used it, and only 33.3% of the girls claimed that their friends ‘never’ put on any make-up. Also 57.1% of the girls admitted that the parents of their girlfriends were not aware that their daughter used make-up. Another 21.4% of the girls stated that only some of their friends’ parents knew that their daughters used make-up.

According to the interviewed girls, all of their girlfriends had bought the make-up with their own money and without parental support or knowledge. Also ethnographic observations indicated that the girls themselves initiated make-up use. The girls encouraged one another to put it on, as the following excerpt from my field notes indicates:

“While observing the typical vending activities in one of the main shopping streets, the target-oriented walking of four Maya teenage girls catches my attention. I also hear them giggling and chattering quite excitedly. Moving at such a quick pace is very unusual among mobile Maya craftwork sellers who usually offer their ware to tourist by tranquil pacing that looks almost like strolling. An exemption to this habit occurs only whenever the vendors spot that a busload full of tourists disembarked somewhere in the distance, then young and old vendors hurry up to them. However, in this situation I cannot detect any arriving tourist group, so I follow the girls convinced that they must follow some kind of ‘mission.’ Then I see the little group stopping and circling around another girlfriend of them, 17-year-old candy seller Mari, who is standing at a street corner next to her vending box as she does many days a week. The girls talk to Mari (almost all at once) in an affirmative manner, maneuvering a red-colored lipstick into Mari’s hand. One girl also fetches out a small hand mirror, holding it in front of Mari’s face. Mari puts on the lipstick
hesitantly. After she finishes the job, she gazes at herself in the mirror for a few short seconds, before she vigorously wipes off the color with the back of her hand. Then she anxiously looks around if any other person besides her friends has followed her action.”

This occurred in particular during the short work breaks that the girls liked to spend in groups in nearby parks. There, surrounded by trees and bushes, which provided them some protection of the controlling looks of adult Maya sellers, the girls liked to exchange their knowledge about make-up use (Figure 18). Usually, one of the girls brought along one kind of make-up item (e.g. lipstick, eyeliner), while another girl contributed some other make-up utensil. The following paragraph from my field notes describes such a situation.

“Sitting in the shade of some trees behind the town hall building, 14-year-old Ana hands over an eyelash curler to Martha. Ana explains to Martha the purpose and the usage of the tool and puts it into her hand, while showing her the correct way to use it. With her second hand Martha fetches out a small hand mirror from her shawl. She then positions the eyelash curler at her eyelashes, presses them together for a few seconds and then eagerly watches the result in her hand mirror. Quite pleased about the outcome a big smile appears at her face and she passes on to her other eyelashes.”

Figure 18. 12-year-old Street-Vending Girl Secretly Putting on Make-up (08/22/2012)
The use of neutral and unflashy colored lipsticks or gloss and black eyeliner were the most common make-up habits of girls who regularly sold Maya craftwork in the streets of SLC during daytime. However, groups of street vending female teenagers (often 15 years and older) who explicitly arrived for street sale activities after sunset commonly arrived already all made up. Their make-up use was brasher - using more flashy colors of lipstick, and colorful eye shadow in addition. The daytime sellers often condemned this way of make-up as too extreme and inappropriate.

Further talks about girls’ and women’s make-up revealed that make-up use was much more spread in urban compared to rural settings, and that girls and women who lived in the city consciously adjusted their appearance when visiting relatives in the villages. Also it became apparent that often within one and the same family make-up use was handled differently among female family members. Twenty-five-year-old market vendor Deborah reported that only her oldest and her youngest sisters used make-up. Deborah and her two other sisters, in contrast, declined to wear any kind of make-up. Anecdotal data indicated that makeup use not only was related to age but also to the daily (professional or educational) setting a female was participating in. For example, in Deborah’s family the oldest sister had finished her educational career with a university degree and worked as an accountant, and her youngest sister just finished school recently.

In general, adolescent girls seemed to be much less concerned with women’s aim for modesty. Exemplary for women’s emphasis on decency, one adult 35-year-
old market selling woman pointed out that she did not want to change the natural look of her hair because she did not want to ‘draw attention to herself’. In contrast, a remarkable number of teenage girls made great efforts to attract attention through a fashionable dress style (this sometimes also included the use of high heels), fancy haircuts, and make-up use. Even the use of body modifications such as piercings and tattoos was no longer unseen among poor working Maya youths. Although not yet as common as among Western teenagers (only one of the interviewed teenagers used to wear a tongue piercing until her mother forced her to take it off), piercings and tattoos were a commonly discussed topic among Maya teenagers. In interviews with 21 girls, 13 (62.9%) of them had at least one friend who wore either a piercing or a tattoo. Around 55% (n=11) of the interviewed girls expressed the wish to also wear a piercing in the nose (n=4), tongue (n=3), lips (n=2); nose & eyebrow (n=1); eye blow & lip (n=1). Interviewed girls who did not want to wear any kind of piercings named as reasons: ‘I simply do not like it (n=6); ‘my parents won’t allow it’ (n=5); ‘it’s dangerous (n=1); ‘it’s not natural (n=1); ‘I would feel embarrassed and other people would gossip about me’ (n=1); ‘others would talk bad about me’ (n=1). That there existed a predominantly negative attitude towards body modification such as piercings and tattoos was shown in the answers adult interviewees provided. All interviewed men (n=19) rejected piercings and tattoos and would not allow their sons or daughters to wear one. In their eyes piercings and tattoos were associated with ‘belonging to a gang’; ‘being a gangster’; ‘being a prostitute’. Furthermore, adults thought that tattoos and piercings: ‘are against our tradition’; ‘simply look bad’; ‘are worn by vandals’; ‘are not good because God made our body and humans
should not change it'; 'look ugly'; 'are pure vanity'; 'go together with drugs', 'will make other people badmouth about you'; 'are bad'; 'were associated with hanging out in the streets and not knowing how to behave properly'. Adult women expressed similar negative attitudes (17 out of 19 adult female interviewees, 89.5%). They in addition connected it to a lack of obedience towards the parents, kidnapping, robbery, and that it would lead to punishment by God. One of the women joked about the 'poor perforated body' of the youngsters. Only very few women (two women at the ages of 18 and 24 years) could imagine wearing a piercing themselves. Another women believed that youth with piercings and tattoos might still be socially accepted, if people could see that the youth pursued a steady life by working hard and behaving properly otherwise. Also 85.7% of the women would never allow one of their children to get pierced or tattooed.

**Teenage boys.** Not all, but a significant number of young Maya males differed in their appearance from the generation of their fathers. A remarkable number of shoe shining and candy selling boys imitated with their looks global existing mainstream youth culture looks such as *skate style, hip hop style, gangsta style, emo style* or *punk style fashion* (Figure 19). While in 2006 almost all of the street working young Maya fellows I had observed were dressed similarly to their father’s dress style with any kind of slacks or jeans combined with polyester or cotton long-sleeve shirt or any kind of no-brand T-Shirt, now several of the shoe shining teenage boys pursued their work in designer clothes (or fake designer clothes) from internationally known skate and surf labels such as *Adio, Cidios, Etnies, Osiris, Quicksilver, Volcom,* or *Vans.*
Others took great efforts to present themselves with an *emo* hairstyle, which meant that the fringe usually covered part of the eyes and face. Again others took along headphones, connected to music playing cell phones, listening to their favorite music while pursuing their work in the streets.

However, in general teenage boys seemed to be less concerned about their appearance than girls and around 76% reported to wear just ‘normal’ clothes. However, 24% of the boys admitted to prefer to wear certain clothing labels or to wear a certain fashion style (such as the labels and fashion styles listed above). Interestingly, one young man who currently attended preparatory school and reported to just wear any kind of clothes criticized other young people who were overtly concerned about the use of designer clothes, and the thereby expressed
attitude. The young man’s attitude is also commonly found among other consumer-critical youth in Western settings. Having a fancy hairstyle was also less important for teenage boys than for girls (as it is probably in most places around the globe). Around 25% of the boys had friends who had dyed their hair or wore fancy hairdos (e.g., Mohawks).

Around 9.1% of the boys’ friends either wore a tattoo or a piercing. None of the interviewed adolescent boys wished to wear a tattoo or piercing himself. The boys’ and their parents’ attitudes were almost identical to attitudes held by the parents of Maya teenage girls (please see above). The negative stereotypes (being disobedient, criminal, lazy, etc.), which were associated with tattoos and piercings, was the opposite most interviewed young men intended to represent - to be an industrious worker as well as a responsible money-earning provider for their family.

**Intra-Gender Contacts**

The street working Maya adolescents also displayed striking similarities to Western teenage groups in respect to their demeanor. First of all, teenage boys and girls preferred to hang out in same-age and same-gender peer groups. Within these peer groups a lot of chattering, laughing, as well as friendly and sometimes less friendly rallying was going on. Each peer group tended to have specific preferences and habits such as to always meet and hang out at the same street corner, to have favorite topics to discuss or to share similar interests. For example, the series of gestures teenage boys used to greet and say goodbye to one another was specific for each male peer group. To welcome each other many youth around the world use a ritualized sequence of gestures (dap greeting). Particular gestures such as fist
bumps, wiggling fingers, slapping hands, pound hugs, were being performed in a specific and choreographed order by two befriended boys (or girls) of one peer group. A second great resemblance to other male teenager groups was the playing of footbag, better known under the generic name hacky sack in public settings such as parks, streets, or plazas. To play this game, the players form a circle and kept the bag moving around in the circle with the aim of keeping the sack from touching the ground. Worldwide, hacky sack is almost exclusively played by teenagers and young adults and therefore is usually linked to a certain kind of youthful lifestyle decoupled from the adult world.

Maya teenage girls also preferred to hang out in groups of girlfriends of roughly the same age. In these circles of female friends they liked to chitchat, clandestinely try out make-up, talk about soap operas and other topics of interests, or to dress each other's hair.

“In the early evening hours Reina (13 years); Elena (13 years), Ceci (15 years), Elsa (15 years) and sometimes also Alicia (12 years) are usually sitting and chatting on the stairs in front of a bakery in one of the main shopping streets of SCLC. The girls sit next to a small group of non-indigenous hippie street artists, who use the spot to plait colorful cotton bands into the hair of tourists for some cash. I can see that the girls enjoy very much talking to the young street artists and are quite excited when one of them offers to teach them how to do the hair decoration. One of the female street artists braids a colorful cotton string into Reina’s hair for free.

In ethnographic observations and talks I also learned that some of the female peer groups occasionally used their working times in the city center for strolls to the shopping mall Chedraui or at the grounds of the Municipal Recreational Center (CEDEM) at the periphery of the city. These strolls happened without the knowledge of their parents.
“Fifteen year old Claudia and her three girlfriends quickly store their sale items (belts, bracelets, scarves) underneath the set up candy vending box of Claudia’s older sister. The little group nervously looks around before they rush to the nearby bus station. Around two hours later I can spot the girls returning, grabbing their ware, and walking again the inner city streets of SCLC while offering their textile products to national and international tourists.”

Even though I never could not find out where the girls had headed to; if they had met someone there, or if they had purchased something, the observation fit very well with information girls gave at other occasions under the premises to not report it to anybody else about secret trips. I learned that it was not uncommon for the girls to use the relative freedom that came with street vending for leisure time activities with their friends, sometimes even male friends. Social workers from the inner-city street child organization *Chantik taj tajinkutik* presented to me some less harmless versions what some of the girls did while being unsupervised by their parents or any other adults. The concerned social workers suspected that a small number of girls abused the relative liberty they possessed while working in the city center to consume alcohol, smoke marijuana, or to sniff glue. Social workers reported that older Maya males mostly provided those substances and then abused the situations to sexually approach the young girls. I never spotted any of these situations myself, but I could not help but notice that some of the girls the social workers cast aspersions on for drug and alcohol abuse on several occasions displayed forms of behavior and looks (glassy or red eyes, talking slowly, slurring) which indicated them being on drugs. Independent from the social workers other street-vending girls expressed similar concerns of alcohol and drug abuse by the same group of girls.
Inter-Gender Contacts

Ethnographic records indicated that teenage boys and girls also used their peer groups and the public setting of their work to get in contact with the other gender. Following their work out of visible distance and unwatched by their parents or other adult relatives, both genders used the situation to exchange discrete glances and teasing. Some more courageous boys and girls also at times found opportunities to talk to each other. I myself served as such an opportunity. Being familiar to both sides and being an outsider at the same time, the girls liked to join me whenever I talked to some teenage boys of their interest. The same was true vice versa. If their parents or some other familiar adult would have spotted them in such a situation, they could have always made the excuse that their encounter with the opposite sex was related to my research work. I also noticed teenage boys approaching younger siblings of girls the boys had an interest in, in order to get the girl’s attention. In turn, the girls liked to pass by the shoe shining teenage boys many times a day. Furthermore, the fact that I had taken photos from the other gender brought some excitement to the different groups of street vending male and female teenagers. Guys tried to convince me to show them the pictures I had taken from some girls. Girls also constantly tried to get some glances at the photos of boys. At the same time, both genders provided me with a lot of warnings to not show under any circumstances their personal photo to the other gender. As a consequence I introduced a rather strict policy about the handling of each one’s personal photo. Only the person who was depicted on a photo was allowed to look at and receive the photo. I also decided to lay off my ‘photo service’ once the majority of interested
minor and adult street vendor had received their own photo as a gift and I had established myself in the street community.

Despite this publicly shown interest in one another, teenage girls never stopped pointing out to me that any guy was ‘just a friend' (Span. solo un amigo). Calling a particular guy a boyfriend (Span. novio) was something the girls tried to vehemently avoid because it represented a risk for the girl's reputation. She could get in great trouble once the news reached her neighborhood and family. However that not all 'friendships' between teenage boys and girls were totally platonic, as shown in the remark of 13-year-old Paula: “Juan used to by MY friend. Now he is not my friend anymore. He is now Maria’s friend.”

Ser novios (Engl. being boy and girlfriend) was accepted in the Maya community only for older teenagers or young adults, who officially had received their families' permissions to meet and who with a very high probability would get married to each other within a few months, or a year at longest. Defining the boundaries between the two terms of being amigos or novios played an important role in the teenage world of the working poor young Mayas of SCLC.

Testing out boundaries connected to mixed-sex contact was the purpose of a scene I observed once at the main plaza (Zócalo) of SCLC.

"At the Zócalo I spot 14-year-old Tere, about whom I had learned from social workers to be a somewhat rebellious Maya girl. She is standing all by herself around 5-yards away from a group of three, roughly same-aged teenage boys. Despite the somewhat ‘awkward’ distance between them, the girl and the three boys are engaged in a lively discussion. This goes on for around two minutes. Then one of the guys walks up towards Tere while she is backing off slowly, nervously laughing. When the guy reaches Tere he touches Tere’s shoulders with both hands and bends over to give her a quick kiss on her cheek. Tere comments on this behavior with mild, friendly protest but does not do anything to prevent his action. Immediately,
after the kiss the boy returns to his waiting friends and Tere and the group of boys rush of in opposite directions. Both parties giggle nervously.”

In the semi-structured interviews I tried to follow up these ethnographic observations of male-female teenager contacts by inquiring adolescent and adult interviewees about topics such as the acceptance of mixed gender teen-groups, their attitude towards teen dating, and the practice of having a boy or a girlfriend before marriage.

**Attitudes Towards Mixed-Gender Teenage Groups**

Virtually all of the interviewed 18 adult males welcomed teenage boys and girls meeting each other in groups without adult supervision. However, whereas younger men expressed their agreement to this practice without any restrictions, older men raised more pleas concerning those meetings. Their concerns focused on: ‘the youth needing to get parental permission first’; ‘to only walk and talk with each other and to do nothing else’; ‘to respect each other’; ‘to have only friendships’, ‘that this was only possible here in the city’. Those who agreed without any reservations were on average 22.6 years old. Those men who accepted mixed gender groups under reservations only were on average 37 years old. Teenage males mainly held a positive attitude towards mixed-gender group meetings. Seventy percent ($n = 14$) were in favor of the idea, whereas 30% of the boys said that it was not acceptable, mainly because their parents would not allow them to do it.

In contrast to this, 63.2% of the interviewed adult women expressed to be totally against mixed gender groups meeting without any adult supervision ($n = 12$). Their arguments were concerned about the following: ‘they do bad things such as smoking, drinking alcohol, using drugs, having intercourse’; ‘the youth cannot walk
without supervision’; ‘they do not have parental permission’; ‘our parents taught us to not do that’; ‘it’s not accepted in the indigenous community’; ‘people will start to gossip and badmouth’; ‘in our tradition men and women walk separate from one another’; ‘in my village girls only go with their mothers’; ‘boys go alone because they are men’; ‘they do not know each other, so something could happen’. Six of the 19 women had a cautiously positive attitude toward mixed gender group meetings (31.6%). They said that it was generally possible, but raised the following concerns: ‘they should just accompany each other and do nothing else’; ‘it’s good to get to know each other but one should not change boy- or girlfriendes one after the other’; ‘they need to have parental permission’; ‘they should not do bad things’; ‘they need to behave well and it depends upon what they would like to do together’; ‘they have to stay as a group’. Only one out of 19 women (an 18-year-old who had finished junior high school) thought that it was totally acceptable when males and female teenagers met as a group without adult supervision. However, she also mentioned that the youth needed to meet secretly because their parents would most likely not give them their permission.

Overall, most women argued that it was too dangerous for the teenagers to meet alone. Some of the interviewed women added that the teenagers could not yet understand that the above listed actions and risks could ruin their lives. I noticed that mothers were especially worried about their daughters getting pregnant before marriage. It seemed to be mainly their responsibility to watch over their daughters’ social and sexual integrity.
In difference to the generation of adult Maya women, interviewed teenage girls had predominantly positive attitudes towards mixed-gender group meetings (61.1%). However, also among them a significant amount of girls was worried about negative consequences. While 27.8% of them held a somewhat neutral position, 11.1% thought that boys and girls should not meet without any supervision. Their thoughts focused on: ‘the need for parental permission’; ‘to stay only friends’; ‘that my own parents would never allow it’; ‘to not do something bad’; ‘than many people think bad about it’; ‘it is okay here in SCLC but not in SJC’.

Unsurprisingly, in general, female participants regarded unsupervised mixed-gender group meetings as more critical than men, since most often females still had to worry more than males about their reputation in regards to their social and sexual integrity within the Maya community.

Different from my initial expectation, the attitudes toward inter-gender contacts did not seem to be directly related to age. Also no relationship could be found between years of residence in SCLC and attitudes towards mixed-gender contacts. The complex interplay of a person’s family history, religious belief, place of origin, neighborhood, education, personal experience, family structure, etc. seemed to lead to a great variation in the individual attitudes toward mixed-gender groups.

**Attitudes Towards Premarital Dating**

Concerning our next question - we asked if it was acceptable that a male and female teenage couple meets alone without any adult supervision (or the presence of friends) - the attitudes were even more diverse. However, some methodological issues made the interpretation of the answers difficult. One problematic aspect of
this question was that we did not determine to what age exactly participants referred to when answering the question. Hence, it was possible that one participant referred to teenagers as young as 13 years, while another talked about 17-year-olds. However, in the phase of adolescence an age difference of four to five years results in significant differences. Another problematic aspect of the question was that the answers to it represent an inseparably compounded mix of the youths’ personal as well as parental attitudes. Hence, numbers had to be interpreted cautiously and a more descriptive illustration of the interview answers seemed to be advised. Again, adult men held the most liberal attitude towards unchaperoned teen contact. Fifteen out of 16 interviewed men thought that it was acceptable that a teenage boy and girl met each other without any adult supervision (93.8%). Again older male participants formulated more reservations than very young men (33.8 years versus 24.8 years). Older interviewees, for example, stated that: ‘they need to be officially boy- and girlfriend’ (which means that they needed to ask for parental approval first); ‘that they go out together but only to talk’; ‘that they need to know each other before’; ‘that they need to think about their future and the consequences of starting a relationship (e.g. financially)’; ‘that this is only accepted in the city’. Around 45% of teenage boys thought teen dating was good per se, referring to arguments such as ‘then the youth have some chance to get to know each other’. However, also among them were several who raised concerns about the teenagers doing more than just talking and walking with one another. Strictly against teenage dating were 16.7% of the boys who thought that it was not good because the youth wanted to do ‘adult things’. The rest of the boys took somewhat neutral positions by
pointing out that: ‘the youth need to ask for their parent’s permission first’; ‘that their own parents would never give them permission’; ‘that their parents would give them permission; ‘that different people take different stances’.

In the group of interviewed teenage girls around 29% found it not acceptable for an adolescent boy and girl to meet alone. However, around 71% had a cautiously, positive attitude meaning that they generally liked the idea but that they related it to a lot of concerns. Concerns such as: ‘the need for parental permission’; ‘that most parents would not agree’; ‘that other people would think bad about it’; ‘that they youth need to meet secretly’.

Among adult women only one 18-year-old woman who had finished junior high school thought that it was socially acceptable for a teenage boy and girl to see each other without any accompany. The rest of the women were either totally against such a practice (60%) or was only cautiously positive (35%). Women belonging to the latter category thought that dating was okay if the couple had received parental approval and if the boy did not have bad intentions. In general, positive and neutral answers of women did not differ very much from another regarding the anxious remarks the women added. Despite their different answer behavior, they shared the same concerns. Both groups expressed in their arguments that dating could lead to many problems if the couple did not stick to certain rules such as: obtaining parental approval; being officially engaged; marry later on; being accompanied by a younger sibling. Interestingly, the attitude towards teen dating did not seem to be related to the women’s age, nor the time they had lived in the urban setting of SCLC. The succeeding list of negative and positive thoughts
demonstrates the most common concerns by opponents and proponents of premarital dating:

Negative attitudes:

“ It’s dangerous, it’s not our tradition. Yes, in church they can meet and talk and dance, because in the congregation they are different, they believe in God’s words. But they cannot go and walk all by themselves.” (46-year-old mother of five children).

“ We cannot go with men. You cannot do that because they think about those other bad things. You cannot do that. He will have one girlfriend like that, yes, yes. You cannot be all by yourself, others have to be with you.” (18-year-old, childless woman).

“I do not allow my daughters to go with boys. No! Because if they go and I give permission, then something could happen, and afterwards they won’t marry. I do not give permission to my daughters to walk just like this with the guys. No.” (34-year-old mother of four children).

“It’s bad because, look, if just the two go out, how does that look? I don’t know how to say that in Spanish, but it does not do any good. I will go with the girl. If she says:” Mummy, I want to look around, I want to go out for a walk.” I will take her, and I will go with my son as well. If my son says: “ I want to go for a walk, Mummy.” I take him to the park and do not allow that anybody looks bad at him.” (46-year-old mother of ten children).

Positive attitudes:

“Yes, if the boy and girl will ask their mothers and fathers, they can walk.” (35-year-old mother of four children).

“Yes, but only to go for a walk. Just walking is okay.” (60-year old mother of two adult children)

“With parental approval, yes. My mum has given me approval.” (18-year-old mother of one child).

Again the women’s personal perspective on this question seemed be very much an outcome of various individual factors such as family history, religious beliefs, place of origin, neighborhood, education, personal experience, family structure, etc.
In summary, what stood out the most, in the women's but also in the rest of the participants' answers, was the repeatedly stated requirement for parental permission. If and how teenagers can get in contact with one another (boy and girl, but also mixed-gender groups) was less a personal, but rather a family decision and was highly related to fears about the sexual integrity as well as the reputation of the young people. A second remarkable finding is the difference between male and female participants. Overall, females seemed to be more concerned than males about potential negative consequences of inappropriate male-female interactions.

**Attitudes Towards Having a Boy- or Girlfriend**

Based on ethnographic insights having an official boyfriend or girlfriend seemed to be a widespread phenomenon within the Maya community of SCLC. However, ethnographic talks revealed that the practice was still discussed controversially in some families and that the couple needed to have reached a certain age.

Among adult male interviewees around 89.5% (17 out of 19 men) thought that it was acceptable for young men to have girlfriends, or for young women to have boyfriends (85%; 17 out of 20 men). Interestingly, the only two men who did not agree with that position did not live permanently in SCLC but in SJC. However, the oldest participant of the sample, an 84-year-old, pointed out that it was a tradition in SJC that young men and women meet when the females bring the sheep to the meadows. For this occasion males and females dress up and present themselves to each other.
Most men demanded some minimum requirements for a couple to officially be together. These were: ‘they need to be older than 18 years old’; ‘they need to have parental permission’; ‘they need to have parental approval because indigenous people are not like Mestizos’; ‘if they are strict Protestants it’s not possible because in their eyes it’s a sin’. Arguments in favor of such a partnership were: ‘that it is only normal’; ‘that everybody seeks company’; ‘that it is necessary in order to find out your own taste’; ‘that it is the way they can get to know each other’; ‘that it is only logic’. Interviewed teenage males had a somewhat more conservative attitude than men. Around 30% of them thought that a teen male should not have a girlfriend and around 26% of the boys thought that a teenage girl should not have a boyfriend. The other boys who held a positive opinion (70% and 74%, respectively) pointed out that a guy or a girl should only have one boy- or girlfriend. The difference between the more liberal attitude of older males in comparison to younger ones, was somewhat surprising but was very likely to be a result of the above mentioned, different assumptions about the age of the couple. While adult men most likely referred to young adults when talking about being boy- and girlfriend, adolescent participants probably had their same-age peers in mind.

Most of the interviewed female participants thought that it was acceptable for boys to have girlfriends (79%). Around 67% of them also thought that girls could have boyfriends. Despite their mostly positive outlook many girls immediately came up with some restrictions: ‘the need for parental permission’; ‘to have only one and not many succeeding partners’; ‘that the couple should get married after some time’. Around 26.5 % of the adolescent girls thought that boys should not have an official
girlfriend and around 33.5% thought that girls should not have an official boyfriend. Again here it was striking that all three interviewed village girls were among those who held a negative attitude. Fears that led to such negative perspectives were: ‘the parents will not agree’; ‘the girl will be left and destroyed by the guy’; ‘she will end up with a baby’; ‘other people will think bad about the girl’.

Ninety-five percent of the adult women thought that a guy could have an official girlfriend and 90% of them also thought that a girl could have an official boyfriend. Similar to the other interview participants the women pointed to the strict rules a couple needed to follow when dating. These were that a guy should not have more than one girlfriend and that he needed to marry her later on. He first had to ask the girl’s parents for their approval and also had to treat the girl with respect. He should not lie or betray his girlfriends with other girls. One woman pointed out that here, in SCLC, men often treated girls without respect. In the past this practice of being boy-and girlfriend was not at all accepted, and in some nearby villages, this was still the case. However, it was now an established practice in the city. The women also emphasized that the couple should be older than 18 years. Similar to the interviewed adolescent girls, adult women found it (even) more important for females than for males to not deviate from the mentioned rules in order to protect themselves from harmful situations, such as betrayal, abuse through their boyfriend, unwanted pregnancy, or the acquisition of a bad reputation within the Maya community. Some women also emphasized that if a girl did not stay with the strict script she might be at risk of not getting married afterwards, as the following excerpts from interviews with adult females show:
“If a girl has a boyfriend, she better marry him. Better that they keep their word. People will talk badly if they do not get married.” (26-year-old street vending woman)

“Well, this is not allowed to us indigenous. Better that they marry afterwards. This is the tradition we have among us indigenous people. If a girl does not marry her boyfriend, she is almost lost. She might not get married (30-year-old market vending woman).

But also teenage boys had to be cautious to stick with the script for premarital couples as the following answer of a 46-year-old female market seller shows:

“No, because, look, if my boy wants to marry, I will go to the house [of the girl he wants to marry] and I will ask for him if he can marry the girl. So he gets along well with the girl and his mother in law. I do not allow him to just go out. Then he ends up having a baby and does not want to marry. So I think, poor baby, yes?”

In general, the choice of a romantic partner and the risks that were connected to it was an important topic among Maya youth. In particular, in ethnographic and interview talks with young women, this topic came up repeatedly and often was a matter of concern as the succeeding complains of 17-year-old Mari show.

“I don’t sleep well. The people always talk. Even though we are just friends, we are just talking. But the people are thinking...this is not a good girl...she is not a virgin anymore, because she is with her boyfriend a lot. Even though he is only my friend, but people think like that. Yes, it’s bad... No, no. Because of that I don’t know if I will marry him or if I should break it off. Or.... I don’t know yet...with another guy. Mmh... we will see how it goes. Right now we just talk, this is also what the guy tells me. Yes...je, je...these people from here. I often feel very bad [because of them]. Yes, I don’t like it here. And sometimes I also get angry because of that, because they do not tell the truth. They just think like that, and in reality I did nothing. We just talk like friends. But they already think other things...that he is already my boyfriend...that he is almost like my husband. I don’t know. Yes, I don’t like it.”

Various other girls expressed serious complaints about the problems they had because other Maya people gossiped or even spread lies about them. These
gossips and lies represented a serious threat to the girls’ and their families’ reputations as well as the girls’ future perspectives. The girls had to carefully consider their behavior towards the other gender and often became desperate to find the right balance between choosing the romantic partner they were interested in (as it was now common practice in the urban setting of SCLC) and having the support and involvement of their families at the right time. As already mentioned a wrong decision in this balanced act could lead to severe consequences for a girl’s current and future well-being. Of course, also young males had to find the right way in this life-changing decision. However, failures seemed to be less punished by their social environment.

**Life Goals Related to Family and Work**

Living and working in an urban environment did not only form the daily activities of the Maya families but also their future outlooks and plans. Hence, I was also interested to learn about the families’ ideas concerning the following spheres of life: marital age, family planning, professional aspirations of the youth, elder care, as well as dreams and wishes of children and adolescents.

**Marital Age**

We asked adult and adolescent participants various questions related to the topic of marital age. In case of the adult interviewees we asked them about their own age at the time of marriage and if their marriage was voluntary. Adolescents were asked about their parents’ marital age and if their parents’ marriage was
voluntary or obligated. All interviewees were asked about what they personally perceived as an ideal age to get married for males and females (Table 14).

Table 14. Marital Ages – Actuals and Ideals (in Years)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Age</th>
<th>Adults</th>
<th></th>
<th>Adolescents</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Age</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n=11)</td>
<td>(n=16)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parental Marital Age For Fathers</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(n=17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parental Marital Age for Mothers</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(n=17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideal Marital Age for Males</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n=20)</td>
<td>(n=18)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(n=19)</td>
<td>(n=20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideal Marital Age for Females</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n=18)</td>
<td>(n=19)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(n=17)</td>
<td>(n=20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Ideal Marital Age</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(n=15)</td>
<td>(n=17)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Interviewers missed question.

Around 91% of the adult men claimed to they had married voluntarily. Only one man, an 84-year-old who was the oldest male participant, admitted that he had been forced to marry his first wife, from whom he later got divorced. The mean marital age for adult men had been 18.4 years with a mode of 18 years (6 out of eleven interviewed adult males). Only one out of the eleven men had married when he still had been underage-- 16 at the time. In contrast, it had been much more common for interviewed adult females to get married before the age of 18. The majority of them claimed that their marriage was their own choice (93.3%). Only one 35-year-old woman admitted that her marriage was obligated and that she did
not have a choice, since it used to be a common practice in her community. Some women pointed out that there was a difference between community and city habits about marriages. In the city nowadays it was usually free choice but in rural villages forced marriages still happened. One woman explained that she got married in order to be able to stop working as a housemaid, which she had done at that point in time for the last four years. When she had started working as a housemaid she had been 10 or 11 years old. The mean age of marriage for women who answered the question had was 16.3 years, with a range from 14 to 25 years. Only three of the women had not been minors at the time of their marriage. At the time of their marriages they had been 18, 20, and 25 years old. Looking at the frequencies of women who had married under age, one could see that: four women were married at age 14; four women were married at age 15; four women were married at age 16; one woman was married at age 17. Splitting the female adult interview sample into two different groups in accordance to their age revealed the following results:

Women who were at the point of the interview 35 years and younger \((n = 8)\), married on average at age 17. Women who at the time of the interview were older than 35 years married on average at age 15 and a half. This difference indicates that even though the marital age had increased in the last decades, it was still common practice that women married underage.

**Parental marital age:** In addition to asking adult interviewees when they had married, we also asked adolescent boys and girls about the age their parents had married. Unfortunately, only very few teenage boys knew when their parents had married. Hence, no data set was available about the boys’ parent’s marital age.
However, 17 teenage girls were able to provide information about their parents’ marital age. For the girls’ mothers the mean age was 16.6 years and for the girls’ fathers the mean age was 19.4 years old. At the time of their marriages a striking number of 82.4% of the mothers had been still minors, whereas only 29.4% of the girls’ fathers had been underage when they had married. Only eight out of the 17 girls knew whether or not their parents’ marriage was a forced marriage. Six girls claimed that their parents’ marriage was forced whereas two girls said that their parents’ marriage was voluntary.

Interestingly, parental marital age seemed to have an influence on the children’s education. While the mean marital age of fathers of schooled girls was 19.9 years, it was only 16.4 years for fathers of unschooled girls. Maternal marital age, however, seemed to have less effect on their daughters’ education. For mothers of girls with a completed primary school education the mean marital age was 16 years as opposed to 15.4 years for mothers of unschooled girls. Possible explanations for this effect could be that older fathers were better prepared to care for the well-being of their children due to a higher degree of cognitive and socio-emotional maturity as well as a more stable economic situation.

Also there seemed to be a relationship between parental marital age and free choice in marriage. The mean marital age of mothers who were obligated to marry was 16 years, while those mothers who married by their own choice were on average 17 years old when getting married. Fathers who were obligated to marry were on average 15.5 years old, while fathers who could choose their wives themselves, had a mean marital age of 20.9 years.
Ideal marital age. We then also asked adult participants of what they considered as an ideal age to marry for their sons and daughters (and if the participant was childless we asked for the ideal marriage age for a young woman and for a young man in general).

Adult males were asked for what they considered as ideal marital age for their daughters (or young women). Here, the range interviewees named was from 15 to 30 years with a mean ideal marital age of 19.7 years. The mode ideal marital age was 18 years. Out of 18 men five named ages younger than 18 years. When then asked for the moving causes of their decision. They argued that: ‘it’s tradition in Chamula’; ‘the girls want it like that’. Arguments of those who advocated an adult marriage age were: ‘one should be older than 18 years’; ‘then they know how to think’; ‘then they are already adults and know how to think’; ‘when they know how to do things’; ‘they are more mature then’; ‘they have already taken care of their future and have a good job’; ‘those who marry too young, split up again’; ‘they need to study first and need to be adults and they need reasoning’.

Furthermore, we asked the adult male participants about their idea of an ideal marriage age for their sons (or young men in general). The mean ideal marital age was 20.8 years (almost exactly one year older than for daughters). The range was from 17 to 27 years with a mode of ‘18 to 20 years’. Ten men provided their motives for what they considered as an ideal marital age. All men argued for ages above 18 years. They enlisted the following reasons: ‘they like that age’; ‘they are adults and know how to think’; ‘they know how to think’; ‘they know how to do
things'; ‘they have money already’; ‘one is a man and knows how to maintain his children’; ‘those who marry young, often break up again’.

The same question about the ideal marital age for their daughter and sons (for young women and men) was addressed to adult female interviewees (n=19). When asked for an ideal marital age for females, only one woman mentioned an ideal marriage age of 15 to 16 years. Around 95% of the women named an adult age. The range went from 15 to 30 years with a mean ideal marriage age of 23.1 years and a mode of 25 years. Interestingly, schooling did not seem to have an influence on the perception of an ideal marital age. Those five women who had gone to school for four years and more, named an ideal marital mean age, which was very similar to the general mean marital age of the interview group. They named an ideal mean marital age of 24.3 years. Seventeen women provided some explanations for the ideal marital marriage ages they stated. Similar to male participants most explanations the women offered centered on the ability of mature thinking and taking on responsibility. The women also expected that older individuals were: ‘more capable to take care of their partnerships’; ‘to find work; ‘to earn money’; ‘to maintain the family’; ‘to care for arriving children’; ‘to do household chores such as cooking, cleaning’ etc. Some women thought that if a couple married too young daily life challenges might be overwhelming and could lead to marital problems. We also asked 18 women about the ideal marital age for their sons (young men, respectively). Also here the mode was 25 years, with a range from 18 to 35 years. The ideally perceived mean marital age for males was 23.7 years (only half a year older than what the women stated as the ideal marital age for females). In line with
these results, some women mentioned explicitly that the husband ideally was slightly older than his wife. Nine women came up with explanations to underpin the ideal marital marriage age they had mentioned. Their thoughts mainly circled around the lack of mature thinking and a missing sense of responsibility if young men married prematurely. The interviewees also mentioned that young marriages often led among other things to marital difficulties because: ‘the young couple does not have enough money yet’; ‘does not know how to work’, ‘does not know how to maintain the children and to manage the house’. In some cases, men also first needed to have enough money to pay the bride price for a future wife.

Nineteen 13- to 17-year-old males shared with us what they believed to be an ideal marital age for young males. They name a mean ideal marital age of 21.8 years with a mode of 20 years and a range from 18 to 28 years. No boy mentioned an underage ideal marital age. The interviewees enumerated the following reasons for their decision: ‘mature thinking’; ‘then they are already grown-ups’; ‘then he has already a house’; ‘then he has already good work’; ‘then he has already working experiences’; ‘then he has already saved up some money’; ‘at that age you make things well’; ‘then you do not waste your money anymore’; ‘then you might have a car’.

We also asked the boys about their personal ideal marital age. Most males would like to get married at age 20 (mode) and the range of the ideal personal marriage age goes from 18 to 30 years. Interestingly, the mean personal ideal marital age for boys who attended secondary schooling averaged 25.3 years, around 3.5 years higher than the general mean of 21.8 years.
When we asked the male teenagers what they would consider an ideal age for girls to marry, 17 boys answered the question. They came up with a mean age of 21.2 years for females, a mode of 20 years and a range between 15 and 28 years. Two of the 17 boys named a minor age as ideal marital age for girls. One of the boys underlined his position by arguing that ‘this is in our tradition’. The rest of the boys reasoned for their perspective with the following arguments: ‘she then has mature thinking’; ‘she is already grown-up’; ‘she makes things well’; ‘because people say so’.

Teenage girls in the age range from 13-to-17-years were also questioned about the ideal marital age of young men. The girls came up with a mean ideal marital age of 19.3 years for males. The mode was 20 years and the age range between 17 and 27 years. Only one girl mentioned a minor age (17 years) as a good age for males to get married. Her argument for this age was that she did not want her future husband to be much older than herself at the time of the marriage. This girl never had attended school because of a missing birth certificate. However, in general no relationship could be detected between the all interviewed girls’ school attendance and an ideally perceived marital age. Fourteen of the interviewees explained their motives in regard to an ideal marital age for men. Most of these explanations were based on the man’s role as provider and that he needed to have a certain age in order to be able to meet the requirements of this role. Six girls pointed out that a guy needed to be old enough to already hold a good job and to know how to work well. Three girls thought that men just did not like to marry early. Two girls thought that men needed to have some money first in order to be able to pay for upcoming costs. Two further girls also brought up the money aspect by pointing out
that the man had to pay a bride price for his wife. Another two girls said that the man should already have readily built the home for this future family. One comment each was made about the deficiencies of men, who married at a very young age: ‘they do not know how to maintain their children’; they not know how to maintain their wives’; ‘they do not know how to maintain in general ’; ‘they don’t know anything’; ‘they cheat on their wives quickly’; ‘they hit their wives’; ‘they are at risk for alcohol abuse’; ‘his marriage cannot be registered’. As an ideal marital age for females, the girls named a mean age of 20.3 years, with a mode of 20 years and an age range of 14 to 25 years. Unschool girls on average perceived that 20.1 years was an ideal age to get married. The ideal marital age for girls with at least six years of primary education was with 20.7 years only slightly higher. Fifteen girls provided arguments why it would be better for females to not be too young when getting married. Their main focus of attention was that a very young woman or girl ‘does not yet know how to do things’. With this expression they wanted to express that very young women did not yet know well: how to work in general, prepare food, clean the house, do the laundry, or care for their children. It was striking that most of these concerns referred to shortcomings on the behavioral level. However, one girl also referred with the comment ‘she does not know how to think yet’ to a lack of mature thinking - hence a deficiency on the cognitive level. Another girl used the wording ‘a girl at my age is not yet ready for a relationship’, to point out to the risks of emotional immaturity. Two girls brought up that teenage girls were still legally minors and therefore should not get married. Four of the girls held a very tolerant position towards early marriages and thought it was okay for others to do so, while
they personally preferred to be older and not marry in the very near future. Furthermore, there was a interesting distinction between school and unschooled girls: while schooled girls also considered cognitive, emotional, and legal aspects in their considerations about the risks of untimely marriages, unschooled girls exclusively referred to the inability to conduct proper work in the household (cleaning, food preparation, etc.).

When I asked the teenage girls about the age they personally preferred to get married, they came up with a mean age of 20.3 years. The range went from 17 to 25 years. The mode for the personal ideal marriage age was 20 years. However, five of the 17 girls did not want to marry at all. It was striking that three of these marriage-rejecting girls were momentarily at risk of getting married against their own will. The first of these five girls tried at the time of the interview to cancel an forced marriage with her same-age stepbrother. She believed but was not sure that her father would understand her situation and that he would give her more time to decide whether or not she really would like to marry her stepbrother, despite her thoughts of him as a nice person. The second girl was married to a boy by her father shortly after the interview had been conducted. She and her husband both were 13 or 14 years old at the time of marriage. The third girl already knew for sure that her family would obligate her to get married in the near future. About the fourth girl: two of the interviewed social workers who had known the girl for years were convinced that this girl had been sexually abused while working as a domestic servant in the city of Puebla. The fifth girl did not want to marry, because she thought that men were ‘bad’. She was best friends with the two former girls (the
third and the fourth girl) so she might have shared the knowledge about her girlfriends’ difficult situations and hence held a negative attitude towards marriage as well.

The interview results indicated that there might exist a relationship between a girl's education and her personal ideal marital age. Among the eight girls who finished primary school, four mentioned their personal ideal marriage age. The mean preferred marital age for them was 21.7 years. Whereas the personal mean marital age for girls with no or only very few years of schooling (less than 3 years) was 18.9, almost three years younger.

In summary, the great majority of all six different participant groups argued for a marital age of around 20 years and older. From their perspective it was questionable if men and women much younger than the mentioned age, possessed enough maturity, practical knowledge and economic resources to manage a successful marriage and parenthood. In line with existing gender roles and gender division in work, males who wanted to get married were expected to be able to fulfill the role of the family's breadwinner, while females foremost should possess sufficient nurturing and household skills in order to successfully manage the household and child care.

Comparing the mentioned ideal marital ages with the reported actual marital ages of interviewed adults and parents of interviewed youth, it was noticeable that most participants suggested ideal marital ages, which were much higher than the actual marital ages. In particular, adult women of whom the majority had been married underage (around age 16) advocated a much higher marital age. Frequently,
they supported their argument with their own negative experiences of marriage at a very young age. The most striking difference, however, was that in the eyes of the interviewees nowadays it did not seem desirable anymore to have girls get married underage. All participant groups named an above age marital age as desirable. However the reality that underage marriages were still commonly happening, was expressed by the fact that around 53.3% of the interviewed teenage girls who had at least one female friend who got married underage (between 13 and 16 years). Together with my family I was invited to such a wedding. The 15-year-old sister of one of my interviewees married a 17-year-old young man (Figure 20). The wedding ceremony was, however, kept in a private setting (the family home) without any civil or church ceremony. However, a present church and community leader (of the

Figure 20. An Underage Maya Bridal Couple at their Wedding
colonia San Antonio del Monte) accompanied and blessed the wedding. Ethnographic talks revealed that the young couple planned to get married officially later on, but that both families had settled on getting the young couple married rather quickly. The teenage boy and girl had started to show interests into one another four to six months earlier, and both families preferred to bring this relationship to an official, socially acceptable level. Soon after the wedding the bride moved in with the husband’s family.

**Family Planning**

I was also interested in the family planning ideas of poor working Mayas of various ages (Table 15).

| **Table 15. Family Planning – Actual and Ideal Number of Children per Family** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Adults** | **Adolescents** |
| **Male** | **Female** | **Male** | **Female** |
| **Current Mean Number of Own Children** | 4.6 | 3.5 | N.A. | N.A. |
| (n=21) | (n=20) | | |
| **Range of Current Number of Own Children** | 0 - 7 | 0 - 10 | N.A. | N.A. |
| (n=21) | (n=20) | | |
| **Mean Ideal Number of Children per family** | 3.2 | 3.6 | 2.7 | 3.6 |
| (n=13) | (n=19) | (n=16) | (n=20) |
| **Range of Ideal Number of Children Per Family** | 2 – 6 | 2 – 6 | 1 – 5 | 2 – 8 |
| (n=13) | (n=19) | (n=16) | (n=20) |

**Adult males.** Thirteen adult men answered the question about how many children per family they considered ideal (or how many grandchildren per family they considered ideal). The ideal mean number was 3.2 children per family. The most common answer was 2-3 children per family (mode), with a range between
two and six children. Currently, the men had on average 4.6 children, with a range from zero to seven children per family.

**Adult females.** Nineteen adult women answered the question about how many children per family they considered as ideal. The range of the ideal perceived number of children was between two and six children. The average number of preferred children or grandchildren per family was 3.6 children. This number was almost identical with the average number of the children the interviewed women had at the time of the interview. However, because some of the interviewed women were still very young, one could assume that the final average number of children would be much higher at the end of the reproductive phase of all interviewed women. It was striking that the only two women of the sample who finished primary schooling, both strongly advocated having only two children per family. Women with no schooling or hardly any schooling (<1 year), in contrast, saw on average 4.1 children as an ideal number of children per family, twice as high as the number of children schooled women perceived as ideal. Fifteen women also provided explanations for their answers. Most women referred to the financial burden, which was connected to a high number of children per family. Families with a lot of children had higher needs for money, food, shelter, and land. But the women also talked about how much responsibility it was to have many children and that one could not care well for all of them if there were too many children. If a woman had too many children, the children did not ‘get good instruction’ and ‘get sick more often’, were the arguments of two further interviewees. Those children were more likely to suffer during childhood. The women also reported that mothers, who gave
birth to many children, would get sick more often than mothers with a small number of children.

**Adolescent males.** Around 94% of the interviewed adolescent boys would like to have children in the future. The mean number of preferred children was 2.7 children per family, with a mode of two children and a range of one to five children. Also the boys saw the need for more resources as the biggest challenge for families with a high number of children. Furthermore, boys talked about the responsibilities that came with having children, and that families with many children were often in distress (regularly ending up in frequent and severe fighting) because they were not able to maintain their children properly.

**Adolescent females.** Eighty-five percent of the interviewed teenage girls (17 out of 20) would like to have children one day. The three girls (15%) who did not want to have any children were also those who earlier on had expressed their wish to not get married. The range of the preferred children went from two to eight children with an average of 3.6 children per family. No difference between the means of the preferred number of children could be detected between schooled and unschooled girls. In addition, some of the girls reported preferences in their children’s gender. Thirteen girls would like to have an equal number of boys and girls. Two girls preferred to have three girls and two boys. Only four girls provided any information about why they wanted to have a certain number of children. Two of the girls thought that one could not care properly for many children at the same time. One girl would like to have seven or eight children inspired by the thought that if she had many children, some of them would for sure take care for her if she
became sick. Another girl reported that her parents had twelve children and that she wanted to have half six children, because she wanted to have half the children her parents had.

**Elder Care**

We also had participants share with us their thoughts about the family responsibilities concerning the care for elderly parents.

**Adult males.** In regard to this question, eight out of nine adult men (88.9%) thought that they would live with one of their children once the men could not live anymore by themselves. One man specifically referred to this youngest son, some said that they would stay with the child who inherited the family home, and others claimed that they would live with whatever daughter or son will be willing to take them in. All interviewed men also thought that all of their children would take care of them, once the men were elderly and needed to be supported with money, food, care and further assistances.

**Adult females.** Around 65% of the adult women (11 out of 17 women) claimed that they would live with one of their children once they were old. Three women already knew that they would live with their youngest sons, who would inherit the family homes, as it is tradition in many Maya families. Two women said that they would live with their last born daughters, while six other women were willing to live with whatever child was willing to take them in. In contrast to men, five women stated that they would like to live separately from their children because they either still would like to live their own life (29.4%) or because the women assumed that their children would prefer such a living situation. One
woman did not know yet with whom she would live once she was elderly. During the interview some of the women criticized that nowadays a significant number of elder people had to live all by themselves and without their children’s support so that they had to go to the streets in order to ask for alms. However, in their own case 16 out of 17 women (94.2%) were sure that their children would take care for them once they were old and in need. Only one woman, who was unmarried and childless at the point of the interview, could not name anybody who would help her once she was in need of assistance.

We also asked teenage girls and boys about their ideas concerning the care of elderly family members.

**Adolescent males.** While most boys thought that their parents would live with one of their older or younger siblings (50%) or more generally ‘with us’ (25%), 25% of the boys thought that their parents will live ‘alone’, residing in their current home. Hence, in 75% of all families, parents would continue living with at least one or several of their children, as it was tradition in Maya families. All boys stated that they themselves, together with their siblings would take care for their parents if they parents were elderly and need support.

**Adolescent females.** Among teenage girls 16 out of 18 girls (88.9%) already knew that as adults they would not any longer live with their parents, but apart, most likely with their future husband’s families, as it was the Maya tradition for just married couples. All girls (100%), furthermore, stated that their parents would continue living in the family’s home together with one (or more) of their siblings. The girls also thought that they and their siblings would take care of their elderly
parents. In addition, some girls believed that some of their aunts, nieces, and nephews would help.

It was striking that none of the inquired participants considered outside family care as an option. This result was in line with another of our questions, referring to the subjectively felt moral obligation to take care of elderly parents. Around 95% of the adult men and women, 100% of the teenage boys and 88% of the teenage girls thought that it was a moral obligation to take care of elderly parents. The few very individuals who did not call the care of elderly parents an obligation argued that children were very likely to take care of their elderly parents, but that they could not be forced to do that. Hence, virtually all inquired participants considered the fact that children took care for elderly parents as something natural and reliable. Across all interview groups, very similar arguments for that position were brought up. Children would take care of their parents because: parents took care of the children when they were small; elderly people do not possess anymore the abilities and strengths to take care of themselves (earning money, food preparation, house cleaning, body hygiene, walking, etc.); because the children will inherit their parents’ property; because they are their parents.

**Professional Aspirations of the Youth**

To explore how living in an urban setting and factors that were connected to city life shaped young Maya men’s and women’s ideas about the future, we asked child and adolescent participants about their professional aspirations.

**Male children.** Of the 18 interviewed male children 31.6% of the boys expressed that they would like to become doctors, around 15.8% wanted to become
teachers and another two boys (10.6) wished to get some kind of university education without yet knowing the subject of their choice. This added up to 57.9% of the boys who aimed for work engagements that required some higher education. The rest of the boys named jobs that required a lower level of education or no formal education at all. Two boys (10.5%) each wanted to become soldiers, taxi drivers, or do any kind of work that comes around. One boy wished to become a shoe shiner or a construction worker. The children were also asked if they would like to pursue the same or a similar work as their parents do. Around 41% were affirmative of this question, while 59% were not. Those who wished to follow their parents’ pathways argued in favor of it because they thought that their parents: ‘work well’ or ‘earn well’. The ten boys who did not want follow their parents’ example said that: ‘their parents’ work is hard’; ‘the parents are poor’; ‘it’s hard work and no money’; ‘I do not want to work in construction’; ‘I do not want to live the same life’; ‘I did not go to school for that’. Clearly, none of the secondary school students wanted to live like his parents. From their perspective their parents’ lives were characterized by poverty and hard work, something that they wished to overcome.

The majority of parents (93.8%) agreed with their son’s job aspirations. One boy had not yet discussed his job ideas with his parents. However, based on ethnographic talks it seemed that in most Maya families the children’s career ideas were not in the focus of family talks.

Adolescent males. Nineteen adolescent boys informed us about their professional goals. Ten boys (52.6%) named low-income, semi-skilled working
activities such as working at construction sites, in shoe shops, in restaurants, as well as selling necklaces, shoe shining or ‘any kind’ of work. Seven boys (36.8%) aimed for professions that required a higher education and provided a better and more stable income. They would like to become doctors, teachers, engineers, or firefighters. Two boys (10.5%) wanted to become professional soccer players. It did not come as a surprise that those with higher job aspirations either currently attended secondary or preparatory school, or were still engaged on the right time track in primary schooling. Those boys who aimed for low-income jobs stopped schooling either during or after primary school. Most boys’ parents agreed with their son’s professional goals (77.8%). Three boys said that they had not talked yet with their parents about their future professional goals (16.7%). One of the two boys who wanted to become a professional soccer player did not have his parents’ agreement.

Female children. Seventeen female children talked about their future career aspirations. Most of the girls thought that they would continue selling Maya craftwork (26.3%). Around 21% would like to sell in a shop (e.g. clothing) once they were older. Around 16% wanted to work as domestic helpers (one of them wanted to pursue this work in Cancún). One girl (5.3%) wished to stay at home and to not seek work outside the family home, another girl said that she wanted to find ‘any kind of job’ (5.3%). Only five out of 17 girls, aimed for jobs which required some higher formal education: two girls would like to become teachers (10.5%) and two girls would like to receive some kind of university degree (licenciado) without naming a specific subject (10.5%). Another girl wanted to become a doctor one day.
Most parents seemed to be in accordance with their children’s decision. Only one parent disagreed with his daughter’s wish to work in a household outside the family home. Another parent insisted that his daughter reach a certain age before she could go away to work in another city. However, in general an explicit parent-child exchange about the children’s career aspirations seemed to be lacking in the families.

**Adolescent females.** Eighteen teenage girls shared their ideas about their professional futures. They made 24 different comments concerning this matter. A significant number of girls wanted to continue selling Maya craftwork (33%). Around 21% of the girl wanted to be employed as domestic helpers. Among them were three girls who wished to pursue that work in another city. Almost 17% of the girls would wanted to work in some kind of shop, e.g. selling shoes, clothing, or CDs. Working in a restaurant was the idea of 12.5% of the girls. One girl, who did not live permanently in SCLC but in SJC, thought that she might end up working in agriculture, since this was the work both of her parents currently pursued. Only three girls (or 12.5% of all comments) referred to professions that required some form of higher education. One of the girls wanted to become a doctor, in order to be able to help other people. Another girl would like to become a translator because she liked the idea of speaking many languages. However, if this dream would not come true, she would be ready to work in agriculture. Another girl mentioned that she wanted to graduate from university but could not name any specific degree. All three girls with higher job aspirations had finished or were about to finish their primary school. One of the girls currently attended ninth grade. The other girl still
had to finish primary school but was very sure that she would go to secondary school (also her single mother was a strong supporter of her school education). The third girl had just graduated from primary school and wanted to continue schooling but currently saw no possibility to pursue her plan (she was also the daughter of a single mother).

It seemed that not many girls had yet exchanged their ideas about their future work activities with their parents. Around 68.5% of the girls assumed that their parents would agree with their decisions. Some girls mentioned that their parents were worried to have them work away from home before a certain age because the parents feared that something could happen to their daughters.

Overall, the study revealed clear gender differences in the professional aspirations of young Maya males and females. Only very few Maya girls (around 13%) mentioned professions, which required some form of higher education. Instead a great part of younger and older girls wanted to continue the production and sale of Maya craftwork until adulthood or planned to work as assistants in households, shops or restaurants. In contrast, roughly half of the inquired younger and older Maya boys aimed for professions, which are based on formal education. The other half also plans to pursue some informal, low-income job.

In addition, the study investigations revealed that professional aspirations lowered with age. Male and female Maya adolescents mentioned lower-level professional goals compared with male and female children. One interpretation could be that with age professional goals became more ‘realistic’. Another
interpretation would be that younger children held higher professional goals because they were likely to receive a higher amount of schooling.

**Dreams and Wishes**

At the end of each interview with children and adolescents we asked each interviewee to name three wishes he or she would like to come true. Among male children around 26.5% of the boys wanted to possess a sufficient amount of money, 20.8% of the boys wished to own a house. Also 20.8% of the boys mentioned that they would like to have a car. It was striking that all of their wishes were resource-related. The boys also had some further resource-oriented wishes such as: ‘becoming rich’, ‘possessing a cell phone’, ‘having new shoes’ or ‘having new pants’. Work-oriented wishes were mentioned by around 9.5% of the boys, who expressed their desire to find a job later on. Around 5.7% of the boys formulated wishes referring to overall well-being by wishing ‘to have a happy life’. Only one boy each wished to be able to study (education-oriented) and to stay healthy and alive (health-oriented).

Most of the interviewed girls also named resources-related wishes (46.34%): money, a house, a new sweater, a new belt, a cell phone, a car, beautiful clothes, new shoes, TV, a fish as a pet, a bike, Barbie dolls, a skateboard. Around 22 % of the girls formulated wishes related to work: ‘I would like to find work’; ‘I would like to weave’; ‘I would like to have a stall at the cathedral night market’; ‘I want to have wares to sell’; ‘I want to earn money’; ‘I want to sell a lot’; ‘I would like to know how to sew like my sister’. Also around 22% of the girls mentioned wishes which were
concerned about their social environment: ‘that everybody is happy’; ‘to have many girlfriends’; ‘that my family sticks together’; ‘that my mother is not sad anymore’; ‘that my father and mother are happy’; ‘that my father returns to our family’; ‘to have four children’. One girl hoped that ‘my mother gets healthy again’ (health-related wish), and one girl wished that all children could go to school (education-related wish).

Until now the data of this study has been exclusively organized by topic (e.g. family structure, migration history, attitude towards elder care etc.). In order to learn more about the daily life of working poor Maya migrants in SCLC it is also useful to organize and analyze the data from the perspective of the individual participant.

**Brief Biographical Summaries of Participants**

The following shortened, randomly selected summaries demonstrate the similarities and differences between the daily lives of the child, adolescent and adult participants of the two genders. For each age and gender group two short biographical participant summaries are presented (twelve personal summaries in total).

*Ana Carolina (female child, 12 years)*

*For the past 5 years Ana Carolina has alternately lived in SCLC and in a small hamlet of SJC. Most of the time she lives together with her father, her older brother (15), and her older sister (14) in a rented room in the colonia Primero de Enero. Every few weeks*
she returns for a few days to her community home, where her mother and her younger siblings (10, 9, 8 and 3 years) live. Her mother is a housewife and also produces Maya craftwork while her father works as a construction worker as well as a candy seller. Ana Carolina regularly builds up her candy box in one of the main shopping streets in SCLC. There she vends candies, chewing gums, or cigarettes for many hours a day, either standing or sitting next to her vending tray. In the evening hours she sometimes walks around selling Maya craftwork to tourists together with her older sister. During that time, her father operates the vending tray after he has returned from his construction job. Neither Ana Carolina nor one of her older siblings attends school. Only her younger nine-year-old sister just started school in the very same week of the interview. Ana Carolina herself stopped schooling in second grade because her schoolmates as well as the class teacher regularly had beaten her up. As a consequence she is illiterate. Ana Carolina’s Spanish skills are below average when compared to other Maya street-vending children. She claims that she has acquired all of her Spanish skills in the streets. In addition, she suffers from some speech impediment. Her mother does not speak any and her father speaks only very little Spanish. Whereas their daughter has made some Mestizo friends while working in the streets, her parents do not have any non-indigenous friends. Ana Carolina claims that she does not want to return to school because she wants to stay in the city in order to earn money. She has never learned about the possibility of school stipend programs and generally considers school as not important for her life. In her hamlet, she regularly suffers from hunger and cold and she therefore prefers to work in the city. Compared to her same-age peers, Ana Carolina plays and socializes less but works more hours per day all by
herself. She exclusively wears the very same set of a traditional Maya costume. Her Chamulan blouse is torn and her overall appearance is neglected. She expresses the wish to also own Western clothing but says that she does not have money to buy some. She hands all her earnings to her father whom local social workers accuse of squandering the family income for his personal use (e.g. a golden watch) instead of spending it for the family’s well-being (food, clothes). Ana Carolina has no future plans at all. She only knows that she will continue working but has no idea what kind of work this could be. She claims that it makes her happy to work but that she is the happiest when she is with her little sister and they laugh together.

Several difficulties endangered Ana Carolina’s development into a successful adulthood: her unstable life situation by permanently commuting between SCLC and her family home in the rural village; her father’s irresponsible management of the scarce economic resources; the separation from her mother and younger siblings; her lack of education, as well as her speech impediment. Among other things, those factors led to difficulties to make friends as well as to develop the ideas and skills for a better life in the future. Ana’s problematic family situation presents an example for the hardship that many children from poor working families have to endure. Although some of the family members use the job opportunities of the urban setting, the family income does not provide for essential economic security. The transition to city life has not fully been undertaken, i.e. part of the family still lives in the hamlet of their origin. It is conceivable that, in addition to the problematic parental behavior, this state of family separation and forced switching between rural and city
environment render Ana’s life situation particularly difficult, and her future prospects grim.

Antolina (female child, 11 years)

Antolina was born in a small hamlet in a community of SJC but grew up in SCLC. She lives together with her parents and her five siblings (17, 16, 14, 7 and 4 years) in the colonia Palestina. Her mother cares for the family and produces Maya craftwork while her father works in a taco shop. The family migrated to SCLC because they could buy land here. All of her older siblings have graduated from primary school. Her 14-year old sister still attends junior high school while her two older siblings have dropped out of secondary school. Her younger siblings currently attend primary school as well as kindergarten. While her two older sisters also produce and sell Maya craftwork, her 16-year old brother works in the same taco shop as her father. Antolina’s mother tongue is Tzotzil but she also speaks Spanish fluently. Within her family, she uses Tzotzil and Spanish to communicate, probably because her father used to work in the Spanish-speaking town of Tuxtla. The family also has non-indigenous friends. In school and with her friends Antolina frequently speaks Spanish. Antolina attends the fifth grade of primary school and already knows how to read and write well in Spanish and Tzotzil. For her school attendance, the family receives a stipend from the social program Oportunidades. She rarely skips school but does so whenever her mother gets sick and Antolina then has to watch her little siblings. On very few occasions she skips school to earn money. The money she earns with selling Maya craftwork, she either hands over to her mother, or uses it to pay for her school costs. Antolina claims that she only goes vending when she wants to do so. She never works on Sundays. After she
returns from school, she usually does her homework first and then starts to work in the city center together with some girlfriends. When she has difficulties doing her homework, she asks one of her older sisters. She believes that boys and girls are equally qualified to study and she has plans to attend secondary school because she wants to learn more and to find a good work later on. In her free time she likes to watch soap operas. She has indigenous and Mestizo friends in and outside school. As an adult she either would like to work in a shop, become a teacher, or earn another university degree (licenciada). Antolina finds the traditional woolen skirt uncomfortable and therefore wears traditional clothing only when she goes to church and occasionally when she sells. More often, she prefers to wear long Western skirts. Her sisters also frequently switch between modern and traditional clothing whereas her mothers wears traditional clothing exclusively.

Antolina’s life, too, was characterized by poverty. For example, her older siblings have dropped out from school in order to work. In comparison with 12-year-old Ana Carolina 11-year old Antolina had several advantages: she had a stable family and living situation; both parents showed family responsibility; her whole family supported her school attendance; Antolina could expresses herself well in Tzotzil and in Spanish; and last but not least she felt that she has some choices in her daily activities such as going to school, going to work, and how to dress.. All those aspects helped Antolina to think constructively and optimistically about her future. Her example illustrates an overall relatively successful transition of a Maya family from their rural origins to the urban environment.
Carlos (male child, 12 years)

Carlos lives with both of his parents and his four siblings (18, 16, 15, 10 years) in the ethnically mixed colonia Hormiga in SCLC. His family came to SCLC around 30 years ago when they were expelled from their home community in SJC because they had become Protestants. Carlos considers himself as equally competent in Tzotzil as well as in Spanish. He acquired Spanish mainly in school. Both of his parents produce and sell Maya craftwork. His three older brothers work as construction workers, in a restaurant, and as shoe shiners. In addition, all five children of the family currently attend school. The older ones are in preparatory and secondary school while his younger sister attends primary school. The state program Oportunidades sponsors Carlo’s attendance of the first year of junior high school. The language of instruction in his school is exclusively Spanish and he also only knows how to write in Spanish (not in Tzotzil). If he needs help with his homework he asks his older brothers, his friends, or his teacher. He sometimes misses school for various different reasons: When he is sick, when he has to help his mother, or when he has to watch his little sister. However, he emphasizes that he never misses school just because he does not feel like going. He believes that receiving a school education is more important for boys than for girls because men have to find work outside the home while women can always stay home and be housewives. Carlos believes that boys can do household chores but that girls cannot be engaged in work, which is usually done by boys. During the week Carlos works as a shoe shiner from around 3 pm until 8 pm. On Saturdays and during vacation time he works full time, often spending 12 hours in a row in the streets working. The money he earns with his work he voluntarily hands to his mother. Later
on he wants to study at the university and find a good job. He insists that he wants to leave behind the strenuous life of his parents. His parents support him in those efforts. In his leisure time he likes to stay home and watch soap operas, sports and various other shows. He also likes to hang out with his friends. He also has many non-indigenous friends, whom he met in school. His parents, too, have many non-indigenous friends, whom his father got to know through his political work.

Among the interviewed street-working children Carlos had one of the most encouraging living situations. His family seemed to have economically and socially adapted to city life in a way, which allowed them to send all their children to school. At the same time it was striking that all children worked in addition to attending school in order to finance their education. Carlos committedly worked for his ambitious future goals. In addition, his whole family seemed to be well integrated and to take a pro-active stance within their urban community. Despite Carlo’s otherwise very forward thinking attitudes, he took a rather conservative stance on women transgressing traditional gender borders in work and educational settings.

Antonio (male child, 12 years)
Antonio normally lives with his two parents and his six siblings (18, 16, 10, 9, 8 and 5 years) in SJC. He, however, also lives for some periods of time with relatives in the colonia Primero de Enero in SCLC in order to earn some money as a shoe shiner. His father works as a peasant in his home village while his mother is engaged in Maya craftwork. His two older brothers work at construction sites and in a restaurant. They do not attend school anymore. Antonio’s younger siblings attend primary school in his
home community. Antonio does not go to school anymore. He stopped after sixth grade. He knows how to read and write in Tzotzil and in Spanish, but both not very well. He assumes that his chance to go to secondary school has already passed, mainly because his family cannot provide for his school attendance.

Antonio mostly speaks Tzotzil and does not know Spanish very well. In his home community and within his family he exclusively speaks Tzotzil. When he works in the city he speaks Spanish with his clients and some of his shoe shiner friends. When he lives and works in town he tries to work as many hours as possible per day. Hence, he starts shoe shining in the morning and does not stop before late evening if there are still clients around. He keeps most of his earnings for himself in order to buy his shoes and clothes. The rest of the money he hands to his mother. Antonio does not like his work. In his eyes it is not good work and you hardly earn anything. As an adult he probably will work in construction even though he would also be interested in another kind of work but he assumes that he won’t find another job because he did not study. Alternatively, he also can imagine working in agriculture as his father does. In his leisure time he likes to hang out with his friends, when they also do not have to work.

He has indigenous as well as Mestizo friends, whom he met in SCLC. In contrast, his parents do not have any non-indigenous friends. He believes that boys also can do female work such as washing dishes, sweep, etc., but believes that girls cannot boys’ work. He explains that in the city, it is possible for indigenous women to drive cars but that it is not accepted in his community, where some people would badmouth about such a behavior.
Antonio was one of the most independent participants of the interviewed child sample. At the age of 12 years he regularly lived apart from his family and rural community, with relatives in the city, he was - in contrast to the rest of his family - in regular contact with non-indigenous people, he kept most of his earnings for his own spending (food, clothes), and he made his own decisions about his daily work schedule. His intermediate position between an urbanized life in the city and a more traditionally way of living in his family rural home community sensitized him for existing cultural differences between the two places. Antonio was also well aware about the impact of his limited formal education on his future professional life.

*Alicia (female teenager, 13 years)*

Alicia lives with her mother and her three younger siblings (10, 8 and 5 years) in the exclusively indigenous colonia San Antonio del Monte at the outskirts of SCLC. Alicia and her mother produce and sell Maya craftwork. She gives all her earnings to her mother. Alicia's father does not live with the family because he works as construction worker in Cancún. Only Alicia's 10-year old brother currently attends school. The family migrated around seven years ago to SCLC. Alicia cannot recall the family's motivation to move to SCLC. She, however, does not want to return to her village because she feels 'trapped' between the many trees there. Alicia speaks Tzotzil as her first language and is also fluent in Spanish. She learned Spanish through her work in the streets. When Alicia was around 11 years old, she was employed for around one year as a domestic servant in the distant city of Puebla. Social workers who have known her already for many years, suspect that she there became a victim of child
pornography. While Alisa was a cheerful and outgoing child before her stay in Puebla, she returned as a withdrawn, depressed, and aggressive girl. The few details she shared with social workers and other street-vending girls about her experiences in Puebla imply that she there was forced into child pornography. Since her return from Puebla, Alicia regularly gets into physical fights with other street-vending girls. Alicia has never attended school and therefore does not know how to read and write. Even though she would like to go to school, she believes that she will not go because she now already got used to selling in the streets and she does not want to give up this activity. Her parents leave this decision up to her. Alicia has no idea about what work she would like to pursue as an adult. Alicia believes that Maya women should not do men’s work and vice versa. She believes that Maya men are not getting engaged in Maya craftwork because the men would feel ashamed. Alicia wears both traditional and Western dress styles. Her parents do not know that she and her girlfriends secretly wear pants when they go out for strolls. She also secretly puts on make-up, which she bought herself. She usually only paints her eyes. She also likes short, colored hair and has dyed and cut her hair in the past with her parents’ permission. One of her male friends wears a tattoo on his arm. Other friends have dyed their hair purple and blue. In her leisure time she likes to watch soap operas or hang out with friends. She does not have any Mestizo friends in SCLC but used to have some in Puebla. Her parents also do not have any non-indigenous friends. Alicia thinks that it is okay when teenage boys and girls meet without parental supervision but does not believe that Maya parents will give permission for that. So the youth have to meet clandestinely. She is, however, against the practice of being boy-and girlfriend before marriage. She thinks males
should get married between 17 and 18 years and females between 14 and 15 years. However, she herself does not want to get married at all, or have any children. She wishes to continue to live with her parents for the rest of her life. Then she will care for them.

Alicia’s story pointed to the risks that Maya children, in particularly girls, are exposed to if they are not adequately protected during their early independence as money earners. Far away from her family and Maya community Alicia had likely become a victim of child pornography. This experience had obviously harmed her psychological and social well-being and its negative consequences will accompany Alicia throughout her life. For example, Alicia’s rejecting stance towards marriage and having children could be an outcome of the abuse. Her story also pointed to further risks Maya teenagers face in the city. Inspired by their urban socio-cultural environment, Alicia and her girlfriends imitated Western youth behavior by secretly putting on make-up and pants when they went out. Their parents, who were opposed to such habits, were unaware about their daughters’ secret trips. Even though Alicia did not mentioned any of it in her talks, some youth use those kinds of secret trips to consume alcohol, sniff glue, or use illegal drugs. Those problematic forms of behavior are less likely to occur in village communities, where youth are usually closely monitored.

_Sylvia (female teenager, 13 years)_

13-year-old Sylvia lives with her mother and her five siblings in the colonia San Antonio del Monte. Her family now lives for 19 years in SCLC. However, her father
works in the US and has only sporadic contact with the family. Sylvia regularly sells Maya craftwork together with her mother, or with some same-aged girlfriends in the city center. Her mother keeps a close eye on her most of the time and demands her to work hard. Occasionally, however, her mother allows Sylvia to take a break in order to chitchat and play with her girlfriends. Sylvia has graduated from primary school and speaks Tzotzil as her mother tongue and Spanish fluently. She talks Tzotzil with the nuclear and extended family as well as friends most of the day, but easily switches into Spanish when selling in the streets, or talking to her non-indigenous friends. She, however, was taught and is able to write in Spanish only. She prefers to listen to Spanish-broadcasting radio station. Watching soap operas in Spanish is also an integral part of her daily life. She would like to attend secondary school but does not believe that school attendance is possible for her due to economic scarcity in the family. Also, the obligation to wear a ‘mini-skirt’, which is part of the school uniform, enhances her opposition to continuing her educational career. At the same time, she would also like to graduate from college but has no clear idea in what subject and how to realize this goal. When selling in the street Sylvia either wears tight and low cut stretch jeans combined with revealing T-Shirts or the traditional Maya garment. She usually does not like to use make-up but sometimes paints her eyes with her friend’s make-up equipment without her mother’s knowledge. She also has cut and dyed her hair a while ago without parental approval. Sylvia would like to wear a piercing in the tongue. She is one of very few participants who believes that women can also be in engaged in construction work because her aunt used to work in that area. In contrast, she does not believe that men can be involved in the production of Maya craftwork. She
welcomes mixed-gender group meetings and dating between teenage girls and boys but knows that her mother would not give permission to her to participate in any of these activities. She also thinks that one can have a boy or girlfriend but that the couple needs to get married later on. Sylvia holds a positive attitude towards indigenous women driving car and would like to like to learn it herself. She thinks that men and women are equal in decision making and giving commands. She thinks that in order to get married, girls should be 18 or 19 years and guys should be slightly older (between 18 and 20 years). Sylvia considers a family with three children ideal. When she is older, she will take care for her elderly mother together with her siblings. She sees it as a moral obligation to care for elderly family members. Sylvia differs from her same-age peers by having a tattoo at the back of her hand in reference to her and her family's deep religious conviction.

The information Sylvia provided about her reasons not to continue school brought up some of the typical obstacles to female attendance in secondary schools. Sylvia’s concerns about the skirt length of the school uniform was exemplary of the many existing fears and prejudices that existed within in the community of poor working Mayas about girls attendance of mixed gender secondary schools. With ‘inappropriate’ dressing, unsupervised contact with male peers, commuting without any family members between school and home, etc., a Maya girl aroused suspicion to have sexual relationships with males and people started gossiping about the girl. Those rumors could – independently from their truthfulness – damage a girl's and her family’s reputation and put her at risk of not being able to get married later on. In contrast, economic necessity brought Sylvia to not condemn her aunt’s
engagement in construction work, an activity that was considered inappropriate for females by most other interviewees.

Armando (male teenager, 17 years)

Armando lives with his mother and his three siblings in SCLC while his father lives apart from the family in Tuxtla. His mother owns a market stall at the city market. His family came to SCLC to find work around eight years ago. Armando speaks Spanish and Tzotzil equally well and knows how to write in both languages. He likes to listen to Spanish-broadcasted radio shows and regularly watches local and international news on TV. He currently attends preparatory school and works as a shoe shiner to come up for his living and school costs. He sees his work as a shoe shiner as an acceptable, but only transient necessity to earn money. He plans to finish his studies in order to become a teacher later on. His parents support his professional plans. He likes to hang out with same age indigenous and non-indigenous friends. He reports that there are some women who work in male work domains but that many are still mainly housewives, and that gender equality in labor division in SCLC has started but still is in its beginnings. He personally welcomes mixed-gender group meetings but knows that his parents are opposed to it. He, however, also thinks that dating couples should get married later on. He has a positive attitude towards indigenous women driving cars. He thinks that in his family gender equality in decision-making exist but that this is different in many other Maya families. He is opposed to fashion clothes and prefers to wear simple Western clothes. Even though his female family members wear traditional clothing only, he prefers both dress styles – Western and traditional. He does not like
women wearing make-up, but accepts it if a woman wants to use it. He does not like if young people wear tattoos and piercings because he associates it to gang memberships. He and his friends prefer to have a modest and decent appearance, wearing traditional clothing at certain occasions. Armando thinks that people from his community should marry between 22 and 25 years but he does not want to marry before he has finished his studies with around 27 years. Then he would like to have no more than two to three children in order to be able to take care well for them. He sees it as a morale obligation to care for his elderly parents but assumes that he will live apart from them.

As a student in preparatory school (grades 10 to 12, preparing students for the university entry) Armando is probably one of the most educated participants. He also stands out from the rest of the sample through his strong conviction that for him that shoe shining is only a temporary activity because he will study at the university and will become a teacher eventually. His ability to analyze and express his observations and ideas about overall societal developments also distinguishes him from most other study participants.

Juan Carlos (male teenager, 13 years)

Juan Carlos lives with his parents and his two older siblings in SCLC. He speaks mostly Tzotzil within his family but communicates in Tzeltal with his mother and her relatives. He prefers to communicate in Spanish and also dreams in this language. He knows how to write and read in Spanish, but not in Tzotzil and Tzeltal. Juan attends the first year of secondary school. In the afternoon, however, he works as a shoe shiner. He uses
his earnings for his personal and school costs. He likes to wear designer clothes from Adios, Quicksilver, Adidas, etc. He has friends who have dyed their hair. For females he does not like if they wear something other than traditional Chamulan clothing. He also does not like if females wear make-up. Juan is against tattoos and piercings because he considers it as unnatural and knows that they can lead to infections. In his leisure time he likes to watch cartoons on TV and to read books. He also has non-indigenous friends whom he met in school. He wants to become an engineer later on, but did not share his professional aspirations with his parents yet. He likes to go to school and thinks his same-age peers make a bad choice when they quit school to marry and have children prematurely. He thinks that women are not able to work in male work domains but that men can assist in household chores. He thinks that it is bad if young males and females meet without adult supervision. They should not date before getting married. If he talks to a girl he does it in a way so that others cannot see him. He thinks that men and women do not have the same rights and obligations within the family. Juan considers 25 years as an ideal marital age because then people usually have had enough working experience in order to have a good job and enough resources such as a house, money, or even a car. He wants to get married himself around that age and have two or three children. He already knows that his youngest brother will live with his parents when they are in need for assistance due to their age. But he also claims that he and his siblings will found their households near their parent’s home to be able to assist them, too.
Juan Carlos came from a comparably small Maya family with only three children. He attended secondary school and was able to afford fashionable clothes. Because of this, one could assume that his family was in a better financial situation than most poor working Maya families. He held a double standard concerning mixed-gender contact. While he generally is against such habits, he clandestinely talks to teenage girls. Striking and contradicting was also his interest for fashion clothes for his personal use, and his preference for females dressing traditionally.

Andrea (female adult, 48 years)
Andrea is an artisan market stall owner and originally comes from the district Venustiano Caranza. She now lives in SCLC for 18 years but also has lived in Chamula and Tuxla before. For the first time she came to SCLC to work as a domestic helper when she still was a child and her father became sick. She now has six children and lives separately from her husband. She lives with all her children and her daughter-in-law. She speaks Tzeltal, Tzotzil, and Spanish fluently and has worked as a translator during the Zapatista movement. Tzeltal is her native language and it is also the language in which she dreams. During the day she speaks Spanish at the market, as well as Tzeltal and Tzotzil with her family, depending on the context. Her children, too, speak all three languages. Her family likes to listen to Spanish radio shows and to watch soap operas on TV. Andrea never attended school because she was the oldest daughter of a poor family with many children and needed to take care of her younger siblings. Andrea still regrets her lacking school education and has demanded all her children to attend school. She became very upset when her two older sons stopped
schooling in order to support the family financially after Andrea and her husband had separated. Her younger children currently attend secondary and primary school and Andrea does everything she can to keep them in school (e.g. picking up her teenage son from school in order to prevent that he will get beaten up or get in contact with alcohol or other drugs). Through her work as a market seller at the artisan market Santa Domingo she has many Mestizo and international friends, one of whom is helping out her daughter with school costs. She points out that it is tradition for women and men to be involved in different work domains but that she has taught her sons to cook, do their own laundry, and to do further household chores. Also all of her sons know how to weave. Andrea is opposed to girls and boys meeting without adult supervision. In her village community, girls go with their mothers and boys by themselves and she still applies this view to the city environment. She thinks that official parental permission is necessary in case a teenage boy and girl would like to meet. To this matter the guy needs to make an official visit the girl’s parental home and receive parental approval. If they have received approval a younger sibling should always accompany the couple on strolls. Andrea thinks that young people can be boy-and girlfriend before getting married, but that the girls should think very well about that decision because not getting married to that boyfriend can have very negative consequences for the girl. At the same time a girl cannot be forced to marry a man she does not want to marry. Andrea reports that she welcomes indigenous women driving cars but that this is something that can only be done in the city. In the village, a woman who drives a car would be the subject of gossip and rejection. She sees wife and husband as equal in decision-making within the family household but points out that
public settings women still do not possess enough rights to speak up as well. Andrea likes to wear Western clothing such as skirts and dresses despite the fact that her ex-husband preferred women to wear traditional clothing. She points out that many females, in particular younger girls, wear Western clothes because is more affordable than the traditional garment, of which the hand-woven woolen skirts often cost between 400 and 500 USD. She thinks that women should not cut their hair because it’s sacred. She does not want her daughter to dye her hair because she considers it as a mistreatment of the hair and thinks that it will be damaged and turn grey afterwards. Andrea does not like to wear make-up and also would prefer her daughter not to use it because it damages the skin and it’s not natural. She, however, leaves it to her daughter to decide and acknowledges that nowadays many women like to wear make-up to look more beautiful. She knows that many parents do not know that their teenage daughters use make-up clandestinely. Andrea is also opposed to piercings and tattoos. She thinks that 25 years is a great age to get married because very young couples suffer a lot of marital problems (as she has experienced herself). Also, she found that her daughter-in-law still lacked a lot of working skills when getting married to Andrea’s eldest son at a very young age. She considers a family with four children as ideal because one needs to be able to give enough money and land to the children. Andrea has high educational goals for her daughter. She encourages her daughter to work very hard in and in addition to school in order to succeed academically and to earn enough money to finance her educational career. For Andrea, hard work is the key to success as she points out at various occasions. Andrea thinks that she will live alone in old age because her children will have their own families. She,
however, hopes to live with her youngest daughter even though this is not the tradition in Maya families. Andrea is sure that all her children will help to take care of her once she needs it. She sees it as their moral obligation that all her children share with her and to also compensate her daughter with whom she hopes to live with.

For Andrea and her family, clearly hard work was the key to success. She invested as much as she could in her children’s academic career and also expected them to work hard in order to succeed. In her overall argumentation about various life topics, she, on one hand, held rather liberal attitudes whereas on the other hand, she frequently emphasized the importance of traditions. For her, it seemed to be natural to constantly swivel between traditional and modern outlooks in dependence on the particular area of life she was engaged in.

*Lupita (female adult, 34 years)*

Lupita is a single mother and lives with her 10 children in age from 15 years to 9 months in the colonia San Juan del Bosque at the outskirts of SCLC. Her husband, who is a police officer, has left her to live with another woman. Lupita is a housewife and produces caramel sweets, which are sold by her 13, 10 and 9 year old children in the streets. During vacation time her oldest son tries to earn money as a restaurant waiter in Tuxtla. Her husband financially supports the family on an irregular basis. Lupita moved from Chanal to SCLC around 15 years ago. It is, however, the second time she came to live in SCLC. As a nine-year-old child she has worked as a domestic helper in a household in SCLC. During that time she had learned Spanish little by little from her boss. Her later migration to SCLC in 1994 together with her husband had various
reasons. First of all, as farmhands (cleaning corn with a machete) they led a very impoverished and harsh life in a rural community without any infrastructure (e.g. sewage, portable water). When in 1994 the president of Chanal was assassinated in the context of political turmoil, Lupita and her husband feared for their lives and fled with their newly born first son to SCLC.

Lupita’s first language is Tzeltal but she also can communicate in Spanish as well as in Tzotzil. In her daily life she regularly uses all three languages. She has learned Tzotzil as her third language because Tzotzil is the predominant language of her neighborhood. With her husband she speaks Spanish. With her children she speaks in Tzeltal as well as Spanish. Her children prefer to communicate among each other in Spanish.

Lupita has never received any formal education because she grew up in a very poor village. Hence, she never learned reading and writing. She identifies her missing education as the main cause of her impoverished life. Therefore, she is also very unhappy that her five youngest children do not yet possess birth certificates, a requirement to register for school. She desperately tries to send all her children to school because she wants to make sure that they will have a better life than she has. She considers schooling as essential for succeeding in life and also emphasizes the mind-opening effect of education. However, without her husband’s support the family has barely enough money for food, clothing, or shelter. In addition, Lupita suffers from some severe health problems. She has some blood disease, which apparently weakens her and does not allow her to pursue her daily work on some days.
Lupita is opposed to unsupervised meetings of teenage girls and boys. She has no confidence into such meetings and believes that they lead the youth into dangerous situations. She is also opposed to dating before marriage because it's against Maya tradition. Lupita thinks that young people should be older than 18 years before getting married. She likes that indigenous women now also drive cars and also would like to learn driving herself. She has some mixed feelings towards Western dressing. On the one hand she would like to wear Western skirts and dresses and use make-up and color her hair. On the other hand she does not like the smell of perfume, make-up, etc. She says that indigenous people are not used to those artificial odors. But even more important, she does not have the money to buy those things. She complains that currently men still possess more rights than women and knows that she needs to fight for her rights as a woman. But she also reports that in daily life, she often has problems defending her rights. She reports the many problems she currently has with her husband who left her, but occasionally returns and terrorizes the whole family. In the context of the break up with her husband, she also lost support in the neighborhood. People who used to be friends with her now avoid her. She has, however, one from friend from Zinacantán who tries to help her whenever she can. While Lupita herself married by choice at 16, she now thinks that young women and men should be at least between 18 and 20 years before getting married. She bases her attitude on all the negative experiences she had during her marriage, in which her husband often physically and verbally attacked her. She warns that one should have a certain amount of experiences and maturity before having children. For her children and especially her oldest daughter, she hopes that they will finish their studies to be able to find some
good work later on and do not have to lead they same miserable life she has. At the same time she thinks that it is all in God’s hand and that he will determine whether or not her children succeed in life. She is sure that later on she will live with one of her sons who will inherit the family home (a small wooden shack) and also care for her, together with his siblings.

Even among the dwellers of her poor Maya colonia in SCLC, Lupita represents a case of extreme poverty. Having ten mostly very young children, being chronically sick, being married to an abusive man who only irregularly financially supports her did not allow her to provide properly for her children (food, shelter, clothes, education, documents). Her case also showed that the separation of husband and wife could lead, among other problems, to social stigmatization of the woman within the community. From Lupita’s perspective, education presented the only way to break the cycle of poverty. Hence, she was desperately upset that she did not possess birth certificates for all of her children – another typical hurdle to education among poor working Mayas in SCLC. In realizing that as a Maya woman, she did not have the same rights as men, she felt embittered about her life.

Nicola (male adult, 53 years)

Nicola was born in a community in the district Huixtán and has lived in SCLC for 34 years. He likes to live in the city because there is work and it’s lively. He works as a shoe shiner and has three children. Only one of his daughters still lives with him and his wife. He speaks Tzotzil as his first language but also knows how to speak Tzeltal and Spanish. He learned Spanish while working at the Mexican coast, and a friend
taught him Tzeltal. He did not teach his children to speak Tzotzil. They only communicate in Spanish. Nicola feels guilty about that because he thinks that a Maya living in SCLC needs both languages to succeed if life. In his work as a shoe shiner he uses all three languages and enjoys doing so. When he dreams he switches between Spanish and Tzotzil. He also listens to religious radio shows in both languages. He never has attended any school and also his children stopped school after some few years of education. He and his family have many non-indigenous friends. Nicola opinionates that men and women can be engaged in the same work domains. He also thinks that teenage boys and girls can be in contact to another but only if they treat each other with respect and stick to the script. He sees it as natural that a young man and woman first to get to know each other for some time before getting married. He welcomes that indigenous women now drive cars and describes the decision processes in his household as gender equal. In fact, his wife is in charge of managing the family’s finances. His wife does not wear a traditional costume nor does she wear pants. She only wears Western skirts and dresses. In contrast, he prefers women to wear traditional clothing. He welcomes that his wife and daughter do not wear make-up or have fancy (short, dyed) haircuts. Nicola is also against tattoos and piercings. He also thinks that men should get married with around age 25 and a woman between 20 and 22 because at this age he considers a person to be capable of mature thinking. His son will take care of him when he is elderly and needs assistance. He thinks that children have the moral obligation to take care of their parents because the parents also took care for the children when they were small.
Nicola emphasized the importance of speaking Spanish as well as Tzotzil in order to successfully get around in the various settings of city life. He held rather liberal attitudes towards unsupervised contact of young Maya males and females. He considered it only natural and did not mention of the problems and fears many, in particular female, participants related to unchaperoned encounters of both genders. However, along with virtually all interviewees, it was only natural for him that his children will take care for him once he is elderly.

Sebastian (male adult, 84 years)

Sebastian is originally from SJC and has lived for 25 years in various colonias in SCLC. Eight years ago, he built his own home in one of the colonias. He has five adult children. He has passed on his market stall for vegetables to his son. He now sells a dietary supplement in the streets. He was forced to marry with 18 years and divorced this wife later on. He is now married for the second time. He is a Tzotzil native and only speaks a little bit of Spanish. He says speaking Spanish is necessary in order to work in SCLC. He likes to watch TV in Spanish, in particular international news. He never went to school because there existed no school in his hamlet. In fact, back then, there existed no infrastructure at all in his community. His children did not finish secondary school because they wanted to work. He agreed with their decision because he also thought that with ‘playing’ one could make money. So he introduced his son to gardening (e.g. grow pears, roses etc.). Currently, however, all his grandchildren attend school. He thinks that one should not hang out with friends because one can only trust in God and not in friends. He thinks that eventually friends will betray you, beat you and teach how to drink and smoke. He thinks women cannot do men’s work because women do
not have the ‘guts’. But then he also knows that many women nowadays have learned to do men’s work e.g. in agriculture. He, in return, would never do any women’s work such as carrying firewood. He’d rather buy his tortillas for than make them for himself. However, he also knows families without daughters whose sons do household chores. He does not like for youth to meet in mixed gender groups. He thinks it leads to men having multiple wives and children without taking on any responsibility. Sebastian, however, opinionates that it is good to get to know each other as boy- and girlfriend before finally getting married. In fact, he claims that it is a tradition in Chamula that young women get dressed up when herding sheep and the young men from the village approach them. But nowadays people with Protestant beliefs consider it a sin when unmarried men and women talk to another and become boy- and girlfriend. He appreciates indigenous women driving but says that most women cannot afford to do so. His wife and he share their incomes and have equal power in decision-making within the household. His wife wears traditional clothing only but he likes the traditional and the Western dress style because times have changed. His wife and his daughter use make-up. For him this is not okay but he thinks that he does not have the right to tell them what to do. They also like to dye their hair and put on good shoes and he thinks that this is their own decision but that it violates Protestant values. He thinks young people can get married at age 18 but not earlier because they should study when they are young. At age 84 he still lives in his own house but his children and his wife assist him when needed. He thinks that his children have the moral obligation to care for him because before, he worked very hard so he could buy property that he
shares with them. But when there are children who do not want to give money to their elderly parents, then there is nothing the parents can do about it.

At age 84, Sebastian was the oldest participant of the sample. Despite his age he took some very liberal views in some of the discussed topics, while in other areas he argued in a very traditional manner. Although he had lived most of his life in a rural village, his late transition to the urban setting had significantly changed some of his attitudes.

In the context of the present study, over 120 of the above cited life stories were compiled, all of which were unique individual life descriptions, but nonetheless contribute to an overall picture of ongoing adaptation process of working poor Maya migrants in SCLC. Each case provided an opportunity to gain insights into ongoing dynamics within one area of life (e.g. family structure; work; education; courtship, etc.), as well as about the complex relationships between various life areas (e.g. place of living – family structure – age – gender – work – education and so on). Reading about and analyzing people's individual stories helped to recognize the exceptional nature of each life story, as well as patterns, which occurred in virtually all stories, or repeatedly for certain subgroups of the interviewed Maya migrants.

Last but not least, the applied kind of 'case by case' data management and analysis reminded me to see the real persons (and their individual, sometimes heartbreaking, destinies) behind the great amount of data, which I had gathered during my field work for this dissertation.
In the first part of this chapter, the results gained from observations and interviews were organized by topic (i.e. area of life), whereas in the second part, individual life stories were presented. The combination of both approaches to data analysis form the basis for the conclusions presented in the following chapter, with which I intend to shed more light on how poor working Mayas migrants– as a community, as families, as well as individuals – adapt to their new socio-cultural environment in SCLC.
CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION

The present study shed light on the complexity of adjustments of poor working Maya migrant families to the urban setting of SCLC. It investigated the nature and the process of the families’ adaptation processes in different life areas after they have migrated from their rural, small-scale urban communities to a globalized and heterogeneous society (Greenfield, 2009; Greenfield, et al., 2003; Kagitcibasi, 1996b).

Three major conclusions could be drawn from the observed adaptation strategies of working poor Maya migrant families in SCLC:

(1) Maya migrants of all ages constantly swiveled between personal and family goals by pursuing individuality in the context of collectivism.

(2) A great diversity of cultural values existed not only between individuals but also within the same person.

(3) Hallmark of daily life activities and decisions was pragmatism\textsuperscript{26} with respect to family well-being.

In the following paragraphs I will flesh out the empirical evidence in favor of my main conclusions. Furthermore, I will discuss my study results in the light of the above (Chapter two) introduced major theoretical frameworks of this dissertational work - the eco-cultural niche model (Weisner, 1984), activity setting theory

\textsuperscript{26} Throughout the study, the term pragmatism is not used in the sense of philosophical pragmatism but in its common sense meaning as ‘being concerned about practical outcomes’.
(Gallimore et al., 1993) and Greenfield’s model of social change and human development (Greenfield, 2009).

**Individuality in the Context of Collectivism**

Most activities of Maya migrant family members were characterized by individual efforts and decision-making oriented towards personal achievement - but in their wider context were part of collective efforts to assure the family’s well-being (Greenfield, et al., 2003). One can also interpret these activities as sociocultural and economical adaptation performances to their urban communities (Searle & Ward, 1990). The present study observed this principle in various life areas such as work, use of resources and income, education, or choice of romantic partner. The section below summarizes a list of the compiled evidence in favor of the conclusion that poor Maya families adapted to city life through a flexible combination of individual and collectivistic actions.

**Family Time and Work**

There were differences in the work patterns families who owned their own stalls compared with those who did not. Families who possessed their own market stall spent more time at their market stall than in the family home. In their market stall they worked, but also gathered, ate, talked, and napped. Many of the families also owned mobile music players, or even small TVs they used to entertain themselves when waiting for costumers. At this workplace, younger children were cared for while older children played, did their homework, and assisted selling. Overall, family members spent a great amount of time together by running the stall in close cooperation. However, for adolescents and children, assisting at the family’s
market stall not only meant to work in an environment with shared responsibility and safety but also a lack of opportunity to earn personal money (for school costs, personal clothing, etc.). Hence, it was common that children from market merchants started their “own little businesses” by vending their own merchandise through street sale while the family’s market stall remained a “save haven” for a break, food, or advice.

In contrast, other families who were engaged in street vending but did not own their own stalls spent a greater part of the day separated from each other. One reason for this was that males and females usually did not operate together in the street. While females and girls often took along younger children, males older than 10 years usually operated in the streets by themselves. Hence, success in earning money on the streets mostly depended on individual effort. A dedicated vendor needed to walk the streets for many hours, approach many tourists, compete constantly against other street vendors, bargain skillfully with tourists, reinvest thoughtfully in merchandise and the like. The overall income heavily depended on individual efforts and decisions, perseverance, and talent. In addition, individually operating street vendors had to decide all by themselves if, how much, and when they spent money and time for a meal. Family meals most commonly occurred in the evening hours after most family members had finished work and had returned home.²⁷ Although ultimately street-vending families supported one another by

²⁷ Only a few families managed to interrupt their individual work activities and to meet up for some shared tortillas in parks or street corners in the city center.
pooling (part of) their earnings to buy additional food and other necessities, their daily life was characterized by individual activities and decisions.²⁸

A third group of street vending families spent even less time with one another on the streets or in the family home because they worked in shifts and/or in several different jobs. They did so in order to maximize usage hours of the family's business equipment and to be able to react flexible to consumer demands. At the same time, using the same business equipment demanded efficient communication and cooperation. They needed to discuss working times, work assignments, reinvestments, the partition of income coming from the same equipment, and alike. Thus, also in these families family members constantly balanced individual and family interests.

Overall, it became apparent that in the urban environment of SCLC 'work' was the main organizer of Maya family life. Activity setting analyses of the typical work settings of the poor working Maya families revealed that the nature of family's work engagement determined the duration, the location, and the activities of family life and how much time each family member invested in more individualistic activities (characterized by self-reliance, personal motivations and goals) or collectivistic activities (such as spending time with family members, cooperation, acknowledging age hierarchy, and so on). Hence, the nature of parental work engagement was of great importance for the eco-cultural niche of a child and consequently his or her development.

²⁸ This statement excludes children younger than 10 years. They usually accompanied older family members when being engaged in street work.
The great influence the activity setting ‘work’ had on family interactions and the families efforts to balance of individual and collectivistic endeavors, became also apparent in the manner how Maya children learned to work.

**Guided Participation in Work Activities**

Ethnographic observations in the streets and in the home environment of poor Maya children living in SCLC revealed that the children did not learn how to work by receiving formal lessons from their parents. Instead, the children started on their own initiative to participate in street sales when they were around five years old. By that time they had already been able to regularly observe their parents or older siblings street work many hours a day (see also S. Gaskins, 2003; Morelli, et al., 2003). At the same time they were watched over by family members who scaffolded the children’s actions whenever it was necessary. Once they were old enough and able to perform all steps of a particular working task on their own, the children often started working independently from their parents (Tovote, 2007). Interestingly, the present study demonstrated that there were also Maya children who did not want to work in street sales even though they had received the same training as their street-vending siblings. Despite the fact that they missed the opportunity to earn their own money in the street, they preferred to stay and assist at home. Most Maya migrant families were big enough so that at least some of the children could choose whether they would like to sell in the streets or assist at home. These findings were in line with Suzanne Gaskins’s (1993, 2000, 2003) ethnotheory of Yucatec Maya parents on child development and engagement. Urban Maya parents still followed their rural traditions by allowing some independence of child
motivation. Most parents did not actively push their children to work in the streets but it was the children themselves who chose to either get engaged in street sales or to stay at home.

**Young Entrepreneurs within the Family Network**

Contributing to their families’ survival while at the same time earning some personal money through their own efforts turned the street working children and adolescents into small entrepreneurs within a network of family earners. Because the children could trust in their parents’ best intentions to provide for the their basic needs (food, shelter, clothes), while at the same time the children pitched in and contributed to the family income themselves, poor working families operated as a collective that was based on individual efforts of several minor and adult family members. Each individual was highly motivated to earn money for personal use and at the same time could count on the family network in times of bad earnings. The pure number of earners per family enhanced the chances of a stable daily income although virtually all earners were employed in the informal sector, which was characterized by poor earnings and income insecurities. The youth became young entrepreneurs within the family network – supporting and receiving support from the family at the same time. Consequently, the majority of the street working children and adolescents did not see themselves as victims but rather as active social actors (see also Ennew & Swart-Kruger, 2003) and displayed a high sense of responsibility for their own as well as their family’s advancement.
Engagement in Cross-Gender Work

Maya migrant females still predominantly were engaged either in the domestic domain, or in artisan work, while males worked in various sectors outside the family home, such as transport, construction, gastronomy, and alike. (Please read Whiting & Edwards (1988) for gender division in labor cross-culturally, as well as Maynard & Greenfield (2003) for gendered work division with a Highland Maya community.)

However, the investigations for this study also revealed that it is nowadays not uncommon that Maya girls and women were engaged in traditionally male work domains such as mobile candy selling (chiclera) or agriculture, and that Maya boys and men were also engaged in typical female work domains such as household chores or Maya craftwork. Individuals who were engaged in such cross-gender work engagements did it by their own choice and mostly liked their ‘untypical’ work engagement. This observation was in line with cross-cultural findings on gender division in work in accordance with Best (2010).

However, in all of the study’s documented cases of cross-gender work engagements the person was involved in an activity that pre-existed in the family. Often opposite-gender family members were already active in these work areas for many years and consequently had obtained a considerable amount of working experience and insider knowledge. For example, girls who worked as chicleras usually had a father and/or older brothers who also worked as chicleros (or used to do so). Similarily, boys who were engaged in the production and sale of Maya

29 Often, the father also had made the wooden vending boxes, which were used for mobile candy selling.
craftwork commonly belonged to artisan families. Hence, even though the individuals pursued their work based on their own choice and out of personal motivation (to earn much needed money), they had received access and training to this work through their families. This result was in line with Maynard’s observation that Maya boys are engaged in childcare if no age-adequate female sibling is available (Maynard, 2004a; Seymour, 1999). However, in our study we detected several male and female children who were engaged in cross-gender work despite having a sibling of the opposite gender who also possessed the age and the maturity to pursue this kind of work. Hence, urbanization blurred the rigid boundaries between male and female work domains. Instead engagement in cross-gender work domains as well as the combination of individual and collectivistic work efforts seemed to be central (economic) adaptation strategies of many working poor Maya families to city life.

**Use of Resources and Incomes**

The interplay of individual and collectivistic actions also became apparent in the way the families shared resources and income. Even though family members might have operated independently in the streets and pursued (at least partly) their personal economic goals, they very often shared the available work equipment among each other by working in shifts. For example, two brothers alternately used an existing shoeshine box to finance their educational career. Two or more family members also commonly used Candy trays.

Most minor and adult interviewees divided their earnings between personal use and family. In accordance with previous findings, it became apparent that youth
were highly motivated to earn money in order to realize their own personal needs and wishes, while willingly contributing with their earnings to the family income (Tovote, 2007). The fact that most families consisted of multiple adult and minor earners who were motivated to earn enough money in order to keep part of the money for personal use, but were also willing to contribute most if not all their earning to secure the family’s well-being, was another example of how Maya migrant families adapted to the city life by integrating individual pursuits with collectivistic togetherness.

**Schooling as an Interplay of Individual and Family Investments**

With formal education, too, a mixture of individual and collective actions came to play (see also Ramos, 2003). If a family did not suffer from extreme poverty, it depended on a child’s own motivation whether or not he or she attended or had attended primary school (Maynard, 2002). Parents did not force their children to attend school. It seemed to be a child’s individual decision whether or not to pursue schooling. However, if a child expressed the wish to attend school, the parents and often the whole family took great efforts to come up for a child’s participation in school. Even though most children felt a high sense of responsibility to come up for their own school costs, most parents and other family members also worked in order to come up for the child’s education. Hence, school attendance was an individual as well as a family matter at the same time (Ramos, 2003). Correspondingly, students deemphasized their own academic career if their families needed support with childcare, agricultural work, family business work, or other, money-earning work. Almost all students admitted that they occasionally skipped
school for one of the aforementioned reasons.\textsuperscript{30} Hence, also in the area of education\textsuperscript{31} the poor working families adjusted to challenges connected to urban lifestyle by connecting personal aspiration with family cohesion.

**Family Approved Choice of Romantic Partner**

Moving to the city confronted the Maya families with an increase of individual choices (Greenfield, et al., 2009) including the choice of romantic partners. While in their rural home communities forced marriages were (and still are) common, this practice was less known in the traditionally Ladino city of SCLC. The majority of the interviewed families socio-culturally adapt to this situation by finding an intermediate way between a self-determined choice and a family-determined choice of a romantic partner. Our interviews revealed that it was not always easy for adolescents and young adults to follow the rather strict social script that balances individual and family interests concerning the choice of a romantic partner. Unchaperoned contact between young, unmarried males and females was still controversial, and most study participants agreed on the necessity of parental approval, which could only be received if a young man officially approached a young woman’s parents asking for permission. Parents only gave approval if they considered the romantic partner of their daughter beneficial for their child’s and their family’s well-being. Parents were more likely to approve of older adolescents or young adults with the prospect of a marriage in the near future. After receiving parental approval, it was possible for young couples to go out for strolls with one

\textsuperscript{30} The interviewed students also regularly skipped school for important family events such as funerals, weddings, etc.

\textsuperscript{31} Please notice that these findings exclusively refer to primary education.
another, often accompanied by a younger sibling of the girl as a watchdog. However, with any further romantic activity other than talking, the girl was risking her and her family’s good reputation, which could cause severe consequences for her current and future life. Community and family members vigilantly observed the joint activities of young couples. The couple needed to ensure that the public received the couple’s behavior untainted and without any hint to sexuality. If this was not the case, the girl was at risk for gossip and rumors, which commonly were targeted on her female sexuality – mostly questioning her sexual and social integrity. People from the Maya community (in SCLC and in her home village) might even start to shun, or threat her with violence. There was also some risk that she had to endure verbal or corporal punishment from family members. In the long-term a girl was at risk of not being able to find a spouse if her current relationship would not lead to marriage. Males, too, risked their good reputation if their relationship with a woman did not result in marriage. However, in contrast to females men experienced less severe consequences – another sign of the still existing sexual double standard in the urban Maya community of SCLC.

Hence, in the urban setting of SCLC courtship and the choice of a romantic partner was (for the above stated reasons) still not simply an individual matter between a man and a woman but a complex process, which required family involvement and approval in order to avoid social stigmatization and other negative consequences.
The Emergence of Adolescence - Leaving Familiar Pathways Leads to A Wider Range of Chances and Challenges

One of the most apparent changes in the community of poor working Mayas was the emergence of adolescence. Different from the study’s adult interviewees, many adolescents and most child interviewees were second-generation migrants, who had grown up in the urban setting of SCLC. Living in the city provided the youth with very different life experiences from those their parents and grandparents had experienced while growing up in the villages (Booth, 2002; Nsamenang, 2002). Many rules and large parts of the behavioral code valid in the family’s rural home communities no longer applied in the urban setting resulting in both positive and negative consequences.

One of the most striking positive differences between first- and second-generation Maya migrants was the higher literacy rate among younger Maya males and females (Arnett, 2004). Young females in particular exhibited much higher literacy rates than their mothers and grandmothers (Maynard and Greenfield, 2008; Arnett, 2004). Being literate allowed the younger generation to extend employment opportunities, understand and plead for their civil rights, apply new technologies etc. In addition, the advanced knowledge of the Spanish language combined with their literacy skills, provided young Maya males and females with an expertise in many areas related to a cash-economy based lifestyle, which lacked older family members (Welti, 2002). However, until recently in Maya communities elders had been the storehouse for traditional values, skills, and morale. In this position, they were respected and listened to by the rest of the community. There existed age
dependent hierarchies within the family as well as community (Zambrano & Greenfield, 2004). In the city, however, the skills of younger family and community members (e.g., literacy, Spanish language, use of technology, etc.) had gained significance because of their preponderance in adjusting to city life. This situation bears the risk for power struggles between older and younger family members, as well as conflicts and misunderstandings (Arnett, 2004).

However, previous studies found that young Maya are not only challenged with discord and conflict within the family but also outside their family home. Growing up in a Maya indigenous family often teaches them collectivistic skills, values, and codes of behavior (e.g., cooperation, mutual responsibility) that are not always in line with those emphasized by institutions of formal education, such as individual achievement and critical thinking (Childs & Greenfield, 1980; B. Rogoff, 1990; Tharp, 1989; Uribe, et al., 1994). This finding was confirmed in the present study with young Maya students in SCLC. Here, the youth were instructed predominantly in Spanish, which was not their mother tongue. A consequence of this mismatch was that Maya youth had difficulties following the teacher’s instructions and even more- to express themselves. Another outcome was that the majority of Maya students never learned to write in their indigenous language. This situation left them at risk to be caught between two languages, not learning at least one of them to proficiency (Cummins, 1992). An additional burden was caused by the need to balance school and family or work obligations with one another. Virtually all of the interviewed students admitted that they sometimes skipped school in order to work at home, to earn money in the streets, or to help out with
childcare. This situation put the Maya students at risk of failing their educational requirements (Andrew J. Fuligni & Zhang, 2004; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995).

The fact that the Maya youth grew up in an environment that generated challenges which are totally different from the challenges first generation migrants had to face in their rural home communities also carried the risk of limited parental or adult guidance. This lack of experience of the parental generation meant that they no longer could provide guidance and advice in all aspects of their children’s life. So even when family cohesions were close, younger family members had to find their own way to deal with challenges from the outside world, e.g., school requirements, job applications, and the like. Consequently, peers as well as other sources of information such as media and school gained importance (Cummins, 1992; Greenfield, et al., 2009).

In a particularly difficult situation are families in which parents were not proficient in Spanish and lacked experiences with institutional settings from childhood on (Turney & Kao, 2009). These parents were less likely to possess the necessary information and skills to speak up on behalf of their children in institutional settings such as kindergartens, schools, agencies, etc. In the present study’s sample were several families who clearly qualified for governmental subsidies and school stipends but who were not able to register for those programs because the parents lacked the capabilities to do so. This inability to support their own children sharply contrasted with the important value of mutual support within the family and could strain the family relationships. Traditionally, Maya parents and
children lived and worked in close proximity to one another, e.g., weaving together in the family yard, or working in the fields alongside each other. According to Paradise and Rogoff (2009) and other Maya researchers (S. Gaskins, 1996, 1999; Maynard & Greenfield, 2003; Morelli, et al., 2003) in Maya families child education and socialization occurred through observation and participation of shared activity within the family context. In the city, this traditional parental socialization and education strategy collided with the requirements connected to an urban lifestyle such as outside home, economy-based work engagements, attendance of formal education institution, etc. Parents and children are no longer united throughout their daily activities, so that parents could no longer permanently watch over their children. While younger children (10 years and under) still predominantly spent their days in close proximity to the family, e.g., while participating in family activities, attending a primary school in the neighborhood etc., many older children (adolescents) spent many hours per day away from their families. The present study revealed that this influenced secondary education for several Maya youth. Often, secondary schools were not in their immediate neighborhood and had the reputation of bringing the adolescent into contact with drugs, alcohol, unhealthy sexual relations, and youth violence. To prevent potential harm, many parents declined to send their children, in particular their daughters to these schools (for the exclusion of girls from education from a cross-cultural perspective, please read (Lewis & Lockheed, 2007). Other parents feared that if their children had received better education, they might end up looking down at their uneducated relatives.
These parental reservations towards secondary schooling represented an extra burden Maya youth have to overcome in order to pursue their academic career.

Different from traditional Maya habits, Maya adolescents also preferred to spend a significant amount of their leisure time with friends and peers instead of spending it within the family (Greenfield, Maynard, Martí, 2009). These times youth often spent without any adult supervision, something Maya parents had hardly experienced themselves and therefore often reacted with mistrust and denial to it. Hence, in our interviews many youth admitted to hang out with their friends clandestinely.

In combination these novelties could have negative outcomes such as underage drinking, drug consumption, unhealthy sexual relationships, and the like. It should be pointed out that the majority of the participating adolescents did not display any of the listed problematic behavior. However, during the field investigations, I noticed a small group of four girls aged 12 to 14 who - according to two social workers as well as other street working girls - had started to drinking alcohol, sniffing glue and hanging out with older Maya males, whom the social workers accused of exploiting the situation to approach the girls sexually. This small group exemplified the risks that accompanied the new freedom young Maya migrants experienced in the context city life, and the concomitant challenge to find the right orientation. Leaving familiar pathways, which were characterized by strict codes of behavior and intense social control within the family and the village communities, increased their risk for psychosocial or behavioral problems (e.g.,
substance abuse, unwanted pregnancies), similar to those of other teenagers around the world (Laurence Steinberg & Morris, 2001).

The various insights gained by learning from working poor Maya migrant families across the above-collated various contexts and activities such as work, work apprenticeship, schooling, gender roles, etc. leads to one of the main findings of the present study: Family members of all ages practiced a mixture of individual and collectivistic pursuits on a day-to-day basis, a phenomenon that can be summarized individuality in the context of collectivism. This finding is in line with the position of multiple theoretical experts of social change and cultural shifts. As laid out by Greenfield (2009) and others (Kagitcibasi, 2007; Raeff, 2004; B. Rogoff, 2003), in their concepts on social change and its implications for human development, in the real world there exists no dichotomous distinction between an individualistic and collectivistic (independent and interdependent) lifestyle. Instead, each individual’s activities, attitudes, and personality lie on a continuum between the two value systems (Greenfield, 1999, 2009). Having moved from an urban to a rural setting (exogenous source of change, Greenfield; 2009) Maya migrants and especial younger generations have to actively carve out their own ecocultural niche. This is even further complicated by the historical process of globalization (endogenous source of change; Greenfield 2009), which affects even the most remote regions in the world also turns SCLC into a society characterized by transition. Being no longer able to rely on the rather strict and homogenous traditional way of village life (Gemeinschaft), Maya migrants of all ages and positions (mother, father, older
sibling, community leader, main breadwinner, street worker, merchant, employer, caregiver, student, friend, etc.) had to balance individualistic and collectivistic pursuits. The social complexity of the city of SCLC (*Gesellschaft*) not only was characterized through global influences such as market economy, new technology and media but also led to a society that consisted of various subgroups. The indigenous *colonias*, commonly organized by place of origin and/or religious affiliation, were often *Gemeinschaft* communities within the overall *Gesellschaft* environment. As pointed out by (Greenfield, 2006) this also led to situations in which children and adolescents ended up receiving contradictory socialization messages simultaneously (e.g., Maya parents might emphasize obedience and cooperation while schools demand individual achievement and critical thinking).

Navigating through this tangle of different messages and codes of behavior represented a challenge not only for Maya children and youth but also for adult migrants. Providing guidance and support to their children in a new socio-cultural environment, which was also transformed by ongoing globalization processes, made it not easy for working poor Maya parents to achieve the best possible outcome for their children (and to even know what the best possible outcome would be). Facing an money- and formal education-based city life, existing parental ethnotheories, which had determined socialization goals and strategies, needed to be adapted or even abolished in order to assure child-well-being (Keller, 2007). At the same time many Maya communities in the *colonias* at the outskirts of SCLC still applied many of the *Gemeinschaft* norms, rules, and parental ethnotheories of homogenous, small-scale communities. This situation could lead to various dilemmas in the families’
daily life because as Greenfield expresses it “under conditions of social change, not all variables move in concert” (Greenfield, 2009, p. 416). An example from the present study was that many parents were unsure whether to allow their teenage daughters to sell independently in the streets. On the one hand it was long-standing tradition in the Maya culture that children older than 10 years pursue working activities independently, which in the city often meant that the children became self-sufficient street vendors. On the other hand it contradicted traditional Maya code of behavior to leave Maya teenage girls and young women unsupervised when walking in the streets. Another example was whether or not to send a child to secondary school.

Hence, the clue for social and economic success of older and younger Maya migrants seemed to depend on finding the right mixture between traditional-collectivistic and modern - individualistic values and behavioral norms.

**Pragmatism Directed Towards Family Well-Being as the Navigator in Daily Life Decisions and Behavior**

What determined whether -- Maya working poor in SCLC - a person picked up a new value or stuck with the traditional rules? The answer to this question constituted another main finding of the present study. It was concluded that pragmatism served as the navigator, which determined for each aspect of life where on the continuum between tradition and modernity an individual or a family localized itself. That is, Maya individuals took a practical, matter-of-fact way of approaching, assessing, and solving situations. At the center of the pragmatic decision-making and resulting forms of behavior of individuals and families was the
well-being of the family.\textsuperscript{32} In their daily struggle to assure their families’ survival, migrants replaced or preferred traditional with modern values depending on whatever served best to assure and to protect their family’s well-being. This conclusion is based on manifold observations across different contexts as the following examples demonstrate.

**The Pay-Off of Schooling**

Unsurprisingly, our study detected that Maya parents, similar to other parents around the world, just wanted the best for their children. Virtually all interviewed adults recognized the importance of formal education for their child’s future life. Many of them realized that a completed school career would yield better work opportunities (quality of work, job payment, job security, etc.) in the future. Nonetheless, the majority of them did not send their children to secondary schooling.

The main reason for this apparent contradiction was in many cases poverty. Parents from families who struggled economically were forced to focus on the short-term costs instead on assessing the long-term benefits of formal education. In these families both parents and children had to work hard to avoid starvation, so that from their perspective schooling was just another expense factor. However, economic scarcity was not the only factor that diminished children’s school attendance. From the perspective of Maya parents, school attendance was connected to further undesirable outcomes. First of all, it collided with various Maya

\textsuperscript{32} This statement excludes individuals with addictions to alcohol or drugs of any kind (glue sniffing, marijuana, etc.). Their decisions were characterized by their addictions and less by ambitions for their family’s well-being.
traditions such as that Maya children were supposed to work alongside older family members (S. Gaskins, 2003; Kramer, 2005; Morelli, et al., 2003). This way they could learn important work skills, which were perceived as essential to find a marriage partner, to form and raise a family and to be a successful Maya community member. In addition, the children learned highly valued virtues such as obedience and cooperation and at the same time were supervised and protected from unchaperoned contacts with strangers, in particular from the other gender. Many parents also hesitated to send their sons and daughters to secondary schools out of fear that in school, their sons and daughters could get exposed to drugs, alcohol, and physical violence as well as socially inappropriate and unhealthy sexual relationships (promiscuity).\textsuperscript{33} Parents felt that if they send their children, particularly their daughters, to secondary school, they would put them at risk for the above-mentioned harms, without having the means to protect them. All those risk factors, in some cases even just the rumors connected to them, could seriously threaten their children’s future. For example, a girl about whom people gossiped because she had had too much ‘contact’ with the other gender was at risk for not being able to marry later on (independent from the truthfulness of those rumors). Hence, parental decisions to not send their children to secondary schools, were characterized by the parents desire to protect their children’s physical, social, sexual integrity.

In the end, whether or not parents sent their child to secondary school always depended on what parents considered the least risky or most beneficial for

\textsuperscript{33} Oral reports by parents who sent or have sent their children to secondary school as well as by social works confirmed the existence of those risk factors.
their children and on how compatible this decision was with general family well-being. Hence, pragmatic considerations and less idealistic influences the decision whether or not to send a child to (secondary) school.

**The Meaning of Child Work**

At first glance child work in SCLC had the sole purpose to assure the family’s well-being if the parental income was not sufficient. However ‘knowing how to work’ was also something parents and other community member considered an important requirement for a child’s social and economic success in the future. As mentioned before children’s early engagement in adult work served to convey skills (e.g., learning through observation, knowing how to make tortillas, knowing how to seed) and values (e.g., obedience, cooperation, diligence) considered important within Maya families and communities. Facing poverty and the connected struggles on a daily basis, many adult and adolescent participants found it important that a child had learned how ‘to do things’ so that as an adult he or she would be able to care for her-/himself and other family members. Knowledge of work and work experiences were one of the most mentioned answers in inquiries about ideal man- and womanhood as well as a prerequisite for a successful marriage. However, in adapting to modernity more and more families realized the importance of formal education to prepare their child for future challenges. Many families, whose economic situation allowed it, did send their children to primary school at least. At the same time those people who possessed the means to send their children to primary or even secondary schooling argued that this investment would pay out later because it would allow the children to find better-paid jobs.
Interestingly, also in families who sent their children to school, child work still played a central role in family life. Embedded in a strict daily schedule, many Maya children attended school and worked to earn money (or help in the home environment). In fact, many Maya street vending girls were engaged in all three environments – they went to school, helped at home, and were producing and selling Maya craftwork, often taking along younger siblings.34

Many children who lived close enough to the city center attended school in the morning, returned home between 1 and 2 pm before they started selling in the streets around three pm until the evening hours. Children who lived in more distant neighborhoods used weekends, holidays, and other school-free days to come to the city center. With their income the youth financed their school attendance, bought their own clothing and contributed to the family income, depending on which costs came up. This double-strategy of child schooling and work, however, was not only economically motivated, but also assured that a child “learned how to work” in case his school education was interrupted or did not “pay off”. Again, one can notice the rather pragmatic approach the families applied in this matter.

Work Encounters as the Source of Intercultural Friendships

Most participants had met their non-indigenous friends in contexts related to work. However, secondary school students most frequently have made non-indigenous friends in the context of their studies. This finding insinuates that making non-indigenous friends was less a conscious choice in favor of intercultural

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34 This short-term study unfortunately did not allow for learning more about the impact this rather stringent day-to-day working schedule in the urban setting of SCLC had on the children’s development over a longer period of time.
networking, but grew out of frequent work relationships with non-indigenous colleagues, bosses, and partners. It is striking that those participants who spent the least amount of time in work relationships with non-indigenous people, namely adult women who mostly were engaged inside the family household also had the smallest number of non-indigenous friends. Hence, even though making friends certainly remained a process that relied on emotion and mutual sympathies, it was the need to work, which seemed to create the opportunity and basis for intercultural friendships. An illustrative example of such an intercultural relationship was the friendship between 17-year-old Maya female street vendor Mari and a female Ladino shop assistant in her mid-twenties in front of whose shop Mari sold craftwork on a daily basis. One day the woman saw Mari crying while vending. The woman approached Mari and offered her a sympathetic ear. She learned that Mari felt overwhelmed by the task of finding a future husband she liked and who would be accepted by her family, while at the same time avoiding that people started talking bad about her. In this situation, desperate Mari found her Ladino friend very supportive by listening and giving good advice without judging her. She also felt that concerning this matter she could trust on her non-indigenous friend from the work setting more than on her Maya girlfriends. Interestingly, this intercultural friendship could grow only because Mari participated in an outside-home work activity on a regular basis.

This way even very practical decisions such as what and where to work strongly influenced on the development of intercultural friendship.
Choosing Living Arrangements According to Interests

Traditionally, Maya families live differently from most Western families - together not only with their nuclear but also with extended family (Vogt, 1969). However, in SCLC in 2009 working poor Maya participants lived in extended families roughly as often as in nuclear families. Among the study participants, different kinds of household organizations could be found depending on the families' individual situations. Some interviewed Maya shared their household with extended family members. The Maya tradition that newly married couples move in with the husband’s family until they have saved enough money to build their own home (Vogt, 1969) was still widespread. In some cases young couples even continued to live in the husband’s family household indefinitely. Some families stuck with the Maya tradition that the youngest son of the family remains and inherits the family home. However, in the study sample there were also several families in which another child of the family (oldest son, youngest daughter, widowed daughter, etc.) inherited the family home. Female-headed households, too, were a common phenomenon in the colonias in SCLC. Here, single women lived together with their children after separation from their husbands due to divorce, death, or (inter-)national migration. In other cases nuclear families were split across two households – one in the city and one in the village. These diverse examples of household organizations demonstrate that living arrangements among poor working families in SCLC no longer followed the strict traditional rules that were still practiced in rural Maya communities. Instead, it was socially acceptable to live in arrangements that fit best to meet the challenges connected to city life and economic adaptation.
Other families, for example, lived in the city part time as well as on the countryside. I talked to a 13-year old girl named Carmela, who lived with her father, her 15-year old brother and her 11-year-old sister together in a rented room in a colonia nearby the José Tielemann market in SCLC, while her mother and her younger siblings lived in a rural hamlet in the municipality of Chamula. There the mother cultivated the family’s land and cared for her young children, who attended kindergarten and primary school in the village. Roughly every third weekend the city living part of the family returned to their rural home. The mother and the younger siblings commonly resided in the city during summer and Christmas vacation time. (It is not by chance that these vacation times coincide with the peaks of the tourist season!) Another unconventional but frequently found living arrangement was that male family members temporarily came to work in the city without any family company. These mostly young men then rented a cheap place to live and worked long hours per day in order to make as much money as possible in a short period of time. For a detailed discussion of the implications of urbanization and commerce on family’s everyday life and household organization, please refer to Greenfield, Maynard and Martí (2009).

Overall, it became apparent that decisions for either traditional or modern forms of household organization were predominantly motivated by pragmatism towards the family’s economic and social well-being and to a lesser extent by either modern or traditional perspectives on life or ideals.
Switching Between Traditional and Western Clothing

In SCLC in 2009 younger Maya women and girls (but rarely women older than 30 years) frequently switched between traditional and Western dress styles. This practice of younger generations of Maya females was reasoned not only as a matter of taste and social change but, too, was related to more practical considerations such as that casual clothing was more affordable than the hand-made traditional garments. Young women also appreciated that Western clothing was less scratchy, lighter, and therefore more comfortable to wear. Women who used both clothing styles switched between clothing styles depending on location, temperature, activity, need for laundry, and mood. Interestingly, those women who decided to wear only one of the two dress styles – either traditional or modern – did not judge women who chose not to do so. For example, several women older than 50 years stated that they would feel ‘embarrassed’ and ‘like naked’ if they wore non-traditional clothing. They, however, enjoyed seeing fashionable clothes worn by other women. Several young women and girls who wore both clothing styles made an effort to always wear traditional costumes when selling Maya craftwork in the city center as part of their sales strategy because the traditional outfit was appreciated by their tourist costumers (also reported in Van den Berghe, 1994).

Thus, while a change in female dress code was certainly one of the most apparent reflections of social change and globalization, it became apparent that the choice of Maya women to dress in either a modern or traditional style was highly

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35 Exceptions to this were older women who migrated from a rural communities in which women already had stopped wearing traditional garments (e.g., Ixtapa).
influenced by practical considerations such as costs, temperature, comfort, and last but not least sales strategies.

**The Bottom-Up Transformation of Gender Roles**

Anthropological research has described the strict gender division of work in the traditional Maya peasant system (Vogt, 1969; Kramer, 2005; Gaskins, 2003). The findings of the present study contribute to the field by describing how a division into typical male and typical female work domains was still in place among working poor Maya migrants in SCLC in 2009, and how at the same time the borders around these work domains became somewhat blurry. That is, migration to the city provided Maya women with new economic possibilities and consequently, independence (also read (Re Cruz, 1998)for the influence of migration on the gender roles of Yucatec Maya women). Households headed by women and married women who earned a significant amount of the family income through work in the cash economy are now common phenomena in SCLC. However, most female adult Maya migrants were still engaged in typical female work domains. The production and sale of Maya craftwork (either through sedentary or ambulatory sale) was a widespread work activity of Maya women. In addition, they worked in areas that are related to their domestic work roles. For example, they produced and sold food to tourists, were engaged as domestic helpers in foreign households, kitchen aids and waitresses in cheap restaurants and cafeterias, or as cleaners in hotels, shops and restaurants. Maya migrant males on the other hand mostly worked at construction sites, in transportation, or as merchants. There were, however, also numerous females and males who were engaged in work activities typically associated with
the other gender. Maya girls and women followed their husbands and sons into mobile candy selling - as spotted easily in the streets of SCLC. Interestingly, in contradiction to this well observable status quo, a great number of participants named candy selling still as an example of exclusively male work activity! The interviews revealed the hidden fact that in many families men were frequently involved in typical female work tasks such as Maya craftwork, childcare, and household chores. However, all of the interviewees perceived this situation as an exemption to the rule. So it seemed that even though Maya men knew how to do female work, they preferred to pursue these task in non-public settings because they did not want to be seen being involved in women’s work. Several interviewees admitted that it would make the men feel ‘ashamed’ if other community members knew they were doing women’s work. These and other examples about the transformation of traditional Maya gender roles indicated that among poor working Maya migrants in SCLC the realization of gender equality on the practical level seemed to overtake gender-related ideology. For example, traditional gender concepts that were still prevalent described men as the dominant-acting main breadwinners and females as obedient and nurturing caretakers of the family. A significant number of interviewees nonetheless pointed out that in their family there existed gender equality concerning decision making- but all participants automatically assumed that this situation was unusual and did not exist in other families. This study indicated that, at least in families in which husband and wife had become equal breadwinners, they also made household decisions as equal partners. Hence, the participants believed that his or her family represented an exemption,
whereas in fact numerous families already practiced gender equality. In public settings, however, women were not granted the same rights as men. For example, one 48-year old Maya woman complained that in public gatherings, it was still men who did the talking. In addition, Maya women and teenage girls still had to fear for their reputation through gossip when they walked the streets by themselves, had ‘too much’ cross-gender contact with non-family members, or even just went to secondary school. Fears of a risk to a girl’s social and sexual integrity also contributed to the situation, so much that women in particular hesitated to send their teenage daughters to secondary schooling. There still existed a clear sexual double standard in various life areas.

Nonetheless, our study disclosed many signs that indicated that Maya migrant women in SCLC were on the pathway to emancipation. Connected to the migration into an urban environment, Maya gender roles were in flux. Interestingly, this process seemed to develop ‘bottom up’ instead of ‘top down’, meaning that reality often outplayed existing ideal gender concepts. Further examples, which confirmed this observation, are listed below.

It seems that with time, Maya migrant females were able to improve their employment position. For example, the longer a women resided in the city, the more likely she was to own her own artisan market stall after having started with selling Maya craftwork in the streets. Hence, despite the fact that older Maya female migrants still lacked a complete primary school education, they had extended their opportunities to earn money through hard work and persistence.

36 Several female interviewees mentioned their family’s conversion to Protestantism as the turning point concerning gender equality within the family.
Increased emancipation and self-determination was also expressed in women’s dress style. As reported earlier younger Maya women and girls liked to switch between traditional and Western dress style. Adult women and also the majority of adolescent girls claimed that it was their own decision (and not their husband’s or father’s) in which way they preferred to dress. More younger Maya females started to wear make up and jewelry thereby distinguishing themselves significantly from older generations of Maya women who were taught and still displayed modesty in their appearance. However, the fact that not all younger Maya women liked to wear Western clothes and use make up but that many of them still prefer to wear traditional garments indicated that the young women made independent and conscious choices in regards to their appearance.

Changes in the social status of Maya women were also expressed in the expectations different generations of Maya women held towards men. While women of all ages expressed wanting men to be supportive, hardworking, non-aggressive and drug-free, only younger generations of Maya women emphasized characteristics such as mutual understanding, affection, and reciprocal respectfulness, thus naming soft skills which characterize modern partnerships around the globe.

Another sign that women’s emancipation slowly gained ground within the Maya community in SCLC was that in all interview groups interviewees thought that females should be at least 18 years and older before getting married. There existed the widespread view that marriages at minor ages were often connected to negative outcomes, especially for the women. This result was of special relevance, because different findings showed that the marital age of the parents correlated with the
children’s education. Children of parents with a higher marital age were more likely to attend school later on.

The fact that virtually all participants advocated the right of indigenous women to drive cars is another indicator of how attitudes and cultural values were based on pragmatic decision-making and acting in favor of family well-being. That is, the majority of supporters pointed mainly to the benefits of car-driving women, e.g., reduced workloads, flexibility, advantages in cases of emergency, etc.

In summary, these numerous examples illustrate the pathway of Maya women in SCLC towards emancipation: it was a predominantly bottom-up, step-by-step approach. Again, an important driving force of this process was pragmatism for the benefit of family well-being. While Maya women and girls did not aspire equal rights for ideological, but for very practical and life quality supporting reasons, they cautiously explored new paths in order to adapt to the economic and social challenges to city life. However, the many reported cases in which Maya women and girls experienced sexual discrimination or suffered from gender inequality also indicates that the way of emancipation is still a long way to go for Maya females in SCLC.

Overall, pragmatic decision-making and behavior to the benefit of family well-being was a recurrent theme in various life areas of poor working Maya migrants. Hence, which values were important for a particular Maya family and which habits continued to be practiced was less determined by morale or ideals than by practical and pragmatic considerations. Traditions that were helpful to
protect the family members in their efforts to survive in the urban setting were continued. These included, family cohesion, sharing responsibilities and resources, child work, care for elder etc. Other traditions that impeded successful adaptation were modified, including strict gender division in work, education, etc. Still others were handled in a flexible manner, including living arrangements, household organization, clothing, etc.
Intra-Individual Variability of Traditional and Modern Values

The current study also demonstrates that instead of holding a fixed attitude towards life - either characterized by traditional or modern values, individuals of all ages often switched between traditional and non-traditional positions. (For examples please read the Brief Biographical Summaries, Chapter 4, pp. 206). Hence, a participant might have held a very liberal and modern view in one area of life but argued extremely conservatively in another. As described by Weinreich (2009), using the term *enculturation*, participants picked up aspects of the new urban culture in some social settings but stuck with their traditional cultural values in other settings. For example, women who successfully ran their own business as market stall owners for Maya craftwork or food and who had become the main breadwinners of their families did not allow their teenage daughters to walk the streets on their own to prevent the girls from meeting non-family males. Other mothers allowed their daughters to sell independently in the streets, but did not allow them to attend secondary school (although their sons could). The mothers, for example, did not want their daughters to wear the comparatively short skirt, which was part of the mandatory school uniform for girls (in fact many Maya women and girls described these school skirts as mini-skirts). There were other mothers who allowed their daughters freedom in how to spend their leisure time (e.g., shopping malls and recreational parks) but required them to wear traditional costumes throughout the day.

Interestingly, the study also showed that there existed certain areas of life, which seemed to be unchanged by migration from a rural to an urban social
environment. Independent from their place of origin, gender or age, and despite the
great variety of different attitudes in other life areas, all Maya migrants agreed that
care for elders is done by family members only. None of the interviewees considered
outside family care for their elderly an option. Most often participants pointed out
that elderly parents would live with the child who inherited the family home\textsuperscript{37}, but
that all siblings were involved in supporting their parents as best as they can
(providing food, money, assistance, etc.). Another domain of life that seemed to be
unchanged by influences of urbanization and/or globalization was the role of the
mother remaining the key actor with regard to household management and
childcare. Mothers still held the main responsibility for those areas, seemingly
independent from further work obligations. At the same time there were also life
areas in which all participants consistently supported modern values, regardless of
the diverse attitudes they held otherwise and independent from gender or age. With
only very few exceptions, all migrants advocated the importance of formal
education in respect to future job opportunities, an ideal marital age older than 18
years, and the right of indigenous women to drive cars.

The eco-cultural niche model and the activity setting approach help to
understand and explain on a very practical level the detected diversity of traditional
and modern values: The more the various settings an individual participates in on a
daily basis differ in respect to their underlying value systems as well as social
scripts, the more likely an individual is to acquire a very diverse set of cultural
values and norms in order to adapt and succeed in each of the settings he or she is

\textsuperscript{37} Traditionally, this had to be the youngest son of the family. This rule was less strictly followed
nowadays.
part of. Hence, individuals who live in a transitional and pluralistic society (as in SCLC) are more likely to possess a diverse set of multiple ethical views and value systems than persons who live in more homogenous places (e.g., a remote rural Maya village in the Highlands of Chiapas).

In sum, looking into the individual life stories of participating migrants, it became clear that, as proposed by Greenfield (2009), each of them represented values, which are typical for small-scale societies (Gemeinschaft), and other values which are common for large-scale societies (Gesellschaft). The present study further revealed that there existed a great diversity of traditional and non-traditional outlooks, not only between and inside Maya migrant families, but also within an individual (intra-individual variability). Whether someone held a modern or traditional attitude concerning a certain matter was not derived from a general (either modern or conservative) attitude towards life, but from hands-on experiences a person had collected in this particular life area.

Therefore, I would like to add to Greenfield’s model of social change and human development an interaction between the factors ‘cultural values’ and ‘human development’ (Figure. 21). The two-headed arrow (marked with a red circle) added to Greenfield’s visual model symbolizes the bidirectional relationship between the factors ‘human development’ and ‘cultural values’. My research depicts that, for example, the pressure for economic survival and the goal to assure family well-being required an individual to change his attitude and behavior in daily life. Those adjustments in daily life then led to a change in the individual’s cultural value system.
This process can be best illustrated with a concrete example from my ethnographic data. Thirty-four year old Lupita admitted that based on her upbringing in a rural community in the region of Chanal, she originally opinionated that a teenage girl should not walk the streets without the company of her mother, or at least another adult family member. However, since her husband has left her and her ten children in the past year, her thirteen-year-old daughter Flore had
begun to sell self-made toffee drops in the city center of SCLC. During that working activity Flore is only partly accompanied by her nine-year old sister and eight-year-old brother. Lupita was not particularly happy about this situation but believed that it was socially acceptable for her thirteen-year old daughter to sell independently in the streets in order to contribute to the family’s survival. She thought that also other people from her urban Maya neighborhood would share her view, that it was socially acceptable for Flore to sell toffees in the street in order to contribute to her family’s survival.

Conclusions

The present study shed light on the socio-cultural adaptation processes of working poor Maya families in SCLC across different domains of life: living situation, family composition, migration history, working activities, language use, intercultural contacts, leisure time, education, resource management, appearance, professional aspirations, gender roles, dating, marital age, family planning, and elder care. By not only learning about the families' daily activities and experiences but also their thoughts and attitudes, the study detected opportunities and challenges of the families living in various urban settings. In particular, the study focused on the concrete adaptive strategies the families applied in dealing with challenges.

As pointed out earlier, if one would like pin down the above listed broad variety of study findings to a few sentences, the quintessence of the present study
would be the following: (1) in order to adapt to city life - as individual and as family - Maya migrants of all ages regularly apply a mix of traditional and modern forms of behavior and attitudes (2); hence pluralism of values and norms is not only demonstrated on the societal level (macro level) but also on the individual-psychological level (micro level); (3) the selection mechanism for this mix of values can be described as pragmatism oriented on the goal of family well-being.

Hence, key factors to successful adaptation of poor working Maya to city life appeared to be the right balance between (a) the conservation of traditional Maya values, which provided guidance and protection based on values and codes of behavior, rooted in the Maya Gemeinschaft and (b) openness for values, practices and opportunities provided by the Gesellschaft environment of SCLC, which empowered Maya migrants (particularly Maya women) to overcome the various forms of still existing social disadvantage, inequality, and discrimination.

Successful Maya individuals and families have transformed their migration status to a life situation, in which modern and traditional value systems were not contradictory and mutually exclusive, but merged within a larger pool of cultural knowledge.

**Implications for Programs and Policy**

The present study has implications for the work of state and social programs and policies – on a more general as well as on a practical level.

**General Implications**

Our study finds that despite living in the city and pursuing cash-economy based jobs and/or individual education paths, most Maya migrants still oriented their day-
to-day activities and decisions on the idea that they acted as a part of a collective, i.e., their nuclear and extended families. Hence, state and social organizations dealing with Maya individuals should always take into account their clients’ collectivistic perspectives. Applied measures need to be in compliance with a person’s obligation towards the family as well as the existing social standards of the Maya community in SCLC.

Furthermore, the present study can help sensitize institutions e.g., schools, kindergartens, or health centers to the existing intra-individual cultural variability and its consequences. Raising awareness for this phenomenon should help to avoid stereotypes when dealing with Maya migrants. That is, just because someone appears to be tradition-oriented in one area (e.g., clothing), does not mean that he or she holds a traditional view in other domains of life (e.g., using new technologies). On the other hand, institutional workers might underestimate the meaningfulness of traditional Maya values in the life of a person, who appears completely assimilated at first glance, e.g., speaking Spanish fluently, wearing Western clothing and using new technologies such as a cell phone.

Positively formulated, state agencies, social workers, etc. are asked to perceive and treat the existing cultural pluralism in SCLC as an opportunity, a unique situation that should be fostered- not as a burden that needs to be abolished.

In order to actively contribute to this idea I will provide a short summary of the major study findings to the two local street organizations *Melel Xojobal* and *Chantiik taj tajinkutik*. Furthermore, the complete dissertation will be added to the in-house library of *Melel Xojobal*. On demand this library is also open to the public,
e.g. for local social activists, researchers etc. In 2010, with the help of my husband Philip, I founded the social organization Straßenkinder-Südmexiko (Street children-Southern Mexiko) the main purpose of which is raising funds for the organization Chantiik taj tajinkutik. With their approach to not only support Maya children in receiving a formal education, but to also teach them about children’s and human rights, as well as traditional Maya craftsmen knowledge they simultaneously pay respect to the child’s need for education and her obligations to contribute to the family’s well being.

Practical Implications

The findings of the present study may inspire practical approaches for improving the life situation of working poor Maya migrant families in SCLC.

**Education.** In order to bring to or to keep more Maya children in school, the study contributes the following insights.

A significant amount of Maya migrant children did not attend school because the current policy concerning school registration required each child to possess a birth certificate. However, many Maya families did not have the resources (money, travel time) and the skills (literacy, dealing with bureaucracy, etc.) necessary to acquire the important document. An alternative approach to the current policy (as suggested by the director of a local street child organization) would be to first have the children registered at schools and to then support their families to obtain the children’s birth certificates. Hence, instead of excluding children from education because of missing birth certificates, educational institutions should extend their
agenda to improve their student’s opportunities in life by not only providing them with literacy but by also assisting them in overcoming bureaucratic hurdles.

Possessing documents of identification is almost as essential as being literate in order to succeed in a globalized economy. Both –literacy and identity papers – are also crucial premises to (legally) defend your own and your family’s rights.

This study also reveals that only in rare cases Maya migrant students receive school instruction in their first language. Despite the fact that most children attended schools with mostly or exclusively indigenous children and often had not learned to speak (proper) Spanish in their families, the classroom language was predominantly Spanish. In some classes the teachers also partly instructed in Tzotzil. However, the study results indicated that there did not seem to exist a binding and uniform legislation about the instruction language in primary schools. The language of instruction appeared to be a subject of the individual teacher’s language skills as well her attitude toward using indigenous languages in the school setting. In the interviews it became clear that even though Maya parents and children appreciated schools for promoting the children’s Spanish language skills, several interviewees reported language problems as a reason for learning difficulties, distress, and premature school drop-outs. Thus, an important step for improving the school attendance rate of indigenous children would be to find a consistent regulation concerning the language of instruction, which takes into account the students’ competence in their indigenous language as well as in Spanish.

In addition, school curricula should take into account the student’s indigenous origin. Ethnographic talks disclosed that schools commonly had not
integrated indigenous culture materials into their curriculum. However, as Reynar and Garcia (1989) as well as Suina and Smolkin (1994) have demonstrated, it is necessary to include culturally appropriate material that reflects the student’s home background into the syllabus, in order to respond to the cultural discontinuity of the indigenous students’ home and school environments. Integrating the children’s native language and cultural knowledge into school lessons will not only strengthen literacy but also ethnic identity (Reyhner & Garcia, 1989; Suina & Smolkin, 1994).

In the course of the study, the central role of work in the family life of poor working Mayas became apparent. Virtually all family members older than six years contributed to the family’s economic survival. Schools should build on this phenomenon by conveying tasks and skills on the basis of realistic and work-related examples (e.g., calculations based on food prices, cost and sale prices for merchandise etc.; reading assignments related to everyday topics such as the food production, use of technology, or citizen rights). This way not only the children but also their parents will experience and more easily understand which short-term and long-term benefits schooling can provide to family well-being.

A further result of this study is that the cost of the mandatory school uniform is a matter of concern in virtually all poor working Maya families. The fact that other school systems function well without any requirements for school uniforms questions the usefulness of a relatively expensive school uniform in a region in which a significant number of families still struggle to maintain their livelihoods.

The obligation to wear a school uniform also represented a hurdle for girls in continuing schooling. Many Maya girls and their families perceived the skirt that
was required part of girls’ school uniform as inappropriately short. In fact, many informants described them as *minifaldas* (miniskirts) and as one of the reasons why many Maya girls would not attend secondary school even though they had graduated from primary school.

The fact that secondary schools taught their students in mixed-gender classes seemed to have a deterrent effect on Maya teenage girls and their families. The families feared disrespectful treatment of their daughters by their male peers and hence perceived the teenage girl’s school attendance as a risk for her social, sexual, and physical integrity. This information should appeal to school authority to closely monitor school climates and, if necessary, to take measures towards creating a more supportive environment for female students. Maya families who have adolescent girls eligible for secondary schooling should be directly approached in order to address their concerns and to gain the families’ trust regarding safety of their daughters while pursuing their academic careers. Another alternative would be the establishment of all-girl schools in SCLC. Such educational institutions could help to improve female’s access to educational institutions and therewith reduce the discrimination of women in education.38

**Risks of adolescence.** The present study revealed that there was a great diversity of ideas about how much individual freedom adolescents should have. Those differences in particular were displayed between adolescents and their parents, as well as between female and male adults. On the one hand, there were parents who feared for their children’s social, sexual, and physical integrity and

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38 In the past, all-girl behavior schools also have been critical in the in the establishment of gender equality standards in Western societies.
therefore tried to prohibit any kind of unsupervised peer contact besides work. Youth from these families admitted to clandestinely hang out with friends, dress up, and to visit recreational facilities - partly during their working times in the street. I also met parents who did not leave their adolescent children unsupervised during work because they were aware that many youth would use their work in the city center to sneak out. Some of those parents also worried that their adolescent children would be (immediately) threatened by or get involved in problematic behavior (violence, alcohol abuse, drugs) if left without parental control. On the other hand there were parents who mostly left it up to their adolescent children to decide how to spend their leisure time - often without having a concrete idea in what kind of (sometimes unhealthy or risky) activities their children got involved in. As reported before, it is typical for a society in transition and with migrant populations of various backgrounds that uniform rules of conduct about how much individual freedom a youth should possess do not exist (Kwak, 2003). Parental socialization strategies with respect to adolescent autonomy were characterized by great variability, often exhibiting some extreme forms of over-cautious behavior or a lack of caution. However, the study also elucidated what was socially desirable and acceptable for Maya youth who wished to spend time on their own and with their peers. Among the urban Maya community of SCLC, adolescent boys and girls occasionally spent some time together - either in a group or even as a couple. However, receiving parental approval for doing so was one of the most often mentioned and essential (!) prerequisite. Several interviewees described a uniform script for those kinds of social situations: If some (older) teenage boy and girl
wanted to go out together, the boy needed to visit the girl’s family equipped with small presents and convince the parents that he would treat their daughter respectfully- and that he would like to marry her later on. If the parents deemed the young man and his intentions acceptable, they would allow the young people to go out for strolls, usually accompanied by a younger sibling of the girl. In case Maya adolescents girls and boys wished to spend time together as a group, parents were willing to accept these encounters if the youth pursued a socially acceptable activity, e.g., attending a church service, human rights workshop, etc. and/or if an activity occurred in the presence of a trustworthy third party, e.g., a church or community leader or established social worker. Hence, state and social organizations should make attempts to establish appropriate locations and opportunities for adolescents to meet. Currently, most of the organized locations and activities are designed for Maya children up to the age of 11 or 12 years and much less is organized for Maya youth. Creating semi-supervised spaces could support Maya male and female adolescents but also their parents to find the right balance between their children’s development of individual freedom and family responsibility. Of course, the creation of such spaces demands a lot of groundwork. Gaining the trust of Maya migrant parents and grandparents, whose upbringing in the their rural and socially rather homogenous communities has been so strikingly different from their children’s current socio-cultural environment, is a challenging task, which can be best mastered by cooperating with already existing and trusted social networks (e.g., church communities, economic and social communities, schools, social welfare organizations). Focal points of such programs should be the compatibility of
traditional Maya and modern value systems, the related difficulties and opportunities, and the support of Maya adolescents to develop strong social and ethnic identities. However, the establishment of successful Maya youth intervention programs requires parental (in particular maternal) involvement. Reaching the parents, though, is probably even more difficult than reaching their children. Here, too, the cooperation with existing institutions such as church groups, women’s groups, and economic groups is advisable. The results of the present study suggest that such initiatives should emphasize in their agenda the goal to strengthen family well-being. In addition, programs should reach out to the families via pragmatic and hands-on concepts. An example, of such a program is the street child and youth organization Chantik Taj Tajinkutik (Tzotzil for ‘Playing in order to Learn’)\textsuperscript{39}. They, among other things, support Maya families by assisting them with school and medical costs, mediate between youth and their parents in cases conflicts, accompany them to public offices and health care institutions, and last but not least teach Maya children and adolescents (with the help of skilled craftspeople of independent community cooperations) craftwork such as wood works, weaving, knotting, or stitching. Youth who need to earn money in addition to going to school or who do not pursue an academic career, can thereby acquire skills that provide them and their family some economic independence.

\textsuperscript{39} http://www.chantiik.org
Limitations & Future Directions

As with all research, the present study contains several limitations. One of the strongest limitations of this present study is its one-moment snapshot character while the adaptation of indigenous families to an urban setting is an ongoing dynamic process. A more comprehensive study design would be longitudinal, accompanying participants over a long period of time. It would be useful to collect data from different generations from the same family (e.g., daughter, mother, grandmother or son, father, grandfather) in order to learn about intergenerational family relations (Kwak, 2003) of Maya migrant families. The participating Maya migrant families should be systematically selected in accordance to certain criteria such as place of origin, migration history (reason, time), religion etc. In a future study it would be also advisable to systematically investigate differences between poor working migrant Maya families and Maya migrant families who have come to some wealth while residing in the city, in order to find out more about the relationship between social class and culture. A further interesting research question would be how a higher educational career affects the adaptation strategies characterized in the current study (constant swivel between individualistic and collectivistic attitudes and behavior; pragmatism as the navigator in decision making with regard to family well-being; intra-individual diversity of modern and traditional values).

The current study focused on the socio-cultural context of interactions and settings (O'Donnell, Tharp, & Wilson, 1993) relevant in the ongoing adaptation processes of Maya migrant families. To this matter, the research project took a
rather broad and descriptive approach in order to avoid a premature concentration on variables, which were of less relevance to the lives of the families. Equipped with the insights from the present study, a consequent next step would be to investigate how those socio-cultural adaptation processes are connected to differences on the individual psychological level. Learning about the strength of ethnic identity on life satisfaction, self-esteem, career orientation, individual achievement, body image, and gender identity should be promising research approaches. Also, the influence of religious affiliation on the aforementioned psychological concepts would present an important investigation. Unfortunately, due to limited resources (time, personnel, finances) and the need to curtail the applied semi-structured interview guide, the present study left the role of religion largely unexplored, a shortcoming whose relevance became clearer towards the end of the data collection phase and was confirmed during data analysis.

Of considerable importance in practical terms would be to systematically explore which factors are related to resilience in Maya migrant children who perform above average despite growing-up in impoverished socio-cultural environments. Information about the particular personal and social resources those children use could help to develop hands-on, strength-oriented state programs, and social organizations engaged in efforts to improve the living situation of working poor Maya children and their families.
Appendix

Appendix A. Age Distribution of Interview Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Females (n=60)</th>
<th>Males (n=65)</th>
<th>Both Genders (n=125)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mean Age</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(In Years)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>11.1 (SD = 0.9)</td>
<td>11.9 (SD = 0.4)</td>
<td>11.42</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(In Years)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>11-12</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Frequency of Ages</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>(In Years)</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>10 y. 3</td>
<td>10 y. 0</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>11 y. 4</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>17 y. 1</td>
<td>17 y. 4</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td></td>
<td>84 y. 1</td>
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Appendix B. Semi-structured Interview Guides (Spanish and English Versions)

Appendix B1: Interview Guide For Female Children (Spanish Version)

Guía de Entrevista: Niñas de 9 a 12 años

a) Datos Personales
1) Cómo te llamas? (No tiene que ser tu nombre de verdad.)
2) Cuántos años tienes?
3) Dónde naciste?
4) Y en qué colonia vives ahora?
5) Cuántos hermanos, hermanitos, hermanas y hermanitas tienes en total?
6) Tu mama y papa viven contigo? Todo el año? Si no, dónde viven? Por qué viven ahí?
7) A qué se dedican tus papás?

b) Decisión de migrar
8) En qué lugares ya has vivido antes?
9) Cuánto tiempo viviste en _________? Y en _________?
10) En qué pueblo es originario tu papa? En Qué comunidad nació?
11) Y tu mama? En qué comunidad nació?
12) Desde cuándo vives en la colonia _____________(introduzca el nombre de su colonia)?
13) Por qué vinieron aquí?
14) Te gusta donde vives? Por qué? Dónde te gustaría vivir?

c) Aculturación/Lengua
15) Qué idioma(s) hablas?
16) Cuándo y cómo aprendiste a hablar Español/Tseltal/Tsotsil?
17) Cuál lengua hablas más fácil?
18) En cuál lengua hablas mas con tus padres?
19) En qué momentos hablas en Tsotsil/Tseltal?
20) En qué momentos hablas en Español?
21) Si sabes escribir, en qué lengua aprendiste de escribir?
22) En cuál lengua sueñas (o piensas)?
23) Escuchas radio? En qué lengua son las radio shows que estás escuchado?
24) Ves tele? Qué son tus shows favoritos?

d) Identidad Professional/Educacional
25) Vas a la escuela?
    Si sí: En qué grado estás?
    Si no: Fuiste a la escuela cuando estabas chiquita? Hasta qué grado llegaste?
If child currently attends school
26a) Cuándo vas a la escuela?
27a) Recibes una beca (de oportunidades) para ir a la escuela?
28a) En qué idioma hablas en la clase?
29a) En qué idioma hablas en el recreo?
30a) En qué idioma escribes en la escuela?
31a) Dónde y cuándo haces tu tareas?
32a) Quién te ayuda con tus tareas?
33a) También hay niños kaxlan en tu escuela? Cómo te llevas con ellos?
34a) A veces faltas a la escuela? Por qué?
35a) La escuela es más importante para las niñas o para los niños? O igual?
36a) Quién sabe mejor de estudiar – niñas o niños?
37a) Quieres ir a la secundaria también? Por qué si/no?

If Child Currently does not attend school:
26b) Fuiste a la escuela antes?
27b) Sí si: Cuántos años fuiste?
28b) En qué lengua hablaste en la escuela?
29b) Qué fueron las razones que nunca fuiste/dejaste de ir a la escuela?
30b) Te gustaría regresar a la escuela?
31b) La escuela es más importante para las niñas o para los niños? O igual?

38) A qué decidías tu tiempo (si no estás en la escuela)? ¿Qué haces durante el día?
39) Te gusta a qué dedicas tu tiempo?
40) ¿Qué haces con el dinero que ganas con este trabajo?
41) ¿Qué te gustaría hacer cuándo estás más grande? ¿Qué vas a hacer cuando estés más grande?
42) ¿Y tus padres son acuerdo con tu idea?

e) Bienestar y Esperanza
43) Duermes bien? Por qué sí/no?
44) ¿Qué te hace sentir mal? ¿Qué te hace triste?
45) ¿Qué te hace sentir bien? ¿Qué te hace feliz?

f) Contactos intercultural
46) Tienes amigos que son kaxlan? De dónde conoces ellos?
47) Tus padres tienen amigos que son kaxlan?
De dónde les conocen?
48) Alguna vez ha sido mal visto (discriminada) por ser de una familia indígena (Tsotsil/Tseltal)? Dónde de pasó eso?

g) Identidad Genero
49) ¿Qué tipo de trabajos hacen las muchachas de tu edad?
50) ¿Qué tipo de trabajos hacen los muchachos de tu edad?
51) ¿Qué tipo de trabajos hacen las mujeres mayores?
52) Qué tipo de trabajos hacen los hombres mayores?
53) Las mujeres también pueden ___________? Y las muchachas?
54) Los hombres también pueden ___________? Y los muchachos?
55) Está bien si mujeres indígena (Tsotsiles/Tseltales) manejen carros?
56) Tu has manejado un carro?
   Si no: Tu quieres aprender a manejar?
   Si sí: Quién te enseñó?
57) Quién en la familia recibe y decide como gastar el dinero?

h) Recursos
58) En tu familia a veces el dinero no alcanza para la comida? (muchas veces/pocas veces)
59) En tu familia a veces el dinero no alcanza por ropa o zapatos que necesitan? (muchas veces/pocas veces)
60) En tu familia a veces el dinero no alcanza para comprar cosas que necesitan en la casa?

i) Apariencia
61) Qué tipo de ropa usas?
62) En qué momento usas traje tradicional y en qué momento usas la ropa de los kaxlanes?
63) Tus padres están de acuerdo si llevas ropa de los kaxlanes? Compran la ropa?

Ultimo pregunta
64) Si tuvieras la oportunidad de pedir tres deseos, qué pedirías?
Appendix B2: Interview Guide For Female Children (English Version)

Interview Guide: Girls 9 to 12 years

a) Personal Dates
1) What is your name? (It does not have to be your real name).
2) How old are you?
3) Where are you born?
4) In what quarter do you live now?
   Or: And where do you live now?
5) How many older and younger brothers as well as older and younger sisters do you have?
6) Do your mother and father live with you? Permanently? If not, where are they living? What are the reasons for that?
7) What are your parents working?

b) Migration Decision
8) Where have you lived before?
9) How much time did you live in ______? And in ______?
10) What place is your father from? In what community was he born?
11) And your mother? In what community was she born?
12) Since when do you live in your quarter__________ (introduce name of mentioned colonia)?
13) For what reasons did you move here?
14) Do you like where you live? Why do you like it? Where would you like to live?

c) Acculturation/Language
15) What languages do you speak?
16) When and how did you learn to speak Spanish/Tzotzil/Tzeltal?
17) What language do you speak the most easily?
18) In what language you talk mostly to your parents?
19) In what moments do you talk Tzotzil/Tzeltal?
20) In what moments do you talk Spanish?
21) If you know how to write, in what language did learn to write?
22) In what language do you dream (or think)?
23) Do you listen radio? In what language are the radio shows you are listening to?
24) Do you watch TV? What are your favorite shows on TV?

d) Professional/Educational Identity
25) Do you go to school?
   If yes: In what grade are you?
   If no: Did you go to school when you were younger?

If child currently attends school:

26ª) When do you go got school?
27ª) Do you receive a stipend (from OPORTUNIDADES) for attending school?
28a) In what language do you talk in class?
29a) In what language do you talk during school breaks?
30a) In what language do you write in school?
31a) Where and when are you doing your home work?
32a) Who assists you with your homework?
33a) Are there also kaxlan (Latino) children in your school? How do you get along with them?
34a) Do you sometimes skip school? Why? What are the reasons?
35a) Is school more important for girls or for boys? Or is it the same for both?
36a) Who knows better to study – boys or girls?
37a) Do you also want to go to secondary school? Why/ why not? What are your reasons for that?

*If Child Currently does not attend school:*
26b) Did you go to school earlier?
27b) If yes: How many years did you go?
28b) In what language did you talk in school?
29b) What were the reasons that you stopped going to school/ that you never attended school?
30b) Would you like to return/go to school?
31b) Is school more important for girls or for boys? Or is it the same for both?

38) To what do you dedicate your time (if you are not in school?)
39) Do you like how you spend your time?
40) What are you doing with the money you earn with your work?
41) What would you like to do as an adult?
42) And your parents agree on that?

e) Well-being and Hope
43) Do you sleep well? Why/for what reasons you do/ you do not do?
44) What makes you feel bad? What makes you feel sad?
45) What makes you feel good? What makes you happy?

f) Intercultural Contacts
46) Do you have friends who are kaxlan? Where have you met them?
47) Do your parents have kaxlan friends? Where have they met them?
48) Have you ever been looked bad at (discriminated) for being from a indigenous Tzotzil/Tzeltal family? What happened to you?

g) Gender Identity
49) What kinds of work pursue girls of your age?
50) What kinds of work pursue boys of your age?
51) What kinds of work pursue adult women?
52) What kinds of work pursue adult men?
53) Can women also work as __________(insert male professions)? And teenage-girls?
54) Can men also work as _________(insert female professions)? And teenage-boys?
55) Is it okay if indigenous(Tzotzil/Tzelal) women drive cars?
56) Have you ever driven a car?
   If not: Would you like to learn to drive?
   If yes: Who showed driving to you?
57) Who in your family receives the money and decides how to spend it?

h) Resources
58) Is there in your family sometimes not enough money to buy food? (Is that frequent or infrequent?)
59) Is there in your family sometimes not enough money to buy clothing or shoes? (Is that frequent or infrequent?)
60) Is there in your family sometimes not enough money to buy things you need for your home? (Is that frequent or infrequent?)

i) Appearance
61) What kind of clothing do you use?
62) In what moments do you wear traditional costumes and what moments do you wear Western clothing?
63) Do your parents agree on you wearing Western clothing? Do they buy those clothes?

Last question
64) If you had the opportunity to ask for three wishes, what would you like to wish?
Appendix B3: Interview Guide For Female Teenagers (Spanish Version)

Guía de Entrevista: Adolescente femenina de 13 a 17 años

a) Datos Personales
1) Cómo te llamas? (No tiene que ser tu nombre de verdad.)
2) Cuántos años tienes?
3) Dónde naciste?
4) Y en qué colonia vives ahora?
   O, Y dónde vives ahora?
5) Cuántos hermanos, hermanitos, hermanas y hermanitas tienes?
6) Tu mamá y papa viven contigo todo el año? Si no, dónde viven? Por qué viven ahí?

b) Decisión de migrar
7) En qué lugares ya has vivido antes?
8) En qué pueblo es originario tu papa?
9) Y tu mamá? En qué comunidad nació?
10) Desde cuándo vives en la colonia _____________ (nombre de colonia)?
11) Por qué vinieron aquí?
12) A qué se dedican tus padres?
13) Te gusta donde vives? Por qué? Por qué no? Dónde te gustaría vivir?

c) Aculturación/Lengua
14) Qué idiomas hablas?
15) Cuándo y cómo aprendiste a hablar Español/Tseltal/Tsotsil?
16) Cuál hablas más fácil?
17) En cuál lengua hablas más con tus padres?
18) En qué otro momentos hablas en Tsotsil/Tseltal?
19) En qué momentos hablas en Español?
20) Si sabes escribir, en qué lengua aprendiste de escribir?
21) En cuál lengua sueñas (o piensas)?
22) Escuchas radio? En qué lengua son las radio shows que estás escuchado?
23) Ves tele? Qué son tus shows favoritos?

d) Identidad Professional/Educacional
24) Vas a la escuela?
   Si sí: En qué grado Estás?
   Si no: Fuiste a la escuela cuando estabas chiquita? Hasta que grado llegaste?
   Por qué (no) fuiste a la escuela?
25) Quieres ir a la secundaria? Por qué sí/no? Puedes dímelo un poco más sobre las razones?
26) A qué decidas tu tiempo? Qué haces durante el día?
27) Te gusta a que dedicas tu tiempo?
28) Qué haces con del dinero que ganas con este trabajo?
29) Qué te gustaría hacer cuando estás más grande?
30) Y tus padres son acuerdo?
e) Bienestar y Esperanza
31) Duermes bien? Si no: Por qué sí/no?
32) Qué te hace sentir mal? Qué te hace triste?
33) Qué te hace sentir bien? Que te hace feliz?

f) Contactos inter culturales
34) Tienes amigos que son ‘kaxlan’ (Ladino o gringos)? De dónde les conoces?
35) Tus padres tienen amigos que son ‘kaxlan’ (Ladin os o gringos)? De dónde les conocen?
36) Alguna vez ha sido malvisto (discriminada) por ser de una familia indígena (Tsotsil/Tseltal)? Qué te pasó?

g) Identidad Genero
37) Qué tipo de trabajos hacen las muchachas de tu edad?
38) Qué tipo de trabajos hacen los muchachos de tu edad?
39) Qué tipo de trabajos hacen las mujeres mayores?
40) Qué tipo de trabajos hacen los hombres mayores?
41) Las mujeres también pueden _____________? Por que sí/no?
42) Los hombres también pueden _____________? Por que sí/no?
43) Está bien si los muchachos y las muchachas acompañan sin la presencia de los adultos?
44) Está bien si un muchacho y una muchacha se acompañan solos?
   Ejemplo: pueden charlar, pasear, bailan?
45) Un muchacho puede tener novias antes de casarse?
46) Una muchacha puede tener novios antes de casarse?
47) Está bien si mujeres indígena (Tsotiles/Tseltales) manejen carros?
48) Tu has manejado un carro?
   Si no: Tu quieres aprender a manejar?
   Si sí: Quién te enseñó de manejar?
49) Quién en tu familia junta y decide cómo gasta el dinero?
50) Las mujeres y los hombres toman las mismas decisiones en la casa?
51) Quién puede mandar mas? Hombre o mujer?
52) Describeme cómo es un hombre bueno para ti?
53) Describe cómo es una mujer buena para ti?

h) Recursos
54) En tu familia a veces el dinero no alcanza para la comida? (muchas/pocas veces)
55) En tu familia a veces el dinero no alcanza por ropa o zapatos que necesitan?
   (muchas/pocas veces)
56) En tu familia a veces el dinero no alcanza para comprar cosas que necesitan en la casa?

i) Apariencia
57) Qué tipo de ropa usas?
58) En que momento usas tu traje tradicional y en que momento usas la ropa de los kaxlanes?
59) Tus padres están de acuerdo si llevas ropa de los kaxlanes? Compran la ropa?
60) Y qué tipo de ropa usan tus amigas?
61) Usan maquillaje tus amigas?
   Si sí: En qué momentos lo usan?
      ¿Qué tipo de maquillaje usan?
      Sus padres saben que lo usan?
      Quién compra el maquillaje?
   Si no: Por qué no usan maquillaje?
62) A ti te gusta el maquillaje?
63) En qué momento usas el maquillaje?
   Si no usa: ¿Has usado alguno vez tu maquillaje? Y en qué momento?
64) Tus padres saben que lo usas?
65) Quién compró el maquillaje?
66) Y las mujeres más mayores también usan maquillaje?
67) Cómo te gustaría tener el cabello?
68) Tienes amigos o amigas que tienen el pelo corto o pintado? ¿Qué tienen?
69) Tienes amigos que tienen tatuajes o piercings? ¿Qué tienen?
70) A ti te gustaría tener también?
   Si sí: ¿Qué te gustaría?
   Si no: Por qué no?
71) ¿Qué piensan tus padres sobre el pelo corto o pintado? ¿Qué piensan sobre tatuajes y piercings?
72) ¿Qué piensan los adultos (mayores) sobre los jóvenes que traen esas cosas?

i) Perspectivas Sobre el Futuro
73) Tienes amigas que ya se han casado? A qué edad se caso ______? Tu piensas que es buena edad para casarse?
   Por qué sí/no?
74) A qué edad se debería casar una muchacha? Por qué es una buena edad?
75) A qué edad se debería casar un muchacho? Por qué es una buena edad?
76) Sabes a qué edad se casaron tus padres?
77) ¿Tu? ¿Te quieres casar algún día? A qué edad? Por qué en ese edad?
78) ¿Algún día quieres tener hijos?
79) Cuántos hijos quieres tener? Por qué ese número de niños?
80) Vas a vivir siempre con tus padres cuando estés grande?
81) ¿Dónde van a vivir tus padres cuando estén más viejos?
82) Quién va a cuidar tus padres? Por qué es esta persona?
83) ¿Es la obligación de los hijos cuidar a los padres?

Ultima pregunta
84) Si tuvieras la oportunidad de pedir tres deseos, qué pedirías?
Appendix B4: Interview Guide For Female Teenagers (English Version)

Interview Guide: Adolescent Girls 13 to 17 years

a) Personal Dates
1) What is your name? (It does not have to be your real name).
2) How old are you?
3) Where are you born?
4) In what quarter do you live now?
   Or: And where do you live now?
5) How many older and younger brothers as well as older and younger sisters do you have?
6) Do your mother and father live with you? Permanently? If not, where do they live? What are the reasons for that?

2) Migration Decision
7) Where have you lived before?
8) How much time did you live in _______? And in _______?
9) What place is your father from? In what community was he born?
10) And your mother? In what community was she born?
11) Since when do you live in your quarter___________ (introduce name of mentioned colonia)?
12) For what reasons did you move here?
13) Do you like where you live? Why do you like it? Where would you like to live?

3) Acculturation/Language
14) What languages do you speak?
15) When and how did you learn to speak Spanish/Tzotzil/Tzeltal?
16) What language do you speak the most easily?
17) In what language you talk mostly to your parents?
18) In what moments do you talk Tzotzil/Tzeltal?
19) In what moments do you talk Spanish?
20) If you know how to write, in what language did learn to write?
21) In what language do you dream (or think)?
22) Do you listen radio? In what language are the radio shows you are listening to?
23) Do you watch TV? What are your favorite TV shows?

4) Professional/Educational Identity
24) Do you go to school?
   If yes: In what grade are you?
   If no: Did you go to school when you were younger? Until what grade did you go?
   Could you tell me a little bit about the reasons that made you stop going to school?
25) Do you also want to go to secondary school? Why/ why not? Can you tell me a little bit about the reasons for that?
26) To what do you dedicate your time (if you are not in school?) What are you doing during the day?
27) Do you like what you are doing?
28) What do you do with the money you earn with your work?
29) What work would you like to do as an adult?
30) And your parents agree on that?

e) Well-being and Hope
31) Do you sleep well? If no: Why/for what reasons do/ you do not do?
32) What makes you feel bad? What makes you feel sad?
33) What makes you feel good? What makes you happy?

f) Intercultural Contacts
34) Do you have friends who are kaxlan? Where have you met them?
35) Do your parents have kaxlan friends? Where have they met them?
36) Have you ever been looked bad at (discriminated) for being from a indigenous Tzotzil/Tzeltal family? What happened to you?

g) Gender Identity
37) What kinds of work pursue girls of your age?
38) What kinds of work pursue boys of your age?
39) What kinds of work pursue adult women?
40) What kinds of work pursue adult men?
41) Can women also work as _________(insert male professions)?
42) Can men also work as _________(insert female professions)?
43) Is it okay if teenage boys and girls meet without any adult supervision?
44) Is it okay if a guy and a girl meet go out with one another without any adult supervision?
45) Can a guy have a girlfriend/girlfriends before getting married?
46) Can a girls have a boyfriend/boyfriends before getting married?
47) Is it okay if indigenous (Tzotzil/Tzeltal) women drive cars?
48) Have you ever driven a car?
If not: Would you like to learn to drive?
If yes: Who showed driving to you?
49) Who in your family receives the money and decides how to spend it?
50) Do women and men share decision-making at home?
51) Who can order around more? Man or woman?
52) Can you describe me what characterizes for you an ideal/a good man?
53) Can you describe me what characterizes for you an idea/a good woman?

h) Resources
54) Is there in your family sometimes not enough money to buy food? (Happens that frequent or infrequent?)
55) Is there in your family sometimes not enough money to buy clothing or shoes? (Is that frequent or infrequent?)
56) Is there in your family sometimes not enough money to buy things you need for your home? (Is that frequent or infrequent?)
i) Appearance
57) What kind of clothing do you wear?
58) In what moments do you wear traditional costumes and in what moments do you wear Western clothing?
59) Do your parents agree on you wearing Western clothing? Do they buy those clothes?
60) What kinds of clothing wear your girlfriends?
61) Do they use makeup?
If yes: In what moment do they wear makeup?
   Do their parents know that they use it?
   Who buys that makeup?
62) Do you like makeup?
63) In what moment do you use makeup?
If you do not use: Have you ever tried it out? In what moment?
64) Do you parents know that you use makeup?
65) Who bought that makeup?
66) And do adult women also sometimes use makeup?
67) How would you like to have your hair?
68) Do you have (girl-)friends who wear their hair short and dyed? What hairstyle do they have?
69) Do you have friends who have tattoos or piercings?
70) Would you like to have something like that as well?
If yes: What would you like to have?
If no: Why/for what reasons you do not want to have it?
71) What think your parents about girls have short or dyed hair? What do they think about tattoos and piercings?
72) What think other adults about youth who wear such things?

i) Ideas about the Future
73) Do you have girlfriends who are already married? At what age did they marry? Do you think this is a good age to get married? Why yes or no?
74) At what age should a girl get married?
75) At what age should a guy get married?
76) Do you know at what age your parents got married?
77) And you? Do you want to marry one day? At what age do you want to marry? Why at that age
78) Would you like to have children one day?
79) How many children would you like to have? Why would you like to have this number of children?
80) Will you still live with your parents once you are an adult?
81) And where will your parents live once they are elderly?
82) Who will take care for your parents? Why will this/these person/s will do that?
83) Do children have an obligation to take care for their elderly parents?

Last question
84) If you had the opportunity to ask for three wishes, what would you like to wish?
Appendix B5: Interview Guide For Adult Females (Spanish Version)

Guía de Entrevista: Mujeres Mayores

a) Datos Personales
1) Cómo se llama usted? (No tiene qué ser tu nombre de verdad.)
2) Cuántos años tiene?
3) En qué comunidad nació?
4) Y en qué colonia vive ahora?
5) A qué se dedica? Qué trabajo hace?
6) Cuántos hijos e hijas tiene en total?
7) Cuántos años tienen su hijas e hijos?
8) Quién vive con usted?
9) También su esposo?

b) Decisión de migrar
10) En qué lugares ya ha vivido antes de venir aquí?
11) Cuánto tiempo viviste en ____________? Y en_________?
12) Qué tiempo llevas viviendo en la colonia_________?
O, Desde cuándo vive en la colonia _____________?
13) Por qué vinieron a vivir aquí?

c) Aculturación/Lengua
14) Qué idioma(s) habla usted?
15) Cuándo y cómo aprendió a hablar Español/Tseltal/Tsotsil?
16) Cuál lengua habla más fácil?
17) En qué momento se habla Español/Tseltal/Tsotsil?
18) En cuál lengua habla más con sus niños?
19) Cuál legua le gusta hablar sus niños?
20) Sabe leer y escribir? En cuál lengua?
21) En qué lengua sueña (piensa)?
22) Escucha la radio? En qué lengua son los programas qué escucha?
23) Ve la tele? Qué programa le gusta?

d) Professional/Educación
24) Fue a la escuela usted?
  Si si: Hasta qué grado?
  Si no: Por qué no fue a la escuela?
25) Todo sus hijos y hijas van al la escuela?
26) Cuáles de sus hijos e hijas van a la escuela?
27) Por qué los otros no van a la escuela?
28) Algun@s se van a la secundaria? Por qué sí/no?
29) Usted piensa que terminar la escuela va a ayudar su hijo cuándo esté mas grande?

e) Contactos Intercultural
30) Hay alguna vez donde ha sido malvistos (discriminada) por ser de una familia indígena?
31) Tiene amigos quieres son kaxlan?
De dónde conoce este gente?
32) Sus niños o niñas tienen amigos quieres son kaxlan(L adinos o gringos)? De dónde conoce este gente?

f) Identidad Genero
33) Qué tipo de trabajos hacen muchachas?
34) Qué tipo de trabajos hacen muchachos?
35) Qué tipo de trabajos hacen las mujeres mayores?
36) Qué tipo de trabajos hacen los hombres mayores?
37) Las mujeres también pueden ____________? Por qué sí/no?
38) Los hombres también pueden ____________? Por qué sí/no?
39) Está bien si los muchachos y las muchachas se acompañan sin la presencia de los adultos? Por qué sí/no?
40) Está bien si un muchacho y una muchacha se acompañan solos? (Pueden hablar, caminar o bailar juntos?)
41) Un muchacho puede tener novias antes de casarse? (Muchos/pocos?)
42) Una muchacha puede tener novios antes de casarse? (muchos/pocos?)
43) Está bien si las mujeres indígenas manejen carros?
44) Usted ha manejado un carro?
   Si no: Quiere aprender a manejar?
   Si sí: Cómo aprendió a manejar?
45) Quién en su familia recibe y decide como gastar el dinero?

g) Recursos
46) En tu familia a veces el dinero no alcanza para la comida? (muchas veces/pocas veces)
47) En tu familia a veces el dinero no alcanza por ropa o zapatos qué necesitan? (muchas veces/pocas veces)
48) En tu familia a veces el dinero no alcanza para comprar cosas qué necesitan en la casa?
49) Las mujeres y los hombres toman las mismas decisiones en la casa?
50) Quién puede mandar mas? Hombre o mujer?

h) Apariencia
51) Qué tipo de ropa usan las muchachas?
52) Qué tipo de ropa le gusta usar mas?
53) En qué momento usa su traje tradicional o en qué momento usa la ropa de las kaxlanes?
54) Su marido prefiere que usted usa la ropa tradicional o la ropa de los kaxlanes?
55) Y usa maquillaje? Por qué sí/no?
56) En qué momento usa el maquillaje?
57) Su marido está de acuerdo con que usted usa el maquillaje?
58) Sus hijas usan maquillaje?
59) Qué se parece usted sobre su hija que usa maquillaje?
60) A usted le gusta tener el cabello corto, largo o pintado? Por qué no/sí?
61) Qué cabello tienen sus hijas ahorita? Le gustaría ver a sus hijas de tener el cabello corto, largo, o pintado?
62) A usted le gusta los tatuajes o ‘piercings’? Por qué sí/no?
63) Les gustaría que sus hijas o hijos tengan tatuajes o ‘piercings’?
64) Qué piensan los adultos a los jóvenes que tienen el cabello pintado o sobre los que tienen tatuajes o ‘piercings’?

i) Ideas ideales de Genero
65) Cómo se puede saber cuando es un hombre bueno o malo?
66) Cómo saber cuando es una mujer buena?

j) Perspectivas Sobre el Futuro
67) A qué edad se casó con su esposo?
68) Fue voluntario o por obligación?
69) A qué edad quiere que sus hijas se casen? Por qué es bueno edad para casarse?
70) Y a qué edad quiere que sus hijos se casen? Por qué es bueno edad para casarse?
71) Quiere tener nietos? Cuántos nietos le gustaría tener por cada hijo? Por qué esta número?
72) Qué trabajo quiere qué sus hijas dediquen cuando sean grandes? Por qué le gusta que sus hijas hagan ese trabajo?
73) Y qué trabajo quiere que sus hijos dediquen cuando sean grandes? Por qué le gusta que sus hijos hagan ese trabajo?
74) Con quién va a vivir usted cuando esté más grande (viejito)?
75) Quién le va ayudar (cuidar)?
76) Es verdad que los hijos son obligados a cuidar sus padres cuando estén más grandes? Por qué?
Appendix B6: Interview Guide For Adult Females (English Version)

Interview Guide: Adult Females

a) Personal Dates
1) What is your name? (It does not have to be your real name).
2) How old are you?
3) In what community are you born?
4) In what community do you live now?
   Or: And where do you live now?
5) What kind of work are you doing?
6) How many sons and daughters do you have in total?
7) How old are your sons and daughters?
8) Who is living with you?
9) Also your husband?

b) Migration Decision
10) Where have you lived before?
11) How much time did you live in _____? And in _____?
12) Since when do you live in your quarter___________ (introduce name of mentioned colonia)?
13) For what reasons did you move here?

c) Acculturation/Language
14) What languages do you speak?
15) When and how did you learn to speak Spanish/Tzotzil/Tzeltal?
16) What language do you speak the most easily?
17) In what moments do you talk Spanish/Tzotzil/Tzeltal?
18) In what language do you mostly talk to your children?
19) In what language do your children prefer to talk?
20) Do you know how to read and write? In what language do you know that?
21) In what language do you dream (or think)?
22) Do you listen radio? In what language are the radio shows you are listening to?
23) Do you watch TV? What are your favorite shows on TV?

d) Professional/Educational Identity
24) Did you go to school?
   If yes: Until which grade did you go?
   If no: What were the reasons, which hindered you to go to school?
25) Do/did you children go to school? All of them?
26) Which of your children go/went to school?
27) Why did/no the other ones not go?
28) Do/did some of your children go to secondary school? Why/ Why not?
29) Do you consider that graduating from school will help you child in adulthood?

e) Intercultural Contacts
30) Have you ever been looked bad at (discriminated) for being from a indigenous Tzotzil/Tzeltal family? What happened to you?

31) Do you have friends who are kaxlan? Where have you met them?

32) Do your children have kaxlan friends? Where have they met them?

f) Gender Identity

33) What kinds of work pursue girls of your age?

34) What kinds of work pursue boys of your age?

35) What kinds of work pursue adult women?

36) What kinds of work pursue adult men?

37) Can women also work as _________(insert male professions)?

38) Can men also work as _________(insert female professions)?

39) Is it okay if teenage boys and girls meet without any adult supervision?

40) Is it okay if a guy and a girl meet go out with one another without any adult supervision?

41) Can a guy have a girlfriend/girlfriends before getting married?

42) Can a girl have a boyfriend/boyfriends before getting married?

43) Is it okay if indigenous (Tzotzil/Tzeltal) women drive cars?

44) Have you ever driven a car?

If not: Would you like to learn to drive?

If yes: Who showed driving to you?

45) Who in your family receives the money and decides how to spend it?

h) Resources

46) Is there in your family sometimes not enough money to buy food? (Is that frequent or infrequent?)

47) Is there in your family sometimes not enough money to buy clothing or shoes? (Is that frequent or infrequent?)

48) Is there in your family sometimes not enough money to buy things you need for your home? (Is that frequent or infrequent?)

49) Do women and men share decision-making at home?

50) Who can order around more? Man or woman?

i) Appearance

51) What kind of clothing do teenage girls wear?

52) What kind of clothing you prefer to wear?

53) In what moments do you wear traditional costumes and in what moments do you wear Western clothing?

54) Does your husband prefer you wearing Western or traditional clothing?

55) Do you use makeup? Why/why not?

56) In what moment do you wear makeup?

57) Does your husband like you wearing makeup?

58) Do your daughters use makeup?

59) Do you like your daughter(s) wearing makeup?

60) Would you like to like to have long hair, short hair or dyed hair? Why/ why not?
61) What kind of hairstyle have/has your daughter(s) right now? Would you like your daughter to have long hair, short hair or dyed hair?
62) How do you like tattoos or piercings?
63) Would you like your sons or daughters to have piercings or tattoos?
64) What do adults think about youth who wear piercings or tattoos?

i) Idealized Gender Concepts
65) Can you describe me what characterizes for you an ideal/a good man? (a bad man)
66) Can you describe me what characterizes for you an idea/a good woman? (a bad woman)

j) Ideas about the Future
67) At what age did you marry your spouse?
68) Was your marriage voluntary or obligated?
69) At what age would you like your daughters to get married? Why is that a good age to get married?
70) At what age would like your sons getting married? Why is that a good age to get married?
71) Would you like to have grandchildren? How many grandchildren per child would you like to have?
72) What kind of work would you like your daughters to pursue as adults?
73) What kind of work would you like your sons pursue as adults?
74) With whom will you live once you are elderly?
75) Who will take care of you if you need assistance?
76) Do think children have an obligation to take care for their elderly parents?
Appendix B7: Interview Guide For Male Children (Spanish Version)

Guía de Entrevista: Niños de 9 a 12 años

a) Datos Personales
1) Cómo te llamas? (No tiene que ser tu nombre de verdad.)
2) Cuántos años tienes?
3) Dónde naciste?
4) Y en qué colonia vives ahora?
5) Cuántos hermanos, hermanitos, hermanas y hermanitas tienes en total? Qué son sus edades? Qué hacen?
6) Tu mama y papa viven contigo todo el año? Si no, dónde vive(n)? Por qué vive(n) ahí?
7) A qué se dedican tus papás?

b) Decisión de migrar
8) En qué lugares ya has vivido antes? Cuánto tiempo viviste en __________? Y en ________?
9) En qué pueblo es originario tu papa?
10) Y tu mama?
11) Desde cuándo vive tu familia en la colonia _____________?(introduzca el nombre de su colonia)?
12) Por qué vinieron aquí?

c) Aculturación/Lengua
13) Qué idioma(s) hablas?
14) Dónde y cuándo aprendiste a hablar Español/Tseltal/Tsotsil?
15) Cuál lengua hablas más fácil?
16) En qué momentos hablas en Tsotsil/Tseltal?
17) En cuál lengua hablas más con tus padres?
18) En qué momentos hablas en Español?
19) Si sabes escribir, en qué lengua aprendiste de escribir?
20) En cuál lengua sueñas (o piensas)?
21) Escuchas radio? En qué lengua son las radio shows que estás escuchado?
22) Ves tele? Qué son tus shows favoritos?

d) Identidad Professional/Educatacional
23) Vas a la escuela?
   Si sí: En qué grado estas?
   Si no: Fuiste a la escuela cuando estabas chiquita? Hasta qué grado llegaste?

_If the child goes to school_
24a) Cuándo vas a la escuela? Cuándo vas a trabajar?
25a) Recibes una beca de Oportunidades para ir te a la escuela?
26a) En qué idioma hablan más en la clase? Español o Tsotsil?
27a) En qué idioma hablas en el recreo con tus amigos
28a) Dónde y cuándo haces tu tarea?
29a) Quién te puedo ayuda si es una tarea difícil?
30a) También hay niños kaxlan en tu escuela? ¿Cómo te llevas con ellos?
31a) A veces faltas a la escuela? Por qué?
32a) La escuela es más importante para las niñas o para los niños? O igual?
33a) ¿Quién sabe mejor de estudiar? Los niños o las niñas?
34a) Quieres ir a la secundaria también? Por qué sí/no?

If the child does not go to school
24b) Fuiste a la escuela antes?
25b) Sí si: Cuántos años fuiste?
26b) En qué lengua hablaste en la escuela?
27b) ¿Qué fueron las razones que nunca fuiste/dejaste de ir a la escuela?
28b) ¿Te gustaría regresar/ir a la escuela?
29b) La escuela es más importante para las niñas o para los niños?

35) ¿A qué decides tu tiempo (si no estás en la escuela)?
36) De qué hora hasta qué hora trabajas si no hay vacaciones? Y cuando hay vacaciones?
37) ¿Qué haces con el dinero que ganas con este trabajo?
38) ¿Te gusta a qué dedicas tu tiempo?
39) ¿Qué te gustaría hacer cuando estas más grande?
40) ¿Te gustaría ser como tus papás?
    Por qué sí/no?
41) Y tus padres son acuerdo?
42) ¿Qué te gusta haces cuando tienes tiempo libre?

e) Bienestar y Esperanza
43) Duermes bien? Por qué no/sí?
44) ¿Qué te hace sentir bien? ¿Qué te hace feliz?
45) ¿Qué te hace sentir mal? ¿Qué te hace triste?

f) Contactos Interculturales
46) Tienes amig@s que son kaxlan (Ladino o gringos)?
De dónde conoces este amig@s?
47) Tus padres tienen amigos que son kaxlan (Ladinos o gringos)?
De dónde conocen este amig@s?
48) Alguna vez ha sido malvisto (discriminada) por ser de una familia indígena (Tsotsil/Tseltal)? Que te pasó?

g) Identidad Genero
49) ¿Qué tipo de trabajos hacen las niñas de tu edad?
50) ¿Qué tipo de trabajos hacen los niños de tu edad?
51) Los niños también pueden ____________ (introduzca un trabajo que el participante dijo es típico por las niñas)?
52) Los niñas también pueden ____________? (introduzca un trabajo que el participante dijo es típico por las niñas)
53) Está bien si mujeres indígena (Tsotiles/Tseltales) manejen carros?  
Por qué si/no?  
54) Tu has manejado un carro?  
Si no: Tu quieres aprender a manejar?  
Si si: Quién te enseñó de manejar?  
55) Quién en la familia junta y decide como gastar el dinero?  

h) Apariencia  
56) Qué tipo de ropa usa(n) tu(s) hermana(s)?  
57) Tus padres están de acuerdo si lleva(n) ropa de los kaxlanes? Compran la ropa para ellas?  

Ultima pregunta  
58) Si tuvieras la oportunidad de pedir tres deseos, qué pedirías?
Appendix B8: Interview Guide For Male Children (English Version)

Interview Guide: Boys 9 to 12 years

a) Personal Dates
   1) What is your name? (It does not have to be your real name).
   2) How old are you?
   3) Where are you born?
   4) In what quarter do you live now? Or: And where do you live now?
   5) How many older and younger brothers as well as older and younger sisters do you
      have?
   6) Do you mother and father live with you? Permanently? If not, where are they
      living? What are the reasons for that?
   7) What is your parents’ work?

b) Migration Decision
   8) Where have you lived before? How much time did you live in ______? And in
      ______?
   9) What place is your father from? In what community was he born?
  10) And your mother? In what community was she born?
  11) Since when do you live in your quarter___________ (introduce name of
      mentioned colonia)?
  12) For what reasons did you move here?

c) Acculturation/Language
   13) What languages do you speak?
   14) When and how did you learn to speak Spanish/Tzotzil/Tzeltal?
   15) What language do you speak the most easily?
   16) In what moments do you talk Tzotzil/Tzeltal?
   17) In what language you talk mostly to your parents?
   18) In what moments do you talk Spanish?
   19) If you know how to write, in what language did learn to write?
   20) In what language do you dream (or think)?
   21) Do you listen radio? In what language are the radio shows you are listening to?
   22) Do you watch TV? What are your favorite TV shows?

d) Professional/Educational Identity
   23) Do you go to school?
      If yes: In what grade are you?
      If no: Did you go to school when you were younger?

If child currently attends school:
  24*) When do you go got school?
  25*) Do you receive a stipend (from OPORTUNIDADES) for attending school?
  26a) In what language do you talk in class?
27a) In what language do you talk during school breaks?
28a) Where and when are you doing your homework?
29a) Who can assist you with your homework?
30a) Are there also kaxlan (Latino) children in your school? How do you get along with them?
31a) Do you sometimes miss school? Why? What are the reasons?
32a) Is school more important for girls or for boys? Or is it the same for both?
33a) Who knows better to study – boys or girls?
34a) Do you also want to go to secondary school? Why/ why not? What are your reasons for that?

If Child Currently does not attend school:
24b) Did you go to school earlier?
25b) If yes: How many years did you go?
26b) In what language did you talk in school?
27b) What were the reasons that you stopped going to school/ that you never attended school?
28b) Would you like to return/go to school?
29b) Is school more important for girls or for boys? Or is it the same for both?

35) To what do you dedicate your time (if you are not in school?)
36) What are your working times during school free periods? What are your working times during vacation?
37) What are you doing with the money you earn with your work?
38) Do you like how you spend your time?
39) What would you like to do as an adult?
40) Would you like to follow your parent’s pathway?
41) And your parents agree on that?
42) What are you doing during leisure time?

e) Well-being and Hope
43) Do you sleep well? Why/for what reasons you do/ you do not do?
44) What makes you feel bad? What makes you feel sad?
45) What makes you feel good? What makes you happy?

f) Intercultural Contacts
46) Do you have friends who are kaxlan? Where have you met them?
47) Do your parents have kaxlan friends? Where have they met them?
48) Have you ever been looked bad at (discriminated) for being from a indigenous Tzotzil/Tzeltal family? What happened to you?

g) Gender Identity
49) What kinds of work pursue boys of your age?
50) What kinds of work pursue girls of your age?
51) Can boys also work as _________(insert female work activity)?
52) Can girls also work as ___________(insert male activity)?
53) Is it okay if indigenous(Tzotzil/Tzeltal) women drive cars?
54) Have you ever driven a car?
   If not: Would you like to learn to drive?
   If yes: Who showed driving to you?
55) Who in your family receives the money and decides how to spend it?

h) Appearance
56) What kind of clothing do/does your sister(s) wear?
57) Do your parents agree on your sister(s) wearing Western clothing? Do they buy those clothes for them?

Last question
58) If you had the opportunity to ask for three wishes, what would you like to wish?
Appendix B9: Interview Guide For Male Teenagers (Spanish Version)

Guía de Entrevista: Adolescente masculino 13 a 17 años

a) Datos Personales
1) Cómo te llamas? No tiene qué ser tu nombre de verdad.
2) Cuántos años tienes?
3) Dónde naciste?
4) Y en qué colonia vives ahora?
5) Cuántos hermanos, hermanitos, hermanas y hermanitas tienes en total?
6) Tu mama y papa viven contigo todo el año?
   Si no, dónde viven? Por qué viven ahí?

b) Decisión de migrar
7) En qué lugares ya has vivido antes?
8) En qué pueblo es originario tu papa?
9) Y tu mama? En qué comunidad nació?
10) Desde cuándo vives en la colonia ________________ (nombre de colonia)?
11) Por qué vinieron aquí?

c) Aculturación/Lengua
12) Qué idiomas hablas?
13) Cómo aprendiste a hablar Español/Tzeltal/Tzotzil?
14) Cuál lengua hablas más fácil?
15) En qué momentos hablas en Tzotzil/Tzeltal?
16) En cuál lengua hablas mas con tus padres?
17) En qué momentos hablas en Español?
18) Si sabes escribir, en qué lengua aprendiste de escribir?
19) En cuál lengua sueñas (o piensas)?
20) Escuchas radio? En qué lengua son las radio shows que estás escuchado?
21) Ves tele? Qué son tus shows favoritos?

d) Identidad Profesional/Educatival
22) Vas a la escuela?
   Si sí: En qué grado estás?
   Si no: Fuiste a la escuela cuándo estabas chiquita? Hasta qué grado llegaste?
23) Vas a la secundaria? Por qué (no) te vas a la secundaria?
24) A qué decidas tu tiempo? Por ejemplo qué son las cosas qué haces durante el día?
25) De qué hora hasta qué hora trabajas si no hay vacaciones? Y cuándo hay vacaciones?
26) Qué haces con del dinero qué ganas con este trabajo?
27) Te gusta tu trabajo? Por qué sí/no?
28) Qué te gusta hacer en tu tiempo libre?
29) Qué te gustaría hacer cuándo estas más grande?
30) Y tus padres son acuerdo?

e) Bienestar y Esperanza
31) Duermes bien? Por qué no/sí?
32) Qué te hace sentir bien? Qué te hace feliz?
33) Qué te hace sentir mal? Qué te hace triste?

f) Contactos Interculturales
34) Tienes amigos qué son kaxlan (Ladino o gringos)? De dónde conoces este amigos?
35) Tus padres tienen amigos qué son kaxlan (Ladinos o gringos)? De dónde conoce(n) este amigos?
36) Alguna vez ha sido malvisto (discriminada) por ser de una familia indígena (Tsotsil/Tseltal)? Qué te pasó?

g) Identidad Genero
37) Qué tipo de trabajos hacen las muchachos de tu edad?
38) Qué tipo de trabajos hacen los muchachas de tu edad?
39) Qué tipo de trabajos hacen las hombres mayores?
40) Qué tipo de trabajos hacen los mujeres mayores?
41) Las mujeres también pueden ____________ (introduzca un trabajo qué el participante dijo qué es típico por hombres)? Por qué sí/no?
42) Los hombres también pueden ____________ (introduzca un trabajo qué el participante dijo qué es típico por mujeres) Por qué sí/no?
43) Está bien si los muchachos y las muchachas acompañan sin la presencia de las adultos? Por qué sí/no?
44) Está bien si un muchacho y una muchacha acompañan solos? Ejemplo: pueden charlar, pasear, bailar? Por qué sí/no?
45) Un muchacho puede tener novias antes de casarse?
46) Una muchacha puede tener novios antes de casarse?
47) Está bien si mujeres indígena (Tsotiles/Tseltales) manejen carros?
48) Tu has manejado un carro?
Si no: Tu quieres aprender a manejar?
Si sí: Cómo aprendiste a manejar?
49) Quién en la familia recibe y decide como el dinero?
50) Las mujeres y los hombres toman las mismos decisiones en la casa? Tienen los mismos derechos y obligaciones?

h) Apariencia
51) Qué tipo de ropa usas? Tienes una moda o marcas preferida(s)?
52) Qué tipo de ropa usa tu madre? Usa el traje tradicional o el ropa de los kaxlanes?
53) En qué momento usa la ropa de los kaxlanes? En qué momento usa el traje tradicional?
54) Y tu hermana(s)? En qué momento usa su traje tradicional y en qué momento usa la ropa de los kaxlanes?
55) Qué tipo de ropa de las mujeres te gusta más? El traje o la ropa de los kaxlanes?
56) Sabes qué tipo de ropa le las mujeres tu padre prefiere?
57) Tu madre o tu hermana usan maquillaje?
Si si: En qué momento lo usa(n)? Tus papás saben qué tu hermana lo usa?
Si no: Por qué no usa(n) maquillaje?
58) A ti te gusta cuando las muchachas qué usan el maquillaje?
59) Tienes amig@s qué tienen el pelo pintado o en estilo de punk, metal o….? Qué tienen?
60) Tienes amig@s qué tienen tatuajes o piercings? Qué tienen?
61) A ti te gustaría tener también?
Si si: Qué te gustaría?
Si no: Por qué no?
62) Qué dicen los adultos (mayores) a los jóvenes qué traen esas cosas?

i) Ideas Ideales de Genero
63) Cómo uno sabe qué uno es un buen hombre?
*Si el participante tiene dificultades con este pregunta, también se puede usar:
Por ejemplo, cómo es o qué hace un mejor amigo?
64) Cómo uno sabe qué una es una mujer buena?

j) Perspectivas Sobre el Futuro
65) A qué edad se debería casar un muchacho? Por qué es una buena edad?
66) A qué edad se debería casar una muchacha? Por qué es una buena edad?
67) Sabes a qué edad se casaron tus padres?
68) Y tú? Te quieres casar algún día? Por qué sí/no?
69) Algún día quieres tener hijos? Cuántos quieres? Por qué ese número de niños?
70) Con quién van a vivir tus padres cuándo estén más grandes (viejitos)?
71) Quién va a cuidar tus padres?
72) Es la obligación de los hijos cuidar a los padres?

Ultimo pregunta
73) Si tuvieras la oportunidad de pedir tres deseos, qué pedirías?
Interview Guide: Adolescent Boys 13 to 17 years

a) Personal Dates
1) What is your name? (It does not have to be your real name).
2) How old are you?
3) Where are you born?
4) In what quarter do you live now?
   Or: And where do you live now?
5) How many older and younger brothers as well as older and younger sisters do you have?
6) Do your mother and father live with you? Permanently? If not, where are they living? What are the reasons for that?

a) Migration Decision
7) Where have you lived before? How much time did you live in ______? And in ______?
8) What place is your father from? In what community was he born?
9) And your mother? In what community was she born?
10) Since when do you live in your quarter___________ (introduce name of mentioned colonia)?
11) For what reasons did you move here?

b) Acculturation/Language
12) What languages do you speak?
13) When and how did you learn to speak Spanish/Tzotzil/Tzeltal?
14) What language do you speak the most easily?
15) In what moments do you talk Tzotzil/Tzeltal?
16) In what language you talk mostly to your parents?
17) In what moments do you talk Spanish?
18) If you know how to write, in what language did learn to write?
19) In what language do you dream (or think)?
20) Do you listen radio? In what language are the radio shows you are listening to?
21) Do you watch TV? What are your favorite TV-shows?

c) Professional/Educational Identity
22) Do you go to school?
   If yes: In what grade are you?
   If no: Did you go to school when you were younger? Until what grade did you go?
   Could you tell me a little bit about the reasons that made you stop going to school?
23) Do you go to secondary school? Why/ why not? Can you tell me a little bit about the reasons for that?
24) To what do you dedicate your time (if you are not in school?) What are you doing during the day?
25) What are your working times if there is school? What are your working times during vacations?
26) What are you doing with the money you earn with your work?
27) Do you like what you are doing?
28) What do you like to do during leisure time?
29) What work would you like to do as an adult?
30) And your parents agree on that?

e) Well-being and Hope
31) Do you sleep well? If no: Why/for what reasons you do/ you do not do?
32) What makes you feel bad? What makes you feel sad?
33) What makes you feel good? What makes you happy?

f) Intercultural Contacts
34) Do you have friends who are kaxlan? Where have you met them?
35) Do your parents have kaxlan friends? Where have they met them?
36) Have you ever been looked bad at (discriminated) for being from a indigenous Tzotzil/Tzeltal family? What happened to you?

g) Gender Identity
37) What kinds of work pursue boys of your age?
38) What kinds of work pursue girls of your age?
39) What kinds of work pursue adult men?
40) What kinds of work pursue adult women?
41) Can women also work as _________ (insert male professions)? Why/ why not?
42) Can men also work as _________ (insert female professions)? Why/ why not?
43) Is it okay if teenage boys and girls meet without any adult supervision?
44) Is it okay if a guy and a girl meet go out with one another without any adult supervision?
45) Can a guy have a girlfriend/girlfriends before getting married?
46) Can a girl have a boyfriend/boyfriends before getting married?
47) Is it okay if indigenous (Tzotzil/Tzeltal) women drive cars?
48) Have you ever driven a car?
   If not: Would you like to learn to drive?
   If yes: Who showed driving to you?
49) Who in your family receives the money and decides how to spend it?
50) Do women and men share decision-making at home? Do they have the same rights and obligations?

h) Appearance
51) What kind of clothing do you wear? Do you have favorite fashion labels?
52) What kind of clothing wears your mother? Does she wear the traditional costume or Western clothing?
53) In what moments does she wear traditional costumes and in what moments does she wear Western clothing?
54) And your sister(s)? In what moment do they wear traditional clothing and in what moment do they wear Western clothing?
55) What kind of female clothing do you prefer? Traditional or Western clothing?
56) Do you know what kind of female clothing your father prefers?
57) Do you mother or your sister(s) use makeup?
   If yes: In what moments do they use it? Do your parents know that your sister uses makeup?
   If not: What are the reasons for them not using makeup?
58) Do you like it when girls use makeup?
59) Do you have friends who have dyed hair or hair in punk style/metal style…What do they have?
60) Do you have friends who have tattoos or piercings?
   If yes: What would you like? Why?
   If not: Why not?
61) What do adults say about youth who wear such things?

i) Idealized Gender Concepts
63) How do you know when someone is a good man? What characterizes a good man?
   If they have difficulties with this rather abstract concept, you can also ask: what characterizes your best friend?
64) How do you know when someone is a good woman? What characterizes a good woman?

i) Ideas about the Future
65) At what age should a guy get married?
66) At what age should a girl get married?
67) Do you know at what age your parents got married?
68) And you? Do you want to marry one day? At what age do you want to marry? Why at that age?
69) Would you like to have children one day? How many children would you like to have? Why would you like to have this number of children?
70) With whom will your parents live once they are elderly?
71) Who will take care for your parents?
72) Do children have an obligation to take care for their elderly parents?

Last question
73) If you had the opportunity to ask for three wishes, what would you like to wish?
Appendix B11: Interview Guide For Adult Males (Spanish Version)

Guía de Entrevista: Adultos masculinos

a) Datos Personales
1) Cómo se llama usted? (No tiene que ser su nombre de verdad.)
2) Cuántos años tiene?
3) En qué comunidad nació?
4) Y en qué colonia vive ahora?
5) A qué se dedica? Qué trabajo hace?
6) Cuántos hijos e hijas tiene en total? Qué son sus edades?
7) Quién vive con usted?
8) También su esposa?

b) Decisión de migrar
9) En qué lugares ya ha vivido antes de venir aquí? Cuánto tiempo vive ahí?
10) Qué tiempo llevas viviendo en la colonia________?
11) Por qué vinieron a vivir aquí?

c) Aculturación/Lengua
12) Qué idioma(s) habla usted?
13) Cuándo y cómo aprendió a hablar Español/Tseltal/Tsotsil?
14) Cuál lengua habla más fácil?
15) En qué momento se habla español? En qué momento Tsotsil/Tseltal?
16) En cuál lengua habla con sus niños?
17) Cuál legua les gusta hablar sus niños?
18) Sabe leer y escribir? En cuál lengua aprendió escribir?
19) En cuál lengua sueña (o piensa)?
20) Escucha la radio? En qué lengua son los programas que escucha?
21) Ve la tele? Qué programa le gusta?

d) Professional/Educación
22 ) Fue a la escuela usted?
Si sí: Hasta qué grado?
Si no: Por qué no fue a la escuela?
23) Cuáles de sus hijos e hijas van a la escuela?
24) Por qué (los otros) no van a la escuela?
25) Algun@s de sus hijos se van/fueron a la secundaria? Por qué sí/no?
26) Usted piensa que terminar la escuela va a ayudar su hijo cuando esté más grande?

e) Contactos Interculturales
27) Hay alguna vez donde ha sido malvistos (discriminada) por ser de una familia indígena?
28) Tiene amig@s que son kaxlan (Ladino o gringos)? De dónde conoce este amig@s?
29) Sus niños o niñas tienen amig@s que son kaxlan (Ladinos o gringos)? De dónde conoce(n) este amig@s?
f) Identidad Genero
30) ¿Qué tipo de trabajos hacen hombres cómo usted?
31) ¿Qué tipo de trabajos hacen mujeres?
32) Las mujeres también pueden ________________(introduzca un trabajo que el participante dijo que es típico por hombres)?
33) Los hombres también pueden ________________(introduzca un trabajo que el participante dijo que es típico por mujeres)?
34) Está bien si los muchachos y las muchachas se acompañan sin la presencia de los adultos?
35) Está bien si un muchacho y una muchacha se acompañan solos?
   Pueden hablar, caminar o bailar juntos?
36) Un muchacho puede tener novias antes de casarse?
   Por qué no/sí?
37) Una muchacha puede tener novios antes de casarse?
   Por qué no/sí?
38) Está bien si las mujeres indígenas manejen carros?
39) Usted ha manejado un carro?
   Si no: Quiere aprender a manejar?
   Si sí: Cómo aprendió a manejar?
40) Quién en su familia junta el dinero?
41) Las mujeres y los hombres toman las mismas decisiones en la casa? Tienen las mismas derechos y obligaciones?

g) Apariencia
42) ¿Qué tipo de ropa usa su esposa? Ropa tradicional o la ropa de los kaxlanes?
43) Y su hijas? ¿Qué tipo de ropa usan?
44) A usted qué tipo de ropa de las mujeres le gusta más? Tradicional o la ropa de las kaxlanes?
45) Su esposa o su(s) hijas a veces usa el maquillaje?
   Si si: en qué momentos usa(n) maquillaje?
   Si no: Por qué no usan?
46) ¿Qué se parece usted sobre su esposa o/y hija que usa maquillaje?
47) ¿Cabello tienen sus hijas ahorita?
   Le gustaría ver a sus hijas de tener el cabello corto o pintado?
48) A usted le gustan los tatuajes o piercings (explique si participante no sabe la palabra piercing)? Por qué sí/no?
49) Les gustaría que sus hijas o hijos tengan tatuajes o piercings?
50) ¿Qué dicen los adultos a los jóvenes que tienen el cabello pintado, o que tienen tatuajes o piercings?

h) Ideas Ideales de Genero
51) Cómo uno sabe qué uno es un buen hombre?
   Si el participante tiene dificultades con este pregunta, también se puede usa:
   Por ejemplo, cómo es o qué hace un mejor amigo?
52) Cómo uno sabe qué una es una mujer buena?
i) Perspectivas Sobre el Futuro

53) A qué edad se casó con su esposo?
54) Fue voluntario o por obligación?
55) A qué edad quiere que sus hijas se casen?
Por qué es bueno edad para una muchacha a casarse?
56) Y sus hijos?
Por qué es bueno edad para un muchacho a casarse?
57) Quiere tener nietos? Cuántos nietos le gustaría tener por cada hijo?
58) Con quién va a vivir usted cuando esté más grande (viejito)?
59) Quién le va ayudar (cuidar)?
60) Es verdad que los hijos son obligados a cuidar sus padres
Appendix B12: Interview Guide For Adult Males (English Version)

Interview Guide: Adult Males

a) Personal Dates
1) What is your name? (It does not have to be your real name).
2) How old are you?
3) In what community are you born?
4) In what community do you live now?
   Or: And where do you live now?
5) What kind of work do you do?
6) How many sons and daughters do you have in total? How old are your sons and daughters?
7) Who is living with you?
8) Also your spouse?

b) Migration Decision
9) Where have you lived before? How much time did you live in ______? And in ______?
10) Since when do you live in your quarter____________ (introduce name of mentioned colonia)?
11) For what reasons did you move here?

c) Acculturation/Language
12) What language(s) do you speak?
13) When and how did you learn to speak Spanish/Tzotzil/Tzeltal?
14) What language do you speak the most easily?
15) In what moments do you talk Spanish/Tzotzil/Tzeltal?
16) In what language do you mostly talk to your children?
17) In what language do your children prefer to talk?
18) Do you know how to read and write? In what language do you know that?
19) In what language do you dream (or think)?
20) Do you listen radio? In what language are the radio shows you are listening to?
21) Do you watch TV? What are your favorite shows on TV?

d) Professional/Educational Identity
22) Did you go to school?
   If yes: Until which grade did you go?
   If no: What were the reasons, which hindered you to go to school?
23) Which of your children go/went to school?
24) Why did/do the other ones not go?
25) Do/did some of your children go to secondary school? Why/Why not?
26) Do you consider that graduating from school will help you child in adulthood?

e) Intercultural Contacts
27) Have you ever been looked bad at (discriminated) for being from a indigenous Tzotzil/Tzeltal family? What happened to you?
28) Do you have friends who are kaxlan? Where have you met them?
29) Do your children have kaxlan friends? Where have they met them?

f) Gender Identity
30) What kinds of work pursue adult men like you?
31) What kinds of work pursue adult women?
32) Can men also work as __________(insert female professions)?
33) Can women also work as __________ (insert male professions)?
34) Is it okay if teenage boys and girls meet without any adult supervision?
35) Is it okay if a guy and a girl meet go out with one another without any adult supervision?
36) Can a guy have a girlfriend/girlfriends before getting married?
37) Can a girl have a boyfriend/boyfriends before getting married?
38) Is it okay if indigenous (Tzotzil/Tzeltal) women drive cars?
39) Have you ever driven a car?
If not: Would you like to learn to drive?
If yes: Who showed driving to you?
40) Who in your family receives the money and decides how to spend it?
41) Do women and men share decision-making in the family home? Do they have the same rights and obligations?

g) Appearance
42) What kind of clothing does your spouse wear? Traditional or Western clothing?
43) And your daughter(s)? What kind of clothing do(es) they/she wear?
44) What kind of female clothing do you prefer? Traditional or Western clothing?
45) Do you wife and daughter(s) sometimes use makeup?
If yes: In what moments do they use it?
If not: What are the reasons for not using it?
46) Do you like your wife and daughter(s) using makeup?
47) What kind of hairstyle wear(s) your daughter(s) currently? Would you like them to have their hair short or dyed?
48) Do you like tattoos or piercings? Why/why not?
49) Would you like your son(s) or daughter(s) to have a piercing or tattoo?
50) What do adult say about youth who wear piercings or tattoos?

h) Idealized Gender Concepts
51) Can you describe me what characterizes for you an ideal/a good man? (a bad man)
52) Can you describe me what characterizes for you an idea/a good woman? (a bad woman)

i) Ideas about the Future
53) At what age did you marry your spouse?
54) Was your marriage voluntary or obligated?
55) At what age would you like your daughters to get married? Why is that a good age to get married?
56) At what age would like your sons getting married? Why is that a good age to get married?
57) Would you like to have grandchildren? How many grandchildren per child would you like to have?
58) With whom you will you live once you are elderly?
59) Who will provide you assistance?
60) Do you think children have the obligation to take care for their elderly parents? Why?
Appendix C. Paternal Birthplace

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<th>SCLC</th>
<th>SJC</th>
<th>Other</th>
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<td>2 (12.5%)</td>
<td>9 (56.25%)</td>
<td>5 (25%) (1 Chanal, 1 Buljitic)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fathers of Male Children (n=16)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13 (81.25%)</td>
<td>3 (18.75%) (1 Tuxtla, 1 Mitonic, Chanal)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fathers of Female Adolescents (n=20)</td>
<td>1 (5%)</td>
<td>14 (70%)</td>
<td>5 (25%) (2 Huistán, 1 Chenalhó, 1 Zinacantán, 1 Bosque)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fathers of Male Adolescents (n=23)</td>
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<td>16 (69.75%)</td>
<td>7 (30.25%) (2 Ixtapa, 2 Tuxtla, 1 Ocioso, 1 Oxchuc, 1 Mitonic)</td>
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</table>
## Appendix D. Maternal Birthplace

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<td>5</td>
<td>(64.25%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(35.75%)</td>
<td>(3 Zinacatán,</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21.43%; 1 Oxchuc,</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Mothers of Male Children (n=16)</strong></td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>(81.25%)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>(18.75%)</td>
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<td>Mitontic, 1 Chanal)</td>
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<td>(25%)</td>
<td>(2 Huistán, 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chanal, 1 Zinacantán, 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chenalhó)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mothers of Male Adolescents (n=24)</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(66.67%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(33%)</td>
<td>(2 Ixtapa, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Oxchuc, 1 Chanal,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mitontic, Huistán,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cacaté)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix E. Reasons to Migrate to SCLC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Adolescents</th>
<th>Adults</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 (43%)</td>
<td>11 (65%)</td>
<td>6 (43%)</td>
<td>8 (38%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Expulsion</td>
<td>2 (14%)</td>
<td>3 (17%)</td>
<td>1 (7%)</td>
<td>4 (19%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Illness/Death</td>
<td>1 (7%)</td>
<td>2 (14%)</td>
<td>3 (14%)</td>
<td>1 (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Problems</td>
<td>2 (14%)</td>
<td>2 (14%)</td>
<td>1 (5%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Land</td>
<td>2 (14%)</td>
<td>2 (14%)</td>
<td>1 (5%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4 (15%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saving Travel Time and Money</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3 (14%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preference for City Life</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2 (12%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Disputes</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (5%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>1 (7%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eviction</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (6%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Following Relatives into the City</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (7%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Violence</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (3.9%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (3.9%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parental Order</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*5 adult women provide more than one migration reason
Appendix F. Living Arrangements of Maya Child and Adolescent Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Female (n=19)</th>
<th>Male (n=14)</th>
<th>Female (n=20)</th>
<th>Male (n=23)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Living with Both Parents and Siblings</td>
<td>10 (52.6%)</td>
<td>13 (92.3%)</td>
<td>15 (71.4%)</td>
<td>17 (73.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living With Single Mother and Siblings</td>
<td>7 (36.8%)</td>
<td>0 (23.8%)</td>
<td>5 (23.8%)</td>
<td>1 (4.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living With Single Father and Siblings</td>
<td>1 (5.3%)</td>
<td>0 (4.4%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living Without Parents - Either With Relatives* or Temporary Alone **</td>
<td>1* (5.5%)</td>
<td>1* (7.7%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>2* (8.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3** (13.1%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix G. TV Favorites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Children</strong></td>
<td>Cartoons (40%); Everything (20%); Telenovelas (8%); Karate Movies (8%); Movies (8%); Channel 5 (8%); Channel 11 (4%); Channel X (4%).</td>
<td>Telenovelas (73.33%); Cartoons (13.33%); Movies (13.33%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adolescents</strong></td>
<td>Cartoons; News; Fight movies; Karate movies; Lucha libre; Sport shows, telenovelas, 'Almost Everything'.</td>
<td>Telenovelas (70.83%); Cartoons (12.5%); Movies (8.33%); News (8.33%).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adults</strong></td>
<td>News; Movies; ‘Anything’; Cartoons; Telenovelas; Sport shows; Series; Action Movies; Religious Movies; Lucha Libre</td>
<td>Telenovelas (66.67%); News (25%); Cartoons (8.33%).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix H. Driving a Car

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>“I have tried to drive myself.”</th>
<th>“I wish to drive.”</th>
<th>“I find acceptable for women to drive.”</th>
<th>“Justifications for disapproval of women driving.”</th>
<th>“Justification of approval of women driving.”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Children</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>11.1% (2)</td>
<td>100% (19)</td>
<td>75% (12)</td>
<td>- women should not drive</td>
<td>- because it’s their wish to do so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- it’s very dangerous</td>
<td>- they have the right to do so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- it’s not accepted in SJC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>15.4% (2)</td>
<td>70.6% (12)</td>
<td>81.3% (13)</td>
<td>- they could crash</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adolescents</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>33.3% (8)</td>
<td>95.8% (23)</td>
<td>7% (17)</td>
<td>- they could crash</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>25% (5)</td>
<td>100% (19)</td>
<td>100% (19)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adults</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>33.3% (7)</td>
<td>85% (17)</td>
<td>100% (15)</td>
<td>- they could crash</td>
<td>- women have the same rights as men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- it is not accepted in the village</td>
<td>- in some family it’s a necessity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- how could it not be good?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- it’s good for emergencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>10.5% (2)</td>
<td>95% (19)</td>
<td>90% (18)</td>
<td>- it’s only accepted in the city, in the village</td>
<td>- this way women can show men that they can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>women are at risk for violence and gossip if they</td>
<td>also do it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>drive</td>
<td>- it’s good because it means a woman has</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>enough money to possess a car</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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