Jakaltek identity and the Fiesta Maya in Jupiter, Florida: ethnic belonging, community, and home

Maria M. Diaz Montejo
University at Albany, State University of New York, diazmontejo@gmail.com

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JAKALTEK IDENTITY AND THE FIESTA MAYA
IN JUPITER, FLORIDA: ETHNIC
BELONGING, COMMUNITY, AND HOME

by

Maria M. Díaz Montejo

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ABSTRACT

As immigration increasingly becomes a divisive issue in US politics and political measures are implemented to ensure safe borders, immigrants must find ways to avoid deportation. They must also find ways to support each other and maintain a sense of identity as their presence in the USA continues to be challenged and threatened. My research on Jakaltek migrants in Jupiter, Florida concentrates on Jakaltek migrant reconceptualization of home at the same time that they engage in identity politics that challenge a singular understanding of ethnic belonging. How Jakalteks react to their experiences in Jupiter as (mostly undocumented) migrants suggests that there is no single answer to assimilationist positions or to America’s immigration problem. Instead, we find a number of possibilities for learning how to live and survive in a foreign place that rejects the migrants’ presence. I reconsider the term “home” as migrants themselves redefine what it means to them, and challenge current literature on a generalized Latino migrant solidarity. I discuss what belonging entails to Jakaltek migrants and how ethnic boundaries are reinforced to maintain a closed community—which complicate belonging for Jakaltek who are different—that is in the process of change.

To tease out a politics of identity present among migrants and non-migrants in Jupiter, I focus on the Fiesta Maya in Jupiter as an ethnographic slice of pan-ethnic labeling, organization and collectivity based on ethnic generalizations and stereotypes. Analysis of the Fiesta Maya celebration reveals the tensions and politics that emerge from ethnic and cultural blending/generalization. It also presents conflict over ethnic belonging from both the inside and out: Jakaltek migrants claiming ownership of the Fiesta Maya as their patrimony—a re-creation of the Fiesta de Candelaria in Jakaltenango—and solidarity activists from FAU seeking a generalized Fiesta Maya. Ultimately, my research finds that the Fiesta Maya is limited in its
scope as an immigrant collective or movement and ethnic performance. Absence of the Fiesta Maya in 2014 and 2015, new migrant experiences for key informants, and shifting immigration laws and reform all point to flexible, adaptive, creative culture and identity.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL OVERVIEW  
FIESTA MAYA

“Hurry up! What are you waiting for? The procession has already started and you are going to miss it all!” my uncle, Luis, scolded me on the telephone. I tried explaining to him that just as we were leaving, my three-month-old son had soiled his diaper and had made a mess all over his blankets. We were staying with a friend and I didn’t want to be a bad guest, so I was rinsing out as much of the mess as possible before my mother, my son, and I left for the Fiesta Maya. By the time we drove my rental car across Jupiter into the Abacoa neighborhood where Florida Atlantic University (FAU) is located, we arrived just as the procession was ending. He was right, I had missed the procession but the Fiesta Maya is an annual daylong celebration so I knew I could still observe a large portion of the Fiesta Maya. I watched as the procession dispersed and the image of the Virgin of Candelaria was placed at the front of the stage and the flowers carried in her honor were placed at her feet. Organizers prepared the stage while onlookers stood around chatting with each other along the outskirt of the main field that faced the stage. Finally, an MC introduced the Mexican {Norteño} genre-based band that was to begin the celebration. I waited. I wondered when the “Fiesta Maya” was going to begin. When were the people going to get involved? Many people were gathered in a large semi-circle facing the stage watching the band play. Many of them were pointing at the young boy, maybe five or six years old, fully engaged in his performance jumping, skipping, keeping to the beat with the older men playing their instruments. He was dressed in jeans and a button up shirt with a cowboy hat and was the feature of the show. Others not watching him perform were busy in line waiting to buy a

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1 I also missed the soccer tournament that started earlier in the day before the procession started at 11am because as a recent and first time mother, I followed my sons sleeping schedule. The following year I was better prepared and more flexible which allowed me to observe the soccer tournament and the procession.
plate of carne asada, beans, rice, and tortillas or tacos made by migrant participants. Others were walking between the informational booths set along the sides of the Fiesta Maya grounds. There were Mayan artisans supported by El Sol Neighborhood Resource Center selling their handicrafts, El Sol was handing out pamphlets and sharing information about El Sol. The last booth was difficult to make out because of the long line of people standing in front of it. They were waiting to receive a free t-shirt from the insurance company offering information. This was all unexpected. Photos of previous Fiesta Maya celebrations had spotlighted an essentialized Maya image and presence (see below)\(^\text{2}\). Furthermore, my previous experiences of the Fiesta de Candelaria in Jakaltenango, after which the Fiesta Maya in Jupiter is modeled, did not correspond with what I was currently experiencing. Where was the marimba music? What about the dancing? Why was there a Mexican band performing at the Fiesta *Maya*? What about the food? Where were the authentic Jakaltek dishes? And, where was the networking or interaction between migrants and non-migrants present at the Fiesta Maya? With the exception of a few student volunteers that mingled among some migrants they already knew from El Sol, migrants primarily kept to one side where the food was being sold and non-migrants (students, FAU faculty, El Sol personnel, and a few Anglo on-lookers) remained on the side where the informational booths were set up.

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\(^2\) More recently, photos also include pictures of Jalisco dancers (Mexican folklore dancing) and Anglo community (FAU/migrant soccer tournament) interaction with the migrant (Maya) community at the Fiesta Maya. In 2010 and 2011, photos of the Fiesta Maya were limited to a Maya image. Currently, photos of the Fiesta Maya, mainly Maya images but also Anglo presence and Mexican folklore at the Fiesta Maya when it was still celebrated in the Abacoa town plaza and not on FAU campus, are available for purchase on the web.
I first read about the Fiesta Maya in an article written by political scientist and Florida Atlantic (FAU) professor Timothy Steigenga while I was living in Guatemala with my husband.
during his fieldwork. After several months of re-evaluation I made the decision to shift my research focus from Jakaltenango to Jupiter, Florida. According to that article (Steigenga 2007), Jupiter was becoming the Jakelteko migrant’s home away from home. In Jupiter, Jakalteks performed an annual Fiesta Maya that (re)created a sense of home to Jakalteks. The Fiesta Maya was a collaborative effort between Jeronimo Camposeco, a Jakaltek Maya leader, political refugee, and Family Support Specialist with the Farm Worker Child Development Center, the Guatemalan migrant community, FAU students, and FAU professor Timothy Steigenga that was initiated in February 2002. In light of this collaborative effort for public action (Steigenga 2003, 2007), increasing tensions at a national level regarding undocumented immigrants in the USA, and the implementation of stricter border surveillance and increasing number of deportations, I wondered if Jakaltek migrants saw an opportunity to align themselves with socially minded University students and professors who could help them change their status, or at a minimum, connect them with the right people who could change their undocumented status. In turn, I asked how the Fiesta Maya celebration offered Jakaltek migrants a platform to be political by focusing their social network around people who could make a difference in their long-term safety in the USA. If this was the case, I wanted to know if a shift in Fiesta Maya interaction and objective changed the religious and cultural significance of the Fiesta de Candelaria as it was translocated from Jakaltenango to Jupiter as the Fiesta Maya. If so, how did the meaning of the Fiesta change and why? In Jakaltenango, the patron fiesta celebration of Candelaria on February 2nd is an occasion that unites Catholics and Evangelicals, young and old, Ladino and Maya, male and female, rich and poor, and local and migrant Jakalteks. The community organizes and executes its traditional cultural performances yearly under the Virgin of Candelaria’s name. In addition to the fiesta’s principal purpose, Jakalteks also participate to fulfill reciprocal religious and social
obligations (*promesas*), to maintain cultural practice, increase social status and proclaim a uniquely Jakaltek cultural *fiesta*, practice, and identity (Diaz Montejo 2005).

A few hours after we first arrived to the Fiesta Maya, we finally began to hear the marimba music. Slowly couples paired up and began dancing side by side in the traditional counter-clockwise circle dance of Jakaltenango. I watched carefully as each couple interacted and danced with each other while the rest of them watched form the sidelines. One couple in particular struck me. They were young, early 20s perhaps, and although he was dressed in Western style clothing, she was wearing a huipil and corte – traditional Maya embroidered top and woven skirt. A few other women were wearing the traditional clothing too, but she stood out because her *traje* (traditional clothing) was not from Jakaltenango. It was from one of the neighboring non-Jakaltek towns. Like in Jakaltenago, though, she participated in the patron saint celebration of her neighbors. This image is not uncommon in Jakaltenango. Neither is the image of women paired up dancing side by side. At the Fiesta Maya, however, the non-Jakaltek pair, at what I understood to be a Jakaltek celebration, stood out. I watched as my mom danced among the other dancers. No one seemed to care who was watching. It was about the music, dancing, and remembering home.

Migration has been the leading factor for political and economic change for Jakaltek Maya. Guatemala ranks third among countries sending migrants to the USA, with approximately 500,000 undocumented migrants, primarily in California and Florida (Hoefer et al. 2008). Guatemalan migrants are primarily of indigenous Maya descent. Approximately 1000 in a population of about 40,000 in Jupiter, Florida, are Jakaltek Mayas (Steigenga et al. 2008).

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3 *Traje* is used to describe the traditional clothing used by Maya people. Other than language, traje is a key marker of identity among Maya people. Regions, and in some cases, towns, are identified based on traje design, color, and the way it is worn.
Jakaltek migrants first arrived in Jupiter as refugees during the political violence and cultural genocide in the late 1970s to late 1980s. Economic hardship in post-war Guatemala, combined with a growing housing development in the resort town of Jupiter and pre-established links to relatives and friends in Jupiter, led to an influx of economic migrants (Burns 1993; Williams et al. 2009).

This dissertation is about Jakaltek migrants living in Jupiter, Florida, who reconceptualize home at the same time that they engage in identity politics that challenge a singular understanding of ethnic belonging. How Jakalteks react to their experiences in Jupiter as (mostly undocumented) migrants suggests that there is no single answer to assimilationist positions or to America’s immigrant problem. Instead we find a number of possibilities for learning how to live and survive in a foreign place that rejects the migrants’ presence. I reconsider the term “home” as migrants themselves redefine what it means to them and challenge current literature on a generalized Latino migrant solidarity. I discuss what belonging entails to Jakaltek migrants and how ethnic boundaries are reinforced to maintain a closed community that is in process of change.

(RE-CREATING) HOME: FROM HERE AND THERE?

The American Heritage College dictionary defines home as: “a place where one lives; a residence…An environment offering security and happiness…A valued place regarded as a refuge or place of origin…The place, such as a town, where one was born or has lived for a long period” (1993: 649). As more and more people are on the move, the idea of home or place of community has been redefined. Migrations studies have discussed migrants on the move in terms of sending/receiving communities, transnational communities, transborder communities,
imagined communities, cultural citizenship, and flexible citizenship (Glick Schiller, Basch, Blanc-Szanton 1992, 1995; Levitt 2001; Stephen 2007; Anderson 1991; Ong 1999; Kearney 1995a; Rosaldo 1997). Nadje Al-Ali and Khalid Koser (2002:6) add “conceptions of home are not static but dynamic processes, involving the acts of imagining, creating, unmaking, changing, losing and moving ‘homes’.” Migrants increasingly transcend place as they move from one place to another. However, Boehm argues, place still matters (Boehm 2012). Drawing from Appadurai (1989: iii), Boehm argues, movement of people does not result in “placelessness” for transnational migrants. Rather, as Vertovec explains (2009: 12), migrants experience a “(re)construction of ‘place’ or locality” that transfers and regrounds “points of origin” (in Boehm 2012: 6). Adding to this reconceptualization I understand “home” as a multivalent cultural symbol that simultaneously evokes the memory, nostalgia, identity, and familiarity of where migrants come from at the same time that it also embodies this cultural knowledge and experience in the migrants’ present efforts to make a strange place familiar.

This dissertation studies indigenous migrants’ adaptive strategies to living in a new place, that for some may be a temporary experience, while others prepare to live away or between “homes” for a much longer period. Deborah Boehm (2012) describes the difficulties involved with existing in-between, neither here nor there, from here and there, and belonging from both sides (see also Bhabha 1994:1; and Schuck 1998) for Mexican migrants who struggle with a number of factors that inform their movement between nations and borders. Regardless of immigration status, Mexican migrants, she argues, must also consider “age, gender, sexuality, socio-economic class, access to resources, race/ethnicity, marital status, and family ties…[combined] with political economic realities” (2012: 4). These same factors contribute to what home means to Jakaltek migrants. One solution is to seek legal status in the USA to ease
migrant movement between borders and nations regardless of whether they intend on staying in the USA indefinitely or to return to their family in Jakaltenango for holidays, for the Fiesta de Candelaria, rites of passages, or simply some day. The alternative solution is to live their daily lives as undocumented migrants but as a part of a community with shared cultural knowledge and experiences that ease their adjustment, adaptation, accommodation to external sources of tension that limit their full membership in American society – their new place of residence.

(Re)creation of home is increasingly easier to accomplish as global connections have become more accessible. Despite tightening borders, an increase in the movement of ethno, media, techno, finance, and ideo-scapes (Appadurai 1996), including remittances, ideas, practices, economy, and experiences has been possible due to increased access to the Internet in Jakaltenango. Jakalteks are connected through Skype, Youtube, emails, and also home videos and cell phones. In other words, restricted movement of physical bodies due to immigration policy and increased access to links back home find migrants less likely to move between borders and nations at the same time that they seek to feel a sense of home in a new place. Some of them envision home as the freedom to travel back to Jakaltenango by legalizing their immigrant status to ease restricted movement of undocumented migrants. Others re-create home in their new destination while they wait to return home – eventually.

**ETHNIC BELONGING & COMMUNITY**

Before I began my fieldwork in Jupiter, I visited Jupiter for a week during the Fiesta Maya weekend. I observed the Fiesta Maya celebration first hand. I also experienced first hand anti-immigrant protest from Anglo Americans directed towards Latino migrants that until that moment I had only heard and read about during my initial research. I felt scared and ashamed
when I drove by the protesters shouting and holding their signs in the air. They shouted at cars
driving by and at people riding their bikes or walking by, but mostly they targeted El Sol,
Jupiter’s Neighborhood Resource Center. El Sol was known to sympathize with migrants and
offered daily meals, access to literacy resources including ESL classes, computer classes, and
work placement opportunities for the public, among other services. I remember the first time I
visited El Sol, even with permanent resident status, because of my physical “Latina” traits, I
made sure to find an entrance that did not face the corner of West Indiantown Road and Military
Trail, where protestors where gathered. As Lynn Stephen (2007) explains, the physical dangers
of crossing the border extend to everyday living for migrants who must live with anti-immigrant
organizing beyond the US-Mexico border and throughout the United States. As a documented
immigrant, I could only imagine how undocumented migrants felt to be unwanted in a new place
away from the familiar. In this dissertation I examine ethnic belonging as the process in which
Jakalteks become aware of their distinct identities and commonalities as Jakaltek in opposition to
the new place and people they encounter in Jupiter.

The character of local identity shifts according to population changes, which involve
controversy as these identities are challenged (Lattanzi Shutika 2011). In other words, locals
resist change at the same time that change changes them. As these intercultural relations change
(at most) or influence (at a minimum) how society sees itself or how people in society see each
other, the culture of the community is also affected (Palmer and Jankowiak 1996). Tolerance
from anti-immigrant protesters for Latino migrants in Jupiter has shifted marginally in favor of
migrants. Similarly, visible support for migrants has increased over time. More people are
publicly speaking out on behalf of migrants. In Jupiter, the Fiesta Maya and El Sol represent the
strongest source of support for migrants. Still, migrants must contend with nation-wide
exclusionary, selective or conditional membership/citizenship that limits migrant rights and benefits depending on national membership of migrants and their families (Boehm 2012; Kovic 2014).

Recently, Roberto Gonzales and Leo Chavez (2012) asked how migrants respond to their undocumented status in a place that rejects them. They draw from Sarah Willen’s concept of abjectivity (2007) and Julia Kristeva (1982) and Judith Butler’s (1999) definition of abjection to understand how the undocumented status of the 1.5 generation (young Latino men and women brought to the USA as children and raised in the USA) affects their political, civic, and public selves. They analyze subjectively (the lived experience of subjects) the 1.5 generation, who as the abject (unwanted, expelled from the body and rendered alien) from the host community must learn to cope with the realization of their undocumented status and (re)learn how to live in a country and society they thought they belonged to. Some are successful at re-living by politically situating themselves or making positive movement for a brighter future (in the form of higher education) -- currently impossible because of a lack of implementation of the DREAMers Act; others fall short of living up to their previous high achieving selves, taking minimum wage jobs or manual labor jobs, dropping out of high school, or falling to crime. They feel helpless, depressed, and unrecognizable to themselves. They must adapt to discrimination and fear, adjusting their daily lives to avoid persecution and deportation. Their life as they knew it is interrupted for an indefinite period until there is immigration reform or until they are deported.

Undocumented Jakaltek migrants, like the 1.5 generation in Gonzalez and Chavez’ study, experience the same fear and restrictions from living as full members of society due to

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4 Gonzales and Chavez do not extend this analysis to the “home” community outside of the USA and focus on only on the expulsion of the 1.5 generations from their “new” home in the USA.
surveillance and policing/governmentality (Foucault 1977). But unlike the DREAMers, or 1.5 generation that are placed in limbo waiting for immigration reform to finally accept them, most undocumented Jakaltek migrants live their lives knowing that they will never be accepted. Their only hope also lies in the hands of the government but their dreams are even more remote than those of the 1.5 generation. Their everyday lives are also interrupted by insecurity and they are forced to change certain behaviors to avoid those forces that place them in a subordinate, abject position.

Drawing on Sujey Vega’s (2012) concept of ethnic belonging, where “individuals articulate an ethnic sense of belonging [in uncoordinated ways] that can later impact community activism” (196), this dissertation asks how Jakaltek migrants respond to an undocumented status that challenges their notion of ethnic identity. Her work with a Mexican community in Lafayette, Indiana, discusses how Mexican migrants use ethnic solidarity to establish a daily sense of home and to contest a politicized discourse of exclusion. I argue that ethnic solidarity, as Vega discusses, is not possible for Jakaltek migrants. I also find that not all Jakalteks are accepted into the Jakaltek community nor do all of Jakalteks seek acceptance (see section on ethnic othering).

Recent waves of protest and vocalization against outspoken anti-immigrant republican/GOP hopeful Donald Trump highlight the collectivity among Latino migrants. Many second generation migrants are speaking up to defend the dreams and work ethics of their parents. We are witness to the strength in community and organization. Kovic (2014), Byrd (2014), and Vega (2012) describe the value and power of community found in commonality: Latinidad, music, the immigrant experience, and ethnic solidarity. Collectivity and solidarity are important in understanding the immigrant experience in the USA. As scholars we recognize the agency implicit in humans as they experience life outside of the familiar and in contention with
non-migrant “others” and systematically implemented policy employed to create fear and exclusion from the national citizenship, membership, and/or belonging. One of my goals in this dissertation, however, is to problematize a generalized ethic collectivity or solidarity that too often glosses over ethnic diversity and conflict present among a generalized Latino immigrant community and delve deeper into the “closed community” (Wolf 1957) among indigenous migrants. Like the ethnographic shift in Mesoamerican studies that began in the late 1950s with Wolf, I address the community as a site of identity that is dynamic and capable of adapting to social change (Vogt 1969, 1976; Oliviera de Vásquez 1967; Nash 1970; Bricker 1973; Gossen 1974), but that is also resilient and strategic in maintaining ethnic cohesion and differentiation (Colby and Van den Bergh 1969; Haviland 1977; Warren 1978; Annis 1987; Sandstrom 1991; Watanabe 1992a, 2000b; Carlsen 1997; Grandin 2000).

Lynn Stephen (2007) and Patricia Zevalla (2011) highlight the added difficulty for indigenous migrants to live their daily lives as undocumented immigrants in the USA within existing discriminatory and racist attitudes and practices that exist among the generalized Latino migrant population. Stephen explains, despite the positive possibilities created from panethnic alliances and organization, the differences that brought them together find yet one more space to devalue and discriminate against indigenous migrants (2007: 26). As indigenous migrants, Jakalteks experience the added layer of racialization/discrimination due to pan-ethnic stereotypes and generalizations. Stephen adds, “we have to consider the insertion of indigenous migrants into a range of racial and ethnic classification system and hierarchies in Mexico and in the United States where they are often at the bottom –be it economic, ethnic, racial, social, or political” (2007: 25). Second generation K’iche’ Maya migrant Giovanni Batz (2015) also finds that Mayas are faced with deeply embedded racist attitudes formed in their home countries.
among Latin American immigrants in the USA. According to Dávila (2001), these racist attitudes are perpetuated on popular Spanish television networks broadcasting Latin American programs that place indigenous people in opposition (inferior) to non-indigenous Latinos. Similar classification systems and hierarchies that date back to the colonial period continue to be present/recreated in Guatemala (Quijano 2008; Adams 1994; Carmack 1988; Nelson 1999; Warren 1978, 1998; Grandin 2000; Hale 2006; Smith 1990). In response, indigenous migrants find commonality in difference and shared racial/ethnic discrimination to form broader panethnic labels, including more broadly based Mixteco and Zapoteco organizations that draw on ethnic lines (Stephen 2007; Fox and Rivera Salgado 2004; Kearney 1998; 1995b; 1995c; 2000; Nagengast and Kearney 1989). In this dissertation, I examine ethnic community and difference within broadly based indigenous collectivity, adding another layer to our understanding of indigenous migrant identity and politics.

The Fiesta Maya in Jupiter offers an ethnographic slice of panethnic labeling, organization and collectivity based on ethnic generalizations and stereotypes. An in depth analysis of the Fiesta Maya celebration reveals the tensions and politics that emerge from ethnic and cultural blending/generalization. The Fiesta Maya also presents conflict over ethnic belonging from both the inside and out: Jakaltek migrants claiming ownership of the Fiesta Maya as their patrimony—a recreation of the Fiesta de Candelaria in Jakaltenango, and solidarity activists from FAU seeking a generalized generic Fiesta Maya.

**PERFORMING IDENTITY AND COMMUNITY**

Undocumented Jakaltek migrants in Jupiter, Florida, are placed in a position of silence and fear by anti-immigrant policies, institutions, and everyday practices. A performance theory
based analysis explores the alternative ways migrants contest their subordinate position and find a way to belong and be present within this hostile environment. Performance also allows migrants to negotiate a sense of self and community within immigration politics and identity politics found at various levels in their lives. Performance offers migrants the tools to speak about or against their experiences, while performance theory provides the observer with a means to understanding what the performer is doing with and through their performance. For this dissertation, I consider performance to include the negotiation of identity (by an individual or group) in relationship to others (the community and/or non-group members) to affirm, reaffirm, or contest belonging through pre-scripted behavior, speech, and practice.

Goffman introduced the idea of pre-scripted behavior to understand everyday life activities that reproduce and perform social roles for an audience (1959: 15-16). Performances in everyday life, Goffman added, are either “cynical” (intended to deceive) or “sincere” (intended to reflect “reality”). They can be for an audience or the individual. On the one hand, the performer can truly believe the reality he/she is staging as reality, especially when fully involved in the performance. On the other hand, the audience also can be fully taken in by the staged reality of the performer. For both participants, the reality that is presented actually becomes reality, even if just a moment or during the duration of the performance. J. L Austin (1955) introduced performatives as utterances that do not make statements. Rather, they do things. Similar to Austin’s claim that “to say something is to do something” Goffman introduces the term “front” as a tool in performance. Goffman defines “front” as “all the performance or activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers” (1959:22). Schechner (2002) extended this vision to understand all forms of performance. As he explained,
performances can be daily routines, habits, and rituals that recombine already expressed behaviors. On occasions when performances are spectacular, it is not because they are “new,” “original,” “shocking,” or “avant-garde.” It is because they are outside of “daily routine.” They are displacements of acceptable or expected behavior from one place to the unexpected. In other words, performances are “marked, framed, or heightened behavior separated out from just ‘living life’...[and] because it is marked, framed, and separate, restored behavior can be worked on, stored and recalled, played with, made into something else, transmitted, and transplanted” (2002: 28). As restored behavior, performance is also symbolic and reflexive (2002: 28-29; Geertz 1973). Meaning in performance must be decoded by “those in the know” or those with the cultural logics to accept or reject the performance. Although restored behavior implies a repeat performance that has already been observed, or at least parts or a version of it, it is the case that some restored behavior is very specific and requires an esoteric knowledge of privileged participants. It is this element of performance, Geertz argues, that allows access and analysis of culture. As he states, “Behavior must be attended to, and with some exactness, because it is through the flow of behavior – or more precisely, social action – that cultural forms find articulation” (1973: 17).

Michel Decerteau (2011) argued that ordinary people turn to performance as a tactic of resistance against the dominant. They too have something to say about what others impose on them. These silent transgressions find form in performative actions that not only say something but also do something (Austin 1955) about individual and collective experience. Jakaltek migrants resist national, systematically implemented strategies to either exclude them from the national imaginary or deny their cultural history and ethnic identity through forced assimilation.
In their daily lives, Jakaltek migrants turn to each other to reaffirm a sense of pride and belonging that American society denies them.

Byrd (2014), Gomberg-Muñoz (2010), Kovic (2014), and Vega (2012) have found that some migrants perpetuate a migrant discourse that sees “Mexicans” as hard workers, while others seek to change migrant stereotypes by humanizing the migrant image and establishing a collective based on the migrant experience. Walter Little (2003) has discussed the performance of culture to establish an authentic collective identity and community. Similarly, the Fiesta Maya exemplifies a collectivity of migrants and migrant supporters who organize a cultural performance to redefine public perceptions of migrants in the USA. Beyond the performance of a collectivity based on the migrant experience and in support of migrants, there are also present other performances—within the performance of Maya culture and migrant humanity. Migrants, non-Migrants, Jakaltek and non-Jakaltek Maya all participate in the Fiesta Maya knowing that their presence and actions at the Fiesta Maya are observed and evaluated by each other. Dialogue between cultural performers and tourists involves negotiations by the performers about what they view as acceptable presentations of themselves (Picard 1990; Bruner 2005; Little 2004a, 2004b). These performances also involve cultural performances for the group itself (Little 2004a, 2004b; Rogers 1999). In the Fiesta Maya, for instance, the dance of the deer and the Virgin of Candelaria are included in the Fiesta Maya celebration. I argue that both cultural pieces are included to represent “authentic” Guatemalan Maya migrant practice, and display a colorful cultural heritage of migrants. The challenge is understanding how and why participants in the Fiesta Maya participate (perform) in the Fiesta Maya. They perform for the non-immigrant other. At the same time, the same Fiesta Maya participants perform specific group identity and goals. Non-migrants, Jakaltek migrants, and non-Jakaltek migrants each have
separate performative goals even when everyone agrees that the culturally specific elements of the Fiesta Maya represent Jakaltek cultural memory and practice.

Performative agendas appear as political undertones and motivations acted out by performers for an audience. By political, I mean in the sense that a problematic or tension is challenged through social drama. Bruner argues, “participants in a performance do not necessarily share a common experience or meaning; what they share is only their common participation” (1986: 11). And although interpretations of a performance may vary, there is nonetheless a purpose to the performance. As Bauman (1977) and Hymes (1975) argue, performance involves setting oneself apart from others and assuming responsibility for creating something that the others will then evaluate. Performance theory addresses how power, identity, and cultural change are important topics especially when considering colonial history and current intercultural relations between the local, national, transnational and global. Performance theory offers a framework that is significant to migrant studies. It is not only another way of understanding culture; it is also an alternative way of explaining how culture has been practiced and is practiced in a new place. In the case of Jakaltek migrants in Jupiter, it is a way to examine how culture is practiced to affirm identity in an environment of fear and discrimination.

**ETHNIC OTHERING**

The overarching goal of this dissertation is to demonstrate a multivalent understanding of ethnic belonging. In addition to ethnic diversity within Latino migrants and indigenous migrants, there also exist diversity and exclusion within indigenous ethnic groups. A multi-level understanding of ethnic belonging can be found in Edwin’s story (Chapter 6): Edwin was born into the community but raised as a Ladino or non-Jakaltek in Guatemala City. He turned to the
Jakaltek migrant community for help and guidance while rejecting the community's practices at the same time that the community rejects him for having lived a "privileged life" outside of Jakaltenago and non-Jakalteko values and practices.

Fredrik Barth (1969) introduced the idea that identity is dynamic and is influenced by internal and external sources. He separated culture, “…a way to describe human behavior…”, from ethnicity, that which constitutes those units that bind groups of people together, and established that boundaries distinguish ethnic groups from one another (9). He argued that enforcement of exclusive membership and accommodation or incorporation over time as participation and memberships changed maintained ethnic distinctions or group identity. He added that culture is a result of group organization used by actors to self-identify and be identified by others and constitute categorical ascriptions that differentiate one group from another. Ultimately, cultural contents reinforce ethnic group dichotomies, and social relations within ethnic groups are reinforced by dichotomized ethnic statuses or differences (9-11). Furthermore, Barth distinguished two orders of cultural content within ethic groups: 1) overt symbols that are sought and used to exhibit one’s identification with a specific ethnic group (i.e., dress, language), and 2) moral standards by which group members should abide. Identity, therefore, involved judgment by others and oneself according to the moral standards of the ethnic group.

Jakaltek Maya migrants in Jupiter reinforce Jakaltek ethnic boundaries found in Guatemala based on a shared Jakaltek migrant experience that, like other Latino migrants, excludes them from the national imaginary, at the same time that this experience also differentiates them from non-indigenous Latino migrants and non-Jakaltek indigenous migrants. They reinforce community boundaries by recreating home, reproducing cultural practices, and
reinforcing the moral standards of the community. In other words, Jakalteks maintain ethnic boundaries by engaging in a politics of identity in which individuals self-identify at the same time that they are ascribed identities by Maya and non-Maya others.

Ethnic identity in Guatemala has historically been a point of contention: an indigenous Maya majority is placed in opposition to Ladino (non-indigenous Guatemalans or Mayas that do not self-identify as Maya) others. Despite being home to over 20 distinct Mayan languages and several different Maya communities within a single language group (often based on geography) Guatemala has maintained a Maya-Ladino division in which all Maya are categorized into a single ethnic identity. Like the concept of mestizaje in Latin America, the Guatemalan state (and ethnography) saw the assimilation of Maya Indians into modern Ladino society. This view saw Maya enter a process of “ladinoization,” eventually shedding their distinct language, dress, and customs in exchange for “passing” as Lados in the Ladino workforce community, for example, or the ethnic mobility of individual Mayas as well as the “transculturation” of entire Maya communities (Adams 1957). Adams (1994) later argued that Maya and Lados remained distinct ethnic groups through a process of “coevolution”. Coevolution, however, did not mean equality nor did it erase the racism inherent in existing ethnic relations in Guatemala. Adams explained, “Guatemala is increasingly a society in which Lados do not intend to become Indians, and Maya do not intend to become Lados” (1994: 542). Identity formation and politics in Guatemala has been rooted in this Ladino-Maya ethnic division. As part of the emerging Pan-Maya movement post-peace accords, the Guatemalan Mayan Language Academy (AMLG), specifically, sought to reverse ladinoization or reverse the process among Mayas: to

5 Unless the circumstances are right, and claiming Indian (Maya) heritage or connection serves an economic or political goal. See Carol Hendrickson (1985) on the appropriation of Maya identity by Lados when the occasion is right.
preserve the essential traits and markers of a Maya identity (Nelson 1999; Warren 1998).

Following the growth of the movement and re-valuing of a Maya identity, reverse racism against Ladinos has become an issue of concern for Maya intellectuals (Montejo 2010) and Ladinos themselves (Hale 1996, 2006; Warren 1998).

Charles Hale has argued (2004) that the neoliberal state has offered Mayas a space to voice equality and attain certain rights but only under certain conditions. An *indio permitido* (permitted Indian or “authorized spokespeople”) is accepted so long as they can prove to rise “above the racialized traits of their brethren by endorsing and reinforcing the divide” while radical Indians are said “to act in self-marginalizing ways; their resentment feeds ‘reverse racism’” (2004:19). The problem, Hale points out, is that as some Maya attain certain achievement and even rise to positions of “power” promoted by a multiculturalist agenda supported by the neoliberal state, racism is not eradicated in Guatemala, rather, the state, is simply remaking racial hierarchies that continue to place Ladinos in contrast to Maya, with the Maya still in a marginalized position (2004). Maya continue to be placed in contrast to Ladino others and when Mayas are able to ascend in their social or political position it is only in opposition to a radical Maya and upon approval by Ladino society.

Ethnic othering as a means of establishing boundaries and identity formation is not limited to the state. As Barth (1969) argued, it is a practice that groups use to establish membership. Even with a minority Ladino population in Jakaltenango, Jakalteks have experienced marginalization by a Ladino other that has fueled anti-Ladino sentiments. In some cases, Jakaltek association with Ladinos left the Jakaltek marginalized, at most, or ridiculed at a minimum. José lost his parents at the age of eight and shortly afterwards went to live and work with a Ladinoized family at their home in Jakaltenango first, and then at their ranch outside of
Jakaltenango. The patriarch and matriarch of the family spoke Popti’ but no longer wore the traditional clothing and were considered one of the wealthiest families in Jakaltenango. None of their children spoke Popti’. Although they employed José, he eventually grew to see them as his adopted/adoptive family; they gave him food and shelter, and even became godparents to two of his children, further binding their relationship. Among other Jakalteks, José often found himself defending his Ladino “family” and his associated privileged (sell-out) position at the same time that he knew first hand how some of his Ladino family members felt about Jakalteks. At the family home in Jakaltenango José remembers eating separately from the family and usually after everyone had already eaten. He was never permitted to eat in the same room as them. At the ranch he ate with his boss, or uncle as he came to see him, but usually preferred not to cross social boundaries and often waited to eat alone. Recalling his experience with his Ladino family, José remembers randomly finding “lost” cash in the trash he was responsible for taking out every day. He later realized it was a test to see if he could be trusted to return the money to the family. Even after gaining their trust he would still occasionally be accused of stealing from the family. In between the Jakaltek-Ladino divide, José felt resentment towards his Ladino family at the same time that he acknowledged their role in his survival. José admitted, “he was the only father I have ever known, but now I see that I didn’t live a good life. They never treated me well. I never celebrated Christmas, not even my birthday. For the longest time I thought my birthday was on a different date.” Similar sentiments of resentment, mistrust, envy, and anger toward Ladinons have travelled with Jakaltek migrants to the USA.

Ethnic division in Jakaltenango is based on geography, language, dress, moral code and cultural practice and tradition. Elena once said “Marqueños (from San Marcos, a town across Jakaltenango) are different because they don’t speak proper Popti’ (they speak a variation of
Popti’), they wear different traje (Jakaltek style but not quite Jakaltek), they swear too much, and they eat caterpillars with their tortilla.” She added, “Migueleños are also different because they speak Kanjob’al, wear different traje, and they pee standing up and don’t wear underwear. That is why they wear their corte (woven skirt) loose, with a faja (loomed belt/sash) and not wrapped tightly without a faja like Jakaltekas.” José explained the ethnic hierarchy in the Jakaltek municipality and Huista region: “Marqueños are more civilized than San Andresanos because they don’t wear traje as much and are educated –they have some lawyers and teachers. Concepción, well they are in between, but they all come to Jakal if they need anything official done. That is why Jakal is called la cabecera de Huista. It is the head of the villages and towns (including Concepción, San Marcos, San Andres). San Miguel is not part of the Jakaltek municipality. It is further up north and they speak Kanjob’al”.

Jakalteks also differentiate themselves from Ladinos. They separate themselves from Ladinos based mostly on socio-economic status and language, but also work ethic, skin and hair color, dress, and blood. Ethnic boundaries based on phenotype and genotype are increasingly blurred such that Ladinos are often identified only by their inability to speak Popti’ and their traced history (arrival and time) in Jakaltenango. Ladinos, non-Popti’ speaking and non-Maya foreigners often arrived as professionals (working telegraphs or as teachers, for example) and never left Jakaltenango. Some Ladinos, like José’s family, were assimilated Jakalteks that had successfully ladinoized with only vestiges of their Indian past (language) remaining. Despite these criteria, José thought about it very carefully before he identified them as Ladino. Jakalteks passing as Ladino are also differentiated. They are criticized for selling out and being creído (a show off). Jakalteks often reminded José that he was a nobody –an orphan with nothing even though he worked for and lived with a Ladino family. Jakalteks who left Jakaltenango to study or
work in Huehuetenango (or other major city) and those who left to join the army and returned claiming to have forgotten how to speak Popti’ were especially criticized. Denying one's identity was often worse than being from a different group. These individuals are simply labeled “se cree” (s/he passes as, thinks s/he is…): not Ladino but not quite indigenous Jakaltek anymore either. The closest term I could find referring to ladinoizing Jakalteks is Catrina or Catríν.6 I once asked my parents about Catrines and my father explained that my mom, who now dyed her hair and didn’t wear her traje anymore, was a Catrina. It did not go well for my father. To be called a Catrina is in an insult and my mother resented him for calling her that. They both agreed Catrin

does not just mean an indigenous person passing as a Ladino. The term applied to anyone that was poor but tried to pass themselves off as rich –usually by changing their look (a suit for men and western style dresses for women and with flashy jewelry). These ethnic divisions suggest Ladinos and Jakalteks coexist despite feelings of resentment, fear, mistrust, envy, and anger.7

That is not to say marginalization and discrimination does not exist. A Catrín, however, is openly criticized. It is unacceptable to pretend to be something you are not: A poor ladino is still a Ladino and a rich Jakaltek is still a Jakaltek. Selling out or boasting imagined wealth is a marker of undesired otherness. In Jupiter, I argue, power struggles between Jakalteks and Ladinoized or Ladinoizing Jakalteks contribute to a multivalent Jakaltek identity. Belonging and identity are not just based on criteria and boundaries established by the community, at the same time, self-

6 Before explaining what Catrín/Catrina meant, my dad clarified that it is not really a term used in Guatemala but neighboring the Mexican border, many Mexican words are used interchangeably or adopted in the Jakaltek region. See Peter Hervick (1999) on other uses of the term Catrín/Catrina in Yucatán, Mexico.

7 I am not suggesting that there is peaceful coexistence. Tensions between both groups continue to persist, but boundaries are blurred the longer a non-Jakaltek lives in Jakaltenango –especially for individuals who adapt to the cultural conventions of Jakaltenango.
FIESTA MAYA AND THE POLITICS OF IDENTITY

Five years after my initial visit to Jupiter and documenting Jakaltek migrant participation in the Fiesta Maya, I learned that the Fiesta Maya is no longer celebrated in Jupiter. Sentiments reported by participants in the Fiesta Maya (Chapter 5) suggested the possibility of an end to the Fiesta Maya. Observation of the Fiesta Maya and survey responses pointed to existing identity politics among participants. The promotion of pan-ethnic solidarity despite established ethnic boundaries or divisions within and among indigenous migrant fiesta participants combined with limited funding and logistical support for the Fiesta Maya ultimately restricted the growth of a cultural event like the Fiesta Maya.

The Fiesta Maya is a key cultural event that represents Latino migrant solidarity and advocacy at the same time that it represents cultural practice, nostalgia, and recreation of home for Jakaltek migrants. Participants range from recent migrant arrivals, established documented and undocumented migrants, Jakaltek and non-Jakaltek migrants, and students, professors, lawyers, and other professional migrant advocates and supporters. Together, they annually celebrated the Fiesta Maya, including a performance of the dance of the deer (costumes and marimba were brought from Jakaltenango). Since its first celebration in 2002, non-Jakaltek participants remain uncertain about what the dance means and how its text reads (Steigenga, personal communication 2008). When asked about the meaning and text of the dance, Jakaltek Fiesta participants often cannot or are unwilling to explain or interpret the dance. They usually simply offer a description of the dance as it is performed (now they are hunting the deer…now the old man…). Regardless of a lack of explanation or comprehension, non-Jakalteks participated in a cultural event foreign to Jupiter.
Participation in the Jakaltek version of this celebration in Jaltenango culminates in the traditional dance-dramas (Baile de Cortés, Baile de Venado, and Baile de Torito) performed in honor of the Virgin of Candelaria, the patron saint of Jaltenango. Cofradía or cargo members are responsible for the funding and organization of the dance-dramas, including recruiting dancers and marimba players. In Jaltenango the dance-dramas are presented all day long beginning at 8am and ending at 6pm during the entire period of the celebration (beginning on the 18th of January until February 2nd). The dance-dramas commence the celebration by first performing for the Virgin in the church courtyard and for the dead in the cemetery. The remaining week of celebration involves dance-drama performances throughout Jaltenango at each of the five smaller parishes and at private homes, in their courtyards or in the streets. In comparison, the Fiesta Maya in Jupiter is held on the first Saturday in February and is performed in a small field on the campus of Florida Atlantic. Given the ethnic, cultural, religious, and socioeconomic diversity among participants and the ethnically specific nature of the Fiesta Maya, this dissertation asks why individuals (migrant, non-migrant, Jakalktek, non-Jakaltek, anglo) participate in the Fiesta Maya and what the Fiesta Maya means to them, which in turn informs my overarching question about what it means to be Jakaltek in Jupiter, Florida.

I asked one migrant why he participated in the Fiesta de Candelaria in Jaltenango. He answered, for gusto—for pleasure—and “to not let ourselves forget who we are.” He then proceeded to explain the reasons he participated in the Fiesta Maya in Jupiter.

It doesn’t matter where one goes. One has to…One is what one is. One does not change. One can modify or adapt…modify one’s attitude or adapt to other systems, other societies, but at ones foundation, even if just in one’s home within one’s small room, one has their music, pictures, and so all of those things remind us of who we are. So, I, I in particular, and I have told my companions here, I think that the Fiesta, because I do participate, firstly, first because I like to socialize, help people, those are the reasons for which I joined Corn Maya. They didn’t reach out to me. I saw what they were doing. I came and I asked and became friends with them and that is how I joined Corn Maya. And I found a space to help someone
even if it is just to refer them to someone or any other small thing. Help doesn’t hurt anyone. It’s not about opening one’s wallet and offer money at any time. We don’t do that. But help understanding a form or when the mobile consulate will be in the area, mainly to inform the community. That is what we do. And then there is the Fiesta Maya. Apart from all the spirit and altruism one has to help others, then the Fiesta Maya arrived, and well then many Jakalteks, many Jakalteks have always said, ‘ahh, its just that, it is to remember Jakaltenango. What we used to do over there.’ And so I told them, that at its foundation, for me, at its foundation, in reality it is not to remember the people from over there, because people…we come and we go. If we go, if we look at all the videos of the fiesta de Candelaria that people send, we see a video and there are people that no longer appear that appeared in the other ones. Why, because they have died. And so, everything is changing but we, we as Jakalteks, for me the Fiesta Maya is so that we don’t forget who we are. It isn’t to remember the others. But rather for us, it doesn’t help us remembering, you know, what they do there; that they are Jakalteks if I am going to stop being Jakaltek, right. In that moment I would lose affection for everyone else. Rather, I cannot forget what I am, where I came from, what we do, what we are used to, our culture, and so when one begins to appreciate what one truly is, what one is worth, one can begin to also appreciate others. So, that’s it, that’s the, that is the reason that I have been involved in the Fiesta Maya. There are a few discussions that we have here, always, almost always with me because sometimes I try to change some, not change but rather share and if we could modify some elements of the Fiesta Maya. So that it may truly be a Fiesta Maya and not a replica of the Fiesta de Candelaria. Because, supposedly, when we talk about Fiesta Maya, we are talking about twenty-two Maya ethnic groups.

According to the statement above, Jakaltek identity is strongly rooted in cultural practice, tradition, community membership, and place. Yet, within the same excerpt above, culture and ethnic identity, like people, are adaptive at the same time that they remain exclusive to community members with the esoteric knowledge required to demonstrate and reaffirm their membership. The piece above also suggests that the Fiesta Maya in Jupiter is a cultural performance that brings forward competing politics. This dissertation focuses on the Fiesta Maya to help understand the complexities of ethnic identity, collective movements, and cultural politics. It also considers how subject positions are negotiated to create multi-tiered individual identity within the boundaries of the community experience.

The Fiesta Maya in Jupiter is a Jakaltek and specifically Catholic cultural practice, yet it involves a number of unrelated, religiously and ethnically diverse participants. This phenomenon
challenges the notion that migrants participate in transnational activities as a means for maintaining a connection to their home community, and suggests that culture is flexible as new political and economic contexts inform how culture is used and what it means to its users, thereby connecting identity construction to cultural practice. Cultural performance and identity politics research has paid little attention to the movement of cultural performance across transnational borders and the connection between cultural symbols, politics, economics, and identity construction. Migration and globalization studies have emphasized the economic experiences of migrants but are just recently beginning to explore the connection between economics, politics, and the performative use of transnational activities (Paerregaard 2010, Burrell 2005; Stephen 2007; Kearney 1995c). Through an investigation of the ways in which migrants use the Fiesta Maya to perform and reconcile conflicting identities and how cultural practices undergo change, I will explore the performative use of culture to influence migrant identities. In contrast to fiestas celebrated by other Maya groups/communities in the USA that focus solely on the Maya group performing and organizing the celebration (K’iche’ and Q’anjob’al in Los Angeles, Q’anjob’al in Florida, Arkansas, etc), the Fiesta Maya in Jupiter presents the challenge of incorporating cultural performance, migrant solidarity, and Pan-ethnic collectivity within cultural (re)creation specific to one Maya community. Furthermore, my research will add to anthropological knowledge about cultural performance and migrant relations (and the ways that migrants seek to construct new cultural worlds for themselves in different locations) between the USA and Guatemala, which are currently under-explored. Specifically, this dissertation speaks to Jakaltek cultural production and identity in the USA that is very different from that of Mexicans because Guatemalans are relative newcomers to the USA.
This chapter has introduced the research and a review of the relevant literature to support the study. I draw from a performance theory approach to analyze how migrants reaffirm an ethnic identity and on cultural politics to support my theory of ethnic belonging. Chapter Two describes the research design, the site, and methodology for choosing the study population and sampling strategy, data collection, and data analysis. In particular, as an observer with a subjective position, I situate myself within the study and in relationship to key informants. Chapter Three provides data on the current practice and beliefs surrounding the Fiesta de Candelaria in Jakaltenango. Chapter Four gives a history of the development of Corn Maya Inc., El Sol, and the Fiesta Maya. Chapter Five provides an analysis of the data collected during the Fiesta Maya. In comparison to the Fiesta de Candelaria in Jakaltenango, I provide data and analysis of the qualitative research gathered on the Fiesta Maya through surveys, interviews, and participant observation. Drawing from Sujey Vega’s work on migrants’ response to national exclusion or abjection, Chapter Six discusses how Jakalteks also turn to ethnic solidarity as a way of mitigating denied access to social, medical, and economic services, institutionalized surveillance, and public discrimination. Jakalteks engage in daily practices of community and they also annually participate in the Fiesta Maya to celebrate their cultural identity and reaffirm their ethnic belonging against National exclusion but also other Maya migrants. Chapter Seven discusses what happens when the Jakaltek community is not enough for migrants who do not want to be held back by limitations set by Jakaltek ethnic belonging. While two life histories were collected, only one proved to be cohesive and complete for the purposes of this dissertation. For that reason, I focus on Edwin’s life history. Through his story, I analyze the complexities of belonging and difference within the same ethnic group. His story offers insight into the migrant journey and arrival into established migrant networks and rules. His story also serves as a
counterpoint to a single migrant experience. Chapter Eight discusses the importance of this research in the context of change and adaptive cultural and ethnic identities. Follow-up with key informants reinforced the findings of this research: the Fiesta Maya is limited in its scope as an immigrant collective or movement and ethnic performance. Absence of the Fiesta Maya in 2014 and 2015, new migrant experiences for key informants, and shifting immigration laws and reform all point to flexible, adaptive, creative culture and identity.
CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

As a Jakaltek born Canadian I find myself situated in a unique position of both insider and outsider in relationship to the community that this research focuses on. This in-between position has offered both benefits and challenges to my role as researcher. I consider myself an insider because I grew up in the culture despite having grown up in Canada – my family continued to practice adapted versions of their traditions, culture and language outside of Jakaltenango, just as Jakaltek migrants do in Jupiter. I grew up learning about what it means to be Jakaltek. The first language I learned to speak was Popti’. I also learned early on that being Jakaltek, or Maya, is not always the right thing to be. Before my parents migrated to Canada as refugees, I watched my mother, aunts and grandmother lose a piece of their identity when they could no longer wear their traditional traje of Jakaltenango. I distinctly remember the adults telling us, the children, not to speak in our native tongue, Popti’. My cousin, two years younger than me, kept forgetting and we would laugh. At the time we didn’t understand the seriousness of hiding our Maya identity from Mexican authorities. We had all crossed the border illegally and were living in a makeshift refugee camp near the home of our aunt who had married a Mexican.

As a child in Canada I can remember sitting under the kitchen table or somewhere on the kitchen floor listening to my parents, aunts, uncles, and grandparents long for their home. The marimba music played in the background while my grandmother stood, it seemed permanently, by the stove while she cooked beans or handmade corn tortillas. I quietly listened to them tell jokes in Popti’. They would also retell the story of why we left Guatemala and how we came to Canada. Although my parents experienced the trauma of learning to live in a foreign place, and were limited to cultural practice and tradition within the private realm because of the limited size of
the Jakaltek community in their new residence, they were not unwanted nor did they fear deportation like undocumented Jakalteks do in Jupiter.

My first exposure to Jakaltek culture in Jakaltenango was in 1995. Thirteen years after my family sought refuge in Mexico, I discovered a connection and interest in the Jakaltek part of my identity that up to that point had been limited to stories, Christmas traditions, food, language use by my immediate family, and old cassette tapes of the marimba and music composed in the refugee camps. Having grown up in Canada and acculturated into the culture, I considered myself an outsider to the Jakaltek community and daily practices as well as annual public and private traditions. After that initial trip, however, I began to close the gap between my Canadian and Jakaltek selves. Between 1995 and 2009 I returned to Jakaltenango a total of eleven times. Each time I stayed with my maternal and paternal family for up to three months during summer vacations. In 2008, when my husband was doing his research in the Kaqchikel area, I travelled to Jakaltenango more frequently. My interest in and connection to Jakaltenango and the culture I grew up learning about was further strengthened when my uncle, Victor Montejo, received his doctoral degree in Anthropology and he published a book detailing his experience of la violencia in Guatemala (Montejo 1987). All of this history prepared me for my transition from insider to observer.

The forced physical, economic, political, and cultural distance between my immediate family and our “home” was a driving force for my Master’s research, conducted in Jakaltenango, which focused on traditional dance, performance, and identity politics (Diaz Montejo, unpublished 2005). I learned that migrants remain connected to their home community via cultural revitalization and promotion, in addition to economic and social remittances. The paradoxical relationship between Jakaltek migrants and local Jakalteks was also a point of
interest and conflict. Having come to understand the tension between local cultural promotion and migrant cultural promotion, in this dissertation I have sought to understand the migrant perspective in Jupiter. I am aware of the drawbacks and advantages that an insider’s position may bring (Fox 1991, Behar and Gordon 1996, Bernard 2006). As an insider, preliminary conversations and contacts with a number of migrants proved that they were willing to share sensitive information: they saw me as subject to the same local standards (Barsegian 2000) and someone who herself has participated in exchanges similar to those in which they find themselves involved. Furthermore, as noted above, I am situated in a unique position at the margins of both an insider and outsider role that has allowed me to navigate more easily between the challenges of being held to insider standards and criticism as well as an untrustworthy or ignorant outsider. One method of alleviating possible tensions as an outsider I used was developed from advice my uncle once gave me before my first fieldwork experience. He told me that to be a good fieldworker I needed to know something about the people I was working with before I could presume to gain their trust and respect, let alone data, often in the form of very personal information. “Show them you know something and they will be more willing to share what they know”. I have always carried this advice with me. It was helpful when I was working with elders from my hometown on traditional dances and music. I let them know that I was aware about their status and role regarding such important cultural knowledge in our hometown. I shared my knowledge of dance and tradition among Jakalteks and Maya in general. It worked. I gained invaluable knowledge and access to very personal experiences, beliefs, practices, and opinions surrounding Jakaltek dance, music, tradition, and identity. I also relied on a lineage-based connection to the community to access information that might be considered too sensitive to share with an outsider. Through a network that mirrored the popular game of “six degrees to
Kevin Bacon,” I was able to prove how I was personally connected to each individual and the community. The same has been true for my research among the Jakaltek Mayas in Jupiter, Florida. Upon detailing my personal connection to individuals living in Jupiter and through network connection from these relatives, I also gained the trust and confidence of many of these migrant workers. As an insider, the challenge was to distance myself from family feuds, rivals, and expectations of a Jakaltek woman. My outsider position—a naïve researcher eager to learn about the mundane, personal, everyday life but without judgment—was invaluable in these situations. As a researcher, I shared a common interest in learning about the Jakaltek community with migrant supporters, academics, and students in Jupiter. This research is a result of a number of roles and identities I could turn to when collecting data. Finally, in Jupiter, I entered the field with a plan that included methodologies perfected in my grant proposals; those later proved to be helpful guidelines that were adapted to the context and situation my family and I found ourselves in.

To complete this research I included various data collection methods including surveys, interviews, life histories, and participant observation. Apart from my insider knowledge established throughout my childhood and adulthood, I conducted a pilot study in Jakaltenango for my master’s research over the summer of 2003, conducted the master’s research over three months in the summer of 2004, and returned for follow up research in the summers of 2005 and 2006. In 2007 to 2008 I spent eight months in Guatemala with my husband during his fieldwork in San Antonio Aguas Calientes, outside of Antigua Guatemala, but travelled frequently to Jakaltenango to visit family and continue my research. It was during that period in February 2008 that I conducted surveys and interviews on the Fiesta de Candelaria in Jakaltenango. It was that research that prepared me for the primary focus of my dissertation research in Jupiter among
Jakaltek migrants. I conducted preliminary research in Jupiter in February 2010, and then moved to Jupiter with my family in late March 2010 until August of 2010. I returned to Jupiter in February 2011. We had planned on staying in Jupiter until March 2011, but had to return to Canada for personal reasons. To date I have maintained a connection with key informants and have relied on them for clarification and updates.

**RESEARCH DESIGN**

This research grew from my understanding of Jakaltek ethnic and cultural identity in Jakaltenango and from my own experiences at home with my immediate and extended family in Canada. The following questions were developed from these experiences and observations and serve as guidelines in the analysis of the movement of the *fiesta de Candelaria* from Jakaltenango to Jupiter:

- Under what circumstances did the *fiesta* of Candelaria arrive in Jupiter in 2002? Who was involved in the initial organization and performance of the *fiesta*? Has participant involvement changed since the first *fiesta* celebration?

- Do migrants “perform” alternative identities by participating in the Jakaltek *fiesta* celebration outside of Jakaltenango? What identities do Jakaltek migrants perform through their participation in the *fiesta* celebration? How does the *fiesta* change significance as it is performed outside of its original Jakaltek context? In what ways do migrants renegotiate ideas about religious practice, culture, moral obligation, and social network relations in relation to economic and political interests in Jupiter?

- How does the *fiesta* of Candelaria in Jupiter differ from the *fiesta* in Jakaltenango? What levels of income and prestige (including political status and citizenship status) are associated with *fiesta* participation?

Based on preliminary investigation within Jakaltenango and Jupiter, I formulated the following hypotheses as possibilities to account for Jakaltek migrant participation in the *fiesta* of Candelaria and the resulting cultural resignification in Jupiter:
H (1): Jakaltek migrants participate in the *fiesta* celebration to increase political and economic security. *Fiesta* participation provides greater stability to migrants seeking a secure residence status in the USA. American residency is an issue that differentiates Jakalteks in Jupiter from those in Jakaltenango because it is a source for greater job security, well-being, access to better and higher paying jobs, social security benefits, etc. Collaboration with Corn Maya Inc. and FAU faculty and students involved in the *fiesta* celebration provides migrants with access to a social network that is politically oriented, fluent in English, and educated about migrant rights and policy. In doing so, migrants are better situated to seek residence status. Furthermore, status security, accompanied by a legal passport, allows migrants to move freely across borders to and from Guatemala and the USA, strengthening their transnational connections without their having to give up either their traditional Jakaltek or migrant identity. Method of analysis: Sample surveys, individual interviews, and participant observation.

H (2): Jakaltek migrants participate in *fiesta* celebration to solidify and maintain community cohesion and alliance, because of cultural nostalgia resulting from their distance from the home community. Migrants remain physically connected through social and economic remittances to Jakaltenango throughout the year, but participation in the *fiesta* provides a concrete and marked connection to Jakaltenango, especially through their children’s participation in the dance of the deer performed in Jupiter. Methodology for analysis: Sample survey, census data, individual interviews and participant observation.

H (3): A combination of political and economic interests of Jakaltek migrants changes the significance of the *fiesta* of Candelaria in Jupiter, Florida. Jakaltek migrants continue to participate in the *fiesta* celebration out of personal desire (*gusto*), moral obligation (*promesa*), and tradition. However, they also include new political and economic reasons for performing their Jakaltek tradition in Jupiter, Florida. Methodology for analysis: Sample survey, census data, individual interviews and participant observation.

In exploring these hypotheses, this study originally sought evidence connecting saint celebration in Jupiter to an increasing demand for social, economic, and political prestige within the USA, and consequently a decreasing relationship of mutual obligation between migrants and the Virgin of Candelaria. Studies on religious cargos and confraternities show the importance of cultural, religious, social, political, and economic factors in *fiesta* participation (LaFarge and Byers 1931, Monaghan 1996). Prestige is an important outcome of cargo participation. Traditional *fiesta* performances also require acts of sacrifice and reciprocity that culturally and ideologically bind individuals, and often their families, to saints. Successful organization and
completion of *fiesta* and dance performance releases individuals and their families from their spiritual obligation to the specific saint. In Jakaltenango, this socially and morally binding tradition continues to be upheld (Diaz Montejo 2005). Saint/migrant relations have also been identified in the prayers and funding for saints in local Mexican communities offered in return for safe and successful border crossing by migrants into the USA (Ramírez Sánchez 2006; Rivera Sánchez 2006; Odgers Ortiz 2008). At the time that I developed these hypotheses, relations between Jakaltek migrants in Jupiter and the Virgin of Candelaria remained unclear to me due to different Jakaltek moral and social obligations in a new social, political and economic context. Ultimately, a focus on the Fiesta de Candelaria in Jakaltenango and the Fiesta Maya in Jupiter provided a platform for my research on Jakaltek migrant identity to unfold.

**RESEARCH SITE**

The primary site of research and analysis was Jupiter, Florida. The town of Jupiter has a total area of 21.1 square miles and is primarily urban (Census 2010). A relatively small town, Jupiter is easy to navigate and access by car. Unfortunately, public transportation is sparse, making travel within Jupiter complicated for anyone without access to a vehicle. The size of Jupiter allowed me to locate and observe Latino immigrants even when I was not referred or accompanied by one of my primary informants. The demographics of Jupiter are divided by upscale, often gated mansion lined communities, middle class Anglo neighborhoods, and lower class immigrant enclaves. Specifically, Jupiter is home to 3000 to 4000 Hispanic or Latino migrants. Forty-two percent of these migrants come from Huehuetenango, Guatemala, and 15% are from Chiapas, where the majority population is indigenous, in southern Mexico. 1000 of the migrants from the department of Huehuetenango are from Jakaltenango. They make up
approximately one third of the total migrant population in Jupiter. Within the migrant population in Jupiter, religious affiliation, along with ethnic differences, provides a strong divide among migrants. The *fiesta* of Candelaria is a cultural tradition based on Catholic religion and specific to the town of Jakaltenango, Guatemala. Political, religious, and ethnic opposition to the *fiesta* celebration has been noted by Timothy Steigenga (Steigenga and Williams 2009).

The Abacoa neighborhood town plaza, in Jupiter, was the original site of performance of the Fiesta Maya but it has since been moved to the adjacent Florida Atlantic University campus (FAU), also located in Abacoa. FAU campus was the public site for this research. Jakaltek migrants, other migrants, Corn Maya Inc., Florida Atlantic University, and other non-migrant *fiesta* supporters gather at FAU campus to celebrate and perform the Fiesta Maya usually on the first weekend in February.

Finally, Jupiter has been the site of strong anti-immigrant campaigns with daily protests outside of El Sol Jupiter’s Neighborhood Resource Center. As a central site developed to coordinate migrants with potential employers, El Sol came to symbolize everything anti-immigrant protesters stood against. Corn Maya Inc is a non-profit organization organized by refugee Maya migrants and currently run by Maya migrants and non-migrants in an office space within El Sol.

FAU campus, Abacoa, the town of Jupiter in general, and El Sol were the primary platforms that I observed as places of performance and cultural production. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected from individual participants present on the celebration date. Data was also gathered from surveys and from informal and formal interviews with migrants as they practiced their daily lives outside of the celebration period.
**METHODOLOGY**

**Study Population and sampling strategy**

This study population is comprised of migrant and non-migrant Fiesta Maya participants, and to a lesser extent non-participants. My research goal was to understand why individuals participate in a Jakaltek culturally based performance, and what that meant specifically to Jakalteks whose ethnic identity is rooted in cultural practices like the Fiesta de Candelaria, which the Fiesta Maya is modeled after. During my research I learned of another fiesta celebration hosted by Jakalteks commemorating the Virgin of Candelaria in Palm Beach County (next to Jupiter) on the same weekend of the Fiesta Maya. A number of factors limited my participation in this particular fiesta celebration. First, the focus of this research is on the Fiesta Maya and as an annual event my goal was to observe and participate in this celebration. Second, apart from participant observation time restrictions of the Fiesta Maya, I was also financially limited with my research time in Jupiter. I had received enough funding for approximately six months, which was cut short due to personal reasons. I used the remaining funds to return to the following Fiesta Maya celebration for follow-up observations and questions. Finally, I learned about the competing Fiesta de Candelaria late into my research period – shortly before I had to suddenly leave the field. The Fiesta de Candelaria in Palm Beach County is a subject that can be further addressed to better understand Jakaltek identity politics that I hope to return to in the future.

In the context of this research in Jupiter, Florida, I consider migrants to include undocumented individuals seeking work in the USA who are seeking or received asylum or refuge; and 1.5 generation migrants brought to the USA by their parents who are also subject to deportation and limited rights in the USA. Migrants do not include the children of migrants with
birth based US citizenship. For this study, non-migrants include Anglo “white” or Latino US citizens and foreign students at FAU.

After drilling my father about what he considered Jakaltek identity to mean, I was devastated when he looked at me and told me I was not a Jakaltek. I didn’t speak for a few minutes. He explained that I don’t live there, I didn’t grow up there, my Popti’ is limited, and I don’t practice the traditions of Jakaltenango. I asked him why, if he too no longer practiced the traditions of Jakaltenango and no longer lived there was he considered Jakaltek. After a long pause, he answered, “well, I guess if you say you are Jakaltek then you must be. I can say you are not Jakaltek but if it is in your blood and you feel it, then you are Jakaltek.” With this conversation in mind, this study finds Jakaltek to include individuals born in Jakaltenango, those claiming Jakaltek descent, and individuals who self-identify and whom the Jakaltek community to some extent also accepts. US citizen children of migrants (whether documented or undocumented), for instance, are considered Jakaltek non-migrants. A migrant born and/or raised outside of Jakaltenango with Jakaltek parents is Jakaltek if they self-identify because of their descent. In some cases, migrants who do not self-identify as Jakaltek are still considered Jakaltek if others consider them to be Jakaltek because of descent. This could be positive identification (inclusion into the community) or negative identification (exclusion of “sell outs” that reject their Jakaltek identity).

To achieve a representative sample I avoided more than two interviews per family or group of household participants. Both males and females were interviewed; however, because more males than females migrate, a greater number of males participated in the surveys and interviews. Age demographics included young adults (age 18+) and older individuals (age 60+). Because Guatemalan migration to the USA is a relatively recent phenomenon most migrants that
participated in the survey were less than 60 years old. Given the time and personnel constraints of this project, quota sampling was the most efficient way to ensure that people who represent all combinations of the variables in which I was interested in were present in this saturated sample (Schensul et al. 1999: 246, 267; Bernard 2006: 187-189). With approximately 200 participants over an entire day of performances in the Fiesta Maya, 12.5 percent (25 individuals) survey participants constitute a sufficient sample to cover the variability within this population group.

Initially I was going to recruit subjects through announcements and distribution of my contact information at Corn Maya Inc. and through random selection on the date of the fiesta celebration. Instead, I was able to integrate myself into the El Sol community by volunteering daily at the ESL classes assisting the Anglo ESL teacher. I did not directly teach the class. Instead, I assisted students (individuals and in groups) with class assignments during class time. These smaller groups and one on one conversations allowed me to learn more about individual students and for them to learn about me and my project. As the students became comfortable with my presence and role in the class, I was able to gain their trust and ask them questions about their experiences as immigrants in Jupiter. I randomly conducted surveys with some of the students after their ESL class. I believed the day of celebration and performance would be an opportune time to recruit participants from the audience. First, this period would permit access to all fiesta participants. Second, surveys and interviews would be conducted during a relaxed and festive occasion. And third, these surveys and interviews would allow for initial contact with potential long-term informants. Unfortunately, the festivities themselves got in the way. There were too many distractions (the soccer match, the procession, the deer dance and the baile regional (collective circle dance); the loudspeakers projecting the live music limited possibilities for surveys; and my son, while he made me accessible to the Fiesta participants, made it difficult
for me to “work” at the fiesta. I did, however, engage in informal conversations with fiesta participants and make invaluable observations.

Key informants were selected based on their roles in the Fiesta Maya and my pre-existing relationship with them. Through my insider role as a researcher I established communication with Katrina, the president of the Corn Maya Club and student of Timothy Steigenga (Political Science professor and key collaborator of the Fiesta Maya) prior to my arrival in Jupiter. She helped me understand the context of the Fiesta Maya from a non-migrant perspective. She also arranged for several members of the Corn Maya Club to meet with me. Through my outsider researcher role I met David, a primary member of Corn Maya Inc. He offered invaluable input regarding the Fiesta Maya, its goals as a cultural performance and his experience as an undocumented Jakaltek migrant. I met him while I volunteered at El Sol. Because as a former elementary school classmate of my mother’s in Jakaltenango, my insider role allowed me to gain his trust quickly. He was delighted and eager to help me with my research but also to see a “Jakalteka do important work.” Juan and Luis are related to my family. Our familial connection and history made it logical for me to reach out to them and for them to trust me. I met Juan for the first time in Jupiter. Cousin to my father, he took me in as his daughter and offered assistance in any way that he could. He too expressed his pride in my work and in me. Luis is my uncle, married to my father’s sister. I had met him years ago on one of my first trips to Guatemala. Coincidentally, he is also the uncle of my close friend and informant Edwin. Edwin and I have a friendship that dates back to our early teens. His trust allowed me to discuss freely concerns or questions I had about what I was observing and learning throughout my entire fieldwork experience. Each one of these individuals allowed me access to other individuals and experiences.

8 Pseudonyms were used for all collaborators and survey participants to protect their identities.
that informed this research. Above all, an insider position allowed me to speak to these individuals about sensitive material that they otherwise would be unwilling to share: their immigration status, their journey into the USA, strategies for attaining documented status in the USA, and rivalries and mistrust between community members. As an outsider, or at the margins of the Jakaltek community, some individuals felt free to criticize other members of the community knowing that they could confide in me because I was not entangled in family politics or feuds. It also helped that initial contact with individuals was preceded by confidentiality and anonymity disclosures.

DATA COLLECTION

Surveys

The overarching goal of this dissertation is to gain an understanding of how Jakaltek migrants experience their ethnic identity outside of their hometown. Is it different to be Jakaltek in a place that not only is culturally, linguistically, politically, economically, and socially different but also a place to rejects their presence? To get those answers I focused my surveys on the performance of a Jakaltek cultural practice performed in Jupiter. With a previous understanding of what the Fiesta de Candelaria (the model for the Fiesta Maya) means, why it is practiced, and who it represents in Jakaltenango I wanted to know if the same was true of the Fiesta Maya in Jupiter, and if not, why not. Having understood that Fiesta Maya participants included both migrants and non-migrants, two different surveys were prepared.

Migrants were asked about their immigration history and when/how they came to live in Jupiter. They were also asked what country and city they were migrating from. The survey never asked if they were documented or undocumented. This information was gathered from
observation, informal conversations, and pre-existing knowledge. Demographic information was collected, including their age, sex, if they rent or own their home, how many people (related and unrelated) live with them, if they are economic migrants or refugees/asylees, what language they speak at home, and finally what religion they practice, if any. The remainder of the survey focused on their knowledge and participation in the fiestas in Jakaltenango and Jupiter. First, I wanted to understand if the same people who participated in fiestas at home would participate in Jupiter and if those that didn’t participate also were absent at the Fiesta Maya in Jupiter. I then asked specific questions about their participation and knowledge about the Fiesta Maya, including its importance and future. Migrants were also asked to rate pre-determined reasons for participating in the Fiesta of their hometown. These results were not included in this study since respondents either didn’t answer or misunderstood the question. Furthermore, the question did not affect answers that specifically asked about the Fiesta Maya.

Non-migrants were asked where they were from, their age, sex, marital status, occupation, how they knew about the Fiesta Maya, and their role in the Fiesta Maya if they participated. The remaining questions asked about their knowledge about the Fiesta Maya, its perceived significance to them and to migrants, its importance in Jupiter, and the future of the Fiesta Maya.

None of the non-migrants asked to participate in the surveys declined. Some migrants, on the other hand, refused to participate after I completed my introduction explaining my research goals, their anonymity, and the focus on immigration. It is not uncommon for migrants to mistrust anything or anyone involved with immigration—even if it is indirectly. Migrant survey participants included individuals I knew before my fieldwork began, individuals I met at El Sol, and migrants I randomly asked to participate in the surveys. All of the migrants who declined to
participate in the surveys were young males and had never met me before, and even though the 
surveys were to be conducted privately in the Corn Maya Inc. office at El Sol, it is possible they 
did not feel comfortable speaking to me (an outsider) about sensitive issues like migration. They 
may have also declined to participate because of my age and gender.

**Participant Observation**

To attain a subjective understanding of the Jakaltek immigrant experience I participated 
in the lives of Jakaltek migrants as much as possible. This proved to be a little difficult for two 
reasons: most migrants are male and as a female it was not acceptable for me to go to work with 
them at male-dominated work sites. More importantly, it was unacceptable for me to interfere 
during their work hours, whether they were male or female. Fortunately, I was able to participate 
in weekend cultural events like rites of passages and leisure activities. On two separate occasions 
I was able to participate and observe the lives of two Jakaltek migrant households when I stayed 
with them over a five-day period. I shared meals with them, passed the day with them, and 
observed their daily practices, including the mundane such as running errands. Throughout the 
week I participated and observed migrants at El Sol. With a significant number of migrants 
participating in El Sol’s work-matching program, a day at El Sol was part of the daily practice of 
many migrants. Safe under the protection of El Sol, migrants felt more relaxed among each other 
and non-migrants working to help them. They would speak freely about immigration policy and 
policing. They discussed their work, goals, and home. Because of the size of Jupiter, it was not 
difficult for me to run into migrants, or specifically Jakaltek migrants. One day I ran into my 
cousin at a McDonald's. I had known that he had migrated to the USA. Every time I went to the
local Latino grocery store, multi-purpose/convenience store, or restaurant I was able to observe migrants living their lives.

I also observed how individuals participated in the Fiesta Maya during the celebration. I was able to attend the fiesta in 2010 and 2011. I observed who was present at the Fiesta Maya, which groups clustered together, what roles they played while at the Fiesta Maya (spectator, organizer, musician, vendor, etc.). I was able to recall or review anything I had missed on one of the videos taken of that day.

Paired with my existing knowledge of Jakaltek cultural practice and ethnic markers in Jakaltenango, participant observation of Jakaltek migrants as they lived their lives in Jupiter allowed me to evaluate how cultural practices and ethnic markers shift or remain the same in a new context.

**Interviews**

Following surveys, a few participants were willing to answer additional questions not included in the surveys. The interviews allowed me to apply an in-depth open-ended interview technique, which allowed respondents an opportunity to freely express their opinions and experiences, choosing the direction of answers themselves (Bernard 2006, Gellner and Hirsch 2001). This technique was instrumental in avoiding bias on my part that could result from the exact formulation of a question. This technique allowed me to explore the categories with which migrants operate and note what ideas, issues, concerns, and goals were important to them.

Semi-structured interviews with Fiesta Maya participants constitute the core of my field methodology. Respondents were interviewed using the survey questions as a guideline (see Survey Questionnaire in Appendix). At the same time, the participants were encouraged to
introduce alternative factors they felt were relevant to the research. Careful attention to reported migrant objectives and motivation for Fiesta Maya participation in relation to their intended audiences offered insight into the use of cultural performance for identity construction.

**Life Histories**

Given the time constraints of the study and to allow for detailed documentation of their life stories I collected two life histories. Both life histories were recorded with permission and lasted over two hours each. They each took place in my home over dinner with my husband and son. Both participants were encouraged to produce narratives of their lives and relate them to their experiences. Story-telling was gently guided by some of my probing questions, which were useful in maintaining a focus but allowing the migrant to relate what he perceived to be the important aspects of his life. Their life histories offered illustrations of the fundamental changes occurring within the history of their lives in Jupiter and their participation in or absence from the Fiesta Maya. Despite having collected two life histories, only Edwin’s story appears in detail in this dissertation. With such a strong emphasis on belonging to the Jakaltek community by the majority of migrants, Edwin’s narrative was especially insightful into alternative Jakaltek objectives and identity. Juan’s story was helpful in illuminating the experience of an older Jakaltek-born man that participates in the Fiesta Maya, but for this study was limited in its use. Instead I have included parts of this life history throughout this dissertation.

**Secondary Data**

Secondary data (local mass media, periodicals, migration journals and policy bulletins) were collected and referenced during the entire duration of my fieldwork to understand general
public discourse on migration and policy changes affecting the lives of migrants in Jupiter. At that time a topic often on the minds of migrants was Arizona’s push to allow authorities to profile immigrants in a manner that could lead to their arrest and deportation.

DATA ANALYSIS

After abruptly leaving the field and finally re-establishing my family back in the USA, I was able to return to my research. I had maintained contact with key informants, which proved to be helpful because a lot of my immediate memories and experiences had faded. Although I kept fieldnotes it was extremely helpful to reconnect with my friends and recall my work in Jupiter. I began my research analysis with systematic content analysis of quantitative and qualitative data collected throughout the study (Raby 2006). All research interviews and life history narratives were digitally recorded. After saving and labeling the recorded data I personally transcribed all surveys, interviews and life histories.

Interviews and surveys were analyzed textually for regularly occurring concepts, domains and patterns. Recurrent categories, subcategories and variables emerging from the data were isolated. In my previous research in Jakaltenango, data from interviews differed based on context, including social status of informant, type and level of participation in the fiesta celebration (cargo organizer, musician, dancer, parent of dancer, dance text keeper, or financial supporter), site of performance (in the plaza, church courtyard, public street, or private domain, center or outskirt of town), and whether funding for the dance was from a private or public source. Following the same method, I created tables and charts to analyze the data collected, in order to connect the above mentioned variables to the reported reasons for participation in the Fiesta Maya celebration and to economic and political interests. Some of the variables were
grouped into categories: level and type of participation (audience, logistical support, spiritual organizer, dancer, or musician), degree of support (economic, labor, logistical), and location of Fiesta Maya performance in relation to social status (income; years of establishment in Jupiter; home housing status –rent or own-, etc.) of each Jakaltek migrant participant. My goal was to test my hypotheses by connecting Jakaltek reported intentions for participation (cultural maintenance and unity) with their performed intentions (political and economic security) on the day of the fiesta celebration. As the following chapters demonstrate, the Fiesta Maya offers a political arena for migrants and non-migrants but the politics performed vary depending on the performing group.
CHAPTER 3: FIESTA DE CANDELARIA: GUSTO, PROMESA, AND TRADITION

Before I made a shift in my research focus from Jakalteks in Jakaltenango to Jakaltekmigrants in Jupiter, Florida, I had conducted several months of research on the Corpus Christi town fiesta celebration in Jakaltenango. The focus of that research was on the Baile del Torito (Dance of the Little Bull) that is performed during the Corpus Christi celebration. I argued that the symbolism behind the danza (dance drama) is critical to Jakalteks since it serves as a concretization of their cultural and religious beliefs, but that contemporary Guatemalan politics and economics have also greatly influenced the way Jakalteks experience the Baile del Torito. I also considered geographical location and general isolation from the outside – until the relative recent movement of people into and out of Jakaltenango – to contribute to ethnic identity and shifting cultural symbols in Jakaltenango.

A number of factors led me to focus on the Corpus Christi celebration: the celebration coincided with my summer research/travels to Jakaltenango; family involvement in the danza linked me to the celebration; and an urgency to record details of the dance and celebration by a local elder (family friend). During the summer of 2002 I returned to Jakaltenango for the fourth time visiting with my family and as always learning more about the community my family was forced to flee in 1982. After several conversations with family members and friends I found myself interested, more than ever, in Jakalteko traditional dances. These conversations eventually led me to one of the remaining community members most widely recognized for his knowledge of Jakaltek traditional dance and music. During informal meetings with this elder I found a strong concern for a loss of traditional knowledge, practice, and significance. This elder confided in me and shared with me two of the three remaining notebooks he had hand written detailing many of Jakaltenango’s traditional dances. Two years later I returned to transcribe and
better understand Jakaltenango’s Baile del Torito. The majority of my research on the Corpus Christi celebration was gathered from fieldwork observations, notes, and interviews for my Master’s research during the summer of 2004. I drew from two handwritten notebooks detailing three of Jakaltenango’s traditional dances: El Baile del Venado (Dance of the Deer), Baile de Cortés (Dance of Cortés), and Baile del Torito. I used these notebooks as a starting point to better understand which dances are important to Jakalteks and when they are performed.

For the purpose of this dissertation I draw on my previous work on the Baile del Torito, performed during the Corpus Christi celebration in Jakaltenango, as the base from which I developed my understanding of the practices, traditions, and obligations linked to Catholic based celebrations that include the performance of danzas. By the time I finalized my dissertation focus it was too late to integrate myself into the cofradia organization for the Candelaria celebrations and as a result I was unable to complete the same long-term detailed participant observation during the Fiesta de Candelaria. I was also limited due to time constraints, financing, and other obligations, but I maintain that very similar systems are used during fiesta celebrations that include danzas and cofradía organization. My use of the terms gusto, promesa, and tradition were conceptualized during my research on the Corpus Christi celebration and I am applying those same concepts to this dissertation. Gusto, promesa, and tradition formed the basis of my research questions (and surveys) at the Fiesta de Candelaria in Jakaltenango and at the Fiesta Maya in Jupiter. For clarification I will return to my research on the Corpus Christi celebration to provide context under which these terms were developed and how they are used in this research, but first a brief background on the geography of Jakaltenango and the initial movement of Jakalteks outside of the Cuchumatan region.
Jakaltenango is located in the department of Huehuetenango in Guatemala. It sits at 1,438 meters above sea level along the Mexican border in the Cuchumátan Mountains and is 93 km away from the department capital city of Huehuetenango. These lands were recognized for being remote and agriculturally less productive than the central and eastern terrain of the Cuchumatanes (Lovell 1985: 22, Thompson 2001: 36). Its remoteness made Jakaltenango difficult to reach and, for a while, kept it hidden from the Spanish. Eventually, Jacobsen became a parish seat with a resident priest(s). This is also offered as an explanation for the few written reports about Jakaltenango in terms of the history of the conquest (Thompson 2001: 35-36). It was seen as unimportant. It was not until the historical work of Oliver La Farge and Douglas Byers (1931) that Jakaltenango appeared on the anthropological map. Today, the main town of Jakaltenango is home to 24,900 people. In 1994 the Jakaltenango municipality (which is made up of 29 hamlets) consisted of 26,040 indigenous people, 378 non-indigenous, and 533 that were of unknown ethnicity. By 1999, 31,137 were indigenous out of 31,538 (Camposeco 2003: 30). The primary languages are Popti’ (or Popb’al’ti) and Spanish.

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9 I must note that I have used the 1994 census as a source of reference but that it has been found unreliable because of the disruptions of la violencia See Richard N. Adams, “Un siglo de geografía étnica, Guatemala 1893–1994: evolución y dinámica de los sectores étnicos durante los últimos cien años,” Revista USAC/ciencias sociales (nueva época) 2 (1996): 7–58.

10 These data are based on an ethnolinguistic study that distinguished between Popti’ speaking communities and non-Popti’ speaking communities.
Figure 3.1 Jakaltenango valley with the Mexican border in the distance and San Miguel across the ravine on the right. All photos were taken by the author unless noted.

Located only hours from the Mexican border, Jakaltenango remained remote in the Cuchumatanes. Today, the construction of roads has resulted in a greater exchange between foreigners and Jakaltekos. Increased access to places outside of Jakaltenango has also coincided with an unofficial opening of national boundaries. Consequently, transnational migration has become a favored occupation of many of the young men and now women too. In Todos Santos Cuchumatán, also in the Cuchumatanes, Burrell (2005) has found that women have also begun to venture the dangerous journey to el Norte.

Migration has been a part of Indigenous life in the Cuchumatanes as far back as the pre-conquest and colonial period (Lovell 1985: 32). Tribute demands often required the Maya to leave the highlands to work in lowland estates in order to meet the demands for cacao and other
valuable commodities. In Jakaltenango seasonal plantation work on the Pacific coast was replaced with migration to neighboring cities in Mexico (fieldnotes 2004).

Jakalktekos argue that labor migration into Mexico was initiated by their neighbors from San Miguel Acatán in the early 1970s. Jakaltekos and Migueleños began to search for work in Tapachula, Huixtla, and Motozintla, Chiapas. Antonio remembers his father telling him, in the mid 1970s, about the Migueleños who would cross his milpa to reach the Mexican border. On one occasion, while he helped his father in the fields, Antonio and his father saw a group of Migueleños returning from Mexico. His father asked them where they were coming from. They pointed to the logos on their t-shirts and responded, “de Los Angeles California Chacompa!” Antonio remembers his younger brother considering migrating to the USA for work in 1978. By the late 1970s migration to Mexico and the USA had become an optional source of work.

EL BAILE DEL TORITO

Members of the cofradía (religious brotherhood) argue that the Baile de Torito was originally borrowed from Tonalá, Chiapas, Mexico. It resembles the dances of the Mam, but the Jakalteko version, according to the cofradía members, is more complex because of the longer and more numerous passages of the characters. Originally, the dance was to be presented in 1911; however, since the music for the dance was incomplete, it was delayed for a year. In 1912 the men of Jakaltenango brought the dance to life. As they grew older, these elders continued to participate. Today, however, the young men have become the primary participants. As more members of the older generation pass away, those that remain fear the loss of the dance.

11 Migueleños speak Kanjob’al and have a different accent from Jaklatekos when they speak in Spanish.
altogether. As the primary participants of the Baile del Torito, the young men are burdened with maintaining one of Jakaltenango’s traditions. In essence they are charged with the responsibility of keeping their Jakalteko identity alive. The time-demanding requirements and economic burden of the dances, however, have challenged the survival of this dance, and Jakalteko spiritual identity. In June 2004 I observed the Baile del Torito over the entire week it was presented. The Baile del Torito or Baile de los Monos (dance of the monkeys), as it has recently become known, has been traditionally danced the week of the Christian Corpus Christi celebration in early June.\(^{12}\) Traditional dances like this one are connected to the ecclesiastic calendar, which characterizes the dances as indigenous. For example, the baile de la conquista (Dance of the Conquest), baile de los moros (Dance of the Moors), baile de Cortéz (Dance of Cortéz), baile del toro (Dance of the Bull), and baile del venado (Dance of the Deer) may all be performed for the town patron the virgin of Candelaria on February 2\(^{nd}\), during the week-long celebrations that lasts from January 29\(^{th}\) to February 4\(^{th}\).\(^ {13}\) Apart from small private prayers that are independent of a larger town mass, the emphasis of the Corpus Christi celebration is placed on the two dances that are presented during this period: El Baile del Torito and El Baile de los Jur Negros.

\(^{12}\) Charles Wagley writes that in Santiago Chimaltenango in 1937 they danced for a full 20-day cycle of the Maya calendar (1949).

\(^{13}\) It is important to note that the baile de torito performed during Corpus Christi and the baile del torito during the Fiesta de Candelaria share many similarities, with the main difference being the controlled number of toros that participate. The baile del toro during the Candelaria celebration does not allow for extra “street” bull slayers, or as has come to be the case for the baile del torito, extra monkeys, to participate. Only the specified number of toros based on the sacred dance texts or the number of volunteers willing to participate are included in the danza.
The *Baile del Torito* is performed in honor of the Virgin Mary.\textsuperscript{14} The *monos*, *zagales*, and *viejo* are responsible for capturing the *toro* and killing it in her honor. The dance was originally composed of eight *zagales* or young men (four on each side), two *toros*, one *viejo* and one *vieja*, two *monos* on each side, and three *marimbistas* to play the music. Today, modifications have been made: the *vieja* is not included, there were nine *zagales*, five *toros* (including a baby or miniature *toro*), and many *monos*. *Monos* always outnumber organizers on the two final days of celebrations, but their participation is nonetheless encouraged because they must pay a dance fee of 10 quetzales that is used to support the financial costs of the *cofradía*. The 10 quetzales fee, however, also serves to set a limit on the total number of *monos* that participate. As one of the *marimbistas* explained to me, “imagine if we didn’t charge a fee. Everyone would dance and the *baile* would never end because everyone would want their turn to dance the *toreado*. Imagine how tired the *toros* and *marimbistas* would get.”

\textsuperscript{14} Why the Virgin Mary is given more emphasis than Jesus, during a Catholic celebration for Christ, is uncertain. People did not explain why this is so, nor did they stress a difference in celebrating the Virgin Mary and not Jesus. It is also important to note that the Virgin Mary was often interchanged with the Virgin of Candelaria without explanation.
Dance costumes are elaborate, with mirrors symbolizing jewels, and with blond hair and blue-eyed masks representing the features of Spanish colonizers\textsuperscript{15} (Rojas 1996). With the exception of the \textit{mono} costume and masks, the \textit{cofradía} is responsible for maintaining both the clothing and masks of the dancers. In the past the clothing and masks were rented from San Cristobal Totonicapan, a fifteen day walk from Jakalteempo. In 1963 the local church priest decided to buy some of the costumes to avoid the long journey to rent the costumes and to avoid rental costs. He also bought material to make the remaining costumes and masks. Unfortunately, in 2001 the \textit{cofradía} was forced to purchase new masks and clothing after disputes among \textit{cofradía} members resulted in one of the members claiming ownership over the masks and costumes, leaving the \textit{cofradía} with nothing. As \textit{cofradía} president, Don Jesús Antonio

\textsuperscript{15} David Rojas discusses similar use of symbolism of masks and costumes in Oaxaca.
organized a very strict celebration. When dancers and other participants of the dance did not perform or behave according to his expectations, he demanded that they not participate. Current cofradía members argue that his attitude led many to stop dancing, which threatened the dance. Protests to his methods led Don Jesús Antonio to retain the costumes and masks for himself when his period as president was over. As a result, Don Pedro, a member of the cofradía, and his son organized support from the cofradía and community to replace the lost costumes and masks.

Dance preparations for the Corpus celebrations usually begin on Easter. In total the dancers have approximately only eight or nine practice runs before the week of the celebration. The marimbistas begin practicing the dance songs three months prior to the celebration. The young performers, usually age fifteen and under, are taught in school. Outside of school, the text keeper (the owner of the original or copy of the original literary text of the dance) is responsible for teaching the dances to all of the dancers.

SPIRITUAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

That year, the Corpus Christi dance celebration began on June 8th. By 12:30 in the afternoon all of the participants had gathered at the cofradía house to travel together as a group to the pedida de los marimbistas (formal invitation of marimba players to participate in this year’s celebration). The original meeting time with the marimbistas was at 1:00, but the afternoon rains delayed our departure. While everyone waited in the cofradía house for the rain to let up the dancers put the final pieces of their costumes together. The women were also busy with the final preparations of the bread and coffee the cofradía would present to the marimbistas as a symbol of agreement to participate in the celebration. At 1:30 the rain let up and we prepared to leave.
We walked together as a group to the home of the lead *marimbista*: the dancers; *cofradía* members; women carrying the food (bread) and drink (coffee); mothers, wives, and sisters of the dancers; and other supporters from the community. Upon our arrival the men (*cofradía* members, *marimbistas*, and dancers) gathered inside the host home. The president of the *cofradía* opened up the discussion in Spanish by offering thanks to everyone present and to God for another year of celebrations and maintaining the ancient tradition of their ancestors. He also expressed his wishes for a successful week, and that everything begin and end positively. Other *cofradía* members also expressed (in Popti’) their wishes for success and asked for the patience of the *marimbistas* during the week, especially during the last two days when the dancers, in particular *monos*, outnumber organizers and become uncontrollable. There was a strong emphasis on performing this celebration for the ancestors and as part of *costumbre*. They expressed their fear of losing this tradition. They discussed the presentation of the dance despite disrespect for the *cofradía* and the dance itself from some of the community members. They also expressed their concern for economic support to maintain the dances and celebration. The *marimbistas* expressed the same concern. They stressed the importance of charging anyone filming the celebration, and as always charging the *monos* to participate in the dance. They discussed the management of the money being charged. Currently, there are no set regulations about fee charges. It was agreed that only the treasurer would collect money, and everyone else would contribute to facilitate a smooth process. It was also expressed that anyone caught charging for their own benefit should be made aware of their error and the issue brought to the *cofradía*. Finally, after everyone had spoken and expressed their concerns, the two groups thanked each other. The women then began to distribute the bread and coffee.

16 I received special permission to observe and record this meeting.
Following the formal meeting/invitation to participate in the celebration, the marimba group, *Conjunto Popti’*, began to play and the dancers began to dance freely to the music. They then organized themselves into two parallel lines with the *monos* at the front, followed by *zagales*, the *toros*, *el Viejo*, and the *marimbistas* at the end. The procession made its way back to the *cofradía* house. Once there, everyone was asked to kneel before the house altar. Dances will not commence until prayer makers or priests, or spiritual intermediaries, have introduced the sacred by means of ritual (García Escobar 2000: capítulo I). For this dance, the president of the *cofradía* offered thanks to the saints for the presence of all the participants and a good year. The prayer makers (mostly women) then recited prayers asking for blessings over the dancers, for good weather, and the successful execution of the dance. They also expressed the *cofradía’s promesa* (promise) to celebrate this dance again next year. Firecrackers were set off to mark the end of the prayers and the official beginning of the celebration. The women distributed tamales and more coffee to everyone present. Once they had eaten, the *marimbistas* began to play more music while everyone else ate.
PERFORMING EL BAILE DEL TORITO

The first full day of dances began early in the morning at the cofradía house where everyone made final changes and preparations to their costumes. This was also the place and time to make final suggestions to ensure a successful day of presentation. The dancers were reminded to pay attention to the song changes and the children, who make up most of the dancers, were reminded not to wander off. Some of the participants also took this time to have a drink of coffee and some sweet bread before beginning their long day under the hot sun, and since it was the beginning of the rainy season, unpredictable rains. Mandatory places of presentation were the church courtyard and the cemetery.
Our first stop was the church courtyard. However, before the dance could begin everyone first gathered in front of the church altar. More prayers were offered, this time only by the cofradía members, and the same requests made at the house altar were asked of the town patron, Candelaria. Once the prayers had been completed, everyone moved back into the church courtyard, into which some of the young boys had already wandered off before the prayers had ended. As everyone prepared to begin the dance, I stood in the background waiting nervously for the experience to begin. The dance was finally under way at about nine in the morning. Except for my younger cousins who were dancing as a zagal and mono, I did not recognize anyone present. Halfway through the dance when my younger cousins came to see me while they rested, with sweat dripping from their small faces underneath their heavy wooden masks, I realized I had taken on the responsibility of caretaker for them. I gave them some money to buy cold drinks and some food while I continued to watch the dance. After about an hour and a half the dance was completed and everyone gathered their belongings as we continued on to the cemetery.

It was about eleven thirty when we finally arrived at the cemetery and the dancers finished up their Orange Crush and Coca Colas the cofradía had bought for them. The dance itself was performed a few meters in front of the main entrance of the cemetery. The entrance is the only part of the cemetery that is paved. The dancers tightly formed two parallel lines facing each other in front of the marimbistas, who stood to the south facing the gate entrance of the cemetery. The zagales stood at the head of the lines (four on one side and five on the other) followed by the monos (three on each side). The opening song introduced the dancers to the audience and to the marimbistas. The zagales and monos followed each other in their respective lines, passed in front of the marimbistas, and ended opposite to their original spot at the opening of the song. The toro and viejo were introduced in the next songs. The zagales then recited their
memorized passages in front of the marimbistas. These songs differ slightly enough from each other to let the dancers know who recites their passage next. While I watched the dancers recite their relaciones behind their masks, I could barely hear or understand what they were saying. They followed the steps they had learned and occasionally some of the cofradía members would turn them around and point them in the right direction. It seemed easy for the dancers to lose their direction behind the tiny eyeholes of their masks and the increasing heat from the sun. In addition to memorizing the songs, many of the marimbistas also learn the dance steps and in some cases they also learn the relaciones of the characters. During the son de los monos the monos recite their passage as a group. Following their relaciones declaring their reverence to the Virgin Mary, the zagales, monos, and the viejo began the toreada del toro. The bullfight song was played seven times allowing all of the zagales and monos an opportunity to participate. Up to three bulls participated in each toreada. Finally, the viejo fought the bull. The final song was the despedida. Each participant shook hands with a partner as the performance came to an end. Throughout the performance the audience watched from the sidelines and sought whatever shade they could find, which proved difficult since there were no trees or tall objects nearby.
With the exception of the two Catholic parishes, the remaining presentations were to be hosted by local members of the community who had requested in advance that the dance be performed at their homes. As hosts they usually provide drinks for the dancers and sponsor the cofradia with some kind of monetary contribution. As hosts, they also fulfill their promesa (promise) to the Virgin Mary to honor her in return for the well-being of their family. In the past dancers also participated to fulfill their or their parents’ promesa to the Virgin Mary. At that time, promesas were made not so much for a projected well-being of the family, but rather to ensure the health of a sick family member or as a remedy for failing crops. Promesas were
recognized as an obligatory sacrifice that would be fulfilled later in the future, but that would achieve immediate results from the saint to whom the individual or family prayed. Today, promesas are made for the success of the family business or the success of a child in school, in addition to the health of the family, and/or a sick family member.

**MAYA SAINTS, PATRONS, AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICE**

The following morning, after a long night in the cold watching the beginning of the Jur Negro celebration, although exhausted, I made it to the top of Canton San Sebastián. Our first presentation would be for the San Antonio parish cofradía. As I waited for the music to begin, I wondered where the dance supporters (in particular, the mothers) had gone. Mostly it was people from the San Antonio parish and children who were watching the dance. While the dance was being presented I wondered how and why dances like this one are maintained if only a small number of people actually watch their performance. My grandfather, a member of the San Antonio cofradía, explained to me the importance of hosting the dance to demonstrate one’s respect for San Antonio and for the Virgin of Candelaria. For him it did not matter that very few people watched the performance. It mattered more that the dance was hosted and that it fulfilled

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17 *El Baile de los Jur Negro* is the second of three dances presented during Corpus Christi. The third dance, *Kanh’al xil wej* is currently no longer performed. *El Baile del Jur Negro* attracts younger people (dancers and spectators). It is not colourful; instead they wear animal skins or furs on their heads, and a long coat (usually a trench coat). The dancers do not use masks (although they do paint their entire face with ashes – negros,), the music is simple (a tambor and pito), and the dialogue is spontaneous (mostly in Poptí”). This dance is much more dangerous because the *Jur Negro* dancers are encouraged and expected to drink the local liquor, *cusha*, and whatever else is available during the entire period the dance is celebrated. However, the last day of *el Baile del Torito* is comparable when most of the young dancers spend the day drinking. Some of the *Jur Negro* dancers could be found passed out along the streets. On these occasions, the other dancers would move them out of the way or dance around them. The dance itself is symbolically and literally associated with violence, tragedy, and vulgarity. It is, however, enacted as comedic relief for the community. Due to the scope of this paper I will not be addressing this further.

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their *promesa* to honor their protectors, San Antonio and the Virgin of Candelaria. When the dance was completed the women of the San Antonio *cofradía* quickly began to distribute the sweet bread and cooled *atole* drink they had bought and prepared for the dancers, *marimbistas*, and *cofradía* members.

![Image](image-url)

Figure 3.5 Small group watching el Baile del Torito

**TRADITION, COMMUNITY, AND SUCCESS**

The following day began with two performances at two different homes. I was unable to watch the second dance of the morning. The first presentation began as usual; the *marimbistas* sought a space with some shade to protect themselves and the marimba from the heat and the dancers prepared themselves to begin the dance. Once the dance had begun I began to take some
photos of the dancers. The pictures I had taken so far were for my use. Today, doña Bartola asked me to take some photos of her youngest son, Leonel. Leonel was at the pedida on the first day of the dance, and had been participating throughout the week, but only now did his family come to watch him dance. His sister, Ana, was also there with her two-year-old daughter. When I had finished taking some photos of her son I let doña Bartola see them on my digital camera. She looked at them and then passed the camera to Ana. I began to feel awkward as I could see tears begin to fill doña Bartola’s eyes. I knew exactly why she felt sad, but did not know how to help her. “He reminds me so much of Tino” she finally said. Her son Tino had been murdered the previous year by unknown men from Huehuetenango during the Fiesta de Candelaria. They had mistaken him for his older brother, whom they had had an argument with earlier that day. “Tino loved to dance and watch this baile,” she said. “I still cannot believe he is gone, and I will never see him again.” “It is very difficult for us to watch this baile without remembering him. It is especially painful since my other son also loves to dance this baile,” she added. As the last song, la despedida, was played, doña Bartola and Ana left before the dance ended. At the end of the dance, we all prepared to march to the next location. I walked with Leonel before I had to leave the group. He asked me if I was going to go to the last dance of the celebration at the cofradía house, and if I could take his picture. “Yes,” I replied. “But I will not be a zagal anymore” he said. “I will be a mono.” “Then how will I know who you are?” I asked. “I will let you know,” he answered.

That Friday afternoon the dance had grown in numbers. Again the ratio of monos to zagales had grown, but it still did not account for all of the monos I had seen throughout town earlier in the day. Many unknown individuals roamed the town, some with full costumes and others still piecing their costumes together. Their faces, however, were always concealed. As I
waited for the dance to arrive to the main street in front of the host home, I sat with Sandra by her fruit stand. I asked her how well she does selling fruit. “Well,” she replied, “especially during the fiestas like this one.” Before the dance started, during the dance, and after the dance she sold more fruit than I had ever seen her sell. At one point I offered to help her cut up some mangos in order to keep up with the demand. As I watched the dance come to an end I could see that interest in the dance had grown. There were more people and almost all of them were drinking some kind of soft drink or eating some of Sandra’s fruit. I could also tell that some of the cofradía members had begun to relax with their responsibilities. Some of them had anticipated the end of the dance by celebrating with a few drinks. The chaos I had been warned about was beginning to become apparent.

Figure 3.6 Baile del Torito participants and audience growing in numbers
The final dance was performed at the cofradía house. It was now late in the afternoon and the rains had begun, but with nailo suspended from the roofs of a few houses across from each other, a section of the street was protected from the rain and so was the marimba and marimbistas. Despite the rain, however, a great number of people were crowded along the street under their umbrellas to watch the dancers. By now some of the cofradía members had begun to indulge their joy over the success of the dance so far. They celebrated by drinking more. The final dance began with the opening song and as usual all of the dancers took their places. As soon as the song for the toreada (bull fight) was played the excitement from the dancers and crowd grew tremendously. By now, some of the cofradía members could only sit along the streets watching the chaos around them. Most of the younger dancers had also moved to the sidelines. At the center of the street were the young men that had been roaming throughout the town all day waiting for this moment. Most of them were drunk. One of the young men was dressed as a woman and was not shy to dance with his partner. I watched the monos harass several of the young women in the crowd. They did not speak to the women but simply gestured and in some cases attempted to kiss them or pull them out of the crowd to dance. As I took pictures of the monos I realized I exposed myself to them. After receiving a few forced hugs and kisses on the hand, I tried to move behind the crowd, but this became difficult when some of the dancers would not leave me alone. Although this is not unusual for young women to experience, one mono in particular kept pointing at me and making gestures that I finally recognized as a hand clicking a camera. It was Leonel who wanted me to take his picture. After several pictures and a couple of hours later, the marimbistas played la despedida, also the last song of this year’s celebration. There was a sense of relief, nostalgia, happiness, and community as the audience
watched the dancers fully engage themselves in the final dance. It did not matter that most of the
dancers and cofradía were drunk, or that the rain had not let up. It simply mattered that the dance
had been successful.

**PROMESAS, TRADITION AND GUSTO**

The *Baile del torito* has disappeared at least once since its original performance in 1912.
The time demanding requirements and economic burden of the dance have challenged its
survival. According to the text, this dance is performed in honor of the Virgin Mary. The zagales
recite, “Partimos con vigilanzia con todo gusto y esmero y cuidado porque hemos de hacer fiesta
de nuestra señora madre de Jesus, sacramentado (we set out with vigilance with joy and care, and
try our best because we must celebrate our lady, mother of sacramented Jesus).” The symbolic
importance of the dance for Jakaltekos has persisted. The dance is a concretization of their
*promesa* and relationship with the Virgin Mary. Motivations for participating in the dance,
however, incorporate the experiences of the community and therefore vary.

Judith Martínez Tapia (1998) has noted that dances are vehicles for humans to
communicate with the deities, to invoke favors (for rain, for example), and to thank them (for a
good harvest) (76). I argue that by using symbolic meanings of dance, individuals use dances to
reinforce and gain prestige. By hosting a dance, individuals or in most cases entire households
draw from a spiritual act of honoring the Virgin Mary to reinforce their place in the community.
*Promesas* are, on the one hand, used to fulfill a promise to the Virgin, and on the other hand,
manipulated to publicly demonstrate one’s wealth. When a dance arrives at the host home it is
not just the dance that is presented to the public. The owners’ home (wealth), generosity, and
faith are also declared. When asked why families host dances, the most popular response was
“por la tradición” (for the tradition) because they want to and this is the way it has always been done. However, as mentioned earlier, hosts are expected to give the dancers refreshments (in some cases food), and contribute to the cofradía. The socio-economic differences between households hosting dances are evident in the type of refreshments offered to the dancers, for example. The space for the dance performance (whether on the street or household patio), the location of the home (in the outskirts of town or in the town center), and the actual home (whether it has a store or not) all indicate different levels of wealth. Generally, wealthier families located in the town center host dances at their home, while others with a stronger connection to the promesa, but with less money, host dances through their parish, such as San Antonio and San Basilio for example. With the outrageous expenses involved in hosting a dance, it is difficult for poor families to demonstrate their faith and devotion through this type of gesture. In other words, wealthy families are able to publicly display their faith and, in doing so, re-establish their position as good, generous, religious people.

Promesas remain important to the cofradía. This is precisely what secures the dance each year. Dancers also once participated from a sense of spiritual obligation. If the saint fulfilled his or her promise then the dancer would return the favour by performing the dance in the saint’s honour. This reciprocal relationship is most notably found in what Marcel Mauss (1967) has called gift-giving and obligatory exchange. In this case, the dancer must believe he is receiving something in order to feel obligated to return the gift. Today dancers are less preoccupied with spiritual exchange as the ultimate reason for dancing. Two reasons were given to explain why dancers participate in the dances: for gusto and tradition.

During the formal pedida of the marimbistas, Don Martin, the cofradía president, addressed everyone present:
Thank you to you all for maintaining our tradition, in particular the marimbistas. Our brothers tell us that our traditions are dying. It is true that many of the young do not care about our traditions. Thank God that you do not pay attention to them. We help each other so that we maintain our tradition. Let us not forget the traditions of our town. We celebrate Corpus Christi. Today, some of the cofradía participate because they don’t want to lose our tradition, others because of their promesa. The dancers, zagales, monos, toros, our brothers who also don’t want our traditions to die: Some for promesas, others because they like it. As the story goes, in the past we were sick and we did not have medicine or doctors and our people promised during Corpus Christi that their children would dance for the Virgen de Candelaria celebration. But some people could not afford to pay for costumes for this dance. To fulfill their promesas the priest and town leader urged them to perform the Baile del Torito because the clothes were not as costly, and most of the dancers could wear their own clothing. That is why our dances have a purpose: It is not just for gusto or because they like it. But now it is disappearing. That is why it doesn’t matter if it is for gusto or promesa. And it is nice to be gathered together to celebrate this dance. That is why it is important to maintain our tradition (original in Popti’, field notes 2004).

It is not surprising that the cofradía emphasizes tradition over promesa. The cofradía continues to practice under the idea of promesa, but with a decreasing sense of spiritual obligation from the dancers. The cofradía is willing to suspend spiritual obligation in order to maintain the dance. As long as the cofradía maintains its promesa, and tradition is maintained by gathering the community together, it does not matter that participants perform for gusto.

In addition to memorizing their lines, dancers must also learn the steps of the dance, which often lasts up to an hour and a half. In the end, most of their lines cannot be heard from behind their thick wooden masks. Instead, the dance is admired for the colorfully dressed characters dancing with each other to the traditional marimba music. These dancers participate because they want to and because they like it: for gusto. As one of the dancers explained to me, “uno baila si quiere y si le gusta.” It does not matter that they do not understand or believe in the spiritual meaning of the dance. They dance because they can.
I believe that *gusto*, in this case, also leads to an unspoken reason for dancing. The anonymity of the dancers behind their wooden masks and costumes opens a space for disorder. The dancers are not expected to behave according to social norms providing moral release for both the dancers and audience through ritual performance (Bricker 1973). Although the behavior of these dancers often instills a sense of fear in the audience, the dancers are nonetheless expected to drink, fight each other, and harass the crowd. In other words, some dancers participate for *gusto* and the freedom to misbehave, and in doing so become a source of entertainment for the audience. In this case, the spiritual meaning of the dance is irrelevant to these dancers and by extension is also lost by the spectators. The entertainment value of the dance overrides the original spiritual meaning.

The dancers that participate throughout the entire week, including the monos, zagalets, and toros, represent a different group of men. Among this group of dancers, participation represents more than just *gusto* for the dance. Their role involves a greater sacrifice. They must give up their time to rehearse the dances and learn their lines, and then must participate throughout the entire week of the celebration. They are not required to pay the fee if they participate as zagalets or toros. However, they also do not receive any kind of monetary compensation for their participation. These dancers participate both for *gusto* and for tradition. As children these men watched their older brothers, cousins, and even their fathers participate in the dance. Today they follow in their relatives’ footsteps by maintaining the tradition of dancing. The idea of the *promesa* is again placed aside. Rather, the dancers participate because it is “como una herencia”. They inherit their place in the dance and therefore must uphold the tradition.

In the case of Leonel, family tradition was important. His older brother loved to dance the Baile del Torito. Before his brother’s death Leonel had watched him perform on a few
occasions. This year Leonel danced, despite the costs of performing. Although he participated as a zagal during most of the week, he performed the last dance of the celebration as a mono, which cost him 10 quetzales (Guatemalan currency equivalent to a little over a dollar). Although he is no longer in school he also did not work during the week of the celebration. With four daughters (two of them living at home and one with her husband and child) and an older son, his mother could barely find the time to watch him participate in this year’s celebration. Leonel participated throughout the entire celebration and at the end of the week had 10 quetzales less, but had a picture to help him remember his contribution to the Corpus Christi celebration.

In contrast to the older men, young dancers are less interested in the spiritual meaning of the dances. One of the younger dancers explained the difference, arguing that the older dancers “tienen más respeto por la cultura, más sabiduría, y más devoción” (have greater respect for the culture, they have wisdom, and stronger devotion). Yet, some of the younger dancers acknowledge that they inherit the dance as their tradition. Lack of respect or devotion to tradition is not the issue. What is at stake is the loss of promesas. In this case, the tradition is alive but the meaning of the tradition has become secondary.

García Escobar has argued that the growing economic crisis has placed a lot of stress on the rentals of costumes and masks. Likewise, the cost of daily life has limited the amount of money available for dances (2000). In Jakaltenango, one dancer’s mother told me that the dances will survive as long as there is the financial support to keep them alive. Don Felipe, from the cofradía, stressed to me the importance of devotion and time to organize and execute the dances. In the past, concerns about the finances and management of finances led the dance to disappear. At this year’s pedida both the economics of the dance and the spirituality of the dance were stressed. Efforts were made to reorganize the financial management of the dance and new
ways were sought to maximize funding of the dances to secure its survival. It was agreed that there must be a fee for monos, but that they would not be charged too much because it would limit their participation. In terms of cameras, 50 quetzales would be charged per camera. Finally, the secretary and treasurer were to be responsible for charging fees and only the treasurer would handle the money. No one was to charge for personal gain. Suggestions were also made to give receipts as proof of payment.

Despite efforts to maximize funding for the dance, other economic pressures, nonetheless, threaten the maintenance of the dance. Obligations have forced many individuals to abandon their roles in the celebration. Remittances from migrants, for example, have contributed to the rise of cash flow. However, an emphasis on economic development has also resulted in a weakened spirituality for the dance. People once could afford to offer their time to help and participate in the dances. Today, community members are more willing to donate money than their time. Even when the acquisition of costumes and masks is not as problematic as before (although some young boys still struggle to participate because they cannot afford the costumes or masks), the survival of the dance continues to be challenged.

For marimbistas, a similar scenario presents itself. Many of them love the music, but work and the economic crisis that Escobar has pointed out have limited how much time they can afford to give. This year one member of the marimba group could not participate because he taught classes at the primary school during the day when the dances are celebrated. Another marimbista could only afford to participate half days.

The pedida of marimbistas has never been more important as more and more marimbistas find it difficult to agree to an entire week of celebrations, let alone the three months of practicing
the songs before the actual celebration. This formal invitation, thus, sets a compromiso (spiritual obligation) between cofradía members and marimbistas.

For marimbistas the spiritual importance of the dance is still present. The fact that they participate throughout the entire week without pay attests to this. They accept their compromiso and take it seriously. At the pedida the marimbistas were given bread and coffee to solidify their agreement and obligation to return the symbolic gift. However, they too participate for the tradition and gusto. Most of the marimbistas from this year’s celebration began to play the marimba as children. Don Gustavo’s father played the marimba, and Don Javier and his brother Andrés grew up listening to their father and their uncle, Don Sebastián, play the marimba. They argue, similar to the dancers, that playing runs in their blood. They inherit their love for the music and tradition. For some of them the idea of giving it up is unthinkable. Don Martin, also one of the marimbistas, explained to me that on a few occasions he had thought of going to the USA to work illegally. But his fear of being away from his culture (the nostalgia everyone talks about), or even the loss of his culture convinced him not to go. In fact, none of the members of Conjunto Popti’ had ever left Jakaltenango to seek work elsewhere.

Playing the marimba is an option as a supplementary source of income. Don Gustavo plays with three different groups: Conjunto Popti’, Constelación, and Voltage Total. The latter, in which he plays the keyboard, is more mainstream. The income from this work, however, is supplemented with other work. Most marimbistas also work as contract workers in construction or work their milpas for food. In Conjunto Popti’ three of the men also worked in construction and the other is a schoolteacher. With no economic incentive to participate in traditional performance, marimbistas are challenged to place aside their inclination for material wealth for spiritual and social wealth. Their importance to the Jakaltek tradition of performing el Baile del
Torito during Corpus Christi is critical. Although they are not economically compensated, prestige and status are significant reasons for participation. As Don Pedro expressed, “It must have been very difficult for the marimbistas in the past to gather together the songs. When they started there were not many of them and they each had to gather the songs. We didn’t know all of the songs, but they were ours and we learned them. This is why I want to thank [the marimbistas].” The past is linked to the present through tradition and spiritual obligation, which establishes a relationship between marimbistas and the cofradía, reaffirming the marimbista’s role as cultural bearer.

**FIESTA DE CANDELARIA IN JAKALTENANGO**

Jakaltenango, like most Guatemalan towns, is home to a patron saint. The patron fiesta celebration of Candelaria on February 2\textsuperscript{nd} in Jakaltenango, Guatemala, is a unique occasion that unites Jakalteks into one community -- Catholics and Evangelicals, young and old, Ladino and Maya, male and female, rich and poor, and local and migrant Jakalteks. The community organizes and executes its traditional cultural performances yearly under the name of the Virgin of Candelaria. In addition to the festival’s principal purpose, Jakalteks also participate to fulfill reciprocal religious and social obligations (promesas), to maintain cultural practice, increase social status and proclaim a uniquely Jakaltek cultural fiesta, practice, and identity. In comparison to other religious based fiesta celebrations in Jakaltenango, the Fiesta de Candelaria carries an unspoken authenticity, sincerity and nostalgia to which Jakalteks feel connected. Locally composed music can be heard playing throughout the town. Jakalteks take pride in their music and feel connected to the elders who composed the songs. In addition to Candelaria, the saint of the town, the fiesta also celebrates the town as a community. The Candelaria celebration,
though linked to the Church, represents all Jakalteks (the town proper and neighboring hamlets) through tradition, culture, and practice that is claimed by all Jakalteks. Like the Corpus Christi celebration the Candelaria celebration is also vibrant and alive. The Candelaria celebration, however, has an added layer of sacredness, tradition, and Jakaltek ethnic representation that people do not contest, even for non-catholic Jakalteks because it is not only a Catholic celebration but also a celebration of the town that unites its people. The origin and history of the Fiesta de Candelaria are not debated, and while the dance-dramas may shift occasionally, the celebration transcends religious, rural/urban, class, and other identifying differences or divides.

Unlike the Corpus Christi celebration and other public celebrations that were restricted during the civil war and others that have simply disappeared over time, the Fiesta de Candelaria has never had a lapse in performance and celebration. Group gatherings and masked dancers were not permitted during the civil war, but as the patron saint celebration, the Fiesta de Candelaria was an exception. Cofradia gatherings and dancers were closely monitored but permitted to perform. It is a permanent part of their memory and history.

Drawing on my findings from my Masters research on the Corpus Christi celebration and accompanying Baile de Torito I developed a questionnaire for my pilot research on the Fiesta de Candelaria. My goal was to understand the significance of pageant dances and fiesta celebration among Jakalteks and the relationship between migration (that affect economic and population change), Jakaltek identity, and fiesta significance. I focused on the role of gusto, promesa, and tradition among fiesta participants. During the Candelaria fiesta of 2008 I surveyed 25 participants, including dancers, musicians, cofradia members, and audience members. The survey measured participation in the fiesta based on involvement in any one of the three bailes performed in honor of the Virgin of Candelaria during the 10 days of celebration. In
Jakaltenango bailes (pageant dances) function to mark fiesta celebrations. As one participant noted, “sin ellos no se siente fiesta/ without them it does not feel like a celebration” (Jakaltenango fieldnotes January 2008). Others emphasized the happiness and joy that bailes bring to the fiesta.

Baile performances begin two weeks prior to the day of Candelaria on February 2nd. On the first day of performances, like the Corpus Christi celebration, cofradía members begin the fiesta season with prayers followed by performances at the main church and then at the cemetery. Remaining performances during the two weeks are held at each parish church and private homes that have requested and paid for a baile performance either in front or inside the courtyard of their home. Baile performances for the Fiesta de Candelaria follow the same progression as the Corpus Christi celebrations. They begin small with mostly the performers and their parents or spouses and the cofradía present at each performance.

The coronation of the Virgin of Candelaria is held on January 27th and is celebrated with a mass. On the evening of January 28th the newly elected town queen is crowned. January 29th is the arrival of the flowers. Jakalteke men, young and old, organize themselves to make a day-long journey into the highland mountains in search of the sacred Ek’ flower, or cola de león (lion’s tail) as it is also known. They leave around 3am to make the six hour walk into the mountains. With a maximum of four flower stalks tied to a wooden pole the men carefully carry the Ek’ home. They return in the late afternoon/early evening to an awaiting group of parishioners, dancers, musicians, cofradía members, and spectators (including parents, spouses, and children of individuals carrying the sacred Ek’ flower), and also town officials, local Catholic priests, the elected town queen and her damas. The Ek’ flower arrival is led by the
traditional *chirimia* and *tun* songs. Once in town, the flower procession makes its way to the cofradía house where prayers are said and the men are given food and drinks.

On January 30th the flowers are brought to the Virgin of Candelaria. The entrada de flor begins first thing in the morning at the cofradía house where the community waits to receive an Ek’ flower stalk. Some people bring their own flowers. After all of the flowers have been distributed the procession is led by the pageant dances. In 2008, el baile de Cortés, baile de torito, and baile de venado were organized and performed. Once the flower procession arrives to the church the flowers are hung on the interior walls of the church and pine needles are placed on the church floor. A mass is held for the Virgin of Candelaria that is followed by a cannon blast to mark the end of the mass. In the afternoon there is a musical event/competition where local musicians judge guitar performances by musicians who have come from the surrounding Jakaltek hamlets as well as non-Jakaltek towns.

On January 31st to February 2nd there are nightly social dances held at the town hall. There is an entrance fee to watch and/or dance to the cumbia and marimba orchestra music performed by groups invited from major cities in Guatemala. During the day of the 31st there is a horse show by the soccer fields and the annual soccer tournament is held in the outskirts of town. Soccer teams from various towns and hamlets in the region arrive to compete. Meanwhile pageant dances continue to be performed throughout town. During the day of February 1st the Virgin Mary is taken out of the church in procession to the edge of town and then returned to the main church. The Virgin Mary, in place of Candelaria, is taken out because according to Jakalteks, Candelaria is too heavy to be moved. No one can remember if she has ever been moved since her arrival to the church. In the evening of the 1st there are also torito de cohete (little firecracker bull) performances. Toritos de cohetes are another form of fulfilling a promise.
to the virgin of Candelaria. Torito performances are performed by adult men who wear a man-
made bull costume. The costume is covered with firecrackers that are lit while the man dances to
traditional marimba music in honor of the Virgin of Candelaria in front of the main church.
Torito de cohete dances light up the evening entertaining on-lookers but for the performer is a
very dangerous act because at any moment the dancer can catch on fire –some men have in fact
catch on fire despite drenching themselves with water before lighting the firecrackers.

On February 2nd the entire town shuts down. Roads are inaccessible by cars inside center
town and most businesses are closed –with the exception of food and small goods vendors. This
is also the time when most Jakalteks will wear/display their new clothes that they have bought
from the textile vendors that arrived into Jakalktenango a month in advance from various cities
in Guatemala. Some men will wear the traditional white cloth traje of the town and women wear
their newly bought traditional huipil and corte along with the hair sash (cinta) that is locally
woven. More and more women have stopped wearing the sash that distinguishes Jakaltekas from
other towns, which makes this practice more significant on the day of Candelaria. Most children
are also dressed in the local traje. Even if their parents do not wear traje, Candelaria is when
cultural and ethnic pride is most visible. Almost the entire town awaits the procession at the
town square in front of the church. Children run around playing freely; kites and balloons fill the
sky; music is heard from every corner of the square; and happiness is felt throughout. The
procession arrives at around mid-day and Mary (representing Candelaria) is taken in to the
church and placed at the altar. A sermon is celebrated in her honor while parishioners light
candles in her honor. After the sermon, bombas (cannon bursts) and fireworks are set off to
mark the ending of the ceremony and beginning of festivities. The Town square will be alive
throughout the evening and into the night.
The celebration on February second begins at five in the morning in front of the church with a marimba serenade for the Virgin of Candelaria. From two in the afternoon until seven in the evening, there are traditional dances (*baile regional*) at the town hall and in the church basketball court. Marimba groups from Jakaltenango play locally composed songs while older women, men, and some young people dance alone or in pairs in the traditional counter-clockwise circle dance. During these dances it is socially acceptable for women to relax, have a few drinks and dance freely without stigma—although this is also the time that gossip is generated, especially with the videos of the dance that will be later sent to Jupiter for Jakaltek migrants to see. After February second the town returns to normalcy. A few vendors remain but most people return to their daily work. Starting February second, devout Catholics complete the celebration period with nine days of prayers (novena) for the Virgin of Candelaria.

Figure 3.7 Baile de Cortés 2008
Figure 3.8 Malinche dancers in Baile de Cortés 2008

Figure 3.9 Tun and Chirimia lead the returning Ek’ flower procession – men returning from the mountains where they climb trees to obtain the flower
Figure 3.10 Boy with Ek’ that he has brought back for the Virgin of Candelaria

Figure 3.11 Ek’ procession enters town
Figure 3.12 Catholic priests and parishioners with Ek’ at the entrada de flor (flower) procession

Figure 3.13 Queen and damas chosen to represent the town during the Candelaria celebration
Figure 3.14 Man in traditional white traje of Jakaltenango – usually worn with a red sash around the waist

Figure 3.15 Procession arrives to the church in the town square
Survey participants ranged from age 12 to 64 years old. Fourteen females and eleven males answered questions about the fiesta, their participation in the fiesta, the significance of the fiesta, family members in the USA and whether they participate in the fiesta in Jupiter, Florida. Eighteen individuals had previously participated in the fiesta. Seven individuals between the ages of 12 and 40 reported that they were participating for the first time. Forty-four percent of participants were between the ages of 20 and 30. Twenty percent were between the ages of 12 and 19, 24 percent were between the ages of 31 and 39, 8 percent were in their early 40s, and 4 percent or one female was 64 years old. Of these participants, 48 percent reported participating for *gusto*. *Gusto* is used to describe a genuine interest or desire to participate in something —in
this case traditional Jakaltek dance. Sixteen percent said they participated because of *gusto* but also “promesa”.

As discussed above, *promesas* symbolize an obligatory sacrifice by an individual or family who is bound by prayers to the saint who produces immediate results. *Promesas* are made for economic prosperity, academic success, well being of family members (especially individuals travelling within Guatemala and to the USA), or to cure a sick individual. An elderly woman explained to me that her grandson was dancing in the Torito dance for the Virgin of Candelaria because she had promised the Virgin that he would participate this year if she cured him when he was sick months prior. Out of obligation, her grandson did not have a choice but to dance to fulfill his grandmother’s promise. The dance itself solidifies the bind between the individuals’ *promesa* and relationship with the Virgin of Candelaria. *Promesas* are important to the *cofradías* organizing and coordinating the bailes. The *cofradía* promises to continue to organize the dance in exchange for health and well-being during the fiesta celebration, which ensures that the dance will be performed each year. Dancers also once participated from a sense of spiritual obligation. If the saint fulfilled his or her promise then the dancer would return the favor by performing the dance in the saint’s honor. Like my findings in my research on the Corpus Christi celebration, fiesta participants in the Fiesta de Candelaria bailes are also less motivated by spiritual exchange than they are by a desire and joy for dancing or *gusto*. Six individuals (24 percent) listed *promesa* as the reason for their participation in the *baile*. Four individuals (16 percent) listed both *gusto* and *promesa* as the reason for their participation. One respondent (4 percent), who played the music, said he participated for tradition and culture. He explained that it was “to rescue the culture”. Finally, two respondents (8 percent) gave other

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18 Each dance is organized by its own cofradía. Leadership for each cofradía is elected annually.
reasons for their participation: one said because of the music itself (*sones*) and the other said because the *baile* is temporary.

In a follow up question I asked respondents to rate out of one hundred what percentage of people participated because of *gusto*, *promesa* and tradition and culture. The goal was to understand respondents’ perception of why others participate in contrast to their own reason for participation. Unfortunately the reported percentages were unclear because most respondents rated each point independently, not to each other. In general, however, most respondents appear to value *promesa*. Ten individuals (40 percent) assigned *promesa* a greater percentage value over all other reasons for participating. Four respondents (16 percent) assigned the greatest value to *gusto*. Two (8 percent) said others participate primarily because of tradition and culture. Four (16 percent) said *gusto* and *promesa* equally motivated individuals to participate in the fiesta. Three (12 percent) reported that people participate because of *promesa* and *tradición/culture* equally. Finally, two respondents (8 percent) said others participate in the *bailes* because of *promesa*, *gusto*, and *tradición/culture* equally. In contrast to their own reported reasons for participating (the largest number of respondents [48 percent] said they participated for *gusto*), most respondents reported that the leading factor for why other Jakalteks participate in the *bailes* is because of their *promesa* to the Virgin of Candelaria (40 percent).

When asked if there would always be *bailes* in Jakaltenango, twenty-three respondents answered yes. Among the reasons given for the persistence of the *bailes* in Jakaltenango was the *promesas* that bind individuals in a reciprocal relationship to the Virgin of Candelaria, for whom these *bailes* are performed. Some said because of peoples’ genuine desire to participate in the *bailes*, or for *gusto*. Another reason given for why the *bailes* will persist is the joy and happiness the bailes bring to the fiesta. Others explained that *costumbre* or tradition brought people
together to organize, perform, and watch Jakaltek culture. While most agreed that the bailes will continue to persist in Jakaltenango, many were concerned about the time required to organize and perform the bailes. One individual was uncertain about the future of the bailes. She explained that there are hardly any dancers left. In the previous year the cofradía paid for the costume rental of some dancers who gave their time as part of their promesa to the Virgin of Candelaria. The respondent who answered that the bailes would not last in Jakaltenango explained that it would be difficult because young people do not like this culture anymore.

All 25 of the respondents agreed that the bailes are important to Jakaltenango. Specifically, the survey asked to whom the bailes were important: children, elders, ancestors, migrants, cofradía, or other. Twelve respondents (48 percent) said it was important to all of them. Furthermore, of these twelve, five respondents specifically assigned importance to the Virgin of Candelaria, the town, elders and culture, children and cofradía. Some of these specific responses were echoed by some of the other respondents. One person said it was important to children and the cofradía only. Two individuals said it was important to the Virgin of Candelaria only. Two people said it was important to the cofradía and visitors, or “those that come to watch”. One said it was for the general public. Another said it was for families with sick children who make promesas. Four said it was important to the cofradía; one said it was only important to elders; and one did not answer.

Similar themes emerged when respondents were asked why the bailes were important. Three respondents said it was for gusto. Two said it belonged to the Virgin or that it was dedicated to the Virgin. Three people said that it was important so that promesas could be fulfilled, especially for sick children. Five individuals said it was part of Jakaltek tradition, culture or costumbre and that it brought joy to the fiesta or that it was an important costumbre for
the children. Seven individuals specifically said that it was to bring joy to the fiesta, “para alegrar a la fiesta”. The baile is what motivates the people and carries the fiesta forward. Three respondents said it is tied to religion: “they believe in God”, “the characters [in the dance] are the ones that came to conquer. Before they did not believe in god. Before it was about nature. It is connected to the Catholic religion”. Among these respondents, one added that one identifies oneself through these bailes. Two individuals did not answer.

Respondents were asked if the bailes of Jakaltenango were the same as those throughout Guatemala. Twenty respondents said that they were not the same. One said it was different and two did not answer. The major differences between the bailes that respondents noted were the dance itself and how it is danced. Some individuals added that the music, culture, and the clothing used by the dancers are different. Two individuals focused on the history specific to the town that each dance represents. Two others emphasized that each town is distinct and separated by costumbre. Two others agreed that the bailes were different in Jakaltenango but that they are more joyful in other parts of Guatemala. One said the teachings by the cofradia leader made them different. The individuals that answered that the bailes were the same also added that in each dance the dialogue between the characters differed based on the teacher; they are the same but have different clothes and dialogue; and that they are the same as it is in neighboring towns, especially Todos Santos, where, it is said, one of the dances originates from.

Finally, respondents were asked if they would participate again next year. Six individuals (24 percent) said they were not going to participate again. Four of them said it was because of school. One said his brother would participate the following year. The other did not give a reason. Nineteen individuals ((76 percent) said they would participate again next year: Five did not give a reason; five said it was because of gusto; one for promesa; seven said either their child
or husband would participate but did not give a reason why; and one said it is nice to give one’s
time.

DISCUSSION

It is not coincidental that Jakalteks see the connection between their religious faith and
their cultural practice and heritage. These elements are brought together to form a Jakaltek sense
of identity. Rooted in place, religious practice, and cultural tradition, Jakalteks recognize the
Fiesta de Candelaria as a key factor that differentiates them from other Maya cultural groups and
Guatemalans in general. As the patron saint of Jakaltenango, the Virgin of Candelaria and
promesa is a very specific relationship and connection found only in individuals who recognize
the sacred link between Jakaltengo and the Virgin of Candelaria. Anyone skeptical or unwilling
to accept this relationship is incapable of belonging. Non-Catholics, on the other hand, may not
accept the sacred relationship between the Virgin and their hometown, but they do acknowledge
it. They may not participate directly in the dances or organization, but they do find themselves
watching the festivities and celebrating the town and its patron saint. In other words, one born or
with long-term residence in Jakaltenango may not believe in the spiritually based reciprocal
relationship between the Virgin and the individual, but they do recognize her as matriarch or
town figure that represents the town, and them. This is further exemplified by volume of
participation and organization between the Corpus Christi fiesta celebration that is specific to a
Catholic-based practice and the Fiesta de Candelaria that, although Catholic based, incorporates
a town identity and therefore includes a much greater number of participants. Furthermore, a
sense of community, belonging, and ethnic pride is also supported by town officials who are
involved in the Candelaria celebration and officially close the town for the day of Candelaria allowing a day of rest so that everyone can be involved.
CHAPTER 4: FIESTA MAYA OR FIESTA DE CANDELARIA?

Community provides a sense of belonging to Jakalteks. Culture and tradition are important in bringing Jakalteks together through shared history and practice. The movement of the Fiesta de Candelaria from Jakaltenango to Jupiter not only exemplifies the transnational movement of culture, tradition, and practice but also of people, identity, and entire communities. An overview of the history of migration between Jakaltenango and Jupiter will help to clarify the connection between the two cities and also illuminate the process of movement between them. The subsequent development of the Fiesta Maya by Corn Maya Inc. and its supporters further demonstrates the importance of culture, flexible identities, and cultural politics. Specifically, the Fiesta Maya is a point of ethnic conflict (performed negotiation of identity) that is recognized as a symbolic event that represents Jakaltek community.

MIGRANTS ON THE MOVE

Guatemalan migration to the USA increased in the late 1970s through the mid 1980s during the period of civil war, known as “la violencia”, when hundreds of thousands of individuals fled their homes in search of refuge or exile into Mexico, the USA, Canada, and in some cases Europe. Following this wave of migration, Guatemalan economic migration began to surge. Among the top 5 states receiving immigrants, Florida ranks fourth on average in the last 5 years for the total number of foreign-born individuals. By 2010, approximately 19.4 percent (3,658,043) of the total population of Florida (18,801,310) was foreign born. Florida ranks third for total number of unauthorized immigrants (740,000) in 2011. According to the 2010 Census, Palm Beach County had an estimated total population of 1,320,134. The same year, 22.5% reported as Hispanic or Latino (of any race) in Florida, 19.0% from Palm Beach County, and
12.7% from Jupiter. Jupiter had an estimated 55,911 individuals of Hispanic or Latino descent in January 2011. According to political scientist and local Palm Beach resident Timothy Steigenga (Williams et al. 2009:20), approximately 1,500 of 2,500 Guatemalan immigrants in Jupiter are Jakaltek Maya.

Maya immigration to South Florida began as early as 1982, when the first Q’anjob’al Maya families from northern Guatemala arrived in Indiantown, Florida (Burns 1993). These families had escaped the violent US-connected civil war in Guatemala. The highland Maya had been targeted by Guatemalan military and paramilitary that had been instructed to kill any potential guerrillas or guerilla sympathizers. Since the Maya lived in the mountains where guerrilla groups were hiding, the Maya were presumed to be guerilla sympathizers, if not guerrillas themselves. Many Maya fled to Mexico and made their way into the United States to escape their imminent deaths (Montejo 1999b). Most refugees initially arrived in California and Arizona—locations that had long been sites of Guatemalan immigration—but through word of mouth Maya also found their way to Indiantown, West Palm Beach, and Immokalee. By the mid-1980s, other Mayas, mostly young, single men, were arriving to fill a demand for agricultural labor needed in Florida citrus groves and agricultural fields (Burns 1993). Indiantown and the Palm Beach region quickly grew in ethnic diversity. Maya from throughout Guatemala, Mexicans, and Cubans all sought work in Southeastern Florida as word spread of the economic opportunities in the region.

By the mid-1990s, many Maya migrants had arrived in the Palm Beach region in response to the area’s boom in housing and landscaping development. Jupiter, as a small town just to the north of Palm Beach, had become one of the hotspots of this economic boom. Word of mouth had reached Jakaltenango that Jupiter had ample opportunity for manual labor in
constructing homes, developing and landscaping golf courses, and maintaining the beautifully manicured lawns and gardens of the wealthy, including Celine Dion, Tiger Woods, and other celebrities (fieldnotes 2010; Williams et al. 2009: 21). This economic opening allowed existing Maya migrants to remain in the U.S., while allowing their families and friends to join them and share in the same opportunities. As the demand for workers increased, so did the number of Jakalteks in Jupiter. The rapid development and growth of support networks through family and friends allowed new migrants an easier transition into their new lives in their new community.

**FIESTA MAYA**

The Fiesta Maya celebration begins at about nine in the morning with a soccer match between Florida Atlantic University male students and migrant men. It is a symbolic match, because as one Anglo non-migrant noted, the Jakalteks always win. The audience is primarily made up of FAU students and a few family members of the Jakaltek soccer players. Following the soccer match and trophy presentation by the pseudo soccer field, attention shifts to the University parking lot entrance where a group has gathered in preparation for the flower procession. Jakaltek women dressed in their traditional *huipil* and *corte*, along with their children, young men, and other non-Jakaltek Maya migrant women dressed in their hometown *traje*, carrying-store bought bouquets of flowers form into a procession led by the marimba, musicians, dance of the deer dancers, and an image of the Virgin of Candelaria.

The procession moves from the University parking lot entrance past the soccer field toward the temporary stage and open field where spectators and food vendors await its arrival. Words are spoken and then just before mid-day festivities begin with a performance by invited musicians. In 2010 a Jakaltek woman performed songs in Spanish. In 2011 a Mexican band with
a young boy performed Norteño songs. After a couple of hours of musical performance the
traditional counter clockwise collective dance circle, known in Jakaltenango as el baile regional
(the regional dance), is formed, mostly by Jakalteks. As spectators begin to get comfortable,
Anglos (mainly student volunteers) and other migrants familiar with the dance style also join the
dance circle. This dance style is particularly special as it represents a space and time of
communal celebration, freedom and identity. Like African and African-American ring dances,
the baile regional reaffirms community, discipline, identity, and cultural memory (Floyd 1995:
39). Many video recordings of these dances celebrating a village patron or other hamlet
celebrations are sent to Jupiter so that migrants can temporarily return home and live the essence
of being Jakaltek. The Fiesta Maya celebration and other private celebrations also return to
Jakaltenango via recordings so that migrant family members there can reconnect with migrants
in the USA.

During these dances in Jakaltenango young and old, male and female join together rooted
by a sameness expressed through their traditional marimba music. It is said that vibrations of the
marimba are felt through the earth into one’s body, forming the expressions taken by the dancer.
Elderly men and women often express a nostalgic performance; young men and girls often
present a more rhythmic, faster movement passing by the older generations in the circle; while
men and women vary the speed and rhythm of their movement depending on their personality –
whether they are quiet or outgoing. The same essence or ethnic resonance can be seen in the
women and men as they dance next to each other lost to the music at the Fiesta Maya. As noted
by Elena, as she watched a video of the Fiesta Maya dance celebration, “look at Clara, you see
her? Look at her dance. She is such a show off.” José added, “some people just know how to
dance. They have something special. Confidence that makes them so good and fun to watch.
Other people, well some people, like Pablo, you know Pablo, a stick moves more than him.” In Jakaltenango, many people will pay the entry fee to the dance hall where the live music groups (traditional marimba and modern *cumbia* or *banda*) perform just to watch the dancers but never actually partake in the dancing.

During the dancing some people join the circle, others watch, while others gather in small groups catching up with each other or eating the food they have purchased from the food booth. Occasionally some people wander between the informational booths receiving a few take-aways. After hours of dancing, music, and food (for purchase), the Fiesta Maya comes to an end in the early evening.

Figure 4.1 The image of the Virgin of Candelaria in the Fiesta Maya procession lead by the deer dancers.
Figure 4.2 The marimba and *torito de cohete* (without the cohetes) in the Fiesta Maya procession.

Figure 4.3 The Fiesta Maya is captured on video and will be later taken back to Jakaltenango for Jakalteks to remain connected and informed of the Jakaltek community in Jupiter.
Figure 4.4 The altar for the Virgin of Candelaria at the Fiesta Maya.

Figure 4.5 Jakaltek woman performs traditional Jakaltek songs at the Fiesta Maya.
Figure 4.6 Non-Jakaltek couple dance among Jakaltek women at the Fiesta Maya.

**CORN MAYA, FAU, EL SOL AND THE FIESTA MAYA**

The Fiesta Maya is a collaborative effort organized and produced by Anglo migrant supporters and documented and undocumented migrants who are affiliated with FAU and Corn Maya Inc. and linked through El Sol Neighborhood Resource Center (Steigenga and Lazo de la Vega 2012; Steigenga and Williams 2007; Steigenga et al. 2007, Steigenga 2006, Steigenga et al. 2009). Through town sponsored meetings organized in Jupiter to address a growing concern with day laborers concentrated on Center Street, Timothy Steigenga, met Jerónimo Camposeco, a Jakaltek political refugee, intellectual, and Maya community leader who fled Guatemala in the early 1980s with his family. Camposeco and Steigenga, along with other members of the Guatemalan community and FAU students, conducted surveys to assess the needs of the migrant community during meetings at the Beacon Baptist Church on Center Street. Survey results found that the greatest concerns for migrants were concentrated on immigration, employment, and healthcare. The collaboration between Steigenga and Camposeco grew as they continued to
meet frequently to discuss the relationship of the Guatemalan community with the Town of Jupiter and FAU's Honors College. They discussed plans for cultural exchange programs that would bring the Maya community and university students together. After meeting with Ed Maietta, Executive Director of the Aboacoa Partnership for Community, to discuss a cultural exchange event between the Guatemalan community, Abacoa community, and the University, Camposeco volunteered to give a talk on his experience as a Guatemalan political asylee during the 1980s and the current experiences of Maya migrants in Jupiter. Since Camposeco was also a musician with a marimba group, they suggested including marimba music during his presentation. Finally, January 27th of 2002 was chosen as the date for the talk because all parties could participate. Coincidentally, this was the same weekend as the Fiesta de Candelaria celebration in Jakaltekango. Accordingly, a series of activities were planned for the fiesta – including a soccer match between students and Maya players, traditional Guatemalan food, and a talk discussing the Maya migrant experience in Jupiter.

Discussions of activities for a fiesta celebration quickly developed into commissions coordinated by the the Maya Jakaltek Association of Jupiter (a group of informal/unofficially recognized group of Jakaltek Maya migrants, most of whom, as educated Jakaltek migrants, sympathized with the Maya intellectual movement in Guatemala) that were responsible for all the different elements of the fiesta. Together, the Maya Jakaltek Association and faculty and students from the Honors college planned and prepared for a mass, procession, food, and publicity to be included in the fiesta.

Before the fiesta could fully develop, however, it became apparent that a notion of community had to be re-evaluated before moving forward with a festival that celebrated a Catholic figure specific to one Maya town and immigrant group in Jupiter. Definition of the
immigrant community and who was granted inclusion was debated. Furthermore, divisions between Catholic and traditional Jakalteks and a Maya Evangelical group in Jupiter connected to a North American pastor at the Beacon Baptist Church questioned the religious affiliation of the fiesta that was being organized. As cultural and religious divisions continued to be debated by organizers of the fiesta, University officials also warned organizers about restrictions regarding religious events on campus. After much debate and questions of inclusion, cultural identity, and religious significance the Maya Jakaltek Association agreed to remove religious affiliation of the fiesta in all publicity and keep religious activities off campus. In the end, the fiesta celebration was renamed the Fiesta Maya, avoiding any religious affiliation or reference. These cultural and religious divisions are further discussed below in relationship to ethnic conflict and identity politics.

Members of the Maya Jakaltek Association continued to meet throughout the year after this initial cultural exchange and eventually asked permission from the original founding member of the previously active group Corn Maya Inc. to re-establish their non-profit status. Corn Maya Inc. was a cultural organization originally founded by Mayas and South Florida advocates for Maya refugees in nearby Indiantown in the early 1980s, and it became recognized as a 501 (c)(3) non-profit organization that represented and helped Maya refugees fleeing the civil war in Guatemala. Corn Maya Inc. was officially revitalized in 2002 and regained non-profit status. In 2003 they established a pilot project and worked out of a small office space in Jupiter and offered services to immigrants including basic health and human services. Florida Atlantic University students also allied with Corn Maya Inc. and began to offer ESL courses to migrants partaking in the Corn Maya migrant initiative. Corn Maya Inc. also organizes soccer
games that allow migrants, primarily Jakalteks, the opportunity to play on public fields without being run off by anti-immigrant locals.

In August 2005, Corn Maya, along with Catholic Charities (St. Peter’s), was also responsible for coordinating a sister city agreement between Jupiter and Jakaltenango (Steigenga and Williams 2009). The sister city agreement was a symbolic act that tied Jupiter to Jakaltenango. However, with both the mayor of Jupiter and the mayor of Jakaltenango signing this connecting agreement, the cities recognized the importance of one to the other. Signatories also included the Guatemalan foreign minister, Jorge Briz. In particular, this event allowed the mayor of Jupiter a greater understanding about the immigrant community, which would later have a strong impact on her perspective and decisions regarding the labor center and the immigrant problems in Jupiter. 19 Corn Maya and El Sol also hosted vice president Eduardo Stein in 2004, Nobel Peace Prize laureate Rigoberta Menchu in 2005, and the president of Guatemala, Oscar Berger, in 2007, further connecting Guatemala to Jupiter and supporting the creation of El Sol (Herrera 2007; Steigenga et al. 2009: 158; Steigenga and Williams 2009: 114; Steigenga and de la Vega 2009: 32-33).

Beyond creating symbolic links and connections between Jupiter and Jakaltenango, and celebrating immigrant (Jakaltek) culture, Corn Maya has had its greatest impact on the immigrant community and Jupiter through El Sol Neighborhood Resource Center. Corn Maya made initial contact with local authorities to establish a fixed location for a resource center but it was with the support and collaboration with The Friends of El Sol that significant action was made possible. The Friends of El Sol is an advocacy group including members from St. Peter's Church, the Jupiter Democratic Club, students from Florida Atlantic University's Wilkes Honors

19 The immigrant “problem” was one spearheaded by anti-immigrant protestors who openly criticized the presence of Latino immigrants in Jupiter.
College, residents from the Charter Neighborhoods—home primarily to the immigrant community, and representatives of Corn Maya. After two years of lobbying, Corn Maya's vision for a labor center was realized in 2004 when the Jupiter Town Council allocated two hundred thousand dollars for a five-year Community Investment Program (CIP) to support the center. Together with Catholic Charities, Corn Maya was granted permission by Town Council in 2005 to operate the center out of a town building. In September 2006, El Sol Neighborhood Resource Center (including a day labor center) opened its doors.

**BUILDING COMMUNITY, NEGOTIATING IDENTITIES**

I have argued that the Fiesta Maya is a cultural event that symbolically represents Jakalteks. However, as I have noted, the intention of the Fiesta Maya, as it was renamed and reimagined, was to publicly present migrant culture to negate negative stereotypes, rhetoric, and policy on immigrants and immigration: to perform a positive migrant identity and community. Ethnic and religious tensions that ensued from an organized collectivity attest to a multi-layered individual identity at the same time that Jakaltek ethnic boundaries and divisions are strictly guarded. Analysis of subject positions within the tensions involved in the practice of culture, performance of identity, and community building demonstrate flexible culture and identity but also the limits of that flexibility.

Religious divisions between Evangelical and Catholic Maya in Guatemala have emphasized economic differences that place limitations on the economic growth of Catholic Mayas due to religious obligations and practice such as organized cofradías (brotherhoods), traditional *milpa* based economy, and the celebration of extravagant rites of passage (Annis 1987; Hill and Monaghan 1987; Brintnall 1979; Warren 1978). According to Steigenga (2009),
Evangelical migrants also send back fewer, if any, remittances to their families in Guatemala. They are more apt to create a sense of home and family with the evangelical community in their new place of residence. This literature suggests that Evangelicals are disconnected from their Maya culture and are economically driven. Scholars such as Stoll (1993), Warren (1992, 1993), Goldin (1993), and Goldín and Metz (1991) suggest Protestantism became a source of cultural and ethnic survival in times of social and armed pressure in Guatemala. For Watanabe (1992), religious adaptation or conversion does not imply a loss of ethnic identity but rather a broadened definition of local identity. Religious identity is used to redefine a community identity in opposition to ethnic others. Wilson (1995) writes, “although drastic at certain junctures, religious change can also be seen as occurring along a continuum. No village is isolated from its neighbors, and in any one region there is a spectrum of competing discourses” (205). Garrard-Burnett (1994: 4) adds that for Mayas in Mexico Protestantism has become a source of ethnic affirmation – an authentic non-cofradía Indian identity.

In Jupiter, the evangelical community was open to participating in a celebration of migrant culture and performing community until the Fiesta was revealed to be a Catholic practice. The problem, as they saw it, was not that it was a performance of Maya culture, but that it was a Catholic practice – which, despite the reported difference, have been historically connected post colonial contact. In Jakaltenango, this tension is alleviated by the fact that the Fiesta de Candelaria celebrates a Catholic figure that is accepted as the guardian of the town – home of Jakalteks – at the same time that the Fiesta also celebrates Jakaltek ethnic identity. In doing so, Evangelicals may not participate in the cofradías, dances, or processions associated with Maya Catholicism, but they are members of the town and form part of the community (Catholic or not) that stand outside of their doorsteps to watch the dances and processions go by.
They also join the crowds in the town plaza celebrating a unique Jakaltek identity. By questioning the religious position of the organizers and organization of the Fiesta Maya, the pastor and his parishioners not only questioned the religious scope of the Fiesta Maya, but also questioned the limitations of an exclusively Catholic cultural performance that supposedly represented all migrants. In the end, the Jakaltek association (including Jakaltek Pan-Maya sympathizers) and non-migrant anglo organizers decided it was best to remove overt religious association from the fiesta in all publicity and advertisement for the fiesta, move religious elements of the fiesta off campus, and change the name of the Fiesta de Candelaria in Jupiter to Fiesta Maya— to celebrate all Mayas in Jupiter.

A name change from Fiesta de Candelaria to Fiesta Maya alleviated religious exclusivity, but as the name change sought to create inclusivity among Maya migrants, this opening of boundaries challenged a Jakaltek sense of identity and their vision for a re-creation of home for the Jakaltek Maya migrant community. For example, Steigenga explained, plans for the third annual Fiesta Maya were abruptly changed after the primarily Jakaltek Corn Maya Inc. decided to withdraw an invitation to a group of Maya dancers from Totonipacán to perform at the Fiesta Maya. Corn Maya was aware that videos of the Fiesta Maya would reach Jakaltekango and they feared upsetting people back home who would see the intrusion of a different Maya group. The same way videos from Jakaltetanango are used by migrants in Jupiter to feel connected to home, the videos also provide reassurance to Jakalteks in Jakaltenango that the Jakaltek community in Jupiter remains united. For the Fiesta Maya, this has meant that inclusivity is limited. The fiesta name may indicate all Mayas are represented, but the event is controlled by a majority Jakaltek organizing body that, whether pan-Mayanist or not, still remains connected and to a degree accountable to the Jakaltek community in Jakaltenango. In other words, community was
redefined to include non-Jakaltek and non-Catholic Maya migrants but cultural identity, which is used to define ethnic membership, was not negotiable. Jakalteks are willing to share the fiesta celebration with other Mayas but unwilling to blend their traditions. Still, this has not meant that Jakalteks in Jupiter feel at home or that they have established an independent Jakaltek community in Jupiter. The Fiesta Maya remains an adaptation of the Fiesta de Candelaria in Jakaltenango.

Through music, dance, and the soccer tournament culminating in a procession for the patron saint, Candelaria, Jakaltek migrants are able to re-create home, which helps mitigate feelings of loss and helplessness in a foreign place. Migrants are not physically returned to Jakaltenango. They are, however, emotionally, visually, and aurally temporarily brought back to the place they grew up in –to the things they experienced not only as children but also as adults. The music and sounds, faith, foods, and movements all create a sense of belonging and identity experienced by Jakalteks during fiesta celebrations in Jakaltenango. Yet, migrants concede it is not the same nor is it enough to take the place of the real thing. There remains a longing for home. This longing for home in turn serves as another shared experience that creates a sense of belonging among Jakalteks who wish to be home, but for the moment, cannot yet return. For many, the seemingly unimportant details of home that cannot be replicated are what make home. As some Jakalteks point out, they don’t have the local flower located in the mountains surrounding Jakaltenango that is integral to the fiesta. As noted above, before the fiesta de Candelaria can begin in Jakaltenango, the men gather and travel together to harvest the flower in the mountains surrounding the community. They then return to find the town waiting for them with food and drinks celebrating their successful journey. This process is organized in advance when men and boys decide to volunteer to retrieve the flower. Some boys grow up waiting for
their turn to travel with their fathers to get the flower. A number of Youtube videos document the retrieval of the flower and arrival of the flower while solemn Jakaltek marimba music plays in the background.

Jakalteks also express the lack of freedom in the USA, in general, and during the Fiesta Maya, specifically. They recognize the importance of the fiesta in Jupiter, but agree that with a formalization of the fiesta in the United States, dealing with an institutionalized system has its problems. Their concerns begin with performing and celebrating on public town grounds and now on Florida Atlantic University grounds that include complex regulations regarding the use of public grounds and all the associated bureaucratic red tape. In Jakaltenango permission is still required by the municipality, but it is simply a formality since the celebration(s) are expected annually. In their view, Jakaltek migrants cannot be free to enjoy the fiesta the same way as in Jakaltenango where the majority of the fiesta is performed in informal or unregulated locales like homes or public streets. In Jupiter, individuals have been asked to leave the fiesta due to drunkenness, a cultural norm in Jakaltenango. In one incident, I witnessed campus police confront some young men congregated in the parking lot. They were being asked to rejoin the fiesta, leave the premises, or get charged with public loitering. In Jakaltenango, the town officially shuts down for the week of Candelaria celebrations and such “loitering” is part of the socialization of the fiesta. Most men and women are not required to work and the plaza is closed off to traffic. Vendors from surrounding towns and villages take over the sidewalks and main roads to sell their goods. Both men and women are free to drink alcohol without social stigma. In Jupiter, the fiesta is usually celebrated the first Sunday in February. Often this does not coincide with the actual celebration in Jakaltenango. In 2010 the fiesta had to compete with the Superbowl hosted in Miami that year. Despite these differences, Jakalteks enjoy Jupiter as an alternative
home away from home. For some of these migrants, Timothy Steigenga (Steigenga et al. 2009) argues, a re-creation of home gives them a sense of identity in a foreign place by using familiar images and practices.

Ethnic division and conflict is also problematic within the Jakaltek migrant community. Despite re-creating a sense of home and building ethnic cohesion, for some Jakalteks the Fiesta Maya is not enough because of its limitations and the absence of what they feel are essential elements of the fiesta. After questions of inclusivity and community, the Fiesta Maya was reformatted to celebrate and share Maya migrant culture with the Jupiter community. Jakalteks participate in and celebrate the Fiesta Maya for the cultural experience, memory, and community. Even though they accept the Fiesta Maya as a celebration of Maya unity, they continue to hold on to ideas and goals for a unified Jakaltek community outside of Jakaltenango. For those Jakalteks who refuse to compromise the integrity of the Jakaltek community and an 

*authentic* Fiesta de Candelaria, a separate celebration is organized simultaneously in an enclosed rental space on Okeechobee Boulevard in Jupiter. According to current members of Corn Maya some of the Jupiter Fiesta de Candelaria organizers were members of Corn Maya but left the group because they rejected the loss of control over their fiesta. They do not replicate a procession, entrance of flower, the coronation of an elected queen, nor do they perform the traditional costumed dances. Their focus is on the communal dance called *el baile regional.* Unlike the Fiesta Maya, that is also not considered by these Jakalteks a replica of the Fiesta de Candelaria but a representation of all twenty-two Maya ethnic groups, the Fiesta de Candelaria on Okeechokee Boulevard is solely for Jakalteks who desire to celebrate as they do at home. It is

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20 I was unable to participate/observe in the competing fiesta because the fiesta celebration date overlapped with the Fiesta Maya and by the time I learned of the Fiesta de Candelaria in Jupiter, I was unable to return to follow up on that fiesta due to time and funding constraints.
celebrated in an enclosed locale where Jakalteks drink, dance, gossip—privately celebrate together through dance and the vibrations of what they consider an essence of Jakaltek-ness.

Competing fiestas\(^{21}\) that coincide with the Fiesta Maya address the importance of an exclusive ethnic identity. Even with a strong presence of Jakaltek elements, the Fiesta Maya is not enough for some Jakalteks who prefer an exclusive celebration with *all* of the elements and freedom of the Fiesta de Candelaria in Jakaltenango. As one migrant expressed,

> The Fiesta Maya is just extracts of, like the vertebrae of the activities from all twenty two Guatemalan Maya groups: Entrance of the flower, procession, and dance…[and the] Jakaltek group trying to maintain the Fiesta de Candelaria is a different group. But to celebrate a Fiesta it isn’t just a matter of celebrating and that’s that. For example, with Corn Maya you need permits from the University, soccer fields, permission from the police, permission to sell this and that. It all requires permission. They don’t do it.

What this migrant criticized the Okeechobee Boulevard group of failing to do is exactly why the group organized an independent Fiesta de Candelaria in the first place—to celebrate without restrictions that limit what they feel is a complete experience of home.

A separate Fiesta de Candelaria in Jupiter also demonstrates that home does not have a singular definition and that culture accommodates to the needs of its users: those Jakaltek that did not want to participate in what they saw as a blending, at best, and sell-out, at worst, of their patron saint celebration chose specific elements of the fiesta de Candelaria that they felt were quintessential to their tradition and memory of home to celebrate and perform. Their conceptualization of home referred to an intimate, closed celebration with freedom of expression and without restrictions from non-Jakalteks.

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\(^{21}\) Other town based fiestas are celebrated throughout South Florida and are ethnically specific, such as the Kanjobal fiesta in Lakeworth, and the San Rafael, San Miguel, and Soloma fiestas celebrated during different times of the year in Indiantown all by people outside the Jakaltenango region.
DISCUSSION

The convergence of three entities allowed for the development of a cultural event that would celebrate the diversity, culture, and humanity of the migrants from El Sol, Corn Maya, and FAU supporters. Groups were formed to organize and coordinate an event that would showcase migrant culture to other migrants but also to the general public – those that contested the presence of migrants, in particular. The aim was to show partnership, diversity, and value with and of the migrants. As the majority migrant population in Jupiter it was natural for the fiesta committee to be made up mostly of Jakalteks. With a majority voice, a cultural event based on the celebration of the patron saint of Jakaltenango also came naturally. While several debates questioned the celebration of a Catholic figure linked to a specific Maya town to represent all migrants, which led to the name change of the fiesta, it was ultimately decided that the fiesta celebration would be held in February, during the FAU school year, and coincidentally during the same period as the Candelaria celebration in Jakaltenango. These decisions not only affected the significance of the Fiesta de Candelaria as it has been translocated from Jakaltenango, but also the Fiesta Maya adapted to celebrate migrant culture in Jupiter. Ethnic division among Maya migrants has had a significant impact on migrant solidarity, and for Jakalteks has produced an ethnic belonging that is built on exclusivity. Analysis of the development and organization of the Fiesta Maya has revealed the multiple levels of identity that are negotiated, not only among Latino migrants, but between Mayas, and within the Jakaltek community. Finally, religion, while a point of contention for Evangelicals and Catholics, is less problematic in regard to experiencing a sense of identity as a single migrant community. Survey responses in the following chapter expand on participant self-reported fiesta significance.
including responses from Evangelicals that participated regardless of the Catholic roots of the Fiesta Maya.
CHAPTER 5: FIESTA MAYA

This chapter is concerned with understanding why migrants and non-migrants participate in the Fiesta Maya, what the Fiesta Maya means to the participants, and what they see as the future of the Fiesta Maya. In answering these questions, I will show that the migrant and non-migrant reported significance of the Fiesta Maya and why migrants and non-migrants participate only partially correlate with the data collected. More importantly, I highlight the difficulty with using Jakaltek cultural symbols to produce and promote a collective identity (Byrd 2014) or indigeneity (Delugan 2010) to contest the criminalization and exclusion of immigrants in Jupiter. In the context of pachanga social gathering, music, politics, and marketing, Margaret Dorsey (2006) argues that cultural symbols are used and transformed for political ends. Her work suggests how expressive forms, like dance and music in the Fiesta Maya, for example, are useful for understanding shifts in meaning of traditional configurations and their implications for political action.

The appropriation of Jakaltek cultural symbols in the Fiesta Maya is problematic. I argue that an intellectually based effort to politicize indigenous Guatemalan migrants (the majority in West Palm County) through the Fiesta Maya fails to understand migrant ethnic and cultural diversity, and the everyday life experiences that leave migrants either unwilling or unable to accept the challenge. That is not to say that migrants passively accept their unequal status. In the following chapter I discuss how Jakaltek migrants contest their undocumented status and plan for the future through cultural and ethnic belonging. For now, this chapter addresses how migrants and non-migrants use the Fiesta Maya to achieve different, but overlapping, goals.
FIESTA MAYA PARTICIPATION

The fiesta de Candelaria in Jakaltenango is a celebration for the town patron and as the symbolic figure for the town and its people, this celebration is a town sponsored event—with the exception of the entrance fee charged to enter the closed off municipal hall and participate in the communal dance and music performances. In contrast, the venue for the Fiesta Maya is on FAU campus, students help organize the set up and break down of the Fiesta, Corn Maya Inc. coordinates the dancers and music to be performed at the celebration, and El Sol provides a space for Corn Maya Inc. to meet. No one is paid to participate—in Jakaltenango the musicians receive minimal payment to perform.

As a cultural event promoted by FAU and Corn Maya Inc. to the Jupiter community, the Fiesta Maya seeks to draw a variety of participants. Although the event serves primarily to connect the immigrant community with the FAU community, it is also organized to connect the greater, non-immigrant Jupiter resident to the immigrant community living among them. As a pan-Maya cultural event, the Fiesta Maya also acts as a forum for communication between the non-migrant public and immigrant Mayas. As Jocelyn Skolnik, executive director of El Sol, expressed, the Fiesta Maya “provides opportunity for positive dialogue. The [non-immigrant] community wants to see that culture” (Fieldnotes July 8 2010). As a former FAU student and co-founder of the Corn Maya Club, Jocelyn has been involved with the Fiesta Maya and Jakaltek immigrant community for years.

To better understand who participates in the Fiesta Maya, why they participate and in what capacity, I conducted surveys during and outside of the Fiesta Maya celebration. Prior to developing the surveys, I knew that I wanted to follow a performance theory approach to my research and analysis. As outlined in Chapter One, for this research performance includes the
negotiation of identity (by an individual or group) in relationship to others (the community and/or non-group members) to affirm, reaffirm, or contest belonging through pre-scripted behavior, speech, and practice. For that reason, I include all individuals present at the Fiesta Maya as participants, whether or not they were involved in the organization, coordination, funding, dancing, or musical performances for the Fiesta Maya, because their presence and actions affect the behavior (pre-scripted and spontaneous) of everyone else that is present. Once I established the parameters of who was included as participants in the performance of the Fiesta Maya, I identified two groups of participants: migrants (individuals with documented or undocumented status living in the USA to work or reunite with family members) and non-migrants (American born, anglo and documented individuals who feel culturally connected to and support migrant rights, including second generation Jakaltek born in the USA). Some individuals were in the USA with student visas and were considered non-migrants because they were students at FAU. Among the migrant group, I further identified Jakalteks and non-Jakalteks (including other Maya individuals, Guatemalans, and Mexicans). For the purpose of this research, Jakalteks include second generation children born in the USA, but as birth-based citizens, they are not considered migrants. Thus, they form part of the Jakaltek community but fall outside of my definition of migrant. Twelve non-migrant individuals were surveyed in English and fifteen migrant (Jakaltek and non-Jakaltek) individuals participated in the Spanish survey, approximately 10 percent of the estimated participating population. Timothy Steigenga has reported participation in the Fiesta Maya in its first few years at approximately 700. By the time I began my research in 2010 these numbers were much lower and perhaps reached 400, at most, over the entire course of the day and possibly 250 at any given time. Among the migrant group, three individuals self-identified as documented migrants. Surveys were conducted at the
Based on responses to the surveys, the results of which are shown in table 4.1, most undocumented migrants participate as audience members. The majority of non-migrants, mostly FAU Latin American Studies students and members of the Corn Maya Club at Florida Atlantic University, function in supporting roles to ensure the logistical operation of the Fiesta Maya. Their responsibilities include recruitment of individuals to participate in the soccer match, distribution of flyers inviting the community to join the celebration, and co-ordination with Florida Atlantic University administration to get permission for the Fiesta to be celebrated on FAU campus – including required police security at the Fiesta. A small group consisting of documented and undocumented migrants and Timothy Steigenga, a non-migrant FAU Political Science Professor, work out the preparations of the Fiesta through the cultural organization Corn Maya Inc. They decide what musical groups will perform and make the preparations for the procession as well as other cultural performance related issues. Corn Maya Inc. is also responsible for fundraising. Most of their funding comes from donations made by local retailers/vendors.
Table 5.1 Type of Participation by Immigration Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Participation</th>
<th>Non-Migrant</th>
<th>Migrant</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Documented</td>
<td>Undocumented</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audience/Public</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logistical Support (Corn Maya Inc.)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dancer/musician</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Volunteer**</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All (audience, logistical support, student volunteer, Corn Maya Club)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (Soccer, El Sol Information booth)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A (did not participate)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Total number of participants does not correspond with total surveys taken because some respondents reported more than one role.

**Some student volunteers specifically indicated their role in logistical organization through the student Corn Maya Club, but for the sake of the chart, they were categorized separately.

NB: there is a difference between Corn Maya Inc. and Corn Maya Club (student group)

Of all individuals surveyed, only 18.5 percent did not participate. Among the non-participants, only one non-migrant individual (3.7 percent) did not participate. This individual was an ESL teacher at El Sol and had originally heard about the Fiesta Maya in the Palm Beach Post and later at El Sol. He did not participate because he “couldn’t get anyone to go with [him].” In contrast, four migrants (14.8 percent) did not participate. One documented migrant, a 22 year-old female from Jakaltenango living in Jupiter for the last five years with her young son, did not participate. She had never participated in the Fiesta Maya and said she would not participate the following year because, she explained playfully, “they don’t invite us.” The three undocumented migrants included a 50 year-old man from Chiapas, Mexico, who had not
participated since 2007 but said he would participate next year if “I am still in this country.” He had been in Jupiter for eight years. Another man also from Chiapas was 29 years old and had been in Jupiter for six years. He had never participated in the Fiesta Maya and said he would most likely not participate the following year because of work obligations. The last individual was 29 years old and born in Guatemala City. He had been in Jupiter for ten years. Although his parents are from Jakaltenango, he said he did not participate because he was not Jakaltek and that the Fiesta is to recreate culture and commemorate it. He added that he may participate sometime but probably not, because of a lack of time. Eleven migrants (40.8 percent) and another eleven non-migrants (40.7 percent) participated. Among the migrants participating, seven (26 percent) were Jakaltek and four (14.8 percent) were non-Jakaltek.

Table 5.2 Fiesta Participation by All Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jakalteks</td>
<td>7 (26%)</td>
<td>1 (3.7%)</td>
<td>8 (29.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Jakalteks</td>
<td>4 (14.8%)</td>
<td>3 (11.1%)</td>
<td>7 (26%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Migrant</td>
<td>11 (40.7%)</td>
<td>1 (3.7%)</td>
<td>12 (44.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>22 (81.5%)</td>
<td>5 (18.5%)</td>
<td>27 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Migrant Participation**

The migrant surveys also collected information on migrant participation against time in the USA (see table 5.3). Two individuals (13.3 percent) who participated seven or more times were also closely connected or networked within the Jakaltek community and have both lived in Jupiter for more than fourteen years. One of these respondents is a Permanent Resident. The
documented individual was returning to Jakaltenango to see the Fiesta de Candelaria in the upcoming year while the other, undocumented, individual, unable to return home, experiences his hometown through the Fiesta Maya celebration in Jupiter. Five undocumented migrants (33.3 percent) participated in the Fiesta Maya between three and five times. One was an Evangelical man from K’iche in Guatemala and the other man, who had participated at least five times in the past, was from Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Mexico. Three were from Jakaltenango. Migrants participating between three and five times had been in Jupiter between four and twelve years. One Jakaltek participant living in Jupiter for over twelve years is well established in the Jakaltek community. At the time of the survey he had no plans to return home, although he missed his children, who are now young adults. Rumors that his wife has started a new life without him in Jakaltenango have added to his decision to stay in Jupiter. The other Jakaltek had been in the USA, on and off, for at least twenty-three years. He is formally educated and originally came to the USA on a trainee visa. After returning to Jakaltenango a total of three times, he moved to Jupiter and has been there since 2005, with the exception of one temporary return trip home between 2005 and 2006. He is a primary member of Corn Maya Inc. and a cultural activist. In 2008 he did not participate because of internal problems in Corn Maya Inc. He explained that there was too much division over Maya and non-Maya elements in the Fiesta. Four individuals (26.6 percent) had participated once or twice. One man was from San Juan Atitlán, Guatemala. Another was from Santa Ana Huista in the Jakaltenango region. The undocumented Jakaltek had been in Jupiter for six years, and was 29 years old. The other Jakaltek participant was forty years old, documented, and had been in Jupiter for twelve years. The undocumented individual planned on temporarily returning to Jakaltenango to participate in the Fiesta de Candelaria back home in the upcoming year. The documented migrant stated that this was his first time participating but also included
that he had collaborated five years earlier with Corn Maya Inc., but that the organization “does not take you into account”. According to him, the organization was too divided and he left the group. Finally, four individuals (26.6 percent) stated that they had never participated in the Fiesta Maya. They were between 21 and 30 years old. Two were from Chiapas, Mexico. One was from Jakaltenango and the other was born in Guatemala to Jakaltek parents. Three were undocumented and one was a permanent resident.

Table 5.3 Migrant Fiesta Maya Participation Against Time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years Participated</th>
<th>Immigration Status</th>
<th>Years in Jupiter</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Hometown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7+</td>
<td>Undocumented</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Jakaltenango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Documented</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Jakaltenango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 to 5</td>
<td>Undocumented</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Jakaltenango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Undocumented</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Tuxtla, Mx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Undocumented</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Jakaltenango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Undocumented</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Jakaltenango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Undocumented</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Quiche, GT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 2</td>
<td>Undocumented</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Santa Ana Huista*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Undocumented</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Jakaltenango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Undocumented</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Jakaltenango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Documented</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>San Juan, GT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>Undocumented</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Guatemala, GT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Undocumented</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Chiapas, Mx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Undocumented</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Jakaltenango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Documented</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Chiapas, Mx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Santa Ana Huista is in the Jakaltenango Huista Region and only miles away but does not belong to the Jakaltenango Municipality (the population also does not speak Popti’ or dress in the traditional Jakaltek traje) and therefore is not considered a part of Jakaltenango in this study.
A look at Charts 5.1 and 5.2, presented below, present a visual understanding of what migrant participation by years in Jupiter and age look like. Based on years in Jupiter, migrant participation is normal. With increased time in the USA, specifically, Jupiter, Florida, a migrant is more likely to increase his/her participation in the Fiesta Maya. Participation based on age shows a slight generational increase in participation or a normal distribution in which the youngest and oldest migrants participate less, and those in between gradually increase their participation over time. Slight dips in both charts may be a function of the small sample size and therefore considered normal distribution. In general, participants between the ages of 20 and 30 have never participated (with the exception of two individuals participating one or two times). Those between the ages of 31 to 40 had all participated at least once and up to ten times by one individual. Individuals between 41 and 60 had participated between two and five times and have been in Jupiter between five and twelve years. In other words, with time participation by all respondents is expected to increase unless they return or are returned to their home country. Furthermore, as noted by some respondents, migrants who attain a documented immigrant status are also likely to stop going to the Fiesta Maya in favor of returning home to experience the Fiesta de Candelaria in person.
Figure 5.1 Participation Against Time by Years in the US

![Figure 5.1 Participation Against Time by Years in the US](image)

NB. Some individuals gave a date they arrived to Jupiter but also added previous residence in the USA outside of Florida without a clear entry date. For the purpose of analysis, the date of arrival to Jupiter was used. *Years in the USA were taken as of 2011, the year in which data collection was completed.

Figure 5.2 Participation Against Time by Age

![Figure 5.2 Participation Against Time by Age](image)
To grasp why migrants participate in the Fiesta Maya, I asked them if they would participate in the future and why. This question allowed me to understand not only whether they would participate in the future, but also for what reason(s) they participate or stop participating. When asked whether they would participate in the Fiesta Maya the following year, nine migrants (60 percent) said yes and six (40 percent) said no. Five of eight Jakalteks (62.5 percent) said yes: for cultural experience (music), Maya unity, and memory. Of the three Jakalteks not participating, two said they would not be participating because they will be in Jakaltenango for the Fiesta de Candelaria. The third Jakaltek playfully answered that she would not participate because she is not invited. She is a single, documented Jakaltek mom. Three of seven non-Jakalteks (43 percent) said no (two said maybe but it was understood that they meant “no”) because of work commitments. The other four (57 percent) said yes: Two will participate as long as their migration status doesn't change (not deported), one said he would participate because of memory, and the other non-Jakaltek migrant explained it as an opportunity to increase migrant/community unity.

Table 5.4 Future Migrant Participation in Fiesta Maya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Respondent</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jakalteks</td>
<td>5 (33.3%)</td>
<td>3 (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Jakalteks</td>
<td>4 (26.6%)</td>
<td>3 (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>9 (60%)</td>
<td>6 (40%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With a greater number of Jakalteks participating, it is not surprising that more Jakaltek migrants than non-Jakalteks plan to participate in future Fiestas. Most Jakalteks expressed the importance of culture, memory, and Maya unity. One Jakaltek said that he participates if he can
find someone to take him. FAU campus, where the Fiesta Maya is held, is in the Abacoa community outside of Jupiter proper. Abacoa is not accessible by foot from the migrant community in Jupiter and public transportation is not readily available in Jupiter. Non-Jakalteks expressed similar concerns as Jakalteks but added the fear of being deported as a factor limiting their participation. In contrast to Jakalteks expressing Maya unity, non-Jakalteks also added a generalized migrant/community unity that extends beyond Jakaltek identity.

Table 5.5 Migrant Reasons for Future Participation in Fiesta Maya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for participating</th>
<th>Jakaltek</th>
<th>Non-Jakaltek</th>
<th>total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural experience, Memory, Will always participate</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4 (33.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrant status (if not deported)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 (16.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logistics (transportation)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (8.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not/will not participate</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant/community Unity</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 (8.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maya Unity</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (8.3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NON-MIGRANT PARTICIPATION**

Since most surveys were conducted at FAU, during the Fiesta celebration on FAU campus, at El Sol, or in my home, non-migrant survey participants were all migrant supporters. As migrant activists or supporters almost all respondents participated and planned to participate in the Fiesta Maya. Only one person (8.3 percent) said he did not participate because, as a recent employee of El Sol, he had heard about the Fiesta Maya through the Palm Beach Post before he
began working for El Sol and did not have anyone to go with. Now that he was more integrated into El Sol’s community, he planned to participate in the upcoming year. Reasons for participation, on the other hand, were not as unanimous. Most of the responses followed an academically informed rhetoric that emphasized cultural interaction or bridging. Some answers overlapped; however, most FAU students (58.3 percent) wanted to learn more about and interact with the people and culture they studied at FAU with Timothy Steigenga or that they worked with at El Sol. El Sol employees (16.6 percent) participated to support the migrants and El Sol. FAU alums (8.3 percent) were connected to the Fiesta Maya through the university and the student Corn Maya Club. One individual (8.3 percent) was connected through FAU, El Sol, and a personal connection to the culture as a Guatemalan national educated in the USA. All of the non-migrant participants had a professional connection to migrants and the Fiesta Maya through either El Sol or FAU. Most were directly linked via Florida Atlantic University professor Timothy Steigenga.

Table 5.6 Non-Migrant Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FAU Student</td>
<td>7 (58.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Sol Employees</td>
<td>2 (16.6%)</td>
<td>1 (8.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAU Alumni</td>
<td>1 (8.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAU and El Sol</td>
<td>1 (8.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.7 Non-Migrant Reasons for Participating in Fiesta Maya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for Participating</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural learning, community interaction, bridging communities</td>
<td>6 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal connection</td>
<td>1 (8.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support El Sol and migrants</td>
<td>3 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support and represent FAU</td>
<td>1 (8.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not attend</td>
<td>1 (8.3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MIGRANT AND NON-MIGRANT OPINION ON FUTURE MIGRANT PARTICIPATION IN FIESTA MAYA

The last question asked in the survey was how long respondents believed migrants would continue to participate in the Fiesta. Nine individuals (60 percent) said that migrants would always continue to participate. Three (20 percent) said that migrant participation would end after second generation migrants (children) stopped participating. Two (13.3 percent) offered two possibilities: migrants would always participate and until 2nd generation migrants stopped participating. One (6.6 percent) Jakaltek individual said migrants would continue to participate when someone could organize it—with reference to city permits. No one believed a change in immigration status (legal permanent resident or citizenship) would end migrant participation in the Fiesta.
Non-migrants were also asked how long they believed migrants would continue to participate in the Fiesta Maya in Jupiter. Four (33.3 percent) individuals said migrants would always continue to participate. Five (41.6 percent) others said that migrants would participate until second generation migrants (the children) stopped going/participating. Three (25 percent) respondents believed migrants would participate in the Fiesta until they return to their home community. No one believed migrants would stop participating after a change in migrant status.

Table 5.8 Continued Participation by migrants in Fiesta Maya participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future Participation</th>
<th>Migrant</th>
<th>Non-Migrant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Will always participate</td>
<td>9 (60%)</td>
<td>4 (33.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Until 2nd Generation</td>
<td>3 (20%)</td>
<td>5 (41.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Availability of Public Permits</td>
<td>1 (6.6%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Until Return Home</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. After Immigration Status Change</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A and B</td>
<td>2 (13.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.8 shows that non-migrants (41.6 percent) had less confidence than migrants (20 percent) that second generation children would remember and want to continue the cultural practice of their parents. A greater number of migrants (60 percent) over non-migrants (33.3 percent) saw indefinite continuity in the Fiesta. Non-migrants (25 percent) were willing to accept that some migrants would either voluntarily or forcibly be returned home, ending their participation in the Fiesta Maya. Migrants (0 percent) did not see this option as a possibility. In other words, 60 percent of migrants believe migrants will always participate and only 26.6 percent believe they will stop at some point in the future, whereas only 33.3 percent of non-
migrants are confident migrants will always participate. And 66.6 percent of non-migrants believe migrants will stop participating at some point in the future.

**MIGRANT SURVEYS: Fiesta Maya Significance and Importance**

The Fiesta Maya originates from the cultural traditions of Jakaltenango and is performed as an expression of Maya migrant identity in the Jupiter area. Despite efforts to neutralize the Fiesta Maya, however, the components of the celebration—the procession with flowers and image of the Virgin of Candelaria, the deer dance and music, the communal dance—all represent a very specific Jakaltek identity. Migrant answers to the questionnaires reinforce this observation.

Migrants were asked why the Fiesta Maya and dance exist in Jupiter. The goal was to elicit why migrants believe the Fiesta Maya is practiced or performed in Jupiter. Most answered why the Fiesta Maya was organized (became a cultural event) in Jupiter. Previously the question asked the significance of the Fiesta Maya but preliminary surveys found that respondents interpreted the question to ask about the historical meaning of the dance-dramas. As the core of the Fiesta de Candelaria, dance-dramas, such as the baile de Cortes, baile de venado, and baile de torito, are used interchangeably with the word “fiesta”. I reworded the question to ask respondents why the Fiesta Maya and baile exist in Jupiter. Three (20 percent) migrants said the Fiesta Maya exists to show, demonstrate, or display their culture to non-migrants. Others explained that the cultural practice followed the large Jakaltek community present in Jupiter. Specifically, nine individuals (60 percent) stated that it exists because of tradition (five specified that it was Jakaltek tradition; one individual explained that it was pan-Hispanic tradition; and three individuals explained that it is a traditional celebration for the Virgin of Candelaria, María,
Concepción). Three individuals (20 percent) could not answer why the Fiesta Maya exists or is practiced in Jupiter.

Table 5.9 Why the Fiesta Maya Exists in Jupiter According to Migrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fiesta Maya Performance and Practice</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrate, Share, display culture</td>
<td>3 (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Tradition/Costumbre</td>
<td>9 (60%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t Know</td>
<td>3 (20%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Migrants were also asked if they believed that the Fiesta Maya and accompanying dance would always exist in Jupiter, and if so, why or why not? All of the respondents agreed that the Fiesta Maya would and could continue to exist in Jupiter: Two (13.3 percent) cited cultural motivators (memory and tradition). The remaining individuals (86.6 percent) said yes, but only if there is community cohesion among Jakalteks and organizers (two individuals), and the Hispanic community (two individuals). Others said the Fiesta Maya would continue to be practiced as long as there is logistical organization (three individuals), or as long as migrant (two individuals) and/or racial politics (one individual) improved in the USA. That respondent explained, the Fiesta Maya could continue to exist “if [they are] not pressured by the yellow [blonde] hairs”. Here, yellow hairs refers to anglos or gringos, as they are called in Guatemala and most of Latin America. Another added “as long as they have us here and they don’t run us out of here. The dance could even modernize, grow”. One individual believed the Fiesta Maya could continue to be practiced but that city by-laws limited its growth. Another individual also agreed that the Fiesta Maya could persist in Jupiter as long as they had funding for it. One individual combined
cultural tradition and Hispanic community cohesion as factors leading to the survival of the Fiesta Maya in Jupiter.

Table 5.10 Continued Practice of Fiesta Maya According to Migrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2 (13.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, as long as…</td>
<td>13 (86.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.11 Themes Regarding the Future Continuation of the Fiesta Maya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Culture and Memory</td>
<td>2 (13.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Cohesion</td>
<td>4 (26.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture, Memory, and Community Cohesion</td>
<td>1 (6.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Generations and returning migrants</td>
<td>1 (6.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant Racial Politics</td>
<td>2 (13.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City By-Laws</td>
<td>1 (6.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funding</td>
<td>1 (6.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logistical Organization</td>
<td>3 (20%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Having established that the Fiesta Maya could and would persist in Jupiter, the survey then asked migrants why they believed the Fiesta Maya was important in Jupiter. Eleven respondents (73.3 percent), including four non-Jakaltek migrants, specified the importance of culture, tradition, *costumbre*, and hometown memory to migrants in Jupiter. Others (26.6
percent) emphasized pan-Latino or Hispanic unity, or cultural exchange (two non-Jakaltek migrants and two Jakalteks). One (6.6 percent) non-Jakaltek was unable to give an answer.

Table 5.12 Fiesta Importance to Jupiter According to Migrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fiesta importance to Jupiter</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Culture/tradition/costumbre/hometown memory</td>
<td>11 (73.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pan-hispanic unity/cohesion and cultural exchange</td>
<td>4 (26.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>1 (6.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NON-MIGRANT SURVEYS: FIESTA MAYA SIGNIFICANCE AND IMPORTANCE**

In contrast to migrant surveys, non-migrant respondents (mostly FAU student volunteers) offered a more nuanced, academically informed understanding of the Fiesta Maya and its significance. In response to why the Fiesta Maya is celebrated in Jupiter six non-migrant respondents (50 percent) connected the Fiesta Maya to the size of the Guatemalan population/community in Jupiter. Some specified the Jakaltek community and their connection to El Sol (8.3 percent) or they connected the Jakaltek community to religious practice recreated in Jupiter (16.6 percent). Two individuals (16.6 percent) focused on religious significance connected to Guatemala but left out the local migrant community. One individual (8.3 percent) connected the Fiesta Maya to Jakaltenango and Maya culture. From these responses, key themes that emerged were community, religion, and culture. Also woven within these non-migrant

---

22 A majority of non-migrant respondents were FAU students, and most were current or former students of Timothy Stiegenga.
responses is the understanding that the Fiesta Maya is a platform for a significant population (Guatemala or Jakaltenango) to practice their religion or culture.

Table 5.13 Why Fiesta Maya is Celebrated According to Non-Migrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guatemalan population/community in Jupiter</td>
<td>6 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jakaltek community and El Sol</td>
<td>1 (8.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jakaltek community and recreation of religious practice in Jupiter</td>
<td>2 (16.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious significance connected to Guatemala</td>
<td>2 (16.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connect Fiesta to Jakaltek and Maya culture</td>
<td>1 (8.3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When non-migrants were asked what they believed the significance of the Fiesta Maya is to migrants, three individuals (25 percent) could not answer. Three (25 percent) indicated that migrants participate in the Fiesta Maya to connect with or remember their home. Within this group one person added that migrants also want to come together as a community and that they want to share their culture with the Jupiter community. Five individuals (41.6 percent) believed the Fiesta Maya is a celebration of migrant tradition and culture. Two of these five included that the Fiesta Maya meant a time for heritage transmission. One person generalized the significance of the celebration to include Guatemalan culture, not Jakaltek or Maya culture. One other respondent added that in addition to a celebration of migrant culture, the Fiesta Maya also signified an acceptance of migrants by the Jupiter community and offered a social outlet and networking opportunities. One person (8.3 percent) said the Fiesta Maya was significant to migrants because of the deer dance.
These non-migrant responses presented the following themes regarding Fiesta Maya significance to migrants: memory, cultural exchange, migrant tradition and culture, migrant acceptance by Jupiter community and a demarcated space and time for a social outlet and networking opportunity for migrants. One respondent specifically identified the deer dance as the main significance of the Fiesta Maya to migrants.

Table 5.14 Fiesta Maya Significance to Migrants According to Non-Migrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Celebration and/or acceptance of migrant tradition and culture; cultural transmission</td>
<td>5 (41.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connect with home (memory)</td>
<td>3 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dance of deer</td>
<td>1 (8.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer</td>
<td>3 (25%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The survey also asked non-migrants to express what they believed the Fiesta Maya meant to them. Five individuals (41.6 percent) focused on the importance of cultural interaction and exchange. Two individuals (16.6 percent) expressed that the Fiesta Maya was a way to remember culture and traditions similar to their own that made them feel at home. Two individuals (16.6 percent) emphasized the importance of the Fiesta Maya to help migrant integration into the Jupiter community to blur the boundaries between “us and them.” Finally, three individuals (25 percent) expressed the importance of giving back to the community (both migrant and non-migrant community in Jupiter) by allowing migrant culture to be performed and accepted, and specifically to the migrant community who is permitted to celebrate their individuality away from home.
With 41.6 percent claiming cultural interaction and exchange as the primary significance of the Fiesta Maya to them, and another 25 percent who recognize the Fiesta Maya as a means of giving back to the migrant community (by allowing freedom of cultural practice) and the non-migrant community (access to migrant culture) it is fair to say that one of the goals and expectations of non-migrant respondents is to alleviate tensions between the non-migrant Jupiter community and the migrant community by showcasing a migrant cultural identity that non-migrants can either identify with or admire for its “cultural” (folkloric) qualities.

Table 5.15 Fiesta Maya Significance to Non-Migrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural interaction and exchange</td>
<td>5 (41.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shared cultural traditions</td>
<td>2 (16.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural integration</td>
<td>2 (16.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give back to the community</td>
<td>3 (25%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At first glance, the longevity of the Fiesta Maya in Jupiter is not debated. All respondents agreed that the Fiesta Maya would continue to be celebrated in Jupiter. However, upon further reflection all non-migrant respondents identified potential obstacles. Two individuals (16.6 percent) agreed that as long as there continues to be a target audience –mainly the Guatemalan community –to celebrate their heritage, traditional rituals, and cultures the Fiesta Maya would persist. In other words, the audience completes the performance and without them there would be no point in continuing to organize the fiesta. One (8.3 percent) added that funding was also a factor while another (8.3 percent) worried that even with a target audience available, a lack or loss of nostalgia in future generations would limit the practice of the Fiesta Maya in Jupiter. Four
other individuals (33.3 percent) were certain that the Fiesta Maya would continue because it strengthens the migrant/non-migrant relationship. Whereas three respondents (20 percent) believed that support from FAU students and volunteers, combined with El Sol’s prominent role in Jupiter, and El Sol as a source of political and logistical coordination, as well as a link to migrants, ensure that the Fiesta Maya will continue. One individual (8.3 percent) felt migrants relied too much on non-migrants and needed to make a stronger attempt at organizing and coordinating the Fiesta Maya. From his position as a student organizer, the work load is heavy (coordinating and volunteering hours to make sure the day runs smoothly and that permits are received) and in his eyes more effort was needed from migrants for a celebration for migrants. From the migrants' perspective, it is unfair to assume they do not take responsibility or make an effort to help organize the fiesta. As the previous chapter noted, the Jakaltek Maya Association is heavily involved in the organization and production of the Fiesta Maya. Their role is more focused on the cultural elements of the Fiesta while non-migrant volunteers, like this respondent, are more focused on the logistics of the day.

Table 5.16 Factors Considered Regarding the Future of the Fiesta Maya by Non-Migrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Presence of target audience (Guatemalans)</td>
<td>2 (16.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funding and Target Audience</td>
<td>1 (8.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation Migrants</td>
<td>1 (8.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strengthen migrant/non-migrant relationship</td>
<td>4 (33.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Sol and FAU student/volunteer support and organization</td>
<td>3 (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Guatemalan organization/coordination</td>
<td>1 (8.3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
While all non-migrants agreed that despite obstacles the Fiesta Maya could continue to be celebrated in Jupiter, there wasn’t a consensus on the importance of the Fiesta Maya in Jupiter. Four individuals (33.3 percent) believed the Fiesta Maya offers a safe setting or environment for community gathering/unity and public performance of shared culture. Four (33.3 percent) said the Fiesta Maya was important for migrant cultural practices that help migrants remember home, recreate home, or to transmit Jakaltek culture to their children. Two individuals (16.6 percent) could not offer an answer. One non-migrant (8.3 percent) believed the Fiesta Maya was important for migrant unity. Finally, only one individual (8.3 percent) said the Fiesta Maya was not important because Jupiter is made up primarily of retirees that are not invested in the Fiesta Maya.

Table 5.17 Fiesta Importance in Jupiter According to Non-Migrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>safe setting/environment</td>
<td>4 (33.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural practice of migrants</td>
<td>4 (33.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant Unity</td>
<td>1 (8.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not important</td>
<td>1 (8.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>2 (16.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**COMPARISON AND ANALYSIS**

Survey responses suggest that the Fiesta Maya is a place for Guatemalan immigrants to temporarily experience their culture and publicly share with the larger community who they are. Linked to the socially and politically driven El Sol, FAU (students and staff), and Corn Maya
Inc. amid immigration tensions nationwide, the Fiesta Maya is politicized. Comparison and analysis of migrant and non-migrant responses complicate the political action intended by the Fiesta Maya.

As organizers and key promoters of a public cultural performance, FAU, the Corn Maya Club, and Corn Maya Inc. promote an intellectual movement that places Jakaltek culture at the forefront of an immigration politics that has directly placed immigrants in Jupiter under attack. Corn Maya Inc. members include refugee and economic migrants. The majority are Jakaltek and at least half of them speak Popti’. Many members have college or university training/education and most have at least a high school degree. With the, albeit slow, transnationalization of the Pan-Maya movement in Guatemala (Fischer and Brown 1996, Foxen 2007, Bastos and Brett 2010), Maya intellectual agendas resonate with members of Corn Maya Inc. A movement based on the revitalization of Maya ethnic markers combined with an increased criminalization of immigrants in the USA opened up the possibility for a pan-ethnic cultural performance by indigenous migrants and migrant supporters. As students and followers of Timothy Steigenga, students in the Corn Maya Club reinforce the practices and politics they learn in class. Timothy Steigenga himself has been a key figure in promoting migrant rights and has followed and written about Jakaltek religion, identity, and migrant mobilization. He writes,

The immigrant community in Jupiter first began to organize itself around cultural and religious concerns. In 2001 representatives of the Jakaltek Association in Jupiter solicited meetings with representatives from the local university in order to discuss a cultural exchange event on campus. In the process of talking about potential events, the possibility of having some marimba music, traditional dancing, parade, and a soccer match between students and the migrants emerged. The leaders of the Jakaltek community soon began planning the celebration of the fiesta for the Virgin of Candelaria, the patroness of the town of Jakaltenango. They organized committees to be in charge of the various aspects of the fiesta—the flowers, the deer dancers, the music, the food. Soon the Jakaltek community was meeting weekly to organize the fiesta. Later that year, more than seven hundred people attended the fiesta celebration in the newly minted Abacoa community, an upscale and predominantly white planned community that houses the campus of Florida Atlantic
University. The large event illustrated the Jakaltek community’s mobilization….The Jakaltek community forged strong bonds of solidarity while planning the fiesta. As this community worked with the local university and some town authorities to organize events, important alliances began to develop as well (2011: 212-213).

Whereas he analyses Jakaltek migrant mobilization through the church and the development of El Sol, reinstatement of Corn Maya Inc, and the practice of the Fiesta Maya, intellectuals like Timothy Steigenga and Corn Maya leaders promote migrant politics from a place of power – from above.

In this sense, the Fiesta Maya in Jupiter is an example of a folklorization of religion and culture by academically motivated non-migrants and Maya intellectuals intended to politicize ethnic migrants amid immigration politics in the USA, and specifically to respond to heated confrontation by anti-immigrant protestors in Jupiter. However, the data as a whole shows that the practice of the Fiesta Maya as a politicized cultural performance is complicated. Other motivations for participating in the Fiesta Maya reveal alternative politics of the Fiesta Maya. First, the majority of non-migrant participants were involved in the organization of the Fiesta Maya in some capacity. Only two individuals did not claim to have been involved in the logistics of the Fiesta Maya. In contrast, the majority of migrant participants were present at the Fiesta Maya as part of the audience. Only two individuals said they were involved in organizing the Fiesta Maya, while one individual participated as a dancer in the deer dance. Their roles in the Fiesta Maya influenced how they viewed the Fiesta Maya.
Table 5.18 Migrant and Non Migrant Fiesta Maya Participation by Role

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent</th>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Audience</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>did not participate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Migrant</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Migrant</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NB. Total number of participants does not correspond with total surveys taken because some respondents reported more than one role in the Fiesta Maya.

Tables 5.5 and 5.7 show why migrants and non-migrants participate in the Fiesta Maya. Together table 5.19 presents key themes that emerge. First, the majority of migrants (46.6 percent) and non-migrants (58.3 percent) participate for reasons that relate directly to the individual. They seek personally to learn or grow from the cultural experience, to remember home, if they can find transportation, or if they personally are not deported. Second, the Fiesta Maya is a platform for both groups to create a sense of solidarity. Migrants (13.3 percent) seek to unite or build community among Maya migrants or Guatemalan migrants. One Jakaltek migrant explained that in 2008 he did not participate because of differences in performance vision. Some Corn Maya Inc. members—he did not specify if they were Maya or not—wanted more culture, such as Mexican dance and mariachi music, and less Maya elements. He helped to organize the Fiesta Maya but, citing vision differences, he did not attend the Fiesta Maya that year. He explained, “The Fiesta Maya is not to have a party and for people to go and have a good time and listen to music; it is for us to present our culture; what we are.” Although he misses Jakaltek culture, and regrets its loss of language, symbolic culture such as *bebida*, and weaving, in the context of Jupiter and the predominantly Guatemalan Maya immigrants, he desires inclusivity in the form of a Pan-Maya cultural performance, which does not include Mexican or a broader
Latino image. He is a member of Corn Maya Inc., and a middle class university educated individual who is phenotypically more Ladino than Maya, and speaks limited Popti’.

In contrast, a migrant from Santa Ana Huista, only miles from Jakaltenango, explained that he participated because “we need to expand and increase participation. If we remain isolated we don’t have a good relationship with our fellow countrymen and we are stressed. We separate ourselves from the community.” In other words, as a non-Jakaltek knowledgeable about the Fiesta de Candelaria in Jakaltenango, he seeks solidarity among the more inclusive Guatemalan migrant community. Non-migrants (14.8 percent), on the other hand, seek to support and establish solidarity among all migrants in Jupiter and the politically organized El Sol and FAU. And third, migrants do not participate when they are free to go home for the “real” thing (documented Jakalteks) or because they prefer to work. Non-migrants participate if they are connected to the Fiesta Maya network either through FAU or El Sol, which indicates that Fiesta Maya participation, while open to the public, is limited to an in-network.

Table 5.19 Migrant and Non-Migrant Reasons for Participating in Fiesta Maya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons Participating</th>
<th>Migrant</th>
<th>Non-Migrant</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal (logistics, memory, cultural experience, immigration status)</td>
<td>7 (46.6%)</td>
<td>7 (58.3%)</td>
<td>14 (51.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For others (support El Sol, FAU, migrants)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4 (33.3%)</td>
<td>4 (14.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unity (Maya, community, migrant)</td>
<td>2 (13.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (7.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not participate</td>
<td>6 (40%)</td>
<td>1 (8.3%)</td>
<td>7 (25.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the reasons given for participation, non-migrants were also asked what the Fiesta Maya meant to them (table 5.14) and what they believed the Fiesta Maya meant to
migrants (table 5.13). According to non-migrants the Fiesta Maya allows them to “give back to the community,” share in the culture of the people they study, remember their own traditions, and facilitate migrant integration into the community. On the other hand, non-migrants believed the Fiesta Maya was important to migrants because it allows them to celebrate their cultural traditions (such as the deer dance), remember home, or transmit their culture to their children. More importantly, table 5.20 shows that 75 percent of non-migrants believed that the Fiesta Maya is important to migrants because it is an opportunity to practice their culture. Two non-migrants added that in addition to celebrating their culture and remembering home, the Fiesta Maya is also important to migrants so that they can share their culture with the Jupiter community. Three non-migrants (25 percent) could not explain what the Fiesta Maya meant to migrants. In terms of their perceptions of what the Fiesta Maya meant to them, only 16.6 percent of non-migrants saw the Fiesta Maya as a shared cultural practice. The other 83.2 percent felt the Fiesta Maya allowed them to facilitate communication and do something for either the migrant or larger Jupiter community. Non-migrants interpret the Fiesta Maya to be the cultural practice of migrants, whereas for themselves, they see the Fiesta Maya as a pedagogical and altruistic cultural event.

Table 5.20 Fiesta Significance According to Non-Migrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning of Fiesta Maya</th>
<th>Migrant</th>
<th>Non-Migrant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural celebration, transmission, memory</td>
<td>9 (75%)</td>
<td>2 (16.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural sharing, exchange, learning</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5 (41.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural integration</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (16.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give back to the community (Jupiter, migrant)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>3 (25%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
An overview of why the Fiesta Maya exists found similar results. When migrants were asked why the Fiesta Maya exists they answered why the Fiesta Maya became a cultural event in Jupiter. The majority expressed a connection between the Fiesta Maya and ethnic identity (60 percent) referring to the large Jakaltek population in Jupiter and the practice of their cultural tradition. Jakalteks specified that the cultural tradition (event) belonged to Jakalteks. For example, they explained, the Fiesta Maya exists “to not forget our tradition, this way we feel happy,” and “it is costumbre they bring from over there” or “the people try to re-live the tradition of Jakal.” Non-Jakaltek migrants agreed, saying, “to continue the same traditions of Guatemala. It is costumbre that one has and can’t forget,” and “to commemorate the Virgin de la Concepción” or “it translates from the Virgin Maria. It becomes a tradition and fiesta.”23 Other non-Jakaltek migrants also recognized the relationship between the Fiesta Maya and Jakaltek tradition even if they did not know the name of the patroness or specify the town and its people. Three migrants (20 percent) saw the Fiesta Maya as a political performance presented by migrants of their culture to “America”. Two were Jakaltek and one was non-Jakaltek. They explained, “because the majority want their part –to show our culture to the Americans, and maybe they’ll visit our countries by showing them our culture,” and “to show the culture from Jakal.” One migrant, a member of Corn Maya, detailed the role of Corn Maya in the development of the Fiesta Maya. He clarified the role of a cultural performance for others and not just to each other. He said,

Corn Maya tried to show American society, to the local society, the existence of people, as human beings, common, normal, who also have cultural heritage. Just like they have their cultural heritage here, we also have our own. The only thing is that we haven’t presented it. So, they don’t know us. Sometimes there isn’t acceptance because they think we are only

23 I understood that they meant the Virgin of Candelaria due to context of the surveys and related questions and answers given by respondents.
here for work. Maybe there are people here with bad records from a city that have come here, and so that was part of the Fiesta Maya initiative; to show the local society that we are people, that we have feelings, that we have culture, that we have traditions and show them so that they can see it: that is who we are. That was the idea: To show.

Three migrants did not answer why they believed that the Fiesta Maya exists (was organized) in Jupiter. This goes to show that Fiesta Maya participants do not have to follow an ascribed rhetoric to participate, which complicates the significance of the Fiesta Maya and also problematizes a singular understanding of migrant identity said to be performed at the Fiesta Maya.

Non-migrants agreed with the migrant majority: The Fiesta Maya is performed for the migrant community (Guatemalans, Jakalteks, El Sol), for the religious practice of Jakalteks and Guatemalans, or religious celebration of Jakaltek or Maya culture; this suggest that non-migrants also see a relationship between the Fiesta Maya and the significant Guatemalan and Jakaltek migrant population living in Jupiter. Their answers, however, also demonstrate a blurring of migrant identity. While some non-migrants connected the Fiesta Maya directly to Jakaltenango, others generalized the cultural practice to Guatemalan migrants –which either reinforces the pan-Maya goals of Corn Maya Inc. or speaks to an immigration discourse that lumps all migrants into one single ethnic category, ignoring migrant cultural diversity.

Table 5.21 Why the Fiesta Maya Exists in Jupiter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Migrant</th>
<th>Non-Migrant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural or religious tradition, costumbre</td>
<td>9 (60%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community (El Sol, Jakaltek, migrant)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrate, Share, display culture</td>
<td>3 (20%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>3 (20%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Comparison of migrant and non-migrant answers regarding the importance of the Fiesta Maya to Jupiter find one group (migrants) heavily emphasizing migrant unity through shared culture and cultural memory and the other (non-migrants) focused on the safe practice of culture amid immigration fears. Jakaltek migrants were very specific regarding the importance of culture, tradition, costumbre, and hometown to the Fiesta Maya. Non-Jakaltek migrants emphasized pan-Latinidad and Hispanic unity. All migrants discussed Jupiter in terms of the migrant population living in Jupiter. In other words, they understood the migrant community to be a significant and important part of Jupiter. By contrast, the majority of non-migrants defined Jupiter in terms of the non-migrant population residing in Jupiter. As one respondent explained, the Fiesta Maya is not important to Jupiter because “the people who live in Jupiter are privileged and retired. I would like it to be important.” While nine non-migrants (75 percent) felt the Fiesta Maya permitted migrants to practice their cultural heritage in the predominantly non-migrant Jupiter community, four of them (33.3 percent) were also concerned with the safe public practice of migrant culture for one day in a setting clear of the immigration threats presented daily at El Sol by anti-immigrant protesters. As the following respondents expressed, “[it] helps maintain a dual role of Guatemala and USA –practice their heritage for one day in a place that doesn’t always support it. It creates a safe place to be Guatemalan for one day.” And, “the Fiesta is important because of the dance of the deer. The ceremony centers on the dance. Also for curiosity and a way to be around others like them and [not] feel threatened. The only other place they congregate is in church or at soccer.” Non-migrants discuss the practice of migrant culture in relationship to Jupiter as a host to migrants, who, for one day a year, are allowed to celebrate their culture and identity.
Table 5.22 Fiesta Importance to Jupiter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Migrant</th>
<th>Non-Migrant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Migrant culture, tradition, memory</td>
<td>8 (53.3%)</td>
<td>4 (33.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural exchange and unity</td>
<td>6 (40%)</td>
<td>1 (8.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safe zone for migrants</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4 (33.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not important</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (8.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>1 (6.6%)</td>
<td>2 (16.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, results from surveys show that migrants and non-migrants agree that the Fiesta Maya will continue to be performed in the future but not without certain key factors: a target audience, logistical coordination and funding, and until racial and immigration climates become tolerable. The majority of migrants (53.3 percent) believed the Fiesta Maya would continue as long as the targeted participants (Guatemalans, migrants, Jakalteks) are present and want to practice their culture. One migrant was especially concerned that there was a loss in interest in the Fiesta Maya. He explained,

The Fiesta exists but is limited. At some point it will become a memory. The Fiesta began strongly because there were many Jakalteks. And many had been away from home for so long and wanted to see and so that was the impact at the first Fiesta, the second, the third, and then by the fourth some started to move away from it. They would only arrive for the baile regional. There were many Jakalteks that began with the initial Fiesta whose time arrived. They returned and we could not longer count on them. And others are arriving, but they are not really coming anymore.

Only 25 percent of non-migrants believed the target audience was the main reason the Fiesta Maya could continue in the future. Both groups were concerned with the logistical organization and funding of the Fiesta Maya. Five migrants (33.3 percent) were concerned that even with a target audience to celebrate the Fiesta Maya, people (Jakalteks) had to be willing to organize and coordinate the Fiesta Maya, and that city by-laws limit the growth of the Fiesta Maya. For
instance, one migrant said, “Yes, as long as there are people that support and make it happen.” Another said, “Yes, but it depends on how big the Jakaltek and organizing community is/becomes.” Non-migrants (41.6 percent) expressed greater concern that without El Sol and FAU support and coordination, the Fiesta Maya is limited in the future. They expressed that even with a large Guatemalan or Jakaltek population, organization of the Fiesta Maya is important and Guatemalans have to learn to organize the Fiesta Maya for themselves. As one non-migrant explained, the Fiesta Maya can continue in the future “if someone coordinates it for them. [We] need more Guatemalans to coordinate it, not just interns or Dr. Steigenga.” Another non-migrant added, “Politically it depends on El Sol operation. They need a base to draw the community and plus students, and university cooperation. Quite a few contribute and they need all of them.”

Both migrants and non-migrants also expressed concern over immigration and racial tensions in Jupiter and the USA. Migrant responses (20 percent) ranged from immigration status of migrants (if they are still present in the USA), racial discrimination (if the blonde hairs don’t pressure them), and immigration policy (we are not here legally, there is no guarantee. Non-migrants (33.3 percent) offered a more positive outlook on the relationship between the Fiesta Maya and immigration and racial politics. They saw the Fiesta Maya as an “…opportunity for positive dialogue…”, because it offers knowledge to the Guatemalan community and FAU, to increase Anglo presence, and because “migrants are part of the community and we are more open to this.”

In other words, most migrants believe the presence of migrants (Jakaltek, Guatemalan, Hispanic) in Jupiter is key to the future of the Fiesta Maya. They were partially concerned about the logistics of organizing such an event, and were less concerned about immigration and racial politics. Non-migrants, on the other hand, believed non-migrants were key to the survival of the Fiesta Maya –without non-migrants the migrant (Guatemalan) community would not only lose
its tie to migrant supporters (and funding) but also access to a public celebration of their culture. No one considers the possibility that migrants, specifically Guatemalans or Jakaltek, could take sole responsibility for coordinating and performing their cultural identity to Jupiter’s migrant and non-migrant residents. While non-migrants recognized the importance of migrant presence in Jupiter, racial and immigration politics proved to be a stronger reason for performing migrant culture, versus simply to celebrate migrant culture. Thus, non-migrants add another layer of significance to the Fiesta Maya that extends beyond a cultural celebration by migrants to a politically charged event that brings ethnic groups together.

Table 5.23 Future Continuation of Fiesta Maya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors Considered</th>
<th>Migrant</th>
<th>Non-Migrant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Target Audience</td>
<td>8 (53.3%)</td>
<td>3 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logistics and Funding</td>
<td>5 (33.3%)</td>
<td>5 (41.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial and Immigration Politics</td>
<td>2 (13.3%)</td>
<td>4 (33.3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**DISCUSSION**

The Fiesta Maya was created as a result of the development of El Sol and reinstatement of Corn Maya Inc. with the support of FAU to represent the culture of Jupiter’s immigrants. Despite claiming pan-Mayanism, pan-Hispanism, pan-Latinidad, cultural bridging, and religious neutrality, the Fiesta Maya was and is understood to belong to Catholic Jakaltek. Throughout their answers migrants and non-migrants made references to unity and cultural exchange between a generalized migrant population and the Jupiter community. Nevertheless, at the heart of the Fiesta Maya celebration is the Virgin of Candelaria, whose image is carried from the
entrance of FAU campus to the open field prepared for the festivities, the flower procession, the deer dance, and the marimba music—all claimed by Jakalteks. Other cultural and music groups perform at the Fiesta Maya but change occasionally, if not annually. With such strong ties to the Jakaltek culture and community it is difficult to generalize the Fiesta Maya as a Latino migrant cultural performance.

Lagos (1993:65) suggests that ritual events like fiestas can be studied as a contested domain in which the key focus is on “shared concepts, symbols, or values whose meanings themselves are contested”. Like the pachangas Dorsey (2006) studied, the Fiesta Maya, an event borrowed from the fiesta traditions of Jakaltenango, presents shared concepts, symbols, and values in a public cultural performance but their meanings differ depending on the performer or fiesta participant. Among Jakaltek migrants the Fiesta Maya is an opportunity to (re)create and remember home, reaffirm ethnic community, and establish a sense of belonging in a place that vehemently rejects them. As a Jakaltek cultural practice, the Fiesta Maya further helps Jakalteks to ethnically separate themselves from other Maya migrants, in particular Maya groups from the surrounding towns in the Cuchumatanes in Guatemala. As a minority in comparison to Jakaltek migrants in Jupiter, and outsiders to the Jakaltek migrant network, non-Jakaltek migrants predominantly participate in the Fiesta Maya to establish pan-Latino or Hispanic solidarity that also contests their rejection by American society. Finally, for non-migrants the Fiesta Maya and its cultural symbols represent an opportunity to be selfless and establish solidarity with migrants to challenge current immigration politics. By showing the “human” side of migrants through colorful traditional cultures the Fiesta Maya seeks to alleviate immigration discourse that demonizes immigrants.
The naming of the Fiesta itself is a point of contention that separated Jakalteks from other Maya ethnic groups and non-Catholics. Although religion and ethnic specificity were omitted, the Fiesta Maya is a cultural event recognized as a celebration of the Virgin of Candelaria, patroness of Jakaltenango, not just because of specific cultural conventions, but also because the celebration coincides with the same period as the Fiesta de Candelaria in Jakaltenango. The Fiesta Maya is meant to be a cultural exchange between Jupiter residents and its migrant population. It is organized to represent Latino, Hispanic, Maya, migrant culture, but the details, experiences, and movement all speak specifically to a Jakaltek audience. Efforts to neutralize (politically and religiously) this event, however, are not without success. A number of non-Jakalteks participate (both within the migrant and non-migrant population). Furthermore, in the eyes of the untrained or ill-informed non-migrant (Anglo) viewer, the Fiesta Maya is migrant culture and it is a positive image in contrast to what appears in the public media and news.
CHAPTER 6: EVERYDAY LIFE IN JUPITER

With an increase in Jakaltek migrants in Jupiter, economic and social remittances returning to Jakaltenango have also increased, and these in turn have raised the housing development and the economy in Jakaltenango (Marquardt et al. 2011: 85-93). As a direct consequence of this economic boom and rising standards of living, migrants now have to work harder to reach family goals or maintain the lifestyles of their families back home. Migrants can be frequently heard detailing how much more they need to work so that they can have everything they set out for before they can return home. Unfortunately, it is often the case that these migrants find that they have fallen short of their goals upon their return to Jakaltenango (i.e., debts that funded their travel to the USA limit the economic mobility of their families), that they have new goals, or that they have difficulty adapting to life back home. The economy in Jakaltenango is now skewed, with much of the housing development reaching a peak, and with the economic downturn worldwide, migrants do not know what to do when they return home. Small businesses have difficulties surviving, farming is disappearing, coffee agriculture is challenged by world free trade agreements, and traditional family units are being challenged. Anthropological studies on the impact of remittances have found similar results ranging from shifting housing markets, to marriage markets, and fertility and local systems of stratification (Brettell 1986), gender roles (Grimes 1998), local employment structures (Cohen 2004), and local politics and national homeland politics (Karen Richman 2008; Glick Schiller and Fouron 2001).

In addition to the stressors of shifting family economic goals, migrants in Jupiter must also contend with everyday life in the USA as undocumented immigrants. To varying degrees their daily lives include economic and cultural struggles, immigration fears, integration and
assimilation discourse, adaptation, and threats to their identity. Throughout these struggles, migrants experience a form of “ethnic belonging” (Vega 2012). Borrowing from Renato Rosaldo’s idea of cultural citizenship, which claims “the right to be different and to belong in a participatory democratic sense” (1994:402), Vega develops the concept of ethnic belonging, which refers to how one seeks to establish the right to belong despite one’s ethnicity or immigration status. To experience ethnic belonging, Vega argues, requires one to “maintain ethnic bicultural transnational bonds elsewhere” and assert “legitimacy and belonging to the United States national imaginary” (2012: 198). Whereas Vega describes ethnic solidarity rooted in a migrant experience that resists a dominant discourse of exclusion and assimilation that impacts community activism, I adapt the concept to discuss a politics of ethnic belonging used by Jakalteks as a means of surviving or belonging to survive. By asserting their ethnic difference in Jupiter, Jakalteks establish their presence and create a network of solidarity that establishes a “sense of home against politicized discourse of exclusion” (198). In this chapter I discuss how Jakalteks experience daily life in Jupiter within immigration policy and policing that limit their movement and visibility. Without rights, Vega argues, migrants rely on each other and a sense of belonging they create for themselves. I argue the same is true for Jakalteks who rely on other Jakalteks within the Jakaltek community in Jupiter. Not considered public political action, Jakaltek ethnic belonging nonetheless presents subtle politics that are worth noting especially as more and more indigenous ethnic enclaves emerge in the USA (Delugan 2010). For some, ethnic belonging is a temporary experience, and for others it is their future in the USA.

The “practice of everyday life” as a form of quiet resistance outside of organized public politics (de Certeau 2011) is present in the daily enactment of Jakaltek belonging in Jupiter. Furthermore, Lila Abu-Lughod (1990) reminds us that political opposition takes shape at various
levels including lived practices that are often overlooked because they do not conform to our vision or understanding of political action. Due to institutionalized fear and a politics of exclusion, most undocumented immigrants prefer to remain outside of public political mobilization. A limited understanding of the undocumented immigrant daily experience misses the political expressions present among undocumented immigrants and risks denying them agency (Byrd 2014; Gomberg-Munoz 2010; Vega 2012). Using language, dress, food, and social behavior Jakalteks reaffirm their ethnic belonging: at work (maintenance, service industry, construction, lawn care and housekeeping positions), at home, in their social interactions (such as multi-function general stores and meat markets, soccer leagues, rites of passage and other special celebrations), and in their religious life (church and saint celebrations).

A constant presence and practice of the familiar helps immigrants both to remember home and to establish permanence or belonging in the USA, as I will show with Jakalteks in Jupiter. Jakaltek immigrants seek to be accepted without losing their transnational connections and ethnic identity. Consequently, Jakaltek integration into American society is limited due to a cultural and ethnic identity that is strongly rooted in place. Regardless of whether undocumented migrants were legally accepted or improved their socioeconomic conditions, their ties to their “home” ultimately affect how they belong and challenge national attempts for integration or assimilation (Castañeda 2006; Ramos-Zayas 2006; Vega 2012). Additionally, first generation adult Jakalteks, despite time and level of integration in the USA, make strategic choices to build a better life for their children (whether in the USA or back home) and their inevitable return to Jakaltenango.
To adequately understand the notion of home among migrants, especially undocumented migrants, we must consider their current living experiences. Home may not only be (re)constructed in their new city of residence (i.e., Little Italy) but also in the conceptualization of what home means to them. Home can take on a dual meaning: both a place of birth or childhood and a new place of residence in the USA. This is particularly complicated for first generation migrants with second-generation children or 1.5 generation migrants (Gonzalez and Chavez 2012). Thus, rather than use the terms “sending” or “receiving community”, I use the term “home”. As Jakaltek migrants establish themselves within the Jakaltek community in Jupiter, (re)creating a sense of home, they nonetheless continue to look back to their birth home, where they grew up and to which they dream of returning. Everyday life in Jupiter involves the reproduction of the mundane practice of the familiar—the way things are done at home, or as many describe, “costumbre” (how we do things). Re-creation of the familiar serves temporary and long-term Jakaltek migrants. For temporary migrants it eases the transition to an unfamiliar place and practice. Through established immigrant networks and a familiar Jakaltek community, arriving Jakaltek migrants feel reassured and a sense of belonging following an automatic marginalization from American society that renders them “illegal”, “alien”, or “unwanted” (Gonzalez and Chavez 2012). For long-term migrants, a familiar community in their new home allows their former selves to coexist with their new immigrant selves. Willing and able to learn the ways of their new home, long-term undocumented migrants must still live in fear. Engaged in a practice of ethnic belonging, Jakaltek migrants reject their “abjectification” or expulsion—public rejection or exclusion despite reliance on migrant labor—from society (Gonzalez and Chavez 2012) and turn to a the Jakaltek community in Jupiter to reaffirm their identity and their purpose in the USA.
WORKING IN JUPITER

Outside of the labor program at El Sol that matches the skills of day laborers with employers, the leading occupation for independently employed migrants in Jupiter is landscaping. During one of my visits to Jakaltenango I listened to Karen talk about her yard and the intentional placement of stones and foliage. She said her husband specialized in landscaping in Jupiter and that during his time back home he fixed it for her and that they even had special grass that he had grown. It wasn’t like the grass you found in Jakaltenango and it was harder to maintain. Her husband, Luis, has been living in Jupiter for almost twenty years. Since his arrival, Luis has climbed the landscaping hierarchy and is now manager of the landscaping company he works for. He enjoys an annual paid vacation during which he travels to Jakaltenango to visit his wife and three children. As a lawful permanent resident he travels freely to Guatemala from the USA.

Unlike undocumented migrants who lack freedom of movement in a hostile anti-immigrant environment, established, documented migrants are free to reaffirm their social and economic status back home and in their new home (Gonalez and Chavez 2012; Basch et al. 1994; Paerregaard 2014). Having established himself in the landscaping business and obtained documented status (based on immigration reform that recognized his ten year consecutive presence in the country) in the USA, Luis is a key figure in the Jakaltek migrant network. He shares a home with up to 6 other migrants and often provides work placement within the company he works for. Edwin, a young undocumented migrant, not only was economically indebted to Luis for paying his smugglers to bring him to the USA, he also lived with Luis and found work with Luis when he first arrived to Jupiter. As immigration laws grow stricter,
migrants like Luis experience greater social status in Jupiter and Jakaltenango, with fewer migrants able to attain documented status.

The demographics within the Jakaltek community have been dominated by young males. However, women (some accompanied by their children) are now balancing the Jakaltek community in Jupiter. In contrast to traditional gender roles dominant in Jakaltek households, migrant men have had to pick up daily responsibilities in Jupiter. Meal preparations, cleaning, laundry, grocery shopping, and other traditionally female responsibilities have fallen to individual migrants. Mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters have not been there to “take care” of their sons, husbands, fathers, and/or brothers. As women have increased their presence among the migrant community some men have been relieved of such duties by their female family member(s), others continue to take care of themselves, while others rely on food and beverage services now offered for purchase by these new migrant women. Men, and also some families, enjoy buying prepared foods native to their home. Some men prefer to buy prepared Jakaltek food during their lunch period instead of buying food at Burger King or other American fast food. Others buy prepared foods for dinner or for the weekend.

Two of the most typical Jakaltek foods prepared by migrant women are tamales and bebida. Tamales can range in style and taste across Latin America. In Mexico they are traditionally cooked in cornhusks; in Central and South America most are cooked inside banana leaves. The filling can include a variety of meat (pork, chicken, beef, etc.) or vegetables (beans, potato, olives, etc.) and flowers (squash and yucca flowers). Even in Jakaltenango and among Jakaltek families tamales can range in flavor. At Christmas families will make tamales and share them among each other, competing for the best tamales.
Bebida is made of freshly ground cornmeal that is rolled into a fist size ball and then coated with toasted ground cacao. It is a special beverage unique to the Cuchumatán region.\textsuperscript{24} Traditionally, farm workers carry the bebida, usually a simpler version without cacao, to the fields with boiled water and mix the two in their gourds for breakfast and lunch. Easy to transport, filling, and consisting of two classic Maya elements\textsuperscript{25} (maize and cacao), bebida is a strong part of Jakalteck nutrition and identity.

Politically, bebida is used by Jakalteck individuals and families to bind each other symbolically.\textsuperscript{26} In a rite of passage (baptism, birthday, marriage, etc.) the family hosting the event will present the god-parent or sponsor-to-be with a ball of bebida. If the individual accepts the bebida he or she enters into a symbolic relationship. Obligations often include economic contributions for hosting or celebrating the event and spiritual responsibility in religious rites of passage. Bebida is also offered to bind an individual to social and economic obligations for a

\textsuperscript{24} In the Mam region cinnamon is added. I once tried to describe to our Kaqchikel host family in San Antonio Aguas Calientes, outside of Antigua, Guatemala, how bebida is made, what it tastes like, when it is used and its symbolic political power. My host family understood the concept but had no idea what I was talking about.

\textsuperscript{25} Most Jakaltecks recognize the importance of maize and cacao to their Maya history and identity despite the restricted use of cacao to elites (McNeil 2006).

\textsuperscript{26} Even small events can become an opportunity to create kinship agreements between neighbors. In Jakaltenango, Juana, a devout Catholic, took the opportunity to symbolically bind her young neighbors into a fictive kin relationship when she offered them bebida in exchange for their support as godparents to her new baby Jesus figure that was to be blessed and placed on her house altar. They accepted and in doing so accepted responsibility for her baby Jesus and also to Juana and her husband who, in their late 70s, lived alone without family nearby to care for them as they aged. They referred to each as compadre/comadre (co-parent) throughout their relationship until Juana and her husband passed away. In Jupiter, Jakalteks continue to use rites of passage to create a fictive kin relationship with their friends and neighbors.
religious obligation, such as *cofradía* participation, and large organized community activities that require large amounts of manual labor or money.

In Jupiter, Jakalteks continue to use rites of passage to create a fictive kin relationship with their friends and neighbors. The practice of using *bebida* to initiate a relationship in Jupiter, however, is uncertain. I asked a few individuals if *bebida* continued to be used in this way but they could not answer. Perhaps due to its limited availability or lack of cultural transfer, *bebida* appears to be losing its ceremonial and political significance in Jupiter.

As a special treat for my family Juan ordered Jakaltek tamales and *bebida*. The tamales from Juan were authentically Jakaltek tamales in preparation and flavor. And the *bebida* was so good my mother bought ten to take back to Canada but by the time she had to return to Canada she did not have any *bebida* left to share. Other foods typical of Jakaltenango are also prepared and sold by women. Food sales were especially good during the 2010 World Cup, when many men stayed home to watch the games. Among members of the Jakaltek community, or migrants living with Jakaltek migrants, knowledge about food sales is privileged. It is another benefit of the Jakaltek migrant network. There are specific days and times when food sales are made. For special orders, a direct link to the women preparing foods is required. Deeply rooted in the Jakaltek migrant community in Jupiter, Juan knew whom to call and helped arrange for a special delivery of tamales and *bebida* since I had missed the previous day of sales.

Women work primarily in residential housekeeping while men dominate the service industry. These work opportunities are available in town and the surrounding towns and county. The town of Jupiter, including Jupiter Island (a barrier island on the coast of Martin and Palm Beach counties that is bound on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, on the north by the St. Lucie Inlet, on the west by the Indian River, and on the south by the Jupiter Inlet), is within miles of
the town of Jupiter Island, located in Martin County. The town of Jupiter Island has the highest income per capita town in the USA. Together with Palm Beach County and Jupiter Island, the town of Jupiter offers a number of private homes that seek domestic help inside the home. In the service industry men fill server, busboy, prep cook, and chef positions in various restaurants throughout Jupiter. One evening my husband and I took our son to a hibachi restaurant hoping that the cooking performance would entertain my son long enough for us to enjoy a meal outside of our home. To our surprise our waiter and cook was from Jakaltenango. He was equally surprised to find out I was born in Jakaltenango and was initially hesitant to speak with my Spanish-speaking Anglo husband and me. After we discussed what area of Jakaltenango we were each from and who we knew in common, he relaxed. I asked him about his work and how he became a waiter and cook at Sala Thai restaurant. He explained that he began working in lawn maintenance and then turned to the service industry. Like Luis, he ascended the workplace hierarchy. He began working in the back as a dishwasher and worked his way up to cook. Since he had also studied some English he was also able to work in the front of the restaurant as a waiter. He worked among Thai and Jakaltek workers.

Remittances are now known to impact not only the economic development of home communities, but also the social, ideological and political practice of the locals (Brettell 1986; 2008; Burrell 2005; Cohen 2004; Grimes 1998; Glick Schiller and Fouron 2001; Paerregaard 2010; Richman 2008). Remittances were originally used to build a better life by contributing to, if not covering all, costs of living and to build or improve the family home. It is not unusual to find that homes have taken architectural cues from the places migrants live in abroad – South Florida concrete homes with large windows in Jakaltenango or casas franceses in Portugal with all of the amenities of the suburban homes in France (Brettell 2007). Like the landscaping that is
becoming visible outside of “American-style” homes throughout Jakaltenango, restaurants owned and operated by men are also changing the landscape of Jakaltenango. Along with restaurants in Jakaltenango that specialize in traditional Jakalteco or Mexican dishes, Jakaltecos can now also enjoy non-traditional dishes such as Chinese food.

Commercial and entrepreneurial dynamics, however, have not had a strong impact on gendered roles in the home. New cooking skills for men have been slow to translate into the home both in Jakaltenango and in Jupiter. Women continue to be the primary caregivers, housekeepers, and cooks. Even as migrant women must adapt to different expectations in their new home (for example, contributing economically to the household by working outside of the home), they must also maintain their traditionally assigned social and cultural gender roles. As one man commented, “here women aren’t the same as the ones in Jakaltenango; when they come here they want to behave differently since here they work…[O]thers are worse: they want to go to dances and some actually drink! Here if they have a bad friend they become bad too. But there are others who, when they get to Jupiter, they find their husband right away and stay at home; they only work if they have permission and they watch the kids” (Palma et al. 2009: 64). They must adapt to the new and reproduce the old all within the confines of their homes without emotional or psychological support from foreign and physically distant sources (Palma et al. 2009).

In addition to their daily jobs, another source of income for Jakalteco migrants is Amway and Avon sales. Avon sales rely on family networks and are usually run by women, working within the scope of the female domain. Using a snowball-like technique, women sell to family members and immediate friends, who expand sales to their friends and acquaintances. Avon books are shared in relaxed social settings – often over coffee and snacks during a friendly visit.
The women are not required to leave their home to make sales, but if they do it is usually to the home of their friend or family member. Once the books are distributed, Avon orders can be collected by phone or in person. The seller makes the deliveries of the products to their family member or friend, who then distributes to their friends. Payment of the products follows the same process. Some women use their profits to contribute to family expenses; others apply their profits to buying Avon products for themselves and their family. Similar Avon selling techniques are also found in Jakaltenango.

Amway also relies on family networks for sales but also includes door-to-door sales primarily by men. During my first visit to Jupiter I stayed with Edwin, a family friend, and before I could begin to settle in I found myself listening to a detailed sales pitch about the benefits of a number of Amway products. Edwin explained that in buying from him not only would I benefit from the product but he would too. In fact, if I signed up to sell Amway through him I could benefit economically as well. He showed me around his home and pointed out all of the Amway products he was already benefiting from. Products ranged from cleaning supplies to food and vitamins. He said that while some people choose to sell door to door, he preferred to sell to his family and friends. Amway is a source of income that is increasingly becoming popular among migrants. Amway promoters emphasize the potential to grow “the business” enough so that the individual can apply for a business visa, allowing them access to documented status in the USA.

One evening, when I accompanied Edwin to learn about the benefits of Amway in person, I was amazed at the number of members present at the Amway chapter meeting—most accompanied by potential Amway sales associates they had invited to this monthly meeting, like me. Almost everyone present was Latino. A huge portion of the evening presentation was
focused on the founding members of that chapter: how they came to the USA for the American dream and through hard work had established their Amway business and attained legal status through their work visa. The presentation included photos of the founding members, photos of their assets and an outline of how we, the invited guests, could achieve the same thing. Afterwards, Edwin caught me off guard as he pulled me through the crowd and led me to the front of the large group gathered around the keynote speaker. Edwin introduced me and explained that he was faithfully selling his Amway products and dutifully brought a recruit to hear the Amway message. After pleasantries, the keynote speaker quickly moved on as the crowd followed him. We mingled and Edwin caught up with his acquaintances. They all addressed each other as “campeón” (champ), encouraging each other. At one point I wondered if I was at an Amway meeting or cult recruit. The message and behavior surrounding the entire evening felt remote to me. I had difficulty connecting with their message. In fairness, I was also present as an observer with an anthropological lens. I asked Edwin if he really thought he could get legal status through Amway. He said he was not sure, but it was worth a try.

**LIVING IN FEAR**

As I prepared to go with Edwin to an Amway meeting, my husband reminded me not to forget my green card. Having recently received permanent residence in the USA, I was not accustomed to carrying this document on me at all times. It never occurred to me that I might need it. After all, I had been living in the USA since 2003 and had never run into problems regarding my immigration status. I have felt nervous going through customs every time I returned home to Canada and entered back into the USA, hoping I did not violate any immigration laws or forget to file the appropriate student visa documents. Fear based on my
ethnic phenotype had never been a concern for me. On that day, however, riding in the passenger seat of my undocumented friend’s car on I-95, where many highway patrol and border patrol officers regularly stop people to verify their immigration status, I was scared. I was scared for myself, but mostly I was scared for my friend.

As part of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA), Section 287(g) authorized local law enforcement agencies to enforce immigration law, including the detention of individuals without proof of documentation stopped at routine traffic stops and then turned over to federal immigration authorities. In North Carolina, Program 287(g) was outlined as a strategy to target criminals and fight crime, allowing hardworking, law-abiding immigrants to live without fear (Nguyen and Gill 2010). However, the pairing of Program 287(g) and state legislation that restricted services to undocumented immigrants, such as access to a driver’s license, redefined who was criminalized. “Random” checkpoints were set up and individuals were stopped for minor traffic violations and when they could not present a valid driver’s license, they could be arrested and deported.

As the laws are twisted to target law-abiding immigrants in the sweep to clean out criminals and violent offenders, Rosas (2006) aptly calls attention to the “exceptionality” present in immigration policing strategies. And yet, as human beings, immigrants find ways to control the conditions of their existence or affect their world (Rosenblatt 2004; Giddens 1993; Ortner 1997; Sewell 1992), some more successfully than others.

Edwin told me about his cousin who had been recently detained and deported. He had filed an asylum case with immigration so that he could show the DMV proof of immigration proceedings to get a driver’s license. He needed a driver’s license to work. Like North Carolina, Florida had also suspended access to services for undocumented immigrants, including eligibility
for a driver’s license. Unfortunately, Edwin’s cousin unknowingly failed to appear for his court hearing and was issued an order of deportation in absentia. As far as he understood, proof of proceedings offered him an immediate remedy to his work problem—which was his main purpose in the USA. Confident that other migrants had done the same thing, he found a way to exist despite restrictions. Unaware of the immediate consequences to his actions, he filed an asylum claim and exposed himself to immigration authorities and the court system. Regardless of his immigration claim, failure to appear at one’s scheduled hearing automatically results in a deportation order. Even if he had appeared at his hearing there was no guarantee that his asylum case would be approved. Instead, the solution to his work problem in the end terminated his American dream.

Without knowledge of the order against him, Edwin’s cousin continued to live his life among his friends, family, and coworkers until he was suddenly detained one day. A few days later he was deported to Guatemala. He made one call to his girlfriend to let her know that he was being deported and that she should pick up all of his belongings from their home before they were confiscated. Like the 1.5 generation that require state-issued identification, such as a driver’s license or social security card, to participate in youth rites of passage or social activities with their documented friends, or participate in civil society (work and vote), “attempting to acquire such identification exposes them to government practices of control, surveillance, and punishment” (Gonzalez and Chavez 2012: 262). Many others, like Edwin’s cousin, have suffered the same fate. Others continue to live in Jupiter but face other challenges and fears.

The United States federal government is assigned authority over immigration policy. Federal immigration policies address the terms and conditions for immigrant entry into the United States. Many of these immigrant policies are designed to help new legal immigrants
transition and integrate into their new lives in the United States. Individual states, on the other hand, are responsible for their own and federally required programs and services designed to help newcomers integrate into the economic, social, and civic life of their new communities. While both of these entities attempt to address issues stemming from legal immigration, undocumented migrant workers are not eligible to receive the same assistance or recognition as legal immigrants. This issue has led to the growth of informal social network assistance among migrants themselves, and, just as often, a perceived migrant “problem” in many communities. To combat this issue, some communities have tried various means to “deal” with migrants. Some have sought to purge undocumented workers from their communities, while others have actively pursued new models of integrating these individuals into their communities.

By 2006, migration by Jakaltek and other Latin Americans to Jupiter had begun to have a direct impact on both the labor market and community life. Particularly, migrants in large numbers had begun gathering in central locations to find work, specifically along Center Street, the main east-west thoroughfare through Jupiter. Migrants would linger in various locations awaiting the chance to be picked up for informal and undocumented day labor at a construction site, in landscaping, or various other manual labor jobs around the community. Many local community members had begun protesting against these day laborers. Initial irritation at their presence had begun to change into increasing fear and violence directed toward this group. The Center Street problem, as it came to be known, was taking a toll on local residents (Marquardt et al. 2011: 209-212). In 1999 and 2000, loitering and overcrowding of Jupiter’s main street had reached a peak as a public nuisance and danger in the eyes of the local community. As part of the Charter Neighborhood initiative in Jupiter, groups of locals were encouraged to organize and discuss local concerns regarding the quality of life in Jupiter. Local groups spoke directly of the
increasing immigration concerns surrounding Center Street. Locals feared their real estate values were being brought down by immigrants waiting on Center Street to be picked up by prospective employers. They feared a shift from single homes to rental units with large numbers of individuals living in the same house. To a degree, their fears were not unfounded. In some cases, single units were housing up to 27 individuals. Locals felt intimidated and feared the immigrant environment that was created by migrants who urinated on public property, got drunk in public, made noise, and left garbage. Traffic was being delayed and locals also feared the potential for accidents due to an increased volume of pedestrians and cars.

Town council meetings were dominated by complaints about local quality of life and immigration. Protesters in red shirts\textsuperscript{27} attended meetings to remind the council members that their complaints were not being heard. Finally, at the demand of the red shirt protesters, Jupiter representatives contacted immigration authorities, but after limited investigation, ICE did not consider the Center Street problem a federal concern and left Jupiter to solve their problem locally (Marquardt 2011: 211). Public outcry from migrant supporters, some dressed in blue shirts, soon became a personal concern for migrants who were targeted by protesters. Migrants had already been struggling with basic labor rights including employers who would refuse to pay them or simply would not show up on pay days; abuse from employers; and the fear of being robbed and beaten (Marquardt 2011: 78). Now, migrants were also the targets of flying trash from passing cars and public insult by protesters on Center Street.

In response to local concern and fear regarding migrant safety, Corn Maya Inc., FAU, Catholic Charities and other local supporters petitioned to establish a neighborhood resource

\footnote{I am uncertain whether the red shirts symbolized a Republican connection or whether it was coincidental.}
center in an abandoned church building adjacent to the town police station. The opposition, however, did not go quietly. Jupiter Neighbors Against Illegal Labor (JNAIL) vehemently protested the idea of a labor center. They felt it represented support for illegal activity. National opposition came from the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), who petitioned Jupiter not to open the center. However, a electoral shift in the council prepared the way for opening the center. Mayor Karen Golanka, supporter of the center, was reelected; Councilor Jim Kuretski, who finally decided to back the center, won his seat; and Robert Friedman, also a center supporter, beat Kathleen Kozinski, a vocal opponent of the center. With the additional support of several blue shirt supporters, it was decided that a migrant center would be opened to help alleviate the immigration and public safety concerns in Jupiter. After years of debate and increased threats to immigrants in Jupiter, El Sol, Jupiter’s Neighborhood Resource Center, became a reality. As a result, in 2006, El Sol formally opened its doors. El Sol relies on grants, donations, and volunteers to function. It offers the Jupiter community services to better the quality of life of all Jupiter residents. In particular, El Sol serves as a day labor center in place of the previous informal labor market on Center Street that had become the most visible manifestation of Jupiter’s immigration problem.

The collaboration between Jakaltek Maya migrants, via Corn Maya, and FAU initiated the link between migrants, El Sol, and the Jupiter community. This collaboration has not been without its detractors. Specifically, the Center has since received attention from Floridians for Immigration Enforcement (FLIMEN), a conservative anti-immigrant group who actively protested outside of El Sol every Saturday morning for multiple years (Marquardt 2011: 219-222). While they were not from Jupiter, they chose El Sol to demonstrate their opposition to Consular ID cards distributed by the mobile Guatemalan Consulate to Guatemalan migrants in
the area. In March 2010, FLIMEN gave up after several locals were appalled and outraged by their nativist and racist slant, and were compelled to support and volunteer at El Sol.

El Sol accommodates several volunteers and interns daily, including FAU students and community members. These volunteers and interns help with literacy classes, ESL classes in the mornings and in the evenings, computer literacy, sewing skills, vocational seminars, and health education workshops. They help run a food pantry that offers hot meals for breakfast and lunch. They offer legal services, though nothing directly linked to attaining permanent status. El Sol encourages migrants to give back to the community by working on projects around the city, including cleaning crews that care for public grounds. El Sol also hosts cultural events at the center such as local art events and movie nights. Above all, El Sol helps coordinate employers with migrants. Since El Sol is not an employment agency, it is not required to inquire about a worker’s immigration status. El Sol helps to negotiate a fair wage and the terms of a migrant’s employment before an agreement for employment is made. El Sol is a place where migrants can congregate comfortably and freely while they wait for work without fear. In 2011, 103 workers attended daily with a 25 percent average placement rate. As of 2015, El Sol Fourth Quarter reports found an average of 112 workers registered and a placement rate of 38 percent. While they wait they can take ESL classes, work on the computers, help volunteer at El Sol, or just hang out with their friends. It is a place where migrants come together and interact with local volunteers and migrant supporters without fear. I spent many days at El Sol volunteering and conducting surveys with migrants who appeared to be at ease learning English or playing cards while they waited to be called to work.
Jakalteks often joke that they are “ni de aqui, ni de alla” (neither from here nor from there). For some, it is a reference to the famous Mexican produced India Maria film about an indigenous Mexican woman who arrives to the United States to work illegally for a tourist family. After witnessing a murder and being pursued by these assailants, she must abandon her work and find other jobs to hide while she attempts to integrate into society. Meanwhile, she battles with the cultural norms of her home and its new cultural and linguistic expectations. Ultimately, she is unable to identify with either place as she begins to lose her native language and customs, while only somewhat adapting to her new home. Steve Striffler’s (2007) work among Mexican immigrants in Arkansas discusses the resilience of the Santo Domingo immigrant community in the USA as the original community in Mexico begins to break down, lose importance, and become abandoned. As undocumented immigrants in the USA and without a “hometown” left in Mexico, a sense of ambiguity, “neither here nor there”, creates a sense of belonging and shared identity among Santo Domingo immigrants. Ironically, the Santo Domingo immigrant community is strengthened by this ambiguity. This feeling of ambiguity is shared among most migrants in the USA. In particular, those who come from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds have difficulty adapting to their new home as they face not only language barriers, but also lack of cultural and legal acceptance.

Apart from the Fiesta Maya, Jakalteks find other ways of re-creating home. As mentioned previously, meals are prepared for sale within the Jakaltek community. Women prepare these foods and sell them door-to-door on specified days of the week, just as they do in Jakaltenango, to Jakaltek families and male migrants who cannot, prefer not to, or do not have time to prepare their own meals.
It is not just prepared meals that create community and connect the migrant to Jakaltenango. Standing in front of the small strip mall on Hibiscus Street, one is easily transported to a small town in Latin America—Jakaltenango, for example. On one side is Carnicería La Tamaulipas, next to Banrural, and Intermex. Each one of these establishments is a link to Jakaltenango. Carnicería La Tamaulipas offers specialty Latino foods and beverages, Jakaltek-specific sweet bread, calling cards, movies and music. Sweet bread is a staple in Jakaltek households, often replacing tortillas at breakfast and a must for refacción (snack break) in the morning or afternoon. During the afternoon rain in the rainy season, when most people stay indoors while they wait for the rain to let up, a cup of coffee with sweet bread is the only way to pass the time. Small bags of Guatemalan manufactured chips, chocolates, and candies also speak to a sense of community unavailable outside of Guatemala. During every trip to Jakaltenango, my sisters and I would stuff our luggage with these treats knowing we could not get them at home in Canada. Every time my parents visited without us, we could expect a small gift of treats when they came home. In Jupiter, migrants can go to multipurpose stores like Carnicería Las Tamaulipas for Tortrix, Chiky, Frutada, or Elotitos. Incaparina is also an important part of the Jakaltek diet. It offers a cheap, vitamin-and-mineral infused powdered drink developed to fight malnutrition among women and children in Central America. Mixed with boiled water, it is accessible and affordable. As its distribution is limited outside of Latin America, my aunt brought some back for me from Jupiter to aid with milk production after I gave birth to my son.

Communication between migrants and their families is critical for maintaining transnational networks, but also for the emotional survival of the migrant. In their daily lives, Jakalteks connect with home via internet, telephone, video, remittances (social and economic),
and word of mouth. It is estimated that immigrants in Jupiter spend between $50 and $100 per month on international calling cards (Palma et al. 2009: 72). With approximately 28,650 Guatemalans in Florida, according to the 2000 census, that adds up to about $1.5 to $3 million a month of communication between Guatemala and Florida alone. Contigo calling cards are especially popular since they are the most widely used calling cards in Guatemala. As David explained, “a two dollar card gives twenty minutes, if they don’t rob you. At a minimum, with my family I used about two cards each time. I tried calling only on weekends. I couldn’t get everything I wanted to talk about. Now when texting came along I learned it and it is better.”

Other companies have emerged to ease communication between Guatemala and Jupiter. Mi Guate is a company that charges $35 per month for a direct line with a local access number. David explained that he has a Jupiter telephone number that he calls to connect him to his wife in Jakaltenango. It works out to about $1.15 per day. The issue is that the line can only receive calls under the $35 monthly fee. It is charged separately for every call it makes. Another company is an Internet company called Majic Jack. Migrants can buy talk time in Jupiter for a cell phone in Jakaltenango. David often buys talk time for his wife and children rather than sending money home and paying fees for his family to purchase talk time at home. It also allows him to monitor the money.

Next to Carnicería Tamaulipas are Banrural and Intermex. Banrural offers direct banking to Jakaltenango, especially since Banrural is one of two banks in Jakaltenango. While Banrural offers remittance services, Intermex specializes in remittance services. Both institutions make it easier for migrants to remit their earnings to their family in Jakaltenango, strengthening the economic link between the cities and keeping the migrant economically connected to their home. Most remittances are used for family expenses, including home construction, schooling
for children, food, clothing, medicine and general expenses. Remittances are also used to start up family businesses and prepare for the return of the migrant. A significant portion of remittances is used for social and civic responsibilities, including fiesta celebrations, which I discuss in chapter two. Carnicería Las Tamaulipas, Banrural, and Intermex all function as a space for community. Jakalteks can comfortably go to these places, see the same people, and gossip with each other without fear and without negotiating their identities. On the contrary, my husband, a Spanish speaker but not Latino, was a novelty entering the multipurpose store among the migrants.

Established documented and undocumented migrants host birthdays, baptisms, or other rites of passage for their children. These festivities always include drinking, food, and traditional music by local migrant musicians. The children run freely, the women gather together, and men drink and play music. A second-generation migrant, whose parents had migrated from Jakaltenango to Canada before she was born, visiting Jupiter expressed, “it is just like home.” I was unsure if she meant home in Canada, where she grew up among other Jakaltek migrants, or home in Jakaltenango, where she had visited family a few times. I agreed, but could not decide which home I was referring to either. Born in Jakaltenango and having returned to Jakaltenango many times, I feel comfortable and accepted in both places. The five-year old’s birthday party I attended in Jupiter was a strong (re)creation of home. Edwin had driven my parents and we had followed knowing we would have to leave early. When we arrived we were directed to the backyard, where everyone was gathered around a group of men playing music. There was a large fire pit where the churrasco was being cooked while the male dominated group talked, listened to music and celebrated with beers in hand. After the food had finished cooking the host invited everyone to serve themselves. She was especially proud of the Thai papaya salad she had learned
to make at the Thai restaurant where she worked. We were unable to stay long but the following morning my parents described how they reconnected with home through the music, food, and company. The highlight was the round of Jakaltek songs composed during the civil war in the refugee camps in Chiapas, Mexico. Having lived in the refugee camps at the time these songs were composed, my parents experienced a connection and nostalgia they had not felt in a long time. Compared to the birthday celebrations in Canada, this gathering felt less confined and closer to the real thing. But it still did not feel like Jakaltenango. All such events share the same elements—music, unsupervised children playing, adults gathered talking telling jokes, drinking—but the Thai papaya salad in Jupiter and closely monitored level of noise in Canada made it different from Jakaltenango.

Jakalteks in Jupiter also purchase traditional traje (clothes) from Jakaltenango for resale in Jupiter. Jakalteks often save up all year long so that they can buy new clothes, usually the newest traje designs, specifically for the fiesta de Candelaria in Jakaltenango. They do not get new clothes for back to school, although this period does coincide with the fiesta de Candelaria; they get new clothes out of respect for the patron saint. Maria explained that when she was younger, her mother worked hard all year to save for new traje for her and her sisters. She never had a lot of money, but she always had enough to buy one corte (long woven skirt) that she would then cut into three pieces to share among the sisters especially for the fiesta. In Jupiter, the same respect is observed. Many women wore their traditional clothes for the Fiesta Maya in Jupiter. This celebration is particularly special for Jakaltek women, who do not feel free or

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28 Traditional traje for men in Jakaltenango is no longer used. One of the last men who wore traditional clothes died a few years back. Many looked back with sadness, but did not feel compelled to wear it again. Children are encouraged to wear their traje in school and for fiestas. Women wear their traje throughout the year. Boys will only wear it on special occasions.
comfortable wearing their traditional clothes outside of the fiesta context. It sets them apart and makes them visible to the rest of society. Similarly, during the civil war period, many Maya who fled their homes into Mexico, before they were legally recognized as refugees, shed their identities (clothes and language) to avoid being discovered and returned home. As a child, I remember my parents telling me not to speak in our language, Popti’. I also remember that was when my mother stopped wearing traje. Women wear their traje to private celebrations and events in Jupiter and the surrounding counties, strengthening a sense of community and belonging. Some women also wear their traje to the Fiesta Maya, which allows them a temporary public space and time to be free to reaffirm their identity without fear of civic or individual reprisal—an issue that I will return to in the next section, on integration.

Finally, Youtube is also a popular site for immigrants to reconnect with and remember home. They can find videos of hometown celebrations, cultural events, and music. Listening to Jakaltek music and the vibrations of the marimba often brings these immigrants to tears, longing for their past. Immigrants also exchange videos between Jupiter and Jakaltenango. Almost every public celebration in Jakaltenango can be available to migrants in the USA, either on disc for purchase or on the Internet. Likewise, most celebrations (private and public), including the Fiesta Maya, are available for viewing in Jakaltenango. Somewhere, I have been told, is a video of my husband dancing at one of the Fiestas in Jakaltenango. And I have certainly ended up in the living rooms of a few homes in Jupiter and Jakaltenango. Individuals are now conscious that public events are performances that may be viewed again and again by individuals in Jupiter and Jakaltenango. In Jakaltenango, this places some women in fear, further oppressing them because they may be “caught” doing something they are not supposed to be doing. Through these videos and word of mouth, women are often accused of drinking, misusing remittances, or being
unfaithful, leading to problems amongst family members (fieldnotes 2010, Sabbagh 2007). Women in Jupiter are also at risk through these videos. As they attempt to adapt their behavior and learn to live in a new place they must continue to bear the expectations of traditional gender roles and images. Maria remembers that shedding her traje and wearing high heels and lipstick placed her in a category open to criticism by men and women who accused her of dressing like a prostitute. As a key method of reconnecting with home, videos continue to flood the Internet and travel between nations. Whether women alter their public behavior in front of cameras and how are questions for further research.

RETURNING HOME

Caroline Brettell (2007) has called for the serious and interdisciplinary investigation of return migration. As she claims, “the topic of return migration has finally ‘arrived’” (57). The process of return and impact of arrival on home communities have since begun to be considered (Burrell 2005, 2010; Paerregaard 2010). Most migration studies have focused on the receiving end of transnationalism, especially in light of stricter immigration policy and growing immigrant communities in receiving countries. This dissertation looks at the social and cultural processes of ethnic building and identity (re)affirmation among immigrants in the USA. One way I address this process is by reconceptualizing the notion of home among migrants. Specifically, I seek to understand how migrants negotiate what home means to them. For instance, why, despite immigrant connections to home and re-creations of home in the USA, do some immigrants find their way back home while others permanently remain in the USA or visit home but always come back to the USA. The factors leading to these decisions are complex and have yet to be fully explored. According to political scientist Timothy Steigenga (Palma et al. 2009), migrants
connect or interact with their hometown depending on their migratory status. Refugees or asylees, reunited families, and economic migrants each have different motivations for how they connect with their home and ultimately whether they return home. These connections to home often affect whether they return home.

Asylees and refugees tend to be more strongly rooted and integrated into their new communities. Their children are acculturated into American culture, though some retain knowledge or curiosity about their parents’ traditions. Despite being able to travel freely, they often do not intend to return home unless it is to visit. As a child of refugee parents, with the same opportunities and freedom as non-immigrant children, and more importantly, the cultural integration to “fit in”, I never considered a permanent return to Jakaltenango for myself or with my parents. Reunited families are challenged because often only some and in some cases none of the family members are authorized migrants. However, with children quickly integrating into local society, it is difficult to envision a return home, especially when the trip to the USA was so risky and costly to begin with.

Almost twenty years later and with a slight perspective shift, Steigenga’s observations maintain what Chavez found in 1991 --economic and non-economic ties combined with time lived in the USA continue to affect a migrant’s decision to stay or return. The more time an immigrant spends in the USA, the more time they have to adapt to American culture and values, increasing their chances for incorporation into society. Even if they are not accepted by American society, the longer they live in the USA, the longer they have to establish economic and noneconomic linkages to the USA. Work incentives, family reunification, acculturated undocumented and documented children all play a role in a migrant’s decision to remain in the United States or return home. In hope of adding to this discussion, I discuss why it is difficult for
some migrants to return home and in the following section I address why some long-term economic migrants and even some documented migrants (whether economically or socially integrated) maintain a desire to and do eventually return home, despite a long time in the USA.

For economic migrants who come to the USA temporarily to better situate their families economically, a connection to home can produce different decisions regarding their return home. One factor that affects a migrant’s decision is the false (re)creation or recollection of home. That is not to say that migrants do not remember their home accurately, rather that what they (re)create is no longer an accurate representation of how home is today (Palma et al. 2009; Steigenga et al. 2009). Economic remittances change the local economy (Martin et al. 2006), and social remittances change the local society, such as family structures and gender roles (Levitt 1998). Combined, economic and social remittances also change local traditions, spiritual practices, and power relations (Burrell 2005; Paerregaard 2010). These changes often limit a migrant’s reintegration back to his or her home. With limited work opportunities and distorted home dynamics, migrants often fall to drinking and depression.

In one case, Luis, a documented migrant, has tried returning several times but each time he has returned to Jakaltenango, he has either fallen short of his economic goals, had difficulty reintegrating in Jakaltenango, or his wife’s expectations had changed. On one return, he developed a construction material delivery business in response to the growing housing development. About a year later, his third child was born and the new family economic needs sent him back to Jupiter to keep up with his family’s growing needs. Now, as a documented migrant, Luis and his wife have agreed to live in a long distance relationship. Luis travels to Jakaltenango at least twice a year to visit with his family and works in Jupiter the rest of the year.
Since he was unable to sponsor his wife and all three of his children,\(^29\) they have agreed to maintain their marriage and family but each from a different place. Furthermore, his wife has confessed, life with Luis at home is stressful. She loses her power as head of household when he is home, and after a while he begins to get bored while readapting to home. Like Luis, most economic migrants prefer to return to the USA, where they have a purpose; others never leave in the first place.

As mentioned earlier, the reasons individuals choose to return home or stay in their new community are complex, but time in the United States has a strong impact on a migrant’s decision to stay in the USA or return home (Chavez 1991). “Gossip” also factors into a migrant’s decision to return home. Trauma from separation is further complicated by rumors or gossip about the migrant in the USA or their family at home, affecting a migrant’s decision to return to their family in Jakaltenango (Sabagh 2007). For Juan, it was never his intention to work in Jupiter for more than three years. His goal was to save money and return to his family. After three years, he quickly realized his financial shortcomings. Fearing another difficult journey back to the USA upon his return to Jakaltenango, he chose to stay for another three years. Six years after his first arrival to Jupiter, Juan again found it difficult to keep up with the economic demands of his family—his children needed money for school and clothing, his wife needed money for food and general expenses, and the construction of their home was still unfinished. Juan decided to stay longer in Jupiter. Twelve years later, he is still in Jupiter and uncertain whether he will return. His parents have passed away, his children have grown up, and his wife is

\(^{29}\) Luis received documented status based on an immigration law that accepted immigrants that have been living in the USA for ten years uninterrupted. Legally, he could sponsor his wife and first child born before he first arrived into the USA. His two other children, however, would not be recognized under the law since they were born during the reported period he claimed he was living in the USA.
rumored to have a lover. Despite these rumors, he still talks to his wife almost daily but cannot say whether he will ever return to Jakaltenango. In Jupiter, he is deeply connected to the Jakaltek migrant network and community. He is the same migrant that introduced me to the local woman who makes and sells traditional food for sale. He shares a home with about 7 other migrants, two of whom are recent immigrants. Some are family members (nephews), while others are friends. One was not Jakaltek, but according to him was learning to speak the language quite quickly. For migrants like Juan, it is not a matter of giving up their hometown identity or connection, but whether there is anything left for them should they return. In some cases, it is much easier to stay permanently in the USA, whether documented or not, than to go back to what they perceive as nothing --rumors combined with public video recordings from Jakaltenango confirming that their wives have moved on while waiting for them to return; that their children have grown up without them; or their parents have passed away. Without a family, home, or work there, it is difficult for some migrants to envision themselves back home.

Even some economic migrants who have an established plan to return home cannot say definitively when they will return. David has returned to Jakaltenango four times since his first arrival to the United States in 1988. The first four times he entered the USA with a visa. He came once with a scholarship to study in the USA and the other times with a work visa to work in an agricultural university. The last time he entered the USA, he came undocumented in 2005, and he has not returned to Jakaltenango since. As he explained,

Immigration in our country has been, it was not so much a matter of, that is it wasn’t in masses because of the violence, but post-violence. When the economic situation began to tighten and tighten and then I couldn’t keep up with the costs and I couldn’t maintain my son in school because they charge this and they charge that. And then in the house, I had to do this and where am I suppose to get it from here, and coffee isn’t worth anything anymore and so those questions tightened and that is why they started coming to the United States, we. That is why we are many Jakalteks, but alone, there are no families. There are very few families. Here in Jupiter I know about five or six families --ten families; Jakalteks that have
their wives and children here, they are few. From there the majority of us are here to earn, to, like they say in Santa Ana, just to earn bills and then we are out of here.

And when I asked him what his personal goals were, he answered:

Yes, I have personal objectives. I have an idea of how much time I will be here. And I hope that it won’t be much…It would be different if they said, ‘here, we will give you a TPS,’ well then one knows one can stay, get a license, one can have…a better life. Ironically, we say, and why did you go to the United States? Ah, to find, to seek a better life. A better life, sleeping on the floor on the carpet on a couple of blankets, with air conditioning, four or five in a small space? That is not improving the quality of life; a better life. And then we are all scratching out telephone cards so that we can call home to see how they are doing.

As David explains, the recent wave of Jakaltek immigration to the United States, the hardships of living an undocumented life for his family in the United States, and states his plans to return home, he is still unable to give an exact return date, only that he hopes it will not be long before he returns home.

The decision to return home is complicated. What is clear is that the process a migrant takes to decide to return home is closely connected to his or her conception of home. A recent migrant’s image of home will likely be less distorted than that of a more established migrant who has been away from home much longer. This makes it more likely that a more recent migrant can return home and readapt more easily. Increased time away and new or competing economic demands at home due to remittances often keep the migrant from returning home. More time

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30 TPS or Temporary Protected Status is humanitarian relief given by USCIS (United States Citizenship and Immigration Services) to nationals who are unable to return home safely or whose country is unable to adequately receive their nationals. It does not grant permanent resident status but allows the individual to apply for permanent resident status. It is one means by which some undocumented migrants are seeking documented status in the United States, especially in the current state of gang violence in Guatemala.

31 There is a negative association between too much exposure to air conditioning and health problems among Jakaltek Mayas.
away from home also opens up the possibility for significant changes in home dynamics, social and power relations, and cultural practices that leave the migrant feeling alienated and unable to reintegrate and complete his return home. Thus, the longer a migrant stays away from home, the more likely he or she will visit home but permanently remain in the USA.

**INTEGRATION**

El Sol’s mission is to help the migrant community learn the necessary skills to connect with employers and to promote strong, diverse communities. El Sol also helps to ease negative feelings within the larger community through increased knowledge about migrants. The anti-immigration rhetoric of economic burden, employment thieves, and immigrant unwillingness to learn, adapt, and integrate into the community is alleviated (Lazo de la Vega and Steigenga 2013). Community members see first hand the benefit of the migrant center to the overall well-being of Jupiter. As one writer noted in an editorial in the Palm Beach Post:

> The workers who have come to [El Sol] have shown a willingness to assimilate and play by the town's rules. The center's English classes have been full. By making them part of the community, Jupiter has given immigrants reason to care about what happens to the place they're living in. El Sol has the chance to be the model for Lake Worth, West Palm Beach and cities throughout South Florida that realize the corrosive effects of ignoring a problem that isn't going away (Palm Beach Post, Saturday September 16, 2006).

Unfortunately, this perspective perpetuates a different rhetoric, which views migrants as a problem that can only be solved through integration or assimilation. In Jupiter, this view denies the importance of home, culture, and identity vivid among Jakaltek migrants. This view also reinforces a citizenship model of exclusion that ascribes selective or conditional membership (Kovic 2014). Like ethnic boundaries that differentiate cultural groups (Barth 1969), conditional citizenship builds community by excluding through boundaries that separate insiders from
outsiders. Even as documented and undocumented immigrants make efforts to “integrate” or “assimilate”, as perceived “illegal” malevolent pathogens in the labor force or hyper-fertile Latinas seeking to subvert the US constitution with their anchor babies (Byrd 2014; Chavez 2008), their acceptance into national society is cut short due to economic, social, and cultural inequalities that are legally implemented nationwide. Laws are promoted to eliminate services to documented and undocumented immigrants (i.e., documented immigrants are ineligible for food stamps and undocumented immigrants are denied access to health care, just pay, and food safety among a number of other things). This further divides citizens from non-citizens as worthy and unworthy of services. As the writer from the Palm Beach Post notes, immigrants are “a problem that isn’t going away”. Unfortunately, as immigrants learn to “play by the town’s rules” they must also take on accountability to a place from which they nonetheless remain marginalized from or that leaves them rendered abject.

Gonzalez and Chavez (2012) applied Sarah S. Willen’s concept of abjectivity (2007), which combines an abject status (Kristeva 1982; Butler 1999) with subjectivity to understand how the 1.5 generation respond to their sudden criminalization upon learning of their undocumented status. Jakalteks, like the 1.5 generation in Gonzalez and Chavez’s study, experience the same fears, restrictions, and exclusions from increased governmentality (policing, surveillance and heavy documentation of citizens and non-citizens) and biopolitics that leaves them vulnerable (Foucault 1977, 1990 [1976], 1997; Gordon 1991). However, as Gonzales and Chavez note, “despite these practices of exclusion, it is sometimes possible that a sense of inclusion emerges through everyday lived experiences such as working, forming families, making friends, paying taxes, playing sports, engaging in community affairs, and interacting with social institutions, particularly schools” (257). Furthermore, while abjection implies an expulsion
(separation) from society, it does not adequately address the exploitation of a migrant's vulnerable status where nativists take advantage of undocumented cheap labor at the same time that they fear loss of jobs to those very same migrants. Migrants, therefore, are not only rejected from society (by federal laws and surveillance), they are also trapped in a position of fear, inequality, and compliance. Still, they find ways to escape this position. As discussed above, Jakalteks reaffirm their identity by (re)creating home in their private lives and at work. They also personally connect with home via economic and social remittances, telephone and Internet communication, and personal and Youtube videos. By establishing a sense of ethnic belonging in a place that rejects their membership into American society, Jakalteks contest their abjection by culturally existing among those that exclude them. In fact, I argue, they understand the rules of American society and while some immigrant Jakalteks manage to blend in, an inexplicable connection to home draws them back to Jakaltenango.

From an economic perspective, integration or assimilation is beneficial to Jakalteks. They can make a better life for themselves and their family. For example, like the Jakaltek waiter at the Thai restaurant, English speakers are able to obtain better and sometimes higher-paying jobs. Following the rules of American social behavior helps to keep the undocumented migrant hidden from the risk of deportation. A migrant who is able to blend in is less likely to be identified, targeted, and deported for violating immigration laws. However, when identity is so historically rooted in language, culture, dress, and geographical place of origin, it is difficult for Jakalteks to deny one identity for another. The fact that Jakaltek women do not wear their traje in everyday life and limit its use to the Fiesta Maya or other special occasions points to a broader cultural

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A decrease in use of traje mainly by women, but also men, highlights the shifting use of traje in Jakaltenango, specifically, and in Guatemala in general, from daily use to ceremonial or special occasion use. The shift from Jakaltek male traje use to modern clothing was made.
knowledge other migrants possess. Like other migrants, who must remain invisible and blend in so as not to call attention to their otherness or immigrant-ness, Jakalteks hide their cultural heritage except in culturally linked contexts like the Fiesta Maya. The Fiesta Maya is a brief pause that says a limited amount about Jakaltek integration into the local community. Jakalteks know the rules of invisibility in the USA, but cultural identity and nostalgia limit complete integration or assimilation into American society.

Language is a key marker of ethnic identity among the Maya in Guatemala (Brown et al. 2006, Carey, Jr. 2001, Fischer and Hendrickson 2003, Maddox 2010, Maxwell 2009, Romero 2012; 2015). Jakalteks are not the exception. Migrants were asked whom they live with in Jupiter; if they speak a Maya or indigenous language and when they use it; and what language is spoken in their household. From a total of fifteen (Jakaltek and non-Jakaltek) migrants surveyed nine said they lived with family. Family included cousins, aunts, uncles, nephews, spouse, children, siblings, in-laws, and godparent or godparent of child. Ten migrants said they spoke a Maya language, and two added that they did not speak a Maya language but that other household members did. Of the twelve households that spoke a Maya language, ten spoke Jakaltek (Popti’). One spoke K’iche’ and the other spoke Tzutujil. Respondents who said they or their household spoke a Maya language also said that they used their Maya language when talking to parents, children, siblings, friends, spouse and/or when they call their hometown. Four Jakalteks added that they spoke Popti’ while at work. Less visible than clothing or cultural performance, Jakaltek ethnic preservation is maintained daily in Jupiter through language at home with family and friends. In some cases, it is also publicly used in the workplace.

early on during Colonial Spanish and Jakaltek encounters. Women have been recently making the shift to modern clothing but national based pan-Mayanism has supported a renewed interest in using dress as politically driven identity markers (Carol Hendrickson 1995, Otsoy 1996, Velasquez 2011, Bennet 2014).
Table 6.0 Household Dynamic and Language Use

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<td>Live with Family</td>
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<td>Speak Mayan language</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>Household speaks Mayan language</td>
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A number of events occur throughout the West Palm Beach region that keep Jakalteks connected to their home. An official twin city agreement between Jupiter and Jakaltenango, along with the everyday Jakaltek specific practices in Jupiter, and the annual events held throughout West Palm Beach commemorating Jakaltek culture, redefine how we talk about home. Yet, many migrants, mainly older married men, argue that they do not feel complete until they return home to Jakaltenango. One migrant explained that the Fiesta Maya is limited because Jakalteks are only here until they make their final return home. “We are here preparing ourselves to return home and not to return [to Jupiter]. In the moment that we all decide to return no one will remain.” According to him the recent wave of Jakaltek migrants was driven to the USA by post-war conditions in Guatemala that weakened the country’s economic situation. He added, “in that context, the Fiesta Maya will disappear. Those that organize and participate are those individuals who are here alone and don’t have other things to do. Those that are here with their family don’t have time; they have to be with their families.”

Even after long, successful careers in academia, business, politics, or in blue-collar jobs, Jakalteks negotiate their identities in the USA until they can find their way back to Jakaltenango. Anthropologist Victor Montejo is among the returnees unwilling to let go of his roots and identity; migrants, refugees, and asylees alike long for their home and think of Jakaltenango as their resting place. An asylee from the civil war in the 1980s, Montejo found refuge in the USA.
He relied on a network of anthropologists and socially minded individuals who helped him through the process of attaining a doctorate in anthropology. As a Mayan anthropologist, Victor Montejo has focused on indigenous people of Mesoamerica. He has sought to bring forth cultural, economic, and political rights of indigenous people. At the core of his work has always been indigenous worldviews and knowledge—how to maintain these traditions in a world that does not value them.

Despite the fusion or integration of food, such as an unexpected Thai papaya salad at a five-year-old’s birthday party, traditional and western clothing, language, and culture, Jakaltenango is where they were born and raised and where they want to be buried. Second-generation Maya migrants carry the burden of returning their parents home should they pass away in the USA. In some cases, death and burial wishes are topics discussed by second-generation migrants and their parents. My grandparents returned to Jakaltenango from Canada and did not have to make this decision. Had they been forced to make the choice, I believe they would have asked to be returned home. My parents, on the other hand, have decided to remain silent about their burial wishes. With most of their immediate family in Canada, it is difficult for them to decide where their remains will be returned to the earth. Even with only one second generation migrant child and three of us born outside of Canada (Guatemala and Mexico), my parents are aware of our disconnect from what they consider home, but regardless, they continue to hold on to their memories and hope of returning home someday. As migrants with second generation children begin to reach retirement they have the added difficulty of choosing to return home or stay in the USA (or Canada) with their children and grandchildren. Thus, regardless of the economic benefits, Jakalteks strategically accept and integrate what is required for them to survive within the boundaries of the ethnic community they have built in Jupiter. Existing as a
whole, despite familial and non-familial conflict within the community, alleviates the stress and trauma of separation; it reduces their vulnerability as undocumented migrants; and together they contest the discourse of assimilation by challenging what “belonging” means – at least, until they make their final return home.
Questions over identity, culture and changing historical context have focused on the community. Watanabe (1992) asked how ethnic differences were maintained at the local level during these periods of change. Using “cultural conventions of community” as the marker of a distinct Maya identity, Watanabe argued time and context shaped cultural conventions, which informed community membership which in turn shaped cultural conventions based on community member experiences and perceptions of the world outside of the community. Thus Mayas were Mayas because of a shared worldview, within a shared place, with the same Maya people. Watanabe’s constructivist position emphasized how local cultural conventions circumscribe community boundaries. Applying Watanabe’s idea, I argue that the Fiesta de Candelaria is a cultural convention that establishes community membership for those who celebrate the Fiesta and acknowledge the Virgin of Candelaria as the patron saint of Jakaltenango. With a steady rise in Jakaltek migration, the limits of Jakaltek community boundary have been tested as the community itself has been replicated and relocated to Jupiter, Florida. The most recent wave of Jakaltek migration shows Jakaltek ethnic response to new cultural conventions shaped by a new time, context, and place that is shared with non-Jakalteks, at the same time that the “original” place of community identity, in highland Guatemala, also continues to adapt and change. As a result, simultaneous community adaptations emerge that do not necessarily correspond to each other, but do inform each other (for example, housing, language, dress, occupations, family units, and traditions in Jakaltenango adapt to changes originating from Jupiter while traditions from Jakaltenango are then adapted in the Jupiter community).
This chapter addresses how various subject positions and identity orientations are negotiated to create a multi-tiered individual identity within the boundaries of the community experience. In the tradition of interpretive anthropology, I turn to narrative analysis to gain a deeper, multi-positioned understanding of what it means to be a Jakaltek migrant at the margins of the Jakaltek migrant community in Jupiter, Florida. My intent is to unweave the various demands of being a Jakaltek migrant by following the narrative of Edwin, a migrant born in Guatemala City to Jakaltek parents and with numerous ties to Jakaltenango, but who does not participate in the Fiesta or many other Jakaltek “cultural” events that establish a Jakaltek identity. It is my goal to highlight varying migrant identities within characteristic, even stereotypical migrant experiences, in particular Jakaltek migrant experiences. Furthermore, while this case study highlights how Jakaltek identity is changing, expanding, and flexible, it also reminds us that a bound ethnic identity is important for immigrants and that ultimately identity is rooted in meaningful cultural conventions such as the Fiesta de Candelaria.

**NARRATIVE ANALYSIS AND IMMIGRANT IDENTITY: NAVIGATING THE SELF**

Renato Rosaldo (1989) explained that as an analyst, a number of factors contribute to one’s understanding of one’s subjects and who they are. As a positioned subject, for instance, the analyst is imbued with power while the informant is left to tell his story just as he is expected to. Rosaldo adds that human action is driven by many factors including culture, biography, social situation, and historical context. Therefore, a distanced or objective approach (with its inherent hierarchies) to understanding human action and meaning without investigating beyond surface data limits the scope of social analysis. Furthermore, Rosaldo explains that narratives are stories that do not just reflect what people do; they actually shape human conduct. These stories are
reminders and instructions for people “about who they are, what they care about, and how they hope to realize their aspirations” (1989: 130). From this perspective, narratives are proclamations about the self for oneself and others.

Elliot Mishler (1999) also attempts to break down the traditional researcher/subject relationship. He directs narrative analysis towards an engaged, reciprocal interaction between narrator and analyst that yields specific information about specific groups of people that can help to inform questions about identity. The relationship between narratives and identity helps explain how identities are situated and performed, not universal. Like Goffman (1959), who introduced the concept of pre-scripted behavior, or Schechner’s restored behavior (1985), Mishler suggests that narratives are stories that are pre-rehearsed, whether consciously or not, to do something. In this case, narratives establish an identity or persona for the speaker.

The following narrative is from a friend and informant whom I have known for many years. Before I knew I wanted to become an anthropologist and that I would be collecting scientific data from Edwin, we had already established a rapport that included shared family history, and to some degree, shared aspirations—we both planned to receive a higher education and become professionals. Although we had remained in contact over the years, it was over ten years later before we finally reconnected in person. Now married and with a child, I explained to him my research goals and desire to learn more about his experience as an undocumented migrant in Jupiter, Florida. While I could have chosen other contacts in Jupiter, Edwin represented the most secure and safest entryway into the Jakaltek migrant community in Jupiter. Having previously done research in Jakaltenango and undergone the scrutiny of being a young, unmarried woman working with various fiesta cofradías made up primarily of men, this time I sought refuge and solidarity with Edwin—a longtime family friend.
I chose Edwin, not because of his typical Jakaltek migrant experience, but because, while he maintains familial connections to Jakaltenango, he is himself not an ethnic Jakaltek. As such, he is able to articulate and experience his own immigrant identity, utilizing his connections with his family as a tool, but not as an end. While this idea may seem contradictory to my argument about Jakaltek immigrants, it actually serves to provide the foundations for my argument about community and identity among Jakalteks. My initial reason for choosing Edwin was because I thought he represented the Jakaltek migrant experience. I did not have a full understanding of his marginalization to his family and the Jakaltek community in Jupiter. As it turns out, these data, I believe, highlight how tight the Jakaltek community is and also how strict the boundaries are because it showcases how even someone with familial ties, and some would argue, blood connections, is not an accepted member of the community if he/she does not want to belong/be a part of the community at the same time that the community accepts them.

Physically, he lived at the outer limits of the Jakaltek migrant community in Jupiter; and he also considered himself to be outside of the social community itself.\textsuperscript{33} By the time I arrived to do fieldwork in Jupiter in 2010, Edwin had been established as a close confidant and friend to both me and my husband. As I conducted my formal interviews and research, I could always count on Edwin to give me further explanation, clarification, or in some cases correction regarding certain statements or practices that I encountered. I knew that I could also count on him for critical assessment of those same statements or practices. Edwin grew up in Guatemala City within a Jakaltek-born household and frequent trips to Jakaltenango allowed him to

\textsuperscript{33} During my initial pilot study in 2009, Edwin lived at the outskirts of Jupiter alone in a two bedroom single family home surrounded by a few other non-Jakaltek migrants. At the time of the narrative recording and during my field research in 2009, Edwin had moved in with his cousin and her family. He was saving money in preparation for his relocation to San Diego, California. He was required to be living in California for his upcoming immigration asylum petition.
experience and practice Jakalteko culture and identity. Nevertheless, his physical distance from Jakaltenango over time limited his community membership. Thus, we shared a dual perspective on Jakaltenango: we acculturated to Jakaltek culture within the limits of our family household and return trips “back home,” but neither of us could fully claim Jakaltek membership without local inquiry or critique. Simultaneously objective and subjective, we freely discussed Jakaltek others at the same time that we reminisced about how to correctly enter a binding reciprocal relationship of compadrazgo (godparenthood) or how to correctly wear the traditional traje (clothing) of Jakaltenango, for instance. On the evening that this narrative was recorded, Edwin, my husband and I celebrated my birthday with dinner, cake and a story that ran over two hours. Before that night I had never heard Edwin recall his journey into the USA. We had never fully discussed how or why he chose to leave Guatemala. And I had not been fully aware of his relationship with his extended family in Jupiter nor his position within and about the Jakalteko migrant community in Jupiter.

Mishler applied an adaption of James Gee’s sociolinguistic model to follow bounded stories within unstructured interviews. He transcribed the narratives using speech markers to parse out “discourse into hierarchically nested units of analysis” that address both content and structure (1999: 152). I have chosen to provide Edwin’s entire narrative in the sequence he gave it. I am not using his narrative for comparison with other narratives, and since I am following an interpretive model, I have opted not to use the sociolinguistic model. I first transcribed Edwin’s recorded narrative into written format. Then, I translated his Spanish narrative into English. For the purpose of this chapter, I have chosen to re-narrate his story using my own words, being careful to stay as close as possible to the original narrative, and include direct quotes from Edwin for emphasis. The two-hour narrative that Edwin told me that evening was about his journey to
the USA: why he decided to leave Guatemala, what happened during his movement from Guatemala to the USA, and his arrival to Jupiter. He discusses his ex-girlfriend and how she affected his relationship with his family at the end of this narrative but limits the details of how they met and the nature of their relationship because this was a topic we had already talked about in a previous conversation. Thus, this narrative and the analysis that follows takes for granted previous conversations between Edwin and me about his experience in Jupiter and Guatemala. The analysis includes direct quotes from Edwin’s original Spanish narrative. Like Rosaldo, my goal is to see beyond Edwin’s spoken words, using context, history, social position, and the history of our relationship to understand who Edwin is, who he claims to be, and what that means for his future. It is clear to me that despite our history, Edwin nonetheless performed his ideal self to me, my husband, and himself as he recalled his story that evening. Finally, I find his performance to reinforce his simultaneous self-distancing and forced exclusion from the Jakaltek migrant community.

**NETWORK MIGRATION, BORDER CROSSINGS, AND COMMUNITY**

Edwin had just graduated high school and was completing his first semester in university when he was faced with the most life-changing decision he was ever going to make. At eight o’clock in the evening on the 27th of May in 1999 he received a call from his uncle in Jupiter asking him if he still wanted to go the USA. He had previously asked his uncle to help him go to the US before he started school, but at the time limited work opportunities in the USA left his uncle without resources to help Edwin travel there. Now, five months later, he had to choose between continuing his education or leaving for “el Norte” to work as a migrant laborer. Given the rise in crime and limited work options in Guatemala, he felt he had no choice. His choice to
leave was made easier knowing that a family friend, Marco, would be making the trip with him. Marco is related to me and Edwin’s uncle Luis. Marco is from a small hamlet of Jakaltenango and up to that point had supported his family by working in agriculture. While Edwin was 18 years old at the time he left, Marco was 5 to 10 years older. As an agricultural worker, Marco also had life experience against the natural elements that they would be encountering. That evening Edwin packed a small backpack, said goodbye to his siblings and spoke to his father by telephone because his father was unable to leave work. His mother accompanied him through the ten-hour bus ride from Guatemala City to Jakaltenango. They had to go to Jakaltenango first before backtracking back to Huehuetenango because banks were not open on Saturday, and she had to get money from her local Jakaltek bank account to help finance Edwin’s trip. He recalls that along the way the bus broke down, and his mother told him it was a sign that he was not meant to go. She never wanted him to go but, like his father, agreed with his decision. The other half of the money came from his aunt, his uncle’s wife, who has always remained in Jakaltenango. She had converted quetzals to pesos for him. As the bus passed the small village she lived in, the bus made a stop where she gave Edwin the money. “It all happened in a manner of seconds,” he recalls.

The following morning he traveled to Huehuetenango with his mother to meet up with the coyote. They paid him 9,000 quetzales, about $1,200 dollars at that time. He then said goodbye to his mother and joined the other travelers. By now there were six of them. The coyote had them stay a few nights in a hotel in Huehuetenango while they waited for final arrangements to be made in Soloma, where the coyote was from. While they waited, they decided to visit the local church in Chiantla. Since they were still in Guatemala, they still had freedom of movement and chose to pray and ask for a safe trip. The following evening they travelled by bus through
dirt roads to Soloma. There they were placed in another hotel where a number of Ecuadorian and Salvadorian migrants were already waiting. They stayed in Soloma for four days in a shared bedroom with one bed and 30 people. They were fed one packet of instant soup per meal and were not permitted to leave beyond the hotel lobby. By this point Edwin had relinquished all of his official documents to the coyotes. They had told him his school identification card and cédula (Guatemala identification card) would be useless if not harmful as they travelled through Mexico, where they were supposed to have no connection to any other country but Mexico. They eventually returned his identification cards, but not until after he arrived in the USA.

One form of relief or escape from the confines of the hotel in Soloma was to work for the coyotes, who also ran the local construction material distributor. Edwin described how they had to unload materials including iron rods without gloves. His hands were blistered but “it was all the same, at least I was allowed to get out [of the hotel] and on the streets unlike the other guys, who were not allowed to do these things.”

Finally, on the fifth day, all sixty of the travelers were loaded onto a cargo truck. They travelled through northeastern Guatemala through the Nentón region into Mexico, just north of the same route migrants took in the early 1970s where the Mexican and Guatemalan border is unofficially monitored. In fact, while they attempted to cross the border, the group encountered local Mexican mounted police. The coyotes paid their dues and were left to continue on into Mexico. The group arrived into Mexico around 4:30 in the morning under heavy rain. Before they left Guatemala, they had been told to pack a black rain cap or black plastic bag to protect them from the rain. They arrived at a home where they slept in the patio under the rain. At six in the morning, they began their journey through the Mexican rainforest. They travelled by foot for five days and five nights through corn fields, small settlements (colonias), mountains, and floods
due to the rain. On the second day of travel, Edwin began to develop blisters on his feet. The rainy weather and sweat combined created a friction between his socks and shoes that left him almost immobile. By now they had been traveling for about twelve or thirteen days since leaving Huehuetenango.

As they travelled through the mountains they fought against the rain and dense vegetation. They also crossed large pastures and barbed wire fences. Edwin explained that at times he could not even see the third person ahead or behind him. They rested in cornfields and caves. The lucky would fight for a space in the caves while the others struggled to keep dry outside of the caves and in the cornfields. One morning, they reached a home where they were fed breakfast before continuing on. They spent a number of hours on the ground hiding from military reserves that were monitoring the area. Military presence had increased dramatically during this period following the 1994 Zapatista uprising. By this point, Edwin had lost all notions of time and place. Even as he recalled his journey, the experience was vivid, but time and space were blurred.

Following the five days of walking in Mexico, they reached another small ranch early in the morning. They rested for a day. From there, they were loaded onto two small pickup trucks. They travelled about three or four hours and were returned into the mountains to continue on. The trucks helped to bypass military reserves. At one point, they reached a large river. They had no choice but to travel around the mountain to the only bridge crossing over to the neighboring mountain. They took turns while they waited for the bridge to clear of any travelers. As soon as they could see that the bridge was pitch dark, they would run for it and dive across to other side before anyone came. As Edwin and a couple of other men attempted to cross, they realized a car was coming their way. Fearing it could be a military vehicle, they ran as fast as they could and
dove straight into the mud. As he described, “Up to this point I was still taking care not to soil my clothes too much, but in that moment all I could do was throw myself, and I remember I was covered in mud, but what else could I do?” From there they continued to climb the mountain and walked through rapids from a nearby stream to wash away any signs that they had been there. All night they continued to walk through the run off to avoid leaving tracks.

The following morning, at daybreak, they reached another small house. Edwin rested on some logs in the courtyard. When it came time to head out again, he said his legs had cramped up. The soles of his feet had become raw. “I grabbed my legs and tried lifting them. Finally, I lifted my feet, and it felt like someone had stuck glue on the bottom of my feet and stuck them to the earth because when I finally lifted my feet the soles of my feet were left behind and stuck to the ground. Obviously I was bleeding and I could barely walk. I had taken a few steps when the coyote noticed I couldn’t walk. He told me to stay behind and hide while the first group went on. I hid in the kitchen while the second group was placed in the cornfields.” While he waited in hiding Edwin befriended a young boy, about ten or eleven years old, who was going into town, in Comitán, Chiapas. Edwin still carried some money and asked him to buy him some socks, hydrogen peroxide, bandages, and powdered penicillin. He knew if he hadn’t cleaned his feet and covered them with penicillin he risked an infection such as gangrene. Amazingly, they had been travelling for over thirteen days and had just made it to the Comitán region, only a few hours by car from the Mexican-Guatemalan border. He recalls at one point hearing voices asking if the homeowners had seen a group of migrants come through the area. The house was located off of the main road, and the police frequently checked for migrants at this location. The man denied having seen any foreigners, and the police moved on.
Edwin rested for a day or so. Upon the coyotes’ return all twenty migrants were placed in a small covered pickup truck. To accommodate all twenty individuals, the coyotes have perfected the “posición de cebolla,” in which the migrants are seated from the back of the covered bed with their legs spread open to make room for the next person in line until they reach the door of the truck bed, the same way you would find green onions displayed in the marketplace. In less than fifteen minutes the migrants would begin to feel complete constraint and discomfort. In fact, one older man, between forty and forty-five years old, broke his leg while seated in this position. He stretched his leg and upon releasing it, the pressure from everyone around him snapped his leg. He screamed and was immediately taken off the truck and left behind. The coyote explained that he would rather lose one man than lose the entire group. The man screamed and asked the others to give themselves up because it was not worth dying from the conditions they were being kept in. The coyote did not look back as they continued on to the next transition point.

They alternated travel on foot through the mountains and in the small truck. As Edwin explained, “it is a network that they have. They take you one part of the way and then transfer you over to the next person waiting.” It was during one of these transitions that the pickup truck was stopped by the judicial police, and the driver and coyote were arrested. In the process, everyone scattered and hid in the mountains. As they waited in the mountains some of them began to question if travel to the USA was in fact worth these conditions. Edwin almost gave up but was reassured knowing that everything he had already gone through would count towards something. Finally, local campesinos helped them reunite with the coyote and driver once they were released from jail. They were immediately placed back on the truck and taken to Veracruz.
They stopped at a small ranch once they reached Veracruz and ate what they carried in their backpacks. Edwin carried Bimbo sliced bread, water bottles, Maseca corn mix, lime, and salt. He mixed the Maseca in the water bottles making a beverage dough mix that imitated the traditional *bebida* of Jakaltenango. Shortly afterwards the migrants were left several nights in the swampy waters of Veracruz to avoid the many roadblocks ahead. Stuck in the swamp, they fought against mosquitos and hunger. On the first day, the coyote bought a few whole chickens to be shared among the migrants. Edwin recalls that it was a period in which he further learned the true nature of his fellow townsmen. They ridiculed him because he grew up in Guatemala City. They didn’t think he needed to work in the USA since he had the means for a better life in Guatemala. Groups began to form and leaders began to emerge. It quickly became a matter of survival, and age and seniority were meaningless in this setting. The coyotes returned to pick up the migrants three days later, after the migrants had survived primarily off of bread sold by locals who travelled by boat in the swamp. They were moved to the ocean, where they crossed sand dunes and travelled by canoe along the shore with twenty individuals per canoe. They had to use their hands to cup water out of the canoe, which was flooding due to the weight of the migrants and overflowing waves. Finally, they passed along more stretches of sand dunes that Edwin guesses were mounds of city waste. Edwin vividly remembers the smell, “The stench was overbearing. I was on my third set of clothes and was only in Veracruz. We hadn’t even reached the DF (Distrito Federal or Federal District of Mexico)”. Once they reached the mountains again they were reloaded onto a city tour bus.

While they hid on the bus, they passed three military roadblocks. They waited on a ranch for a few hours. Some took advantage of the time and washed their clothes. Mid-wash Edwin realized they were leaving again. He threw on his wet clothes and small groups loaded onto
unofficial judicial police cars that took them all the way to the DF of Mexico. The police had clearly been bought by the coyotes because they passed several military roadblocks without trouble. Upon their arrival into Mexico City, everyone had to give up their belongings. They were each given a set amount of money for their bus fare to Chihuahua. With the migrants now in smaller groups of five or six, Edwin joined the Jakaltek group. Along the way, however, one of the ticket salesmen in Torre León caught on to them and followed them onto the bus. He threatened to denounce them to the next military checkpoint if they did not pay him. Even though they were randomly dispersed throughout the bus one of the migrants could not keep himself together and gave up the group. They each paid him 160 pesos. This experience would set the pace for the rest of the trip. After numerous stops by the police and immigration in which they each paid between 300 and 400 pesos, they had all run out of money. They contacted the coyote by telephone and explained their situation. He told them to find a hotel and that he would arrange to wire more money to the hotel attendant. Much to Edwin’s surprise the attendant was very helpful and accepted the money on their behalf and then gave them all of the money he had received. They rested and ate very well for one night. They continued to travel to Chihuahua only this time via first class bus because, they believed, it would make fewer stops and draw less attention from the police and immigration road checks. In the end, they made four additional payments between 300 to 400 pesos each during that leg of the trip. When asked how the officials know whom to question, Edwin answered, “they simply enter the bus, and they see you and they just know you are not Mexican. They take you off the bus, and they ask you questions: your name, where you are from, etc. They just know.” However, usually the officials would simply instruct the migrants to pay them in order to let them back on the bus.
Once in Chihuahua, they had been instructed to catch a taxi and meet at a specified hotel. Edwin was volunteered by the four other men to get off the bus and get a taxi for the group since they had already taken their turn being exposed while making arrangements for the group on other occasions. Everyone feared too much movement outside of the bus and away from the group. Early on, before they had left Mexico City, one of the six men had gotten off the bus to buy a drink and in the process was detained by local police. They watched him from their seats as he was taken away. They all knew the risks and had all agreed that if anyone got caught they would claim to be travelling alone. This time, it was Edwin’s turn to get off the bus. Outside of the bus terminal he caught a taxi and asked the driver to wait for his friends to arrive. Fifteen minutes later, no one had arrived and by now the bus had left the terminal. He decided to move on to the hotel. It turned out the other men had made arrangements with the bus driver to drop them off outside of the bus terminal where there were no immigration officers, and where they could catch their own taxi. They had planned to separate themselves from Edwin, perhaps even hoping that he would be caught by immigration. Edwin was not caught by immigration. He made it to the hotel and in the end had a room to himself since everyone else had already been assigned, four individuals per room. He felt relieved to have made it this far. It had been approximately twenty-five days since they began their journey, but Edwin could not be sure exactly how long they had been traveling since he had lost track of time. They rested at the hotel for two nights before continuing on to the Mexican border town of Agua Prieta. Before they left, however, the coyote had taken back any money they had remaining. At this point, they no longer needed Mexican pesos because soon they would be across the border into the USA. Edwin had managed to save about 2000 pesos and with just the right timing only had to give up the soiled
500 pesos he happened to be washing and drying when the coyote arrived to reclaim all of the money.

On the day they were to leave the hotel, only groups of five or six were being taken at a time. Edwin’s group was incorrectly told to wait by the designated roadside at the wrong time. They waited two hours on the roadside before the coyote came back to alert them that they would not be leaving until much later. By the time they finally left for the border they passed a few police, military, and immigration checkpoints and to their surprise were sent on their way without trouble. In fact, several of these officials wished them farewell. Edwin explained, “they would just warn us to be careful and to have a nice trip and so on”. Everyone knew what was going on, but being so close to the border, it didn’t matter to the Mexican officials. The migrants would soon be someone else’s concern.

They arrived to Agua Prieta to a small house. The entire group was reunited again. The next day they all prepared to leave. The coyote arrived with water, pan Bimbo (sliced bread), ham, and mayonnaise. They each got a loaf of bread, a packet of ham, a jar of mayo, and two gallons of water for their journey across the desert. They were placed in the desert in the afternoon. About six hours later the sun set and it was dark around them. Edwin remembers climbing a mountain mainly of loose gravel and learning that the other side of the mountain was US territory. They were entering through the Arizona desert into Douglas, Arizona. He remembers the town very vividly because that is where they were caught by immigration. The group of forty, maybe fifty, from the original sixty individuals that left from Guatemala had crossed a main road in Douglas to wait for the minivan at about one in the afternoon. He guesses someone saw one or two of the migrants waiting and reported them to immigration. They were all caught and jailed. Edwin was jailed for about three hours in Douglas. When asked for his
data, Edwin told them he was Mexican from Veracruz. Everyone said they were Mexican. They had dutifully studied and memorized where in Mexico they were from. Therefore, they were deported no further than the Mexican/US border. Following their deportation they were stationed in Agua Prieta for about a week without food or other provisions. The coyote had no money left at this point. He had to get money from elsewhere, but Edwin could not say where from. The network among coyotes is unknown. The migrants were told that if anyone had any money, they could go to the corner store by the house they were staying at. Since Edwin was still not walking well he relied on the young San Andresano he had befriended while they travelled through the Lacandón Mountains. During that time, he helped Edwin carry his backpack and supported him on his shoulder when Edwin could barely walk. At first Marco and his Jakaltek townsmen had also helped Edwin, but they quickly decided that they could not afford to help him because he was slowing them down and taking energy away from them. They said they preferred to leave him behind. They argued that they each man had to take care of himself and not worry about others. They advised the young San Andresano to do the same. Ultimately he agreed and he explained to Edwin that he was falling behind and was getting tired. He just couldn’t help him anymore. Edwin agreed and added that whatever it took, even if he was the last person or even if he didn’t make it, he would be okay. He thanked him and said he would be fine. Now, in Agua Prieta, Edwin was still having difficulty walking, and this boy had no money left, but Edwin had almost 2000 pesos left. Edwin did not hesitate to ask him to buy him a few things he needed, and in return he gave the boy about 200 pesos for himself. Anytime they had a chance to buy food, Edwin relied on the boy and continued to give him money throughout the week. Edwin did not offer anyone else money.
Sometime mid-week they left for the US again. This time they took a longer route around the mountains. It took them about 10 hours to make it around the mountains. Always accompanied by the coyote, they arrived back at the same rocky mountain. This time the minivans met them at dusk. As they were loaded onto the minivans, Edwin was moved from the first minivan to the second one. The minivans traveled at night in the dark without their lights on to avoid being spotted by the border patrol. As it turned out, the first van crashed, and immigration arrived. Some of the migrants were caught while others were able to run away and hide in the desert. The driver of the second van was quickly alerted via radio and drove some distance off road to park the van away from the main road. Everyone quickly moved out of the “cebolla” position they had been sitting in and hid behind boulders and small bushes away from the van. There was a moment when, Edwin said, he could see the patrols walk by them. One of the patrols came about 15 meters from them with his flashlight, but he never saw them. In a moment of panic one of the migrants began to call unknown individuals over to where they were hiding. He was quickly told to shut up because he was calling out to the police and not the coyotes. They waited for two hours on the side of the road to Phoenix until the coyote came back and reloaded everyone back onto the van and continued on in the dark.

When they arrived in Phoenix, they were taken to an apartment that was overcrowded with other migrants. Over 100 people were scattered on the floor. The migrants that had been there the longest had taken ownership of the closets as their own private space where they could sleep relatively comfortably. When Edwin's party arrived they were given a ration of scrambled eggs in a sandwich and a soda. It “was like glory because we hadn’t eaten in such a long time”. They were there for two days and fed once a day. When it came time, they were taken out in small groups of three and placed in the back of a covered pick-up truck. According to Edwin,
they lay flat in the back of a pick-up truck for about 8 hours because when they finally arrived at their destination, they were in Los Angeles. He was in LA for a week. It took a while to connect with his uncle L, and then his uncle didn’t have all of the money together. They would not release him until the money was complete. His uncle paid for him and Marco. Then the coyotes bought Edwin and Marco clothes and airplane tickets from Los Angeles to Miami. His uncle met both of them at the Miami airport. He arrived on July 3rd. He left on the 27th of May. It is now just over ten years that he has been in the USA, and he has not seen his parents and siblings during the time.

Upon his arrival, Edwin stayed with his uncle L. Edwin and Marco were assigned a place on the carpet on the living room floor. Edwin quickly saw that on weekends the other young men living in the same household would begin drinking. One time, he recalls, “one of them arrived drunk and walked on top of me”. Often they would arrive and drop beer bottles everywhere. Edwin did not like the living conditions and mentioned it to his uncle. But since it didn’t affect his uncle, the conditions didn’t matter. His uncle had his own bedroom and did not have to address the issue. Each bedroom had three individuals per room, and Marco and Edwin were on the living room floor. In total, there were at least eleven men living in one home. Later there was an opportunity to bunk with a couple of his father’s cousins. He finally got a space of his own. While he lived with his extended family, Edwin recalled, he did not stay long despite the newfound privacy and space. He explained that his cousins did not speak English and neither did Edwin. But Edwin went to ESL classes and started to pick up the language. In response, his cousins quickly began to criticize him. Edwin clarified that they didn’t like him and started to envy him. He had many bad experiences. “They try to bring you down,” he explained. They mistreated him until finally he and another man left to rent their own apartment. He finally lived
a little better, although they still shared their space with other male migrants. He lived with these other migrants for about a year. At that point, his paternal grandmother was concerned for him because she had not heard anything about or from him. His cousins were guilty for not knowing anything about him and his whereabouts. They could not tell her anything. She asked him to move in with some relatives, so that in case of emergency someone would be aware. It was then that he moved in with his other uncle, Gabriel, until he met his, now, Mexican ex-girlfriend. He also found it difficult to live with his uncle Gabriel. Although his uncle’s home was family oriented, including his uncle, his aunt, their young son, and at least one other extended family member, he felt it was a difficult situation because there was no sense of community. Everyone worked different hours, and no one ever saw each other. He maintained some friends from ESL school, but not many. It was a lonely time. He explained that it is a loneliness that many migrants experience. He also joked that among migrants it is known that in Jakaltenango the women are in abundance and have been left alone. So, when a woman migrates to Jupiter she is snatched up right away.

Edwin himself dated a few young women, but none were Jakalteks. The most serious relationship he had was with Mariana. She was a Mexican migrant with two American born children. He explained that had he not met her he would have probably continued sharing a room with someone else. He says the experience taught him about life and maturity. One time his brother joked that he would call him on Father’s Day, now that he was a father. Before his Mexican ex, he had dated a Colombian woman. He says it did not work because Colombians come with the idea that they are going to meet someone with papers so that they can get legal papers through marriage too. When she found out Edwin was not a US citizen, she pulled away, and they ended their relationship. At that point, Edwin had been disappointed or disillusioned by
the people he had been meeting because it always turned out that they were after some end. And usually, they would ultimately have a falling out. When he met the Mexican woman she seemed humble. It was later that he found out she had a family, two children whose father was out of the picture. He never thought he would get involved with someone like her. He would have thought it was crazy to take on someone else’s family, he explained. But, he feels he grew from the experience. She was not a bad person, and he did not judge her based on her past. He drew from the morals and values his father taught him. And he took the story of Mary and Joseph as an example. “The children were not guilty for having an irresponsible father”, he said. He knew his family would criticize him but he did not care. He relinquished the idea that a single mother was a tainted woman. He felt Mariana deserved a second chance, even if that decision didn’t end well with his family. In the end, his extended family and immediate family in Guatemala did not trust her, nor did they like the idea that she had two children without a father. Eventually, during their relationship, she sent her two children to live with her parents in Mexico. Although the children were US citizens, she felt she was limited in the type of work she could do with two children to care for. His family was further angered by this decision. It proved to them her lack of responsibility. When he decided to move in with Mariana, he made the decision to sever his ties with his extended family in Jupiter. His Uncle Gabriel, in particular, disowned him from his home. They did not speak to each other for many years. Before ending his narrative, Edwin reflected on his relationship with Mariana and his self assumed responsibility over her children: It was not an ideal relationship, but one that grew from shared experiences. He concluded, “Well, that same solitude that one begins to finds oneself in in this country, knowing that one does not have any family, and well then to find someone else who is in a similar situation, well,
well that's why I have noticed that so many relationships have grown from that kind of situation. Yes, and that is the majority, the majority”.

**ANALYSIS**

Raquel Medina (2012) discusses the deconstruction and reconstruction of illegal immigrant subjectivity as retold in narrative form by Rachid Nini. In the narrative Nini moved from his homeland in Morocco to Spain as a self-described illegal immigrant. He also moved between an established professional identity as journalist, poet, translator and intellectual with a university degree to a more generalized and homogenized identity as an illegal immigrant, Moor, and as socially and culturally marginalized. In the process of resisting the homogenizing categories applied to him, as an illegal immigrant in Spain, Medina points out, Nini inadvertently reconstructs an identity for himself by employing the same method of stereotyping to separate himself from the homogenized Others: thieving Moors. Ultimately, Nini identifies with the illegal immigrants’ search for better economic opportunities but rejects the imposed homogenous identity placed upon him as an illegal Moor immigrant, at the same time that he seeks identification with the homogenizing Spanish Other. Like Nini’s, Edwin’s narrative tells of the struggles he has faced within the Jakaltek immigrant community, as an undocumented immigrant, and as the integrated or assimilated Other.

To begin, Edwin’s narrative can best be captured as a testimonial of trauma and injustice. He has told this story before to a professor who had befriended him. Near the end of the narrative, Edwin reinforces/validates his experience by explaining that his friend had encouraged him to write about the atrocities that happened during his journey to the USA. He recites, “*ummm huh, la experiencia y todo eso. Pero ahórita me estoy, o sea era algo que ya no me acordaba, o*
sea de hecho hay muchas cosas que todavía me viene así como “flash” y todo. Pero a pesar de, imagínate diez años después, o sea hay muchas cosas que todavía la recuerdo como si hubiesen pasado ayer.” It is a trauma that he hadn’t thought about in a long time, but certain memories re-emerge as if they had happened yesterday. In his eyes, his is a valid story that merits scholarly attention if not public exposure. Thus, the context and frame for the narrative is set and I am ascribed the roles of listener and record/testimonial keeper.

Like a rehearsed performance, Edwin began chronologically with the exact date he learned he would leave behind his life in Guatemala for a new one in the USA: “Bueno, mi historia empieza...aproximadamente, salí un 27 de, de Mayo de Guatemala. Bueno, eso fue día, día viernes, este yo tenia, tenia, tuve exámenes finales en la Universidad.” From the beginning, we are told that this is his story, a personal experience that he is re-living for us, and that his story, or new life, begins with his learning of his departure for the USA. While he references his identity before that moment, we only learn about him in the context of his migration to the USA and his experience as an undocumented immigrant in the USA. However, within the same paragraph we are given a glimpse of who he hoped to be in Guatemala had he not left. He tells us that he was in school, following the life trajectory of most young middle-class to upper-class men his age. Unlike most campesinos (agricultural workers), located throughout the Guatemala highlands mostly among the Maya, Edwin had planned to finish university and earn a degree. Based on our history, I was aware that he aspired to pursue a degree in mechanical engineering. Meanwhile in Jupiter, unlike most undocumented immigrants, Jakaltek immigrants specifically, Edwin extended his desire for greater education and skill development outside of the traditional landscaping industry that most Jakaltek immigrants do in Jupiter. Edwin became a car mechanic. In fact, he has told me, his skills are so desirable that his employers, although aware of his
undocumented status, have recognized the value of his work by giving him a steady wage raise equal to that of an individual with work permits.

Edwin’s narrative is so focused on the conditions and experience of the undocumented immigrant that he fails to tell us why he left Guatemala in the first place. It is not until almost an hour and half into the narrative or front (Goffman 1959) that Edwin comments on why immigrants come to the USA. Following the rehearsed (pre-scripted) portion of his narrative about how he arrived to the USA and what he endured, Edwin entered an improvised mode (Goffman 1959; Schechner 2002) in which he reflected on the border crossing experience, the number of immigrants crossing daily, and life in Jupiter after he successfully made it into the USA. The rehearsed portion of his narrative begins with his decision to leave Guatemala and ends with his reconnection with his uncle at the Miami airport. He does not seem to consider the details regarding his experiences outside of that period to be part of his testimony. Edwin alludes to why he left, explaining that, “if it is bad here, imagine how it is back home; not just economically, but delinquency and violence.” “Porque imagínate si aquí está mal, imagínate como esta en los otros países ahorita, está peor todavía. No solo la situación económica, la delincuencia y todo eso.” Migrants feel they have a chance in the USA. At the same time that he includes himself in the conditions “back home” that motivate individuals to seek better lives, Edwin does not ever specifically explain why he left. While he has supported his immediate family financially, and he has made the provision of helping to buy land and build a new home on a plot near his parents’ home in Guatemala City in the case that he was detained and deported, it is, however, clear that he does not currently have any intentions, and perhaps has never had any intentions, of permanently returning home unless forced to. As the improvised section of his narrative suggests, Edwin has made attempts to integrate into American society by learning the
language and getting a blue collar job outside of the traditional service industry employment of undocumented immigrants, and he has sought a steady relationship outside of his ethnic group. Edwin has most recently applied for permanent residence in the USA and is currently awaiting an interview, followed by a court decision about his status in the USA. Given the factors that suggest a permanent distancing from his home country, we are left asking whether Edwin left Guatemala for the same economic and political reasons as his fellow immigrants, or has he always been seeking the social and economic mobility unavailable to him in Guatemala?

A closer look at Edwin’s narrative reveals a pattern in which he separates himself from both the undocumented migrants and Jakaltek migrants and family specifically. First, Edwin distinguishes himself from his fellow Jakaltek migrants by contrasting an urban/rural identity. Following social stereotypes, Edwin and his fellow Jakalteks agree that city dwellers have greater access to opportunity, live better lives, and in general are better off. In contrast, campesinos or farmers outside of the city centers live physically demanding lives with few opportunities for upward social and economic mobility. This understanding, however, created a point of contention between them. Edwin explains:

Y entonces allí era donde a mí me, me molestaba tanto porque se supone que estas personas que, que eran paisanos, que se supone que me iban a apoyar en el camino, ellos ah, al contrario. Me empezaban a decir que, que yo no tenía necesidad de venir por acá porque ellos sabían que aparentemente yo era hijo de papi y mami porque eh, mi papa me mantenía y que mis papas tenían todo en la capital y que yo no tenía ninguna necesidad de, de venir a este país. En cambio ellos sí porque ellos eran agricultores y, o era gente que trabajaba en el campo y no tenía ninguna otra forma de cómo superarse en la vida mientras que yo si tenía esa oportunidad. Entonces, como que empezó a haber mucha envidia allí, y me trataban mal, aha, sí. Me empezaron a tratar mal y todo eso.

While they agree on the differences between rural living and urban living, Edwin resents that, based on the assessment of his fellow Jakalteks, his upbringing makes him an unlikely, if not unnecessary migrant to the USA, and that because of this he must suffer ridicule and harassment
from them. It is agreed among the group of Jakaltek migrants that Edwin has lived a charmed life, while his Jakaltek comrades had no option but to migrate in order to survive or live a better life. To a degree, Edwin agrees with the stereotype, but he does not include himself among the fortunate urbanites. The undertone of the statement above, explaining why migrants leave Guatemala for the USA, suggests a humble family that, while located in the city center, is nevertheless threatened by gang violence and limited economic mobility. In other words, he has had the benefits of urban culture and education, but like Jakalteks, he has faced other struggles and merits the same opportunity for a better life.

Another way Edwin distances himself from other Jakaltek migrants is by providing a very specific and individualized migrant experience, including all the physical struggles he endured. Physical, financial, and emotional trauma are not unusual for migrants traveling through Latin America to get to the USA. In my professional work with migrants seeking asylum in the USA I have encountered numerous examples of the same if not worse experiences; however, my interpretation of Edwin's narrative at that time represented a marked performance that sought to separate him from his fellow migrants. Through this process, he also creates an image for himself that contrasts with other migrants. He has created a hero story in which he emerges heroic. As in traditional hero stories (Campbell 2008) Edwin must face not only personal challenges and obstacles, but also a villain or opposition. First, Edwin clarifies that he was and is still unfamiliar with Marco.

34 While he has lived in Jupiter Edwin’s sister was a victim of violence during a burglary attempt at her parents’ home –she was shot in the wrist; His mother has been ill several times; and just like he fell victim to violence while he lived in Guatemala, his brother has also been robbed several times during his travel between his home and school.
E: “¿si, y había…Marco? ¿Creo que se llama?”

M: sí, Marco.

E: Sí, Marco. Ehhh, que él, él venía también en camino.

M: uh huh

E: para acá [Jupiter]

M: uh huh

E: y entonces ah, esa era la idea de, de tío Luis, de que nos podíamos

M: Los dos juntos

E: ah ha, acompañar y que nos podíamos ayudar, y todo y entonces por eso viaje.

Edwin explains that without Marco, he would not have decided to travel to the USA. Upon the suggestion of his uncle Luis, Edwin felt reassured that he could rely on Marco to help him and support him through their journey to the USA. Although they were unrelated, Marco and Edwin shared common relatives, a common place of identity, and a desire to work in the USA. The problem begins when Edwin realizes, in fact, he is on his own, and his assumed membership among his fellow Jakaltek migrants is neither validated nor accepted. Edwin recalls that even before they left Guatemalan territory he was already excluded from the Jakaltek group: ““Este a, Marco estuvo con, con otros ah, paisanos, Jakaltekos también. Bueno, ellos están en grupo aparte. Y a mí me dejaron en grupo aparte con ese muchacho [San Andresano]”.

After recalling day by day events of his and his fellow migrants’ physical struggles and challenges as they moved from Guatemala to Veracruz, Mexico, Edwin points out that it was also a matter of psychological and personal (emotional) endurance against each other. He makes
it clear that each man is out to save himself, but Marco and his fellow Jakaltek, in particular, stood against him. Where they were supposed to help each other, in fact, his comrades failed him and turned against him.

As we move forward into Edwin’s journey, Marco and his fellow Jakaltek are further developed in contrast to Edwin. For instance, Marco and his “group” attempt to lose Edwin at the bus terminal in Mexico City. Edwin explained that it was their hope that he would be caught and returned to Guatemala. Later, Edwin clarifies that Marco and his group had earlier persuaded his young San Andresano friend to abandon him.

Al muchacho este San Andresano, que, que, durante el trayecto cuando estuvimos en la Montaña y él me estuvo ayudando bastante, de hecho el me ayudó con, con cargar mi mochila y todo eso y así agarrarme de hombro y todo y para que yo avanzaba. Pero antes de esto lo chistoso fue de que, que Masho y los demás muchachos le habían dicho de que, que no me ayudara porque ellos igual también estaban cansados, ellos al principio me habían ayudado un poco pero después ellos decían que, que no, era mejor que yo me quedara en el camino. Entonces qué, que era muy difícil para ellos avanzar conmigo, entonces que cada quien tenía que avanzar a como pudiera y entonces que me dejara, que ya no me ayudara, que él, que el avanzara como el pudiera. Y entonces eh, llego este muchacho y me dice primo fijate que la verdad es que ellos tienen razón dice que, que yo también ya me estoy cansado y me está costando avanzar dice, y me estoy quedando atrás también, y ya no te voy a poder ayudar, me dice. Entonces, okay, no hay problema le digo, vete, vete con ellos le digo, y no me importa si llego de último o no pero yo voy a llegar. Y si me quedo aquí pues ya yo veré que hago. Pero tu vete y como quiera gracias por lo que lo que hiciste.

But each time Marco and his group presented an obstacle or threat, Edwin always outwitted or overcame them. In the end, Edwin made it to Jupiter despite the human rights violations, and physical hardship, and without Marco’s help. As the hero in his own story, for Edwin, Marco and his friends nonetheless represent the Jakaltek immigrant community into which Edwin is incapable of fully integrating.

Leo Chavez (1991) discusses a shared “illegal” or liminal identity among immigrants due to unwelcomed membership in larger (US Anglo) society. He describes the experience of the
undocumented migrant as a rite of passage in which the undocumented migrant immediately enters a state of liminality upon crossing the border into the USA illegally. They remain in this liminal state afterwards because either they cannot adapt to or are not accepted into the wider non-migrant society, or they refuse to integrate into “American” society. While most immigrants arrive with the intention of returning home, Chavez argues that various factors affect an undocumented immigrant’s decision to stay in the USA: acceptance or resistance to integration into US society; family and employment attachment in the USA; purchase of property in the USA; and other noneconomic links such as learning English will influence an undocumented immigrant’s choice to remain in the USA or return home. Second generation migrants are also an important factor that determines whether an undocumented immigrant decides to remain in the USA. All of these linkages are made over time, and therefore time in the USA ultimately affects whether an immigrant can become incorporated into American society and also whether they decide to stay in the USA. Edwin is a young, single, first generation migrant who has lived in Jupiter for over ten years. He has an established attachment to his work and employers; he has learned to speak English despite criticism and ridicule by his Jakaltek migrant cousins; he socializes with non-migrants such as his co-workers and friends; he has a driver’s license; and he has opted to live independently from his fellow Jakaltek migrants. According to Chavez, Edwin has met most of the qualifying factors that would lead him to want to establish permanent settlement in the USA; “time, experience, and social relationships (kin and friends) [that are] central to understanding why some undocumented immigrants feel less

35 Like Chavez, I use “American” to describe members of US society that correspond to its folklorized understanding in American English.
isolated and more comfortable in their public movements than do other, more recent undocumented migrants” (269). Chavez adds that belonging to an established network of friends and relatives, often from the same community of origin, increases a sense of solidarity with the new society. Enclave community building and the activities surrounding community building, however, can also function to temporarily remedy a void undocumented immigrants feel from being away from home (Steigenga et al 2009). For some it is a reminder of what they have left behind and sometimes even a push to return home.

Edwin does not participate in the Fiesta de Candelaria. When asked about why he does not participate he explained that work prohibits him from participating. However, he adds that his godfather helped coordinate the fiesta a few years back and that he stopped helping and participating because members from the organization Corn Maya Inc., which helped create and coordinate the Fiesta, were embezzling some of the donated funds given to the organization for the Fiesta. For Edwin time constraints and negative association with the Fiesta excused him from participating in a Jakaltek cultural and community binding event that fellow Jakalteks, including his uncles Luis and Gabriel, annually participate in. In fact, Edwin has never felt a sense of belonging within the Jakaltek community in Jakaltenango or in Jupiter. When asked about his Fiesta participation via the questionnaire applied to other Jakaltek and non-Jakaltek migrants in Jupiter, Edwin explained that he has danced in the Fiesta celebration in Jakaltenango before. His parents obligated him to dance – it was never his choice. He added that he also never learned to speak Poptí’. His cousins, on the other hand, annually participate in the Fiesta in Jakaltenango and their father, Luis, annually sends them money specifically for their participation in the Fiesta. Luis is closely connected to the Jakaltek community in Jakaltenango and Jupiter. He is a strong figure in Jupiter that represents the importance of social network and community in
Jupiter. In fact, Edwin explains that his uncle Luis’ intentions were to have him and Marco work together through their journey to the USA. Relying on an established network of ethnic solidarity and kinship, Marco and Edwin were to travel together and help each other. However, as Edwin makes clear, the network failed him; Marco never had intentions of helping Edwin. Ultimately, Marco stands out as the obstacle to Edwin’s full membership in the Jakaltek migrant community. As far as Edwin is concerned, Marco and his group never accepted him from the beginning. In return, Edwin is not only excluded from the Jakaltek migrant community, but he also in turn rejects them.

Contrary to Chavez’s predictions about the role of the enclave community and social networking to establish solidarity in a new society, Edwin situates himself outside of the Jakaltek migrant community. Instead he stresses his settlement and incorporation into “American” society. Edwin describes the negative aspects of being a male undocumented migrant (the weekend binge drinking, for example) to disassociate himself from fellow Jakaltek migrants. In doing so, Edwin reaffirms a positive character that stands apart from the group that never fully accepted him. Jakaltek migrants represent a culture that he did not grow up in, even though he has blood ties to the people and place. In this case, it is not enough. We find several instances where Edwin marks himself apart from the group and feels compelled to explain his distance and even disassociation with them. For example, in his eyes community means interacting with each other, not binge drinking together. Even when he lived with his uncle, everyone kept to themselves or never saw each other because of conflicting work schedules. Organized soccer matches, birthday celebrations, baptisms, and other rite of passage celebrations at which the Jakaltek migrant community gathers often include heavy drinking. While this is unacceptable to Edwin, it is a practice that is also present in Jakaltenango. Furthermore, Edwin is critical of the
machismo transported from Jakaltenango to Jupiter. In fact, even though his relationship to his Mexican ex-girlfriend caused a rift between him and his extended family in Jupiter, he reassures us that it was a positive experience in which he respected her. Throughout his narrative, he rationalizes his position by reframing his footing or “saving face” in light of what would otherwise appear to be negative group identity. He knows he should be a part of the community and that he should follow the cultural norms and conventions, but given his unique upbringing he cannot compel himself to join “the group”. Thus, he explains that he, in fact, did not choose to be outside of the group, but rather, the group never accepted him long before he even left Guatemala and continued to exclude him throughout his journey into the USA and once in Jupiter. Despite Edwin’s elective and simultaneously forced exclusion, he nonetheless is bound to the Jakaltek community. Migrants represent all of the negative stereotypes Edwin and “American” society have come to expect from migrants, but the Jakaltek migrant community is built on long-time migrant settlers like Edwin’s uncles Luis and Gabriel. They represent the social and often kinship based network that is critical to survival in the USA as a new immigrant. Even as Edwin attempts to physically distance himself from his Jakaltek family and community, his paternal grandmother ensures that he and his Jakaltek family remain connected. Furthermore, Edwin has also consistently returned to his Jakaltek family in Jupiter over the last ten years. Most recently, he moved in with his maternal cousin and her family in Jupiter to save money for his upcoming move to California, where he will move in with a different set of cousins and their family.
DISCUSSION

Cultural conventions such as the Fiesta de Candelaria help establish community membership in the context of change and difference. Among the immigrant community additional cultural conventions are included in response to new ideas, practices, and other cultures in a new place. Edwin’s narrative shows that identity, however, is flexible and despite a bounded Jakaltek immigrant identity in Jupiter, there exists room for more than one identity. Edwin is a Jakaltek migrant who is attempting to permanently integrate into American society.

Jakalteks migrate to the USA for a better life. Some are escaping economic hardship stemming from a global economic recession and in some cases capitalism directly from the USA. Others are escaping the violent aftermath that has resulted in neo-liberal Guatemala, including an increase in ex-military civilians and youth who turn to the growing gang and drug related violence (Burrell 2010). As a town bordering with Mexico, Jakaltenango is specifically in the traffic zone of drug and gang movement between Central America and the USA. A successful transition or movement from Jakaltenango to the USA is based on the community. Established social and kin-based networks provide migrants a reference and both economic and social support for getting to the USA and living in the USA. Like Edwin, these migrants get loans from family or friends in the USA to pay for the coyotes to bring them to the USA, and they also rely on these networks to gain access to housing and employment upon their arrival to the USA. As Edwin explained, his debt is what kept him going during the hardship he endured while getting to the USA. It took him approximately two years to pay the $5,000 dollars back to his uncle. He worked with his uncle in landscaping and began repaying his debt when he received his first paycheck for $40. Often ten or more migrants will share an apartment to cut living costs and
save money for their debt and to send back home. The community is critical in making the migration process successful.

The Jakaltek migrant community is quickly growing in Jupiter. At the same time, it remains fairly closed to non-Jakalteks. With the public presentation and practice of the Fiesta Maya, Jakalteks have, however, allowed for some integration into the community by others. Still, fiesta participation is not enough for community membership. Other cultural conventions such as rite of passage celebrations, food preparation and sales, living accommodations, music, language and dress separate Jakalteks from other migrants. Nevertheless, for Edwin this group membership has outrun its purpose. As a Jakaltek migrant, Edwin feels such group membership—undocumented migrant Jakaltek, and the attached stereotypes—limit his access to greater opportunities and his integration into American society. He goes as far as redefining the community. For Edwin, the community he saw is lonely and disconnected—no one sees each other because of varying work hours. He also disregards/ignores community events such as soccer matches, the Fiesta, birthdays, and rites of passage celebrations, all of which he does not participate in. His notion of community involves time together, without the heavy drinking or machismo found in Jakaltek culture. In other words, belonging and identity are not just based on criteria and boundaries established by the community at the same time that self-ascription or automatic membership (birth/lineage/blood) does not automatically grant access (belonging) into the community. As a Ladinoized Jakaltek, Edwin's lineage-based link to the community is acknowledged, but his rejection of the community, in part based on the community's critique of his perceived “privileged” outsider position, leave him outside of the community.
CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

As I prepared to complete this dissertation I reached out to my collaborators and friends. In the context of this study I wanted to know how their lives as undocumented immigrants in Jupiter, Florida, have remained the same or changed. As a testament to the theory behind this study, each one of them had many changes to report. Edwin is now married to a Guatemalan woman he knew from Guatemala City. They reconnected after he attained permanent residence in California. He is now in Washington State living a life without fear, in a job that values his mechanical skills, all in the company of his wife.

To my surprise, Juan, a long-time undocumented immigrant in Jupiter who feared his family had moved on without him in Jakaltenango, did not answer my call. I was able to speak to his cousin, who explained Juan had finally decided to return to Jakaltenango. With his children fully grown and out of school, the family expenses had finally decreased and he decided it was time to return to his wife. He is reported to be happy and transitioning well back into the Jakaltek community.

David still lives in Jupiter and has no immediate plans of returning to Jakaltenango. The biggest change in his life, however, has been the abrupt end of the Fiesta Maya performance. He explained,

Sobre la Fiesta Maya, si es cierto, en el 2014 ya no la celebramos y tampoco se celebrara ahora en el 2015. Varias razones confluyen en esta decisión: el aspecto económico, usted sabe, en este país, todo es pagado y obligatoriedad en la obtención de seguros para todo. También el elemento humano, el tiempo va pasando y las personas van madurando, envejeciendo, alejándose de su cultura y algo muy importante, el descenso del espíritu de participación, todos quieren una fiesta pero nadie mas se organiza para celebrarla. Los niños que alegraron las primeras ediciones de la Fiesta Maya, han crecido y entrado en contacto con esta sociedad y han perdido el interés en este tipo de actividades. Como que se ha perdido el respeto y cultivo de la espiritualidad que es en si la esencia de una fiesta patronal, cada quien quiere celebrar pero en su casa en forma individual, claro, organizar un evento.
grandes tienen sus complicaciones. Y en el aspecto cultural, pues, la aculturización, la adopción de valores de la sociedad local, desafortunadamente, la adopción de valores en sentido contrario, valores peyorativos, o sea de los males sociales de este país, es difícil decirlo pero se que me entiende.

With the end of the Fiesta Maya, David has also decided to distance himself from Corn Maya Inc.

Aun sigo con mi trabajo como voluntario para Corn Maya. Ya son 8 años que hago esto y siento que deje de hacer otras cosas por poner mi granito de arena en las actividades de Corn Maya, y siento que debo retomar algunas cosas personales e ir disminuyendo mi participación acá con la intención de dejarle espacios a otras personas que puedan estar interesadas en desarrollar este tipo de actividades. Creo que la renovación es buena y en un cambio de actividad uno mismo se renova. (No se si voy a lograrlo, me he acostumbrado tanto a Corn Maya) Mi participación es mas en la parte de educación, y este año probablemente sea el ultimo del programa de Educación a Distancia Para Adultos.

David nostaligically regrets the change occurring among the Jakaltek community in Jupiter at the same time that he is aware that changes and adaptations are inevitable. He blames economics and human nature. Funding and logistics of the Fiesta Maya are complicated, and the cultural integration of young Jakalteks and the waning interest by older Jakalteks to volunteer their time has brought the Fiesta Maya to an end. As the data in chapter four predicted, the organization of cultural performance to represent an ethnic group was limited. David, along with many other survey participants, aptly noted the difficulty in producing culture in an environment that does not financially recognize its importance, that is challenged by multicultural participants, and that is characterized by a national emphasis on integration or assimilation.

This dissertation has sought to demonstrate the adaptive and flexible nature of culture that in turn informs Jakaltek ethnic identity. My goal was to demonstrate how the Fiesta de Candelaria’s significance and its “traditional” function, upon which the Fiesta Maya was modeled, are adapted to the migrant experience, to build community, and a sense of belonging that is informed by a sense of fear and trauma.

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Barth introduced new views on the concept of ethnic boundaries and identity. His concern with ethnic groups as bounded units within culture has been confirmed in ethnographic and group practices that dichotomize one group from another: Mayas from non-Mayas, for example. Identity today has expanded its boundaries from the traditional closed community to one that is transnational and fluid, constantly adapting and accommodating to changes while maintaining strict rules of membership through cultural codes and conventions (Watanabe 1992). In Mesoamerican ethnography identity has also been discussed in terms of divided ethnic relations between dominant Ladinos or mestizos, and oppressed, colonized, or backward Indians. Within these theories about identity, its development (origin) along with its maintenance and continuity in light of global changes and pressures to “assimilate” or “acculturate” to “developed”, “progressive”, “national” identities are discussed in terms of cultural content. Language, dress, customs, occupation, and religion continue to be used to describe identity. Ethnography on identity politics, however, calls upon broader cultural indices to highlight how indigenous communities resist, challenge, and reject change while utilizing innovation to preserve identity. Jakaltek cultural politics in Jupiter, Florida, has demonstrated innovative use of culture to reaffirm identity in reaction to national exclusion and Pan-Maya visions of collectivity. Furthermore, this study highlights migrant/non-migrant relations that challenge a specific indigenous or cultural identity.

Chapter three provided a background on the current practice and meaning of the Fiesta de Candelaria in Jakaltenango. Chapter four followed up on chapter three to demonstrate how the reproduction of the Fiesta de Candelaria in Jupiter, known as the Fiesta Maya, reveals the contradictory political use of culture (pan-Maya/indigeneity versus ethnic unity/memory/practice). Changing the name of the Fiesta de Candelaria to Fiesta Maya allowed
it to represent not only Jakaltek cultural practice and ethnic membership but also pan-migrant, Latino, Hispanic solidarity and non-migrant/migrant solidarity. In the context of immigration discourse, the Fiesta Maya allows three groups to simultaneously contest the discrimination and marginalization of migrants. It also shows the flexibility and malleability of culture. The “same” practice in Jakaltenango has taken on new meanings for various actors while maintaining key cultural conventions, such as the Virgin of Candelaria, the procession, the dance-drama, and the communal dance, that specify Jakaltek membership and identity. Chapter five analyzed the surveys conducted on Fiesta Maya participation to further demonstrate a shifting meaning in the original Fiesta de Candelaria now practiced as the Fiesta Maya. Chapter six looked beyond the Fiesta Maya, which is a synchronic slice of Jakalteca culture temporarily performed and open to the public—but not necessarily inclusive, to highlight the everyday practices of migrants that rely on cultural conventions and migrant networks that bring Jakalteks together. These social, economic, and political practices, I have argued, serve to reinforce Jakaltek identity to establish ethnic belonging in a time and space where immigrants are automatically rendered alien or illegal and systematically excluded from the national imaginary. Denied citizenship rights and services, Jakalteks use existing migrant networks and Jakaltek cultural conventions/practices to create a sense of ethnic pride, memory, and belonging exclusive to Jakaltek members. As other ethnic Maya indigenous groups have also begun to settle in South Florida, Jakaltek ethnic boundaries have both tightened to maintain historically based exclusivity and relaxed in the context of transnationalism and immigration politics (for example, non-Jakaltek roommates learning Popti’). Chapter seven described what happens when community membership is contested. Edwin’s case exemplified the flexibility of Jakaltek ethnic identity. Although born in Guatemala City Edwin travelled annually, sometimes multiple times a year, to Jakaltenango with
his Jakaltek born parents to visit his extended family. Knowledgeable of Jakaltek cultural conventions, and accepted (to a certain extent) into the Jakaltek community by his immediate and extended family, Edwin is nonetheless unable to claim full membership into the community because of his marginalization from the community by other members and his own rejection of the community. With different migratory goals, Edwin chooses to distance himself from an exclusive and specific community to seek long-term goals and integration into US society. In other words, exclusive ethnic membership is desirable in times of distress and fear but limiting in the context of national integration and acceptance. Unfortunately, what Edwin fails to see in the process of ethnic pride, memory and practice among Jakalteks is the collectivity created in ethnic belonging that serves to contest State efforts to integrate and assimilate what it perceives as a problem. Jakaltek ethnic belonging challenges the state to consider multicultural acceptance in which Jakalteks can continue to ethnically coexist within American values, rights, and freedoms.

Performance theory asks the observer to look beyond what is spoken, and even what is visually produced publicly. For this dissertation performance theory was used as a tool for understanding cultural form, politics, and identity construction and/or affirmation. The theory is that pre-scripted behavior or the calculated presentation of the self (individual or group) through fronts, produces interpretable/observable cultural behavior that speaks to the experience(s) of the actor(s). These performances reveal a different kind of knowledge, unavailable in texts. They represent action without necessarily using words, or in spite of spoken or written words. Actors perform their realities either as parody, essentialized cultural performance, or mimesis/appropriation of the practices of the dominant Other to discuss their everyday life experiences. Often esoteric knowledge of the performance limits an observer's understanding of the meaning(s) intended by performers, allowing the performance to be a discussion among
fellow group members. It can also be used as a tactic to speak against exclusion or repression.

My goal in this dissertation has been to understand what the Fiesta Maya, as a traditional cultural performance imported from Jakaltenango, did for Jakaltek migrants in Jupiter, Florida. Within the context of immigration and national politics that excludes immigrants, I focused on the Fiesta Maya to understand how individuals react to ethnic, political, economic, and social exclusion in the USA. While the Fiesta Maya demonstrates the difficulty with applying multiple political agendas into a single performance based on a specific cultural heritage/tradition, it also showed cultural performance can produce knowledge about cultural practice and ethnic identity: Jakalteks rely on cultural conventions (esoteric knowledge) to reaffirm community in reaction to their marginalization from society and exclusion from the benefits of belonging. Jakaltek everyday life practices reinforce cultural community in light of their marginalization and exclusion at the same time that they challenge cultural and social integration or assimilation.

Edwin’s narrative offers another perspective and opportunity to understand how performance can inform cultural practice and ethnic identity. With the appropriate knowledge and experience as an insider Edwin’s case could have easily represented an individual example of ethnic affirmation in the Jakaltek community. However, as a close friend, and with an observer's lens, I have taken Edwin’s narrative as a dialogue to discuss tensions within ethnic groups and resistance to an all encompassing migrant identity. Not all Jakalteks share the same goals or views, and furthermore, not all migrants share the same experience(s) or objectives. As a performance, Edwin’s narrative told a story of struggle and triumph, but deeper analysis demonstrates how performances can be rehearsed for a specific audience. With a specific goal in mind—to separate himself from undocumented immigrant Others and establish his place in American society, I willingly and knowingly engaged in Edwin’s performance to set himself
In other words, performance not only speaks to ethnic and cultural resistance, but also identity affirmation—whether it is to reaffirm ethnic identity through exclusive cultural practice, or to re-identify oneself by marking differences between the self and others.

As David, Edwin, and Juan have each adapted their lives to reflect their immigrant situation, Jakaltekhs continue to maintain a transnational ethnic identity. Migrants like Juan return to Jakaltenango and add to the shifting social, economic, cultural, and ethno landscape; Edwin maintains ties to his family in Guatemala City, Jakaltenango, Jupiter, and California even as he reaffirms his new immigrant status and identity; David struggles with the changes around him as his vision for a united Maya migrant collectivity becomes less viable in his eyes. As this study has attempted to demonstrate and other research has shown, ethnic identity is not static but is constantly adapting. What David perceives as a loss of culture may actually be adapted Jakaltek identity as it is practiced today.
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