

PART 2

Migration, Development, Children, and Women

The next two chapters focus on migration, children, and women. Escobar García and Álvarez Velasco explore in greater detail what Levitt and Lamba-Nieves refer to as “cultural fluidity,” that is, the exchanges in the form of social and monetary remittances and practices that occur between migrant-sending and -destination countries. By focusing on two communities in the Ecuadorian highlands, Escobar García and Álvarez Velasco are able to trace both the creation of these transnational communities and its impacts on basic social structures such as the family and the school. The formation of these transnational communities reconfigures many of the communities’ social practices by handing new roles to old players. Caretakers, teachers, and children left behind undertake a new set of responsibilities to maintain newly minted family structures while negotiating the new challenges and inequalities created by international migration.

The chapter by Cortina and Ochoa-Reza studies how naturalization and family reunification policies in countries of destination impact home countries’ developmental prospects. Using the cases of Turkey, Poland, and Mexico, Cortina and Ochoa-Reza argue that once family members (women and children) are united in the host country, migrants will likely stop remitting or at least will substantially decrease the frequency and amount sent home given that the contract by which migrants and family members left behind were obliged becomes obsolete. Instead of remitting, immigrants then will potentially increase the level of consumption or savings in the host country.

To a certain degree Cortina and Ochoa-Reza illustrate de la Garza’s argument by focusing on the role of destination coun-

tries' migration policies that determine who is able to enter and form part of the polity. They highlight that destination countries' immigration and naturalization policies may create unintended developmental consequences for migrant-sending countries. These unintended consequences may be quite harmful both at the family and national levels, especially in those cases in which families and governments are dependent upon some of the clearest by-products of migration: remittances. As de la Garza, Levitt and Lamba-Nieves, and other contributors to this volume illustrate, remittances are not the panacea to solve countries' developmental problems; instead countries need to focus on privileging the rule of law, accountability, and effective governance in order to stimulate development for all its citizens.

CHAPTER 5

Family and School Reconfiguration

THE CASE OF ECUADORIAN HIGHLAND MIGRATION TO SPAIN

Alexandra Escobar García and Soledad Álvarez Velasco

No, I won't leave; because Oyacoto is beautiful and small. I know everyone. . . . I am afraid of leaving.

—Ángela, ten years old
Ecuadorian, daughter of emigrants
Oyacoto, February 2007

I wouldn't leave to Spain because here [in Cañar] I have my family, who are mainly my grandparents, and the land we sow.

—Jorge, fourteen years old
Ecuadorian, son of emigrants
Cañar, September 2008

One of the main consequences of globalization is the increase in the quantity and complexity of international migration. As noted by Levitt and Lamba-Nieves (this volume), the movement of millions of men and women across international borders has caused significant social, economic, political, and cultural transformations that have affected the micro- and macrosocial aspects of life in countries of origin, transit, and destination (Sassen 2008).

In flux with this global process, the reality of Ecuadorian migration at the end of the twentieth century has been altered, and its social and economic complexity has increased dramatically during the first decade of the twenty-first century. The Ecuadorian development and migratory transitions (see DeWind and Ergun this volume) took the country from having a moderate unidirectional out-migration system to a tripartite system in which it became a *sending*, *receiving*, and *transit* country simultaneously.

In this context and focusing only on Ecuador as a sending country, migration of Ecuadorians to Spain has been undoubtedly one of the processes