

Reframing Mexican Patriarchy: Mapping Out the Role of Women in Mexican Hometown Associations

Abstract: The Mexican government's innovative program *3 X 1 para Migrantes* matches investments made by Mexican hometown associations (HTAs) and in doing so, aids in the development of migrant communities throughout México. Previous research, however, demonstrates that this process is gendered. Researchers argue that male migrants tend to dominate leadership positions within the HTA structure because they long to return to patriarchal México, while women migrants prefer to settle permanently in the U.S., where social relationships are more egalitarian. I argue that hard and fast notions of Mexican patriarchy conceal important variation at the leadership level in HTAs. The results of logistic regression on data provided by the Institute for Mexicans Abroad and the U.S. Census Bureau reveal that the location of HTAs in the U.S. has a significant effect on the gender of organization leaders and contrary to previous research, the presence of the Mexican state is found to have a positive effect on the participation of women in HTAs.

Keywords: Migration, hometown associations, remittance led development and patriarchy.

Patriarchal relations permeate Mexican society, structuring the family, the community and social institutions, including the Mexican state. It is therefore of little surprise that social scientists find that patriarchy crosses the border with Mexican migrants and in doing so, structures migrant settlement patterns, community composition, occupation choices and the participation of migrants in transnational community organizations (Barajas and Ramirez, 2007; Malkin, 2004; Goldring, 2003; Pessar and Mahler, 2003; Smith, 2006). Evidence of this phenomenon is found in the case of Mexican hometown associations (HTAs)¹, which are located in the United States (U.S.) but fund development projects in migrant hometowns in México. Researchers conclude that male migrants dominate leadership positions in HTAs, while female migrants tend to participate more frequently in leadership roles in organizations that work in Mexican migrant communities located in the U.S. According to these authors,

¹ Note: In this article the acronym "HTA" will be used to refer exclusively to Mexican hometown associations.

this tendency is due to the fact that migrant men lose power relative to women in the U.S. and thus, while the latter prefer to stay in *El Norte*, the former long to return to patriarchal México where they wield greater influence in their home communities (Goldring, 1996, 2003; Hagan, 1994; Pessar and Mahler, 2003; Rouse, 1992).

In this article I argue that dominant concepts of Mexican patriarchy, such as those mentioned above, blur the nuances of important variation evident at the leadership level in U.S. organizations run by Mexican migrants and Mexican HTAs and in doing so, conceal important shifts in patriarchal relationships in the U.S. and México. I believe that incorporating the findings presented here into future research on HTAs will lead to a better understanding of the conditions that spur communal development within the HTA framework and specifically, will improve our understanding of the role of women in remittance led development (RLD). I divide my article into five sections. In the first section I provide a brief history of Mexican HTAs and subsequently, in the second section, I discuss the role of women in these organizations. In the third section I introduce my data set, which is compiled from information provided by the Institute for Mexicans Abroad (IME) and the U.S. Census Bureau. In the fourth section I present the results of logistic regression analysis and finally, I conclude by considering the wider implications of this research for the fields of gender and development.

II.) Mexican Hometown Associations and Remittance Led Development

The way in which gender affects people's access to resources is largely understudied in international migration literature and México is no exception to this shortcoming (Pessar, 2003: 21; Pessar and Mahler, 2003: 832). The objective of this article is to provide a more transparent representation of the role of women within HTAs. A better understanding of the

patterns of female participation in HTAs will guide future work concerning how gender relationships broker RLD initiated by HTAs. In this section I set the stage for this discussion with a brief review of the history of Mexican HTAs in the U.S. and the role of RLD in México.

HTAs began to emerge across the southwestern U.S. in the 1960s. A typical HTA consists of anywhere from 5 to 500 Mexican migrants. Most often an organization's members come from the same community in México and share an interest in promoting the maintenance of cultural, linguistic and ethnic traditions in migrant communities in the U.S. and communal wellbeing in hometowns in México. Related to the latter goal, HTAs frequently participate in the pooling of a percentage of their remittances in the form of communal aid for their hometowns². Initially, HTAs remitted to fund infrastructure projects, including the construction of roads, community centers, churches, sidewalks and drainage systems. More recently, some HTAs have even turned towards productive investments, including the construction of small businesses and in some cases, *maquilas* and small factories.

HTAs first began to remit money back to México communally in the 1970s and 1980s and at least initially, they did so independently of the Mexican government. By 1980s, however, migrant remittances to México had reached nearly \$1.8 billion a year (Lozano, 1992) and as a result, it was quite clear to a growing number of elected Mexican officials that RLD was a distinct possibility with real political and social benefits. As the Mexican state began to take note of the extensive work funded by remittances in México, they became

² Note: At this point it is worth noting that nearly all of the HTAs, and therefore the development projects run through them, affect rural communities. HTAs only tend to form when organization members share a common sense of place in México and in most cases, due to the less stable nature of the city, urban migrants are less likely to share a sense of place with enough individuals to warrant the formation of a HTA.

particularly interested in the pioneering development strategies that migrants were organizing at the grassroots level through HTAs. Thus, it is no coincidence that over the course of the 1980s the Mexican government enhanced its consular activities in the U.S. (Gutiérrez, 1993) and Mexican governors and municipal presidents made efforts to strengthen their ties with HTAs and Mexican communities in the U.S. (Goldring, 2002). By the end of the 1980s the foundation for state participation in RLD organized through HTAs was firmly laid.

Throughout the 1990s, municipal and state governments, particularly in the states of Zacatecas, Jalisco and Guanajuato, worked with HTAs in efforts to develop rural Mexican communities and finally, in 2002, government participation in RLD became institutionalized at the federal level, when then president Vicente Fox created the program *3 x 1 para Migrantes*, which is housed in the Secretary of Social Development (SEDESOL). *3 x 1 para Migrantes* allows HTAs to access the technical support of government employees, including architects and engineers, and most importantly, it concedes matching funds from each level of government for HTA projects. That is, for every dollar that a HTA donates to a given project, the Mexican government contributes three dollars. Not surprisingly, the government's active cooperation with HTAs in México has incited a great deal of research, the majority of which focuses on the transnational social and political nexuses engendered by the program, but interestingly, little research addresses the factors that affect the development rendered from HTA projects. One factor that has been particularly under addressed is gender.

Research on migrant remittances at the household level reveals that women remit differently than men. Specifically, women migrants are more likely to send back remittances for education and health care, whereas men tend to spend more on consumer items such as television sets and cars, as well as property investments (van Doorn, 4; IPS, 2009). Despite

these findings, previous research concerning the role of gender in brokering RLD focuses almost exclusively on individual migrant remittances and as a result, the shift from research on the development spurred by migrant remittances to studies of the development rendered by HTAs requires a new conceptual framework. My goal over the remainder of this article is to develop such a framework for the participation of women at the leadership level in HTAs.

III.) The Role of Women in HTAs and RLD

Due to the reliance of RLD on the supply of remittances, the principle barrier to RLD is participation. Despite this, surprisingly little attention is lent to the composition of the Mexican migrant population that participates in HTAs. In particular, the role of Mexican migrant women in HTAs, who make up an ever larger proportion of Mexican migrant communities in the U.S., is poorly understood. This is not particularly surprising given the lack of focus on women in international migration scholarship (DeLaet, 1999: 13). However, in order to gain a better understanding of the role of remittances in communal development in México it is necessary to account for the social relationships that negotiate their transfer, which more often than not, are gendered (Pessar and Mahler, 2003: 817).

Perhaps the most important link and most evidently gendered relationship within the HTA framework is the liaison between HTA presidents and the Mexican government. HTA presidents broker the relationship between the government and the rank and file members of their associations. Presidents, thus, are both the impetus for raising funds in the U.S. and the voice for HTA members in front of the Mexican government. As a result, the role of the president is crucial to the success of RLD within the HTA framework and it is for this reason that mapping out the composition of HTA leadership is a necessary step towards a better understanding of the organizational conditions that structure RLD carried out by

HTAs. For this reason, over the remainder of this article I consider factors that help explain variance evident among HTA leaders, placing specific focus on the role of gender.

A nascent literature on the role of women in HTAs argues that despite the fact that Mexican men and women now migrate at similar levels to the U.S., men dominate HTAs and in particular, positions of leadership. Researchers reason that women participate less in HTAs because "[they] favor staying in the United States while men prefer returning to México where their status -as negotiated via transnational projects often in collusion with different levels of the Mexican state- is usually higher than it can be in the United States (Pessar and Mahler, 2003: 820)." According to this argument, women prefer to stay in the U.S. where they are able to take advantage of relatively egalitarian social conditions, while men prefer to return to México where they have more social prestige due to the patriarchal structure of Mexican society (Espinosa, 1998; Goldring, 1996; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Malkin, 1998). The stereotype of male HTA leaders is also tied to the common misconception that migration from México has continued to be predominately male, which gives the perception that men are the more likely candidates to lead HTAs because they outnumber female migrants from México. In reality, however, Mexican women make up an ever-larger part of the Mexican born population residing in the U.S. (Mexican Policy Institute, 2009).

Luin Goldring's work on Mexican HTAs advances our understanding of how gender structures organizational activity within HTAs. Goldring's research focuses on the intersection between gender, state policies in México and transmigrant citizen practices relating to HTAs (Goldring, 2003: 353). She contends that Mexican women are more likely to participate in community organizations that work in Mexican communities in the U.S., whereas Mexican men are expected to participate in HTAs. She argues that these patterns

are the result of gendered government programs that contribute to gender biases evident in transmigrate citizenship practices (357).³ She contends, "...that substantive citizenship practices exercised through the [HTAs] are practically synonymous with male citizenship (359)." Her findings are similar to those of other researchers who find that migration does not necessarily erode the patriarchal privileges of men but rather reasserts them within the immigrant community and within immigrant organizations (George, 2000; Kurien, 2003; Toro-Morn and Alicea, 2003).

Goldring's work illustrates the importance of research on the role of women in HTAs and in doing so, helps set a research agenda for future investigations. Still, her research reinforces hard and fast notions of Mexican patriarchy, on the one hand, and U.S. egalitarianism, on the other. Other researchers have challenged these paradigms, claiming that patriarchy must be considered in light of generational and regional differences. For example, findings by Barajas and Ramirez problematize immutable perceptions of patriarchy by noting that such claims are erroneously based on "home-host dichotomies" (Alicea 1997), which imply that "home" countries are the sites of patriarchal oppression and in turn "host" societies provide women with freedom from patriarchal subordination. Like the authors mentioned above, they argue that this dichotomy implies that immigrant cultures are uniformly patriarchal, whereas American society is unvaryingly egalitarian. In a 2007 article titled, "Beyond Home-Host Dichotomies: A Comparative Examination of Gender Relations in a Transnational Mexican Community", Barajas and Ramirez contest this dichotomy, arguing that transnational gender relationships are far more nuanced than previously

³ For more on the gendered practices of the transnational Mexican state, see Dolores M. Byrnes' book, *Driving The States: Families and Public Policy in Central México*. Byrnes' work provides an in-depth case study of the program *Mi Comunidad*, a job generating program founded by Vicente Fox and Mexican migrants in the state of Guanajuato. Though very case specific, Byrnes' account provides a close up view of gender relationships evident in state bureaucracies in central México.

thought. They conclude, like Pessar and Mahler, that transnational gender relations must be analyzed in terms of "gendered geographies of power" (Pessar and Mahler, 2003). In other words, researchers must consider the possibility that gendered relationships differ by geographic location and across time.

To date, researchers have not explicitly modeled the leadership patterns of Mexican migrant women as they concern U.S. migrant organizations and HTAs. The research discussed above, however, does generate testable hypotheses concerning the leadership patterns of women and men in these organizations. Table 1 displays a list of hypotheses for two distinct models that look to test the assumptions evident in the literature discussed above. The first model considers factors that influence organization type (U.S. organization or HTA). The second model, on the other hand, considers possible determinates of leadership type (male or female) within HTAs. Concerning the first model, it is expected that men are more likely to lead HTAs relative to organizations geared towards community issues in the U.S. In relation to region, it is predicated that regional differences in Mexican migration rates will have a positive effect on organization type, such that HTAs will be more likely in states that are currently experiencing a rise in Mexican migration. Finally, it is expected that HTAs will be more likely to be founded after 2002 due to the incorporation of HTA projects into the Mexican state in the same year. Related to this, as a result of the Mexican state's promotion of the 3 X 1 para migrantes program via Mexican consulates, it is anticipated that HTAs will be more prevalent in U.S. states with at least one Mexican consulate.

Regarding the second model, women are expected to participate more frequently as leaders in U.S. organizations relative to HTAs. However, if the logic of gendered geographies of power is extended to the issue at hand, one would expect leadership patterns

within HTAs to differ across time and region. Thus, due to the fact that Mexican women makeup an ever larger part of the Mexican migrant population in the U.S., it is expected that women are more likely to participate as HTA leaders in U.S. states where Mexican migration is increasing. That said, due to the patriarchal norms evident in the Mexican state (Goldring, 2003), it is expected that women are less likely to participate after 2002 when the 3 X 1 para migrantes program was institutionalized within the federal government. Consequently, it is also expected that women are less likely to participate as leaders in those U.S. states where the Mexican government has a presence in the form of a Mexican consulate. In the section that follows, I test these hypotheses via logistic regression on data provided by the IME, the U.S. Census Bureau and the Mexican Consulate.

Table 1 Hypotheses for U.S. Organizations and Mexican HTAs

<i>Model 1 (DV, Organization Type)</i>	<i>Model 2 (DV, Leader Gender HTA)</i>
H1: Men are more likely to lead HTAs relative to organizations geared towards the U.S.	H1: Women are more likely to participate as leaders in U.S. organizations than HTAs.
H2: HTAs are more likely to be located in states where Mexican migration is growing.	H2: Women are more likely to be HTAs leaders in states where Mexican migration is growing.
H3: HTAs are likely to be more prevalent after 2002.	H3: More women are less likely to participate as HTA leaders after 2002.
H4: HTAs are more likely to be located in states with a Mexican consulate.	H4: Women are more likely to lead HTAs in states without a Mexican consulate.

IV.) Data and Methods

The data analyzed in this section comes from the IME, the U.S. Census Bureau and the Mexican Consulate. The IME provides a list of all of the organizations, both HTAs and U.S. organizations, that have registered with the Mexican government through Mexican consulates in the U.S. Specifically, the IME provides information concerning: organization type, a brief description of the association, the complete name of each organization's leader, the number of members in a given group, the association's foundation date, the organization's location in the U.S. and in the case of HTAs, the Mexican state that the association is allied with. From this information dummy variables were created for the dependent variables *organization type* (U.S. Org.=0; HTA=1) and *leader gender HTA* (Female=0; Male=1). Concerning independent variables, the variable *leader gender* (Female=0; Male=1) represents the gender of organization leaders. This variable is distinct from the aforementioned dependent variable in that it represents the gender of leaders for both U.S. organizations and HTAs, whereas the latter represents the gender of HTA leaders only. For the independent variable *foundation date* (pre-2002=0; post-2002=sequential), the year 2002 represents a threshold because it is the year in which the federal government institutionalized the 3 X 1 para migrantes program at the federal level within the Secretary of Social Development (SEDESOL). To control for the introduction of more HTAs after 2002, the variable is coded 0 for all foundation dates prior to 2002 and sequential after 2002. The independent variable *growth rate* was created from U.S. census data to control for migration growth rates (non-growth states=0; growth states=1). This variable represents a ratio between the number of Mexican migrants that entered a given state between 2000-2009 divided by the number of migrants that entered a state between the period 1990-1999 (Tables 5.1 and 5.2). In turn, the independent variable *mexican consulate* (no consulate=0;

consulate=1) was created to control for the presence of Mexican consulates across U.S. states. Finally, the independent variable *mexican population* is continuous and controls for the size of Mexican migrant populations across U.S. states. For this variable, entries were logged due to the size of data points.

V.) Results

Table 2 illustrates descriptive data for Mexican migration patterns for non-growth states. It is evident that across non-growth states, the population of Mexican migrants has not grown as quickly as they did during the 1990s. The majority of these states have received Mexican migrants consistently for well over a century and while they continue to represent important destinations for Mexican migrants, they have witnessed stagnant or reduced growth rates since 2000 when compared with the growth rates this same group experience during the 1990s.

Table 2 Mexican migration rates among non-growth states

	<i>State</i>	<i>Entered after 1990</i>	<i>Entered after 2000</i>	<i>Ratio 2000/1990</i>
<i>Non-growth states</i>	IL	250,249	186,610	.75
	CA	1,228,691	1,020,593	.83
	TX	764,703	704,555	.92
	NM	39,491	37,628	.95
	CO	95,722	93,092	.97
	NV	79,290	78,915	.99
	<i>Total*</i>	<i>2,600,407</i>	<i>2,243,394</i>	<i>.86</i>

Source: Migration Policy Institute

*Includes all non-growth states (IL,CA,TX,NM,CO,NV,ND,ME,MT,AR,SD,NH,WA, ID,UT)

The results in Table 2 contrast with those illustrated in Table 3, which displays the growth rates for Mexican migrant populations in states that are currently experiencing large growth rates in Mexican migrant populations. As Table 3 shows, thirty-two states have experienced high growth rates amongst Mexican migrant populations. What is particularly interesting is that with the exception of Arizona, the states included in Table 3 are not traditional destinations for Mexican migrants.

Table 3 Mexican migration rates among growth states

	<i>State</i>	<i>Entered after 1990</i>	<i>Entered after 2000</i>	<i>Ratio 2000/1990</i>
<i>Growth states</i>	AZ	196,052	205,538	1.04
	NY	88,717	98,689	1.11
	AR	22,436	25,354	1.13
	OR	49,281	55,809	1.13
	FL	90,071	110,965	1.23
	NC	92,613	130,921	1.41
	NJ	38,382	56,000	1.46
	GA	95,245	142,127	1.50
	TN	25,336	25,336	1.60
	SC	18,734	35,002	1.87
	AL	11,590	28,406	2.45
	<i>Total*</i>	<i>964,222</i>	<i>1,244,959</i>	<i>1.30</i>

Source: Migration Policy Institute.

*Includes all growth states (AL, AR, AZ, CT, DC, DE, GA, FL, KS, HI, IA, LA, MA, ME, MI, MN, MO, NC, NE, NJ, NY, OH, OR, PA, RI, SC, TN, VT, WI, WV, WY)

Taken together, Table 2 and Table 3 demonstrate that the composition of Mexican migrant communities in the United States is currently undergoing drastic changes. Mexican migrants are no longer migrating exclusively to states in the southwestern region of the U.S. but rather, to non-traditional receiving states such as Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, New York and even Alaska. Thus, distinguishing between these two trends helps capture a crucial shift in Mexican migration patterns across the U.S. and presents the opportunity to analyze leadership patterns across growth and non-growth states.

Table 4 reveals descriptive statistics for leaders in HTAs and U.S. organizations. As expected, leadership positions in both HTAs and U.S. organizations are held 78% of the time by men and only 22% of the time by women. In growth states women hold only 13% of the leadership positions in HTAs, compared with 16% in non-growth states. In other words, women participate slightly more in leadership positions in non-growth states than in growth states. This relationship holds when we look specifically at U.S. organizations. In growth states women hold 33% of leadership positions compared with 40% in traditional states. Taken together, the information in Table 4 supports the suggestion that women participate significantly more in U.S. organizations than in HTAs. However, contrary to the expectations outlined in the previous section, women assume the role of HTA leader more frequently in non-growth states. Finally, in states without a Mexican consulate women lead only 2% of HTAs, whereas in states with a Mexican consulate women lead 16% of HTAs. This suggests, contrary to previous findings, that the Mexican state may in fact play a role in *encouraging* the participation of women in HTAs. For complete descriptive statistics see Appendix A.

Table 4
Female Leaders in Hometown Associations and U.S. Organizations

	Female Leaders	Male Leaders	Total	Percentage
HTAs growth ¹	28	190	218	13%
HTAs non-growth	111	591	702	16%
US Org. growth ²	84	127	211	40%
US Org. non-growth	100	202	302	33%
No Mex. Consulate ³	1	55	56	2%
Mex. Consulate	138	726	864	16%
Overall	323	1110	1433	22%

Source: Author; data from the Institute for Mexicans Abroad (IME).

¹Note: Chi square test: Categories are not statistically different.

²Note: Chi square test: Categories are statistically distinct at the .001 level.

³Note: Chi square test: Categories are statistically distinct at the .001 level.

Table 5 presents the results of logistic regression equations predicting organization type (model 1) and lead gender for HTAs (model 2). Model 1 may be specified in terms of the following equation:

$$\log \left(\frac{P}{1-P} \right) = B_1 + B_2X_{i2} + B_3X_{i3} + B_4X_{i4} + B_5X_{i5}$$

where

L= Log odds of y=1 (organization is a HTA)

X₂= Leader Gender

X₃= Growth State

X₄= Foundation Date

X₅= Mexican Consulate.

In turn, the formal equation for Model 2 may be specified as:

$$\log \left(\frac{P}{1-P} \right) = B_1 + B_2X_{i2} + B_3X_{i3} + B_4X_{i4} + B_5X_{i5}$$

where

L= Log odds of y=1 (leader is male)

X_2 = Growth State

X_3 = Foundation Date

X_4 = Mexican Consulate

X_5 = Mexican Population.

As expected, in model 1, organization type is positively predicted by the gender of organization leaders, such that the odds of an organization being a HTA for males (dummy category) is 2.48 ($e^{.91}$) times the odds for females (reference category). In other words, for males the odds of an organization being a HTA is 148% more than the odds for females. Concerning the effects of region, the odds of an organization being a HTA in states experiencing a rise in Mexican migration is .43 ($e^{-.85}$) times the odds for states that do not demonstrate a rise in Mexican migration. That is, for states experiencing growth in Mexican migration the odds of an organization being a HTA is 57% less compared to the odds for states not experiencing growth. Though initially counterintuitive, this finding makes sense in that one would expect more HTAs to be in those states with well-established Mexican migrant populations due to the requirement by the Mexican government that HTA leaders be individuals with stable employment and housing. The independent variable organization foundation date also shares a positive relationship with organization type, indicating that for organizations founded after 2002 the odds of the organization being a HTA is multiplied by .001 ($e^{.001}$) as foundation date increases by one year. On face value, this finding has little substantive significance due to fact that for every year after 2002 there is less than a 1% increase in the odds that an organization is founded after 2002. However, this effect is cumulative over time and thus, the significance of organization foundation date is likely to have more importance with the passage of time. Finally, in model 2, results reveal that the

odds of the leader being male in a state with at least one Mexican consulate are .11 ($e^{-2.25}$) times the odds for states without a Mexican consulate. Put simply, holding constant the other variables in the model, for states with a Mexican consulate the odds of a HTA leader being male are 89% lower than the odds for states without a Mexican consulate. No other independent variables report significance.

Table 5
Logit Coefficients for the Regression of Organization Type and Leader Gender on Selected Independent Variables

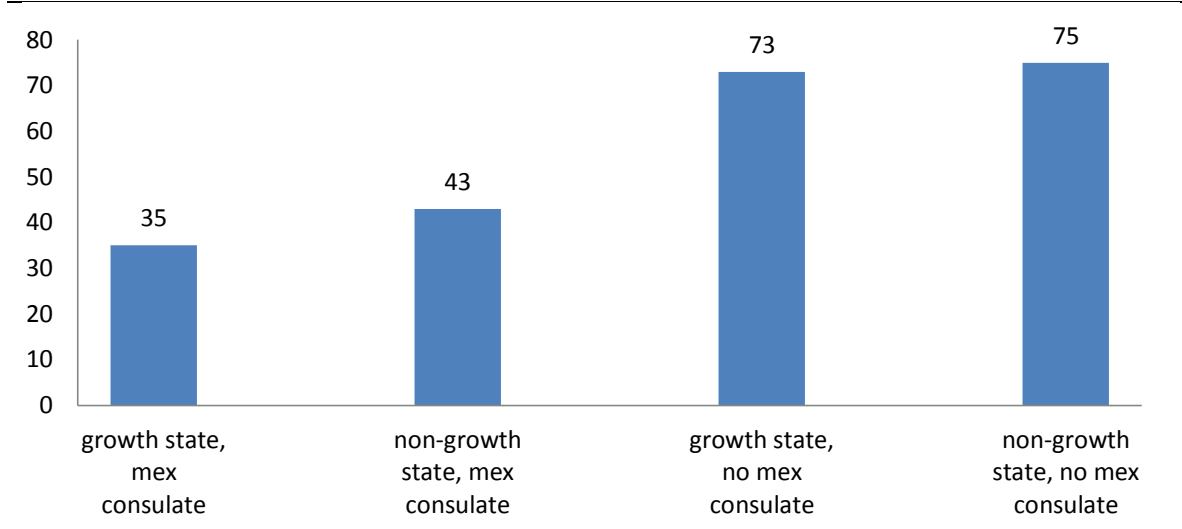
Independent Variable	Model 1		Model 2	
	Dependent Variable (Organization Type)	Log Odds	Dependent Variable (Leader Gender HTA)	Log Odds
Leader Gender	.91*** (.16)	2.48	--	--
Growth State	-.85*** (.16)	.43	-.21 (.33)	.81
Foundation Date	.001*** (.001)	1.01	.00 (.00)	.00
Mexican Consulate	.06 (.29)	1.06	-2.25** (1.03)	.11
Mexican Population	--	--	-.08 (.09)	.92
Constant	-1.07** (.34)		3.89*** (1.07)	
N	1431		920	

Source: Author; data from Institute for Mexicans Abroad (IME).

+p<.1 *p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

Perhaps the most interesting result from above, and the least expected (see Table 1), is the negative relationship found between male leadership participation and the presence of Mexican consulates. In order to explore this relationship further, for model 2, I estimate the probability of a HTA leader being a male for four different scenarios: (1) growth state with a Mexican consulate, (2) non-growth state with a Mexican consulate, (3) growth state with no Mexican consulate and (4) non-growth state without a Mexican consulate. In respect to the remaining independent variables, the variable foundation date is held at its median, 2006, and the variable logged Mexican population (logged) is set at its mean, 13.55. For more information on the construction of these profiles and calculations, see Appendix B. As Figure 1 reveals, the probability of a male HTA leader is lowest in growth states (35%) and non-growth states (43%) *with* a Mexican consulate. In contrast, the probability of a male HTA leader is highest in growth states (73%) and non-growth states (75%) *without* a Mexican consulate. These results imply that women are more likely to lead HTAs in states with a Mexican consulate compared to those states without Mexican consulates.

Figure 1 Probability of HTA leader being male for select profiles



Note: For more information on profiles and calculations, see Appendix B.

Table 6 displays descriptive statistics for the relationship between the percentage of women who lead HTAs for select states and the presence of Mexican consulates. As the reader can see, the percentage of female HTA leaders is highest in those U.S. states that have at least one Mexican consulate. For example, in California, Illinois, Texas, Arkansas, Nevada and North Carolina, all of which have at least one Mexican consulate, women hold at least 16% of the leadership positions in HTAs. In Arkansas, Nevada and North Carolina women lead over 27% of HTAs. However, in states without a Mexican consulate, such as Alabama, Oregon, Wisconsin, and Washington, women rarely hold leadership positions in HTAs. While this finding hardly refutes the notion that patriarchal norms within the Mexican state govern gender relationships within HTAs (Goldring, 2002), it does demonstrate that the state may play a role in facilitating the participation of women as leaders in HTAs in a way that the Mexican migrant community at large does not. In the section that follows I consider the implications of these results at length.

Table 6 Female Leadership in HTAs and the Presence of Mexican Consulates

		Percentage Women HTA Leaders	
		low	high
Presence of Mexican Consulate	low	AL, OR, WI, WA (0%) UT(6%)	
	high	FL (11%) AZ (11%)	IN (15%) AR (33%) NV (27%) NC (34%) CA, IL (16%) TX (16.5%)

Source: Author, data from Institute for Mexicans Abroad (IME).

VI.) Discussion and Conclusion

Prior research on migrant remittances in rural México documents the potential for remittances to incite economic growth in the Mexican countryside, and since 2002 the Mexican government has worked side by side with HTAs in the U.S. through the program 3 X 1 para migrantes to channel migrant remittances towards economically productive ends. In short, the Mexican government has moved beyond its symbolic rhetoric of the past by making real attempts to recapture the voice of Mexican migrants residing in the U.S. Still, the union of HTAs and the Mexican government is not looked upon favorably by everyone. Critics of the collective development realized by HTAs and the Mexican government claim that the development process is structured by strong patriarchal norms evident in the Mexican state and migrant culture. Still, to my knowledge, all of these claims have been made

based on the results on case-specific studies. Thus, the results from this study represent the first attempt to analyze the validity of the previous claims through a statistical analysis of an aggregate data base.

In this article I argue that dominant notions of Mexican patriarchy conceal important variation at the leadership level in both U.S. organizations and Mexican HTAs. I test this suggestion through a logistic regression analysis of data from the IME. Several conclusions emerge from the results of this analysis. First, as predicted, male leaders participate more in HTAs relative to U.S. organizations, though, all things being equal, male leaders still outnumber female leaders in both organization types. Second, in U.S. states that are experiencing a growth in Mexican migration, male migrants participate significantly more in HTAs than in U.S. organizations. This finding is of particular interest because it demonstrates that the odds are greater that female migrants will participate in HTAs in states that are not experiencing growth in Mexican migration. This result makes sense given that the Mexican government requires that HTA leaders be individuals with U.S. residency and a stable job and housing. These thresholds are more likely to be met by Mexican migrants in states that have long traditions of Mexican migration, which are precisely those states like California, Colorado, Illinois, Nevada and Texas, all of which are not currently undergoing large growth rates in Mexican migration. Perhaps most importantly, this finding demonstrates that the rules established by the Mexican state play a role in dictating who participates in the 3 X 1 program. This outcome is moderately supported by the finding that organizations founded after 2002 are more likely to be HTAs due to the fact that this finding, like the previous, suggests that the expansion of the Mexican state through the presence of Mexican consulates leads to the growth of HTAs.

Finally, contrary to the expectation displayed in Table 1, it was found that for states with a Mexican consulate the odds of a HTA leader being male are 89% lower than the odds for states without a Mexican consulate. Put simply, other things being equal, the odds of women participating in HTAs are greater in states *with* a Mexican consulate. As mentioned above, this finding does not refute the notion that patriarchal norms within the Mexican state govern gender relationships within HTAs (Goldring, 2002), however it does suggest an association between the Mexican state and the participation of women as leaders in HTAs. So, while it may be that HTA structures “are practically synonymous with male citizenship,” as Luin Goldring argues, the role of the Mexican state in this process does not appear to be as cut and dry as she suggests.

Findings from this essay demonstrate that the Mexican state may actually ameliorate the patriarchal social conditions faced by Mexican migrant women in the state’s absence. With these findings in mind, the more appropriate question for future researchers is not whether or not women lead HTAs, they do, but rather, why women participate at higher levels in some regions than in others. In this sense, academics must deconstruct dominate notions of patriarchy through empirical research that demonstrates the nuances of gendered relationships. In the case of Mexican HTAs, mapping out the gendered geographies of leadership patterns is a necessary step towards gaining a better understanding of the mechanisms that drive variation in development outcomes within the HTA framework. With this in mind, future research on HTAs should consider how gendered relationships affect development rendered through HTAs. Elsewhere, it has been shown that men and women approach development differently. Specifically, in microfinance lending women have been found to be more fiscally responsible with funds than men and as a result, microfinance lending is almost exclusively brokered through women. Similarly, research on migrant

remittances at the household level reveals that women remit differently than men. Women migrants are more likely to send back remittances for education and health care, whereas men are more likely to spend on consumer items such as television sets and cars, as well as property investments (van Doorn, 4). Moreover, during times of economic downturn, men tend to reduce the amount of money they send back home to a greater degree than women, who find a way to keep sending money despite hardship (IPS, 2009). Further research should explore how these types of spending patterns affect HTAs and specifically, development rendered through HTA projects.

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Appendix A: Model Variable Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Median	Mean	Min	Max
Organization Type (DV, model 1) (dummy, HTA=1)	1	.64	0	1
Leader Gender HTA (DV, model 2) (dummy, male=1)	1	.85	0	1
Leader Gender (dummy, male=1)	1	.77	0	1
Growth State (dummy, >1=1)	1	.30	0	1
Foundation Date (<2002=0; 2006 >2002=sequential)	1273.33	0	2009	
Mexican Consulate (dummy, consulate=1)	1	.93	0	1
Logged Mexican Population	14.7	13.55	7.42	15.26

Appendix B: Profiles for likelihood calculations (model 2)

Profile 1:

$$\log \left(\frac{P}{1-P} \right) = 3.89 - .21(1) + .0001(2006) - 2.25(0) - .08(13.55) = 2.7966$$

where

L= Log odds of y=1 (HTA leader is male)

X₂ (Growth State) = 1

X₃ (Foundation Date) = 2006

X₄ (Mexican Consulate) = 0

X₅ (Mexican Population) = 13.55

Thus, $P = \frac{e^L}{1+e^L} = .7366$

Profile 2:

$$\log \left(\frac{P}{1-P} \right) = 3.89 - .21(0) + .0001(2006) - 2.25(1) - .08(13.55) = .7566$$

where

L= Log odds of y=1 (HTA leader is male)

X₂ (Growth State) = 0

X₃ (Foundation Date) = 2006

X₄ (Mexican Consulate) = 1

X₅ (Mexican Population) = 13.55

Thus, $P = \frac{e^L}{1+e^L} = .4307$

Profile 3:

$$\log \left(\frac{P}{1-P} \right) = 3.89 - .21(1) + .0001(2006) - 2.25(1) - .08(13.55) = .5466$$

where

L= Log odds of y=1 (HTA leader is male)

X₂ (Growth State) = 1

X₃ (Foundation Date) = 2006

X₄ (Mexican Consulate) = 1

X₅ (Mexican Population) = 13.55

Thus, $P = \frac{e^L}{1+e^L} = .3534$

Profile 4:

$$\log \left(\frac{P}{1-P} \right) = 3.89 - .21(0) + .0001(2006) - 2.25(0) - .08(13.55) = 3.0066$$

where

L= Log odds of y=1 (HTA leader is male)

X₂ (Growth State) = 0

X₃ (Foundation Date) = 2006

X₄ (Mexican Consulate) = 0

X₅ (Mexican Population) = 13.55

Thus, $P = \frac{e^L}{1+e^L} = .7504$

