

Transnational family dynamics in Tonatico, Estado de Mexico

Dinámicas familiares transnacionales en Tonatico, Estado de México

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Abstract

This paper analyzes the construction of collective imaginary formed due remittances (monetary, social and cultural) and the effect they have on new migration in the locality of Tonatico, Estado de Mexico. The immigration history of this locality is the oldest in the state and currently has nearly half of its population residing in the United States; circumstances that have favored the formation of transnational families that create and recreate a permanent circuit of people, goods, cultural and symbolic, between this and that country.

Keywords: Tonatico, transnational, migration international, remittances, households.

Resumen

Este trabajo analiza la construcción de los imaginarios colectivos que se forman a raíz de las remesas (monetarias, sociales y culturales) y la repercusión que éstos tienen sobre la nueva emigración en la localidad de Tonatico en el Estado de México. La historia migratoria de esta localidad es de las más antiguas de la entidad y actualmente tiene casi la mitad de su población residiendo en Estados Unidos; circunstancias que han favorecido la conformación de familias transnacionales que crean y recrean un circuito permanente de personas, bienes materiales, culturales y simbólicos, éste y aquel país.

Palabras clave: Tonatico, transnacional, migración internacional, remesas, hogares.

Introduction

Migration is a phenomenon of great legal, economic, political, social, demographic and cultural complexity that promotes a number of effects, in the departure and arrival places. In Mexico, exponential immigration flows are one of the most complex realities associated with migration, accentuated in the early 80's, when the national economic model changed from direct state intervention to a mere observer and controller of private intervention and concrete trade opening with the Free Trade Agreement with the United States. Since then, development problems and poverty and marginalization have been pushing greater population outflows to abroad, now the migrants are not only male or illiterate as before, now this includes female migration, which to replicate a growing trend in America Latina (Wagner, 2008; Nyberg, 2008). As well, include technicians and professionals that come from urban and industrial areas in the country. At the same time, in the past decade, Mexico received remittances in amounts exceeding twenty billion dollars a year, with predefined family support roles. But in both addresses circulate ideas, dreams, livelihoods, values, and new perspectives and it is not uncommon for some migrants to add an economic matter as another reason for their immigration, the idea to demonstrate their braveness to others when trying to cross the desert, to gain some status and power; to immigrate represents for other immigrants a life project or a rite of passage from adolescence to adulthood (López, 2003).

These ways of mobility, new subjects involved, the territorial distribution of migrants, the volume, joined with events and circumstances they face in this and that country have had macro and micro implications in the origin and host societies, in migrants lives, and especially in the structures, roles and dynamics of their families. The migrants are a social actor (Long, 2007), they carry culture, habits, customs, ideologies, they carries his dreams and those of his family. Leaving the place of origin to improve the livelihoods, puts them, migrants and family, in a separation process, although, both make concrete actions on one side and the other, this is because the home represent the reason for leaving, and because it is the most immediate link that join the immigrant with their place of origin.

Having a common border with the target country for migrants, facilitates constant flows of people, tangible and intangible goods, relatives, friends, as well as information, customs, habits, and simultaneous experiences. Globalization itself has favored the use of new information and communication technologies that allows interactions, dialogues, decision making, discussions, planning, projects, and actions in the families in the origin and destination locations (Sandoval and Guerra, 2010). These forms of interaction imply cultural and symbolic transfers that influencing families that lives in two separate but related international environments due to these practices, which are somehow extensions of the everyday living on both sides. These relationships allow the creation of a collec-

tive imaginary in actors outside this interaction, but that belonging to the territory where they occur, this process generates a mental and emotional formation of the imaginary in a subject, then in two forming a collective imagination that builds symbols fill they from sense the thinking, acting and forming new expectations in people with regard to the practice of immigration.

This construction process results from the social reality, from the migrants, from the returnees and the specific ways of living (Chambers and Conway, 1991), the perceptions, representations and personal fantasies, concerns, intentions to achieve certain socio-economic livelihoods (Long, 2007). As well, it is related to cultural ways that people have for see themselves, with informal institutional ways that rule their beliefs on how to improve livelihood, and even with religious beliefs that push them to behave in one way or another (Grondona, 2000, Harrison, 2006). It is a complex construction, which allows appreciating a social and family communal dynamics centered in the culture of migration.

In this sense, the useful concepts for this research is the of social imaginary, both individual and collective, since man cannot be understood away from his social life and symbolic imaginary, which is established as "symbolic networks" that link representations and meanings which are useful to society, in which individuals might be aware or not of social representations, but build that social imaginary with its own sense in a compatible way or not (Casto-

riadis, 1993). The other concept that helps in the understanding of this imaginary is the "shared collective imaginary" (Cerutti, 1998: 131-143), a concept that allows us to understand the subjectivity of culture and especially of identity, it allows to understand this collective imaginary as a dynamic process that is immerse in social and family conditions related to migration, in general terms, those who leave, those who stay, the returnees, those who do not come back, and those who come and go.

Although that these imaginaries are important at a community level, the theories hardly addressed the relationship of the family and its absent members, but little attention is paid to the changes and cultural adaptations and parental and especially the formation of the collective imaginaries, which no doubt stems in part from this particular relationship established between the family and its migrants. In this respect, this work addresses the construction of the collective imaginary, subjectivity, meanings and feelings about migration. We analyzed the types of relationships that migrants maintain with their families of origin, framed in shipment, receipt and use of remittances economic, social and cultural, as well as how that emigration abroad changes the family dynamics. Research is conducted at the level of case study with reference to 86 families Tonatico rural community, located south of the Estado de Mexico, in all of them, one or more of its members are in another country but maintains constant social contact with each other.

Transnationalism and family

The interrelation between migration and family, has been diverse and changing in time. Initially, in the 80's, the economic framework focused the study of the structural causes of migration in localities and its economic impact on development. Family were included as a microeconomic component to explain the investments of remittances, the importance of saving and the increase on family incomes, as well as the progress through economic participation of migrants in their hometowns. It was also considered that immigration was due high salary gaps in different regions. After long periods of criticizing unicausal approaches, immigration studies began to study other social issues that had been ignored. The theory stopped looking at migrants as an individual who undertakes the journey to make money and returns at certain time, to give relevance to his social implications. The movement of people should be explained beyond the market laws, economic stability and the impact on incomes in macro levels. The dynamics within families and communities had been forgotten by academic research and public policy. There are also conceptual and theoretical approaches describing migration as a product of as globalization itself (Castles and Miller, 2004), other studies say that this phenomenon is the product of late capitalism that makes non-industrialized countries be unable to achieve economic independence, so they depend on the remittances sent by migrants (Itzigsohn, 2000, Portes, 2007), from the micro perspective is taken to migration as a family

strategy that seeks to maximize and diversify incomes and their sources to reduce risks (Stark and Taylor, 1991).

From the study of simultaneous experiences with migrants in the communities of origin and destination, and based on the study of Caribbean immigrants in the United States, emerged the "transnational communities" theory, one denomination that applies to migrants that keep and narrow economic, social and cultural bonds with their source country, community and family while they integrate in the host society (Glick-Schiller, Basch and Blanc Szanton, 1992). But this process creates new forms of relationship and interaction with the community, relatives, friends and the social, political or religious with whom they have relationships, a kind of physical separation but with emotional bonds, emotional, too family called multi-local, transcontinental, international, multi placed, in other jobs (Guarnizo, 1997, Faist, 2000). It was later argued that the configuration of transnational communities that is the outcome from migration comes when several factors and articulation processes in cultural, social and economic scopes are activated between geographically distant communities and social institutions (Portes, 1997). That is, the mere geographical mobility, border crossings not determines a transnational familial status, requires an interaction between the family and community and migrant expelling its destination, through subjectivities, economic practices, social, cultural, communicative, symbolic, and political in their places of origin and destination. This bidirectionality is the most

important feature of the transnational experience, which makes of the family case, the transition from a local home to one of global nature, on that is understood as a mixture of several individual elements from the source society with others from one or several countries, with the purpose to maintain and develop the family project and the bonds between family members, in which family gathering in any of the two countries is one of the motivations for family reconfigurations. On the border of Mexico and the United States mentioned the emergence of transboundary families, whose constant exchange activities and daily living on both borders affect both countries beyond migration policies and economic disparities (Ojeda, 2005).

In this sense, although the migration process shapes a complex and contrasting in their explanations, it remains a real event, made by individuals with a certain intention. This feature makes that migration has mainly as point source and the need to ensure the reproduction and survival of the household. So that migration generates a circulating resource sharing through social networks and family, which in addition to providing support to migrant do with the household, but at the same time, especially in small communities like Tonatico, they serve as a mirror in which other people can appreciate and learn about the improvements and misfortunes faced by households engaged in migration.

Despite the fact that knowledge about the role of family and household in shaping these networks, and how they themselves

are restructured, is recent. The specific event of international migration shows that the departure of members compels rearranging roles on migrants and their families; to strengthen ties of cooperation, loyalty and commitment, among other things because it is the welfare of the family what motivates immigration. But there's more, even before immigrating, they both know and accept the risks of the trip, crossing the border and the possibility of not coming back, in other documents, a kind of epic heroism. But such actions are made hoping to live better and it becomes bearable live separately without initially cease to be someone in families when migrating. This physical separation breaks the classic definition of a family, which has a residence in common, based on social relationships and mutual obligations focused on the survival of its members (Parella, 2007). Immigration is encouraging the birth of other kinds of families, in which the time factor and the motivation to stay together are changing too. In this social networks contribute, internally motivate and facilitate or discourage the migration of other family members, show towards the outside achievements and ways of doing and making livelihoods in certain family groups, how they relate despite the distance, their achievements and in this tenor will influence the perceptions of other people in a locality.

Tonatico

Tonatico is a locality of 12,099 people, is located 84 kilometers south of the state capital of Mexico, is comprised of a villa, village, two villages and eleven villages, its

main economic activities are agriculture and tourism. Make their agricultural activities onion, tomato, peppers, squash and corn, with little use of technology, farm implements and improved seeds. Since 1997, the city has had political alternation in government, with the three main political parties. The municipal has a great tradition of religious processions, also has banking services, restaurants and small businesses. It has hot springs resort, amusement park with swimming pools, waterfalls, bridges and vegetation attractive to tourists. Their levels of marginalization and backwardness are low, the percentage of people in extreme poverty is 11%, and only 23 declare themselves as indigenous people, while migration is high, with about half of its population lie in the United States (INEGI, 2012).

International migration in Tonatico

Despite the fact that half the town's population resides in the United States, for the three political parties, this issue has received little attention, although in political speeches and some holidays, greetings and admiration are migrants. While in 2000, 2005 and 2010, the population was Tonatico 11500, 10900 and 12099 people, at least another 5,000 reside in the United States between documented and undocumented. This represents almost 40%, are mainly located in Waukegan, Milwaukee, Chicago and California, where he engaged in farming and services (gardeners, cleaning, restaurants, hotels, crafts, janitors in buildings, and to a lesser extent small businesses).

The participation of migrants is decisive in the economic sustainability of

households, but especially during the realization of the festivities (which usually begins in the second week of January and ends during the first week of February), are the dates on which the migrants arrive from the United States to visit relatives, their communities, and to celebrate the feast of the Virgin of Candelaria with a ceremonial peregrination that starts at the edge of town and ends at the main church. In this sense they are economically valuable in the programming of activities, pilgrimage, at dances and fireworks, usually in the color they give with their trucks, their cars, their clothes. It is during this festival, taking advantage of the massive return that the city celebrates "absent migrant's day".

The migration in Tonatico began in the 1940s, a time that matches with the Programa Bracero, but is accentuated during the decade of the 80's, and is now perceived as a risky activity but allows fulfill dreams and wellness goals, nurtured this vision transmission chains, family, friendship and peasantry, and the construction of life transterritorial, separated from the homeland, the dream of return, uncertainty and hardness of the host society that serves as stepmother, but also with cultural displacement. Additionally current Tonatiquense migration has another feature, is of high cultural content, ie, part of the cultural patterns of much of the population that the dynamic social and repeated, becomes habit. That is, regardless of financial need, it takes place, this is where the imagination that feeds on ideas, perspectives, desires and symbolic constructions in relation to the American dream, try your luck, learn

English, Adventure, obtain citizenship, married in USA. In addition holds in this broad tradition of the idea of the North, but also of the social and family networks that have been formed as the difficulty to migrate, transfer, last arrival, and finding employment in that country have grown, they have helped to give continuity to a crowded migrant circuit drives a very large number of children not to create more expectations in your life that you migrate to wait to age 14 to go to the other side.

Remittances in Tonatico

The remittances coming into the community, economic, social and cultural, have different presentations, importance and uses, in the case of social, they have intangible benefits that transfer knowledge and skills through interactive communicative activities or face to face (Levitt, 1988), the other affect the economy and some features of local customs. Especially important are cultural remittances come as much because they are carried from here to there, in this racking are important children ever born in the U.S., in addition to the existence of extensive networks that facilitate these practices. For example, Tonatico families often send their family members who are in that country, tamales, tlacoyos, tlaxcales, gorditas, sweets, crafts, woven handicraft, flags and photography of the region, friends and family.

In this sense, the interaction of these remittances with the Tonatico environment has an influence on the decisions of potential migrants of the community, whether or not members of the group that sends or

receives remittances contribute to building collective imaginaries that affect on the decision to migrate. Among migrant relatives and active, it forms a circuit where circulating people, material assets, cultural and symbolic, these are public issues and can be appreciated by the rest of society, material and social achievements, are slowly building an imaginary that encourages migration of other villagers, some for improve others to emulate, in the end this process has effects on the behavior and configuration of Tonatico families.

Monetary remittances

Although the motivations for migration are varied, for example adventure or fun, really the motivation to achieve economic improvement is the basis for this decision. Even so, families have to accept a high margin of failure in this labor practice because even if successful in crossing the border, it is possible that remittances are not sent home. Even though these households receive them, using not the planned and literally squander. Field work we can say that in this community, just 32% of the surveyed households report having received U.S. monetary remittances once a month, 30%, are received every two or three months, 20% every four to six months and 18% at least once a year. All remittances are more days before the celebration of the feast and health emergencies.

Families employ 72% of the amount received by this concept in daily expenses for food, clothing and footwear, smaller proportions are earmarked for education (8%), expenses as payment for services (7%), in-

vestment in family businesses (6%), savings (4%), and purchase of property (3%). That is, the investment of remittances has been basically in family businesses Tonatico tourism: hotels, guest houses, miscellaneous and restaurants. In rural remittances have helped to change the architecture of the traditional type houses built with adobe, gabled roof, floor and a plant. While in urban areas but also seen new architecture, due to council restrictions for different designs to the colonial type people, are less frequent housing changes.

Changes in housing (houses of two and three floors, with 4, 5 or 6 bedrooms, each with bathroom, the kitchen) are a powerful factor influencing this migration collective imaginaries: the symbolism of the new architecture for migrants, their families and the community and the effects it has on new ways of doing in these families, in their discursive forms and practices daily (stove, boiler, tile floor), the imaginaries that produces the new architecture type tend to be American, the use of space in the new house (interior bathroom, kitchen, garage, playroom), i.e. the transformation of everyday immediate habitat, and materials used. The new houses contrast with traditional houses, the old ways back from farming and into the house itself or the neighbor, are now bounded to enter only if they have cleaned their shoes, those practices have chickens, dogs and other animals roaming in and out of the house, are now constrained to not dirty the furniture, the floor. The dedication of a parking space or garage exclusive tenure reflects a car or truck, which unlike regular old who was a

truck and was used for their productive activities, now may be a car or truck but used in recreational tasks.

In addition to the clear demonstration of the success of the migration via the new houses, remittances also affect indirect ways in shaping this imaginary of migration. Although spending on households suggests that they are not contributing to detonate Tonatico economic development outside the traditional perspective that envisions development only when it comes to productive investments, we can postulate that expenditure on food, education, business, properties and savings, migrants and their families are building future capabilities. Furthermore, culture plays an important role in promoting development (Grondona, 2000), and in this sense, these future expenses and training capabilities of new productive assets may actually be helping to build new ventures cultural values—as the effort, the discipline of saving, which amply postulated as favorable to development in an environment that cultivates (Grondona, 2000; Harrison, 2006). Thus, it is not easy to determine the contribution of these factors to the development of Tonatico. It is obvious that there is little investment productive, but education helps build human capacity that can be used in the future, small income generating investments but also knowledge of certain mercantile forms and this is expanding the human ability. Property, houses, cars, savings, present and future assets are also generating a social credit and extending the coverage of loans and credits to migrants showing success in communities. All these direct and indirect manifestations

are the scope and understanding of other people in the village.

Cultural remittances

In Tonatico cultural remittances are significant, coming from the United States and carried hither and thither. Migrants and their families participate in village festivals with cash contributions with castles fireworks, attend religious festivals, attend the local fair, organized in conjunction with sporting authorities, mounted small businesses selling products and support parties because they celebrate the day of the migrant. But this community tonatiquense also makes some of these festivals in the United States. An important role in this interaction is played by children of pioneers migrants born in that country who come and go without many restrictions; in fact part of the new generations in Illinois Tonatico and combine Spanish and English, children are baptized with names that remind those parts: George, William, John, Edward, Anthony, Sarah, Alissa, and Arianne.

For example, the party of “The drill”, held annually during the month of September and celebrates the consummation of the independence of Mexico, is one of the symbolic representations of cultural hybridity is migration. The festival takes place first in the United States, where the natives of Tonatico elect U.S. Queen beat a path in Waukegan, and a week later travel to Mexico to drill in Tonatico, they carry their party and remittances local party pay Mexico. In the case Tonatico queens, those here and those there; happens that at the end of civic parade of floats, queens gather

every region around Tonatico and they put the crown to the local queen and that comes from Waukegan, which represents the migrant community in the United States of origin Tonatiquense and poses with the flags of Mexico and the U.S. This action refers alive and tenacious melancholy reflecting the transition of being there but being from here, plus respect, devotion and pride of the two flags, the country of origin and the host. Also at the party eat local cuisine migrants with burgers, hot dogs, tacos, tamales, enchiladas, *tacoyos* or “Bean gorditas” and *tortas*. In beverages, coca cola mingles with the atolls, fresh water, soft drinks and tequilas in the country.

This mixture of culture and identity was expressed by one immigrant, when questioned about the American flag in Tonatico:

... Our second flag is the one from the United States because this is the country where we live and our children live. We do not forget our flag, and we also have it in Illinois (Guadalupe H., 48, mother of 2 children born in the U.S., September 2011).

These statements are reflected by people who deterritorialized culture and at the same time reterritorialize it with cultural exchanges and symbolic transmission in the source and target societies in a constant need for contact with their place of origin. This has helped to strengthen family and social bonds in both scenarios in all age ranges, among generations of children born and raised in the neighboring country, there is no doubt that this transfer of sociocultural issues has consequences, here

and there, in all aspects of daily and political life of individuals and communities as a whole.

Additionally, social remittances, those intangibles that are received and sent, social relationships, knowledge, skills, language, associations, clubs, food styles transfers, drinks, clothing, parties, dances, music, beauty contests and symbols. They have implicit and explicit cultural contents meaning lifestyles, we can mention as an example for the families that have a transnational situation in Tonatico, handcrafts, e-mails, clothing, photographs, conversations, and gifts that are given in rituals as baptisms, confirmation, sweet fifteen, birthdays, weddings, funerals, and end of school year ceremonies, holidays, religious and patronage festivals. These families get tennis shoes, mechanical and electronic games, several kinds of toys, clothing, dolls, postcards, mechanical and electrical tools, posters of the cities and towns where immigrants live, key chains, and in some cases, used cars. These things represent bidirectional relationships and family bonds; they symbolize memories, communication, love and affection. They mean being present in their absence that despite time and distance they belong to a family with a social, cultural and national background by sharing details, objects and symbols to continue with the relationship.

The construction of collective imaginaries

Tonatico families, despite the physical and spatial separation, maintain family ties and different social and cultural dynamics in both societies. The formation of this

circuit nontraditional family coexistence, affects the imaginary construction of later migrations encourage aspiring to material achievements already obtained by migrants. Thus, remittances (economic, social and cultural) contribute to build imaginary underlying a culture of migration, a kind of migration habitus (Bourdieu, 1990, 1991) that internalizes the thinking and acting as the livelihood migration, founded in the belief of finding secure employment, better payment for work, send dollars home, potential savings, home construction and purchase of car; improvement in the standard of living, economic stability or just get social status.

These beliefs arise out of not only to observe the accomplishments of others, the search for better living conditions is a quality almost of all sentient creatures, in this sense, the distrust they have in their real possibilities to build a way of living in place of origin also plays a role. Active migrants build concrete homes, bigger, better household equipment (stoves, refrigerators, beds, electronics), and even though some are alone, yet the collective imagination can see them as elements of improvement. Given the coexistence of American style houses with material conditions of extreme poverty, together with expectations own circumstances as potentially migrant population, it is not uncommon that international migration take its course attracting mostly younger.

Housing is only one aspect, the gifts that are sent and received, the stories told by the ones that come back, among other

circumstances are also important in the construction of this imaginary it is at the same time collective, and also individual. From this perspective, people from Tonatico have social, cultural, emotional and even fanciful motivations that influence their collective imaginaries to migrate. It has created a collective imaginary he believes the United States is a country where there is always work, pay very well, that you can have a saving and before long you can treasure sufficient capital to place a big business. These imaginary realities Tonatico projected from the imagination freed from subjection to reality, as ever raised Bachelard (1997: 63). A mainly local reality, which not gives them confidence to believe that they could build their lives here, or reality for centuries and derived from political or religious pressures have been told and remarked that their lifestyles are so divine command and that be content with that. That is, your environment does not provide them the confidence and incentives to stay in it and make their lives on the spot, in this sense, we also see a new formation of entrepreneurial values —and conscious acceptance of risk and that migration is not is easy.

In this sense, despite the risk that this practice implies, immigration remains as a central strategy of the families, even when some returnees describe the real situation in the north:

Sometimes you are lucky and it is a good experience, you can send remittances or bring money for the family home, but sometimes we suffer because of the food, the family suffers here

because they do not have anything to eat and you see that men get money easier than a woman, there are parts where there is no one who lend you at least one dollar (A. Garcia, returnee immigrant, personal interview, July 2011).

Also, the stories of families from Tonatico with immigrant members, gather imaginaries through monetary and cultural remittances, i.e. the creation of an immigration culture. One that even when it has determining foundations not exclusive in the economic dimension has become part of a cultural practice, a *habitus*. Something that began as social experiences produced, transmitted and received individually and through the family, now in the XXI century is addressed with the use of monetary remittances and the new cultural ways they are assuming. It is now common to hear from young people and adolescents:

I want to go to the Norte to get a lot of dollars. Why should I study? Here in Mexico, they pay you very little or there's no job. They pay in dollars, at least 5 dollars an hour; here they want to pay that same for a whole working day. Meanwhile, we live with my family with the remittance sent by our brothers (M. Ramirez, personal interview, October 23, 2011).

In this vision also involves the social status that is achieved between the population of origin when is a migrant. The prospect of being important, being recognized for their efforts. This intersubjectivity of subjects, is based not own experiences but those of migrants, those of others who were in time and space ejector society that no longer are in everyday life, but share

past histories and a world present in two countries:

The social status of our countrymen, who have gone to United States and returned, is higher, they have greater financial capacity, they can buy many things that we cannot, and they can fix or build their nice houses, bring their trucks, spend a lot of money at parties, and hang out with pretty ladies. Many already speak English and didn't even finish elementary school (José C., 34, Law Graduate. October 21, 2012).

... Many of them have equal or better houses than successful professionals such as doctors, lawyers or important merchants in town. And to tell the truth they have worked hard, so they are respected and recognized in the town (Ramiro T., 39, blacksmith).

Final Thoughts

This research shows that in Tonatico and presumably in other parts of Mexico migrants, there is a constant migration of youth and adults because of the construction of various imaginary visualized migration and remittances as providing better ways of living for themselves and families. This is compounded by the material conditions of social marginalization in a region; the political and religious environment that surrounds these lifestyles, which favors formation of symbolic representations is that value migration as susceptible life project

to realize, creating new flows migrants who join all those networks and social networks. Although it is not a linear process and immediate, on the grounds that such symbolic constructions derived from experiences and interactions with various immigration forms, such as those focused on migrants who did not return, or who come and go, or who returned definitely, those with glitzy material achievements, animals, or other investments. Each of these types has its doubts imaginary construction, incentives to migrate and in some cases not to. This indicates that additional factors of migration event itself, is incident on the construction of this imaginary and not an inherent issue, so it can be influenced in its development. In this sense, it is imperative that public action from gets feelings of willingness to support building better local livelihoods Tonatico. It seems contradictory that if migration and remittances are not really providing what people previously imagined them, yet continues to build this imaginary fantasist to emigrate. The counterweight, the socio-economic, cultural, political and other nor is generating the trust and incentives for these people decide to stay in their territories and build their lives here. This situation is serious and reflects high distrust their options, and local political institutions.

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