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ACTORS' VOICE

PAIN AND JOY: THE PSYCHIC STRUCTURE OF TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES

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Migration is a painful event, both for those who go and those who stay behind. This process is particularly complex when it is done "without papers". Those who stay behind are constantly stressed about the dangers incurred by those who crossed illegally; they are left "on edge," always praying that "nothing happens to them," that they "don't die on the road", or that they "don't forget us". Those who leave experience loneliness, sadness, discrimination, fear of living in a country "that will never be ours". In short, as the popular saying goes: "the one who leaves, leaves crying; the one who stays, stays sighing".

The pain begins with the sadness of leaving family, friends, the home town and its traditions. Fear of the voyage, full of ups, downs and difficulties, will always accompany migrants because their undocumented status makes them almost completely vulnerable in terms of law, work and health. Shame regarding their linguistic limitations and their lack of familiarity with the new environment restricts their access to information (Parrado, Flippen and McQuiston, 2005). Depression given "the absence of people with whom to share experiences, the fatigue caused by the adaptation effort, a feeling of rejection in the new society, translate into confusion in terms of expectations, values and a sense of identity, as well as impotence for not being fully functional in the host culture" (Espín, 1997: 446). All the demands posited by living in another place require ongoing adjustments that transcend cultures, generations and continents (Valenzuela, 1999; Salaff and Greve, 2001; Cuéllar, 2002; Faulstich, Dorner and Pulido, 2003; Chamberlain and Leydesdorff, 2004).

1. This article is part of a research project recently approved by the National Council of Science and Technology (Conacyt) in the Call for Complementary Support to Developing Researchers Level 1, 2009. This is part of a theoretical proposal comprised of multiple modes of data collection for the analysis of the psychological structure of transnational families.

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Those who stay go through the hardships of family rearrangement as well as the anguish of being alone and having "lost" someone. Long absences and the consequent physical distance and emotional estrangement, births without support or in the absence of the spouse or partner, and economic stress, among others, lead to depression (Sánchez Castro, 2009). Belonging to a family where migration is a way of life entails even more complex vicissitudes. To some extent, we share the belief that the migrant family is defined by its movement between two worlds, two countries, two spaces and communities. Pain is not an individually caused sensation; as Gampel (2002) puts it, pain is social and "originates in human relations as a whole" (cited in Melillo, 2004: 64). When migrants reach their destination, the situations they face, including exclusion, constant humiliation, vulnerability or social violence create human interactions that translate into deep pain. In the face of this pain, the subject faces an impossible assimilation task and feelings of fear and safety coexist: "the individual, therefore, is forced to endure an excised world and an excised self that allows him to deny the sinister aspects to go on living or, simply, to keep trauma at bay" (Melillo, 2004: 64-65).

The pain is so deep that it becomes songs, tears, ailments that are both physical (e.g., fatigue, headaches) and psychic (e.g., depression, anxiety), but can hardly be expressed in words. The dictionary defines "pain" as an affliction in some part of the body but, what happens when pain cannot be located somewhere specific? What happens when the pain is so great that the only thing to do is "endure because there's nothing for it"? The central question is: how can these "disorders," products of migration, be solved?

Here we intend to answer three sets of core questions:

- In which ways are the everyday "pains" endured by migrants—linguistic limitations, fear over their "illegal" condition, the lack of secure employment, and so on—reconfigured? Is "joy" a way to move within the system? Is joy a reinforcement of the same system? Do the "conscientious forgetting" of the mother tongue, changes in consumer habits, derogatory references to the "others," demonstrate joy in pain?
- What is the socio-political function of pain suppression? Who benefits from it?
- What are psychosocial costs paid by migrants?

To answer these questions, we refer to Hegel (1966 [1807]) and Nietzsche (1998 [1886/1887]), and focus on the theoretical work of Judith Butler (1997) and Slavoj Žižek (2003, 2006), which allow us to analyze how subjects are constituted and outline the identity policies

that are produced, reproduced and appropriated in particular social settings.

This study seeks to establish a link between the psyche, restraints placed on individuals and mental health, and some of the problems related to migration; the intent is to examine the ways in which the many discourses regarding migrants (assimilation-based ones as well as those that point to a loss of identity) lead to situations that are reconfigured and "introjected" by the subject. It is possible to trace these situations in some emotions and psychophysical ailments. This paper is divided into three parts: the first discusses the ways in which migrant pain is reconfigured; the second the socio-political functions of this reconfiguration; the third reflects on the psychosocial costs of migration.

THE RECONFIGURATION OF PAIN

Migrant pain leads us to try to understand the psychic constitution of the subject, which we understand as the result of power relations and struggles and the forms of organization found in these relationships. That is, a means to understand the way in which the subject is constituted to reflect on identity policies at the subject's disposal. As we have stated, "the subject is constructed in discursive universes criss-crossed by power relations... the discursive field of a society covers a multiplicity of discourses that become possible sources for a socially guided construction of the self" (Sieglin and Ramos, 2008: 142).

Discourses are key weapons in narratives of self and the way in which this makes subject action possible or impossible. Identity policies are, therefore, addressed to groups or individuals in order to anchor their subjectivity within some power project (Sieglin and Ramos, 2008: 142). It is important to focus on mechanisms of construction of identity, since current forms of domination are increasingly instrumentalist, invisible and articulated. Discourses on equality, democracy, public opinion, citizenship and the inevitability of globalization also entail control and domination. How can we explain the power of written discourse or bureaucratic discourse? How can we explain that, despite the economic and political disaster brought on by Republican administrations in the United States, with their openly racist discourse, a significant number of Hispanics and Mexican Americans still support Republican candidates?[1]

1. According to a survey made by Paul Taylor and Richard Fry for the Pew Hispanic Center (PHC) and published at the end of 2007, 57% of potential registered Hispanic voters identified as Democrats, while 23% declared themselves Republicans. Moreover, it has been estimated that the Hispanic vote played an important role in the success of George Bush in 2004. Information available at http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/portal/rielcano/Contenido?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/Elcano/elcano_es/zonas_es/Lengua and ari80/culture-2008

The answer should be sought in the process whereby the subject adheres to submission. According to Hegel (1966 [1807]), submission is a product of power management; it partly manifests as a psychological effect: a passionate link. In it, the dominated identifies with the dominator or the 'master,' in Hegel's own words, because, somehow, neo-liberal society has caused the dominated to break up amongst themselves while becoming attached to the dominator. The dominated embraces the extant forms of power and takes on the required role because, in a sense, this also causes pleasure.

On the other hand and in regards to pain, to resignify pain is to live a "painful bond" that generates positive feelings towards the dominators. According to Nietzsche (1998 [1886]), this begins the cycle of "self-effacement." This positive sentiment towards the dominators feeds on itself and arises in interactions amongst the weak, generating the psychic structure of the dominated. Extant discourses pertaining to politics, public opinion and civil society are incorporated into the discourse of the dominated, who then become passive victims. However, this must also be understood as an act of survival: the domestication of the subject generates an unbearable pain that is resignified as "pleasure." This constructs the psychic apparatus in which emotions (joy, sadness, hope) are social and political constructs. These emotions sustain the morality of the slave who, through the construction of memory, violence to the self, and "conscious oblivion," is resignified on the moral level and activated by violence toward the "other." Migrants appropriate negative discourses regarding their own countrymen, and violence manifests as a rejection of "newcomers," looking down on those who stayed, taking distance from them. For example, some Mexican migrants in the United States "forget" their pains if their children speak good English; the separation of their beings begins to be seen from another perspective because those who were left behind are no longer seen as equal: they work "less." Migrants might even distance themselves from newcomers to the United States, because they "are little Mexicans that still don't get it."

In *Beyond Good and Evil* and *On the Genealogy of Morals*, Nietzsche identifies a process of moralization in which man ends up ashamed of his instincts; on the other hand, in a current philosophical context, Slavoj Žižek argues that, in "post-liberal societies … the agency of social repression no longer acts in the guise of an internalized Law or Prohibition that requires renunciation and self-control; instead, it assumes the form of a hypnotic agency that imposes the attitude of 'yielding to temptation' – that is to say, its injunction amounts to a command: 'Enjoy

yourself!'" Society, he says "requires us to fall asleep, into a hypnotic trance, usually under the guise of just the opposite command… towards automatic and compulsive behavior" (2003: 31-32). Nietzsche believed that the master-slave relationship led to a kind of slave morality. The mechanisms for the implementation of this morality are violence toward the self, oblivion, reconfiguration on a moral level, and a revival of violence towards the "other." In slave morality, man ends up ashamed of himself; adaptability is seen as good, and thinking about good is useful: the subject must try to forget what was left behind.

Migration is a necessary evil: it is useful as the second source of foreign currency and serves as an economic alternative in the face of harmful economic policies. It must be based on oblivion, but this also has a function: to forget the sorrows but not the land, the responsibilities, the country or culture. Therefore, the ways in which the federal government instructs its consulates to faithfully reproduce the Mexican culture and values is the highlight of its migration policy.

Upon leaving their place of origin—and probably even before that—migrants "silently weave their spirit" because, say Žižek , this begins an unconscious transformation of an the entire symbolic network, the whole field of meaning. A multiplicity of features is unwittingly installed upon transferring to the host country, and when consciousness dawns it is already too late: the discourse that has already been appropriated by the migrant testifies to the change. Having constructed differences between *there* (Mexico, in this case) and *here* (the United States), the opponent has already won an ideological battle: the migrant begins to speak the language of the other without even becoming aware of it (Žižek, 2006: 95). But what "was" continues to be, because the way migrants resignify things is always based on the new (life in the United States) and the old (life in Mexico; Ramos, 2009).

Somehow, nostalgia fosters reconfiguration given that meaning itself has changed. The dialectical overcoming proposed by Žižek allows us to understand, to some extent, how this reconfiguration happens. Between the two "moments" that occur in the move from one place (when the content has changed) to another (where the change has already been implemented; e.g., "one can't live back there in Mexico," "here there are better opportunities for our children," "why would I return?") there is an interval where change is not perceived. It is through language that we can trace the appropriation of the new discourses that settle in time and in various ways (Ramos, 2009).

Here is an example. Sergio, 37 years old, married and with four children, says:

> I feel a little more at peace, more stable, I've gotten more used to the idea... What happened is I had this talk with someone else. And he is right, because he says we are not going to stop suffering, crucifying ourselves if we don't accept the idea that we are already living in this country. This "gringo" said, what you guys do is that you never stop thinking about Mexico, he says, you are always going on about Mexico this and Mexico that, thinking of going back, thinking about your family, thinking. He says, that's something silly; what you must do is , if you have already moved, if you already took the step, well, get used to the idea that you are already living here and this is where you have to succeed, he says. Instead of always thinking about sending money, saving enough money to leave, he says; you are never here nor there. He says, get used to the idea of being here, do the things you have to do as if you were there, he says: buy a house, a car, do whatever you have to do. Enroll in school if you have time, study English, he says, everything. Build a life, he says, look after your children, take them to the park, spend time with them.

Unwittingly, Sergio feels bad about his nostalgia and for thinking about Mexico. From the point of view of the "other," one must forget to move on. Stability, peace, realizing how bad things are in Mexico, now appear very clearly to Sergio: the words of "someone else," the "gringo," only reiterate what he himself has already come to understand. Nostalgia for Mexico is considered silly. Being in the United States means succeeding, getting ahead materially (buy a house, a car), do what needs to be done: speak English and go to school. All of the things that have positive value to the "other" (a house, a car, school, English) make him question the migrant's nationalism, his devotion to the family he has left behind, and the pain of nostalgia (Ramos, 2009).

In short, the "other" sees nostalgia as a problem, something that prevents adaptation. What is interesting about this story is that each of the recommendations are not pending tasks but, at least in the case of Sergio, a reality: their children go to school, he owns a home, has two cars. He is proud of his children's command of English: "I see my children, and I see that, being bilingual, they are smarter." The "other's" recommendation had been heeded before he said a single word. Even before he left for the United States, Sergio had already been exposed to this type of thought through the "success" stories of other migrants (i.e., family and friends), and the widely accepted discourse that United States can indeed be a dream fulfilled—that the American dream is possible. As Žižek points out, consciousness arrives too late because the enemy rationale has already been accepted: an ideological battle has been won when the opponent begins to speak the language

without being aware of it (2006: 95).

According to Michel Foucault, the goal of modern politics is not to free the subject, but analyze the regulatory mechanisms through which subjects are produced and maintained (cited in Butler, 1997: 44). In this sense, we start with the assumption that one way to observe regulatory mechanisms is to analyze the dominant discourses expressed in assimilationist policies and theories regarding migrants, and the consequent role this type of discourse plays in the reconfiguration of pain.

THE FUNCTIONS OF PAIN SUPPRESSION

To understand the role of pain suppression, we must undertake a brief discussion regarding the various discourses on migrants on both sides of the border. First, we believe that dominant discourses on migration, which perceive it either as loss or assimilation issue, can both conceal and minimize complex processes of socio-economic relations and communal responsibility, as well as the economy of familial, public or private emotions (Gray, 2008). Secondly, these discourses have a direct impact on migration-related programs and public policy. Finally, we maintain these extant discourses promote a certain view of migrants and their families and play an economic, political and social role that caters to specific actors (businessmen, bankers, public officials) who benefit from the supression of migrant pain.

Discourses on migrants: loss of identity

The Mexican government's migration policy has two main characteristics: omission and dissemination. The actuality of the first premise is made clear through the lack of political will to defend the "*paisanos*"[2] in the United States from countless cases of human and labor rights violations, as well as in the consular lack of human and financial resources. An exemplary omission is that of the farm workers who have not yet received the social security compensation they obtained during their stay in the United States through the Bracero Program, which began in 1942 and ended in 1964.

In terms of dissemination, the key strategy through which the state expresses its concern for expatriates involves programs and activities that remind Mexican migrants of their roots and culture. This is politically useful because it justifies the "multiple acts" carried out by consulates, such as celebrating Independence Day, organizing football clubs,

2. The term was "formally" used from 1989 onward with the implementation of the Programa Paisano by the federal government. For a history of this program see http://www.Paisano.gob.MX/index.php?page/antecedentes.

Spanish courses, etc. We can also mention the timely and convenient 3 x 1 Program, which co-opts a social network scheme of communal aid begun "from below" by migrants, and that, in a veiled manner, the government imposes from above.

The issue of remittances is not only an important economic indicator but also a political and ideological tool: discourses that portray migrants as heroes in the national economy are frequent. But the heroes are also victims, and the government acknowledges this insofar as it sends its Beta teams[3] across the border to protect them in the desert, warn them of the dangers, and give them leaflets showing how not to die of thirst or animal bites. Some leaders denounce the exploitation of Mexican migrants, whose labor rights are not respected. But the lack of a functional employment policy in Mexico is never brought to the fore.

Academia also continues to take a static view of migrants. For some, their comings and goings generate a kind of "identity vacuum," an uprooting; seen that way, identity becomes something static, an object that is left behind and cannot be recovered. This creates confusion regarding who someone is. Communities of origin and the families who stay behind also create their own discourses about this loss of identity, all of which can be summarized as follows: "they are no longer Mexican, since they can't even speak Spanish properly; they don't even dress the same, they are becoming gringos."

Discourses directed at migrants: lack of adaptation

The idea of the migrant identity split arises from a great number of aspects that have contributed to its spread. U.S. politicians have successfully used an anti-immigrant rationale in election campaigns. Linking immigration to other key elements is part of the right wing's foreign policy agenda: terrorism, national security with the use of advanced technologies, military resources and techniques to monitor the border, the war on drugs. A number of legislators insist that illegal immigrants abuse the health and education systems. Many politicians and legislators have an issue with the fact that Mexicans do not wish to speak English or fail to assimilate into U.S. culture, leading to programs such as English Only.[4]

Scholars such as Samuel Huntington have served as ideologues for the Republican government and provided "scientific"

3. The National Migration Institute founded the Tijuana Beta Group in 1990; its "main goal is to save migrants at risk in danger zones." See http://www.inami.gob.mx/index.php?page/Grupo_Beta_de_Proteccion_a_Migrantes

4. The English Only program was created in 1998 in the State of California under initiative 227, which proposed eliminating bilingual programs and establishing English as the only language in public schools.

theses on the culture of Latin American immigrants, defining them as a backward society that can cause the collapse of U.S. values. Other scholars suggest migrants live a highly complex process of re-socialization given that they are expected to adapt to the new society and forget (or at least put aside) the past so that the here and the now (i.e., the identification with the present) becomes dominant. In addition, they underline how migrants face a constant internal struggle that involves the reorganization and reintegration of their identity (Chamberlain and Leydesdorff, 2004; Espín, 1997). One of the ways to temper this situation full of disruptions that require reordering, remodeling and reinterpreting in order to overcome the past to constantly retrieve memories of home and the things that were left behind (Chamberlain and Leydesdorff, 2004: 228). However, what goes on and how it goes on is necessarily prefigured by what's available: the elements they share as a social group.

The media has also engaged in an increasingly negative portrayal of migration and its consequences. Immigration, notably from Latin America, is linked to crime, insecurity, and a fear-based policy toward undocumented workers. A study carried out by the Minnesota census center indicates that 26% of people saw Hispanics as "lazy" and 15% saw them as a violent ethnic group when compared to Asians, who obtained the lowest percentages in these indicators (Children's Defense Fund, undated). The report also shows that children of color and the Latino population in general live in a discriminatory social climate. Generally, these children have limited intercultural contact in schools, parks, shops and neighborhoods. In addition, young people felt that the Anglo-Saxon people of Minnesota were "bad or unkind": 29% of Hispanics felt they were meanly or unkindly treated by the community.

Destination communities also contribute to the view of migrants as dangerous people who do not belong to the new country. In addition, civil society anti-immigrant organizations have proliferated. According to the Southern Poverty Law Center's Intelligent Report, 926 "hate groups" were identified in 2008 (Holthouse, 2009): those targeting Mexicans include the Patriots of United America, the Council of Conservative Citizens, The Social Contract Press, the Ku Klux Klan, and American Immigration Control. Thinking of Hegel's allegory, we see that even their own countrymen are more "native than natives": they support conservative politicians and denounce their fellow citizens, convinced that no more Mexicans should arrive in the United States.

In short, actors such as the state, the media, academia and communities of destination create discourses that are generally negative, "stigmatizing" and based on prejudice, and that material-

ize in state programs on both sides of the border or in civilian organizations with agendas that are harmful to the physical and mental well-being of migrants.

These discourses make up policies of identity that, as mentioned above, are drawn both from the country of origin and destination, and affect both those who stay and those who leave. Those who stay are under the weight of a sort of negative social assessment—e.g., references to abandoned wives and children, the lack of father figure, social disintegration. For those who leave, social assessment is ambivalent, because the country of origin portrays them positively: migrants have a high sense of responsibility, they are brave, courageous, and abused. The country of destination usually provides a negative the social value: they are illegals, potential criminals, targets of prejudice, discrimination and racial hatred (Table 1).

Reflecting on these policies allows us to see how these translate into programs and/or government policies targeting migrants and their families and to analyze the economic, social and political "uses" of migrant pain.

Luis Felipe Baeta Neves (2004) argues that migrant rituals involving religious services, festivals, or the celebration of historical dates serve to preserve the social memory not as mere representations of group communion but as constructs of the group that enacts them (i.e., the place, the role and the function they occupy in the recreation of these rituals). We would add that other actors often co-opt these rituals and "use" them for political or economic gain.

If we take as an example the migrant rituals mentioned by Celia Jaes Falicov (2001), including visits, the sending of remittances, messages, phone calls, the recreation of ethnic and social spaces, the reproduction of past stories, memory rituals and the preservation of cultural rituals and traditions, we can see how telephone companies and banking networks benefit greatly from these rituals on a weekly, biweekly or monthly basis. Ads shown on U.S. Spanish-language television always make use of phrases like "keep in touch with loved ones" or "be close to them." According to market research, immigrants from Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean generally call their families one to three times per week.

Banking networks in both Mexico and the United States have entered the lucrative remittance market.[5] The Mexi-

5. The profile of the Latino market is quite clear for the telephone companies. According to the marketing Vice President of Americatel, Matías Arentsen, the Hispanic "is a high growth market, as a business and long distance, over two digits consumer; it has been on permanent rise in recent years, basically due to immigration," *USA: 'Los hispanos grandes usuarios de la larga distancia*. Consulted in http://www.noticias.com/articulo/20-02-2001/redaccion/usa-hispanos-grandes-usuarios-larga-distancia-bf4.html

can government launched two programs, “Directo a México” and “La Red de la Gente” as evidence of “the importance” they place on the need for safer, low-cost money transfer channels.[6]

There are many other businesses that contribute significantly to the recreation of migrant rituals: “*paisano*” enterprises sell traditional foods; cyclical rituals are served by shops selling articles for traditional baptisms, marriages, first communions, etc; entertainment rituals are linked to companies that organize dozens of concerts all over the United States. The state of origin's participation in the recreation of these rituals is particularly active. The cultural services provided by Mexican consulates in the United States through the Program for Mexican Communities Abroad and the Offices for Migrant Attention distribute historical information and disseminate the work of painters, poets, writers and musicians with the aim of “promoting a sense of Mexican identity across borders” (Smith, 1990).

The issue of remittances is not only an important economic indicator: it is also a political tool, fulfilling the ideological role of convincing migrants that their work abroad is vital for the home country. Not only do they allegedly take the jobs not even the blacks want, but are seen as economic heroes. In 1991, Genaro Borrego Estrada formalized the Zacatecan Clubs Federation, created in 1988, and began the 3 x 1 Program, which at the time was called 2 x 1 Program because only the state of Zacatecas, with the collaboration of migrants and the private sector, had committed to providing resources for communal development in high-emigration areas. A very interesting exercise conducted by Michael Peter Smith in the state of Guanajuato, then headed by Vicente Fox, suggests that behind migrant-related public policy there is an instrumental and ideological governmental interest. As stated:

> The intended promotion of less expensive remittance services is to reduce unproductive losses, set a parameter that encourages migrants to save and invest in order to ensure an eventual, worthy return to their community of origin while channeling their dollars toward various microbusinesses in the community of origin.

Therefore, the appropriation of rituals serves to replace the state's obligations toward migrants; they do not merely suffer the trials of emigration but are also made “responsible” for the development of their home communities. The Mexican federal, state and municipal authorities, businesspeople, and even some scholars define

6. “Mexicans abroad,” in Publicación del Instituto de Mexicanos en el Exterior, June 2008. Consulted in http://www.ime.gob.mx/noticias/boletines_tematicos/directo_mexico.pdf

social networks as those mechanisms that link migrants with their communities of origin as well as the labor market and remittances. The concept of social capital has come to represent a central category of the state because it is seen as a solution to social problems (Ryan et al., 2008). Either way, we believe that forms of reciprocity and the expectations generated by individuals do not disappear within this process of appropriation. It is, however, condemnable that they are thus manipulated and have the potential to fragment solidarities developed from below.

In short, the three functions of suppressing migrant pain (minimizing suffering, defining policies and useless government programs, and co-opting migrant rituals) have a common goal: placing the status of the migrant on a subjective, private and psychological level. Fetichizing suffering means privatizing and "pathologizing" the issue of migration (Ahmed, cited in Gray, 2008: 943). The pain experienced by migrants must be understood as part of a global phenomenon that fuels an international form of exploitation and that has to do with the international division of labor. For North American businesses, migration means access to a workforce willing to accept working and living conditions that make capital gain more profitable. Sending national states find turning migrants into victims a profitable political and economic strategy. Their courage and sacrifice are highlighted to justify the lack of a migration policy sensitive to some of the most basic issues, such as real support in the acquisition of identity cards or cases of work abuse, legal support in cases of racial violence, or the absence of psychological intervention programs to maintain mental health (depression) and fight problems such as drug and alcohol abuse.

The psychosocial costs of migration

We have one pending question: what are the psychosocial costs of migrant pain, and of the stigmatizing discourses directed at migrants and their families? The emotional costs are many: some experience guilt for "abandoning my children," "not being an excellent mother," because "my mother is Mexico and their children in United States," etc. Others experience fear ("I see what happens in the news regarding deportations and I think something might happen to me") or distress ("I can't find work," "I am on edge and cannot control my nerves when things don't go as I wanted," "When I remember my past...," "I think about the possibility of losing my children," "[I'm afraid] something could happen to my loved ones" (Ramos, 2009).[7] Living in

7. These quotes are taken from interviews with Mexican migrants residing in the United States. Ramos's text offers a sample.

another country makes one "feel like a bird without wings" (Tilbury, 2007), because migrants are surrounded by highly stigmatizing discourses. This produces pain that, regardless of how it is resignified, has consequences on family, self-perception and health .

Migration studies addressing those who stay behind are relatively new (McGuire and Martin, 2007) and their viewpoints heterogeneous. On the one hand, there are those who argue that migration leads to family disintegration, and that this, in turn, causes educational and sexual problems, changes in the family structure and dynamics, and negative psychological effects. Others have a less catastrophic perspective and posit that transnational families generate new forms of interaction because there are multiple ties that transformed previous links without breaking them. For the promoters of a transnationalist vision, the family enables, on the one hand, the gradual economic rearrangement of those who remain in the country of origin and, on the other, the deployment of alternative forms of fathering/mothering on both sides of the border.

The issue of migration's social and psychological costs has become important for agencies such as the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the World Health Organization (WHO). For the IOM, migration may represent loss of home; separation from family and community; loss of a sense of belonging; loss of a job, position in society and the resulting identity loss; loss of support networks and an uncertain future for the individual or the family" (OIM, 2003). For its part, the WHO argues that, upon arrival at the place of destination, migrants face problems related to their legal status at the same time that they are subjected to stigmatization, discrimination, and many other pressures involving separation from the family and socio-cultural and linguistic differences (OMS, 2001).

Studies on those who stay behind indicate that male migration upsets family dynamics; one of these changes has to do with the emergence of "semi-present fathers" who intervene in the upbringing of the child only for short periods of time (De Keijzer, 1998, cited in Aguilera-Guzmán et al., 2004). This absent paternity has been documented by some scholars as a risk factor involving the healthy psychological development of offspring (Sánchez-Sosa and Hernández, 1992). Rosa María Aguilera-Guzmán et al. (2004), for example, point out that "the father's physical absence due to international migration means more work and more social and familial responsibilities for the wives and children of migrants."

A study carried out among Zacatecan adolescents found that there are a number of stress factors that result from mi-

gration, such as a hostile atmosphere and lack of family protection, socio-cultural and family pressures, physical malaise and social inequality. However, there are also "positive" or compensating factors. Namely: a strong interrelationship with the North, economic improvement and a feeling of social prestige brought by a "better standard of living" (Aguilera-Guzmán et al., 2004). Other studies mention that migration affects school performance, and that physical abuse, early pregnancies and criminal behavior are more common among youths from migrant families.

Even though there are very limited data on specific ethnic groups, research has registered levels of depression among immigrant Latinos. There is a particular increase among Latino girls in the United States, the group with the highest rates of suicide and suicide attempts (Marín et al., 2006). According to Sandra G. Turner et al. (2002), female Latino adolescents are significantly more likely to attempt suicide than black adolescents. Joseph D. Hovey and C. A. King (1996) found that one of every four teenagers showed significant levels of depression and an idealization of suicide and that this, in turn, was linked to the stress of living in a new country. These data weigh heavily on new migrants in the United States and the children of migrants who remain in Mexico.

Our own research (2009b) shows that men tend to manifest more psychophysical ailments than women; for example, 62% of men stated they felt sad all the time, while only 37% of the women did. Likewise, more men (54.6%) than women (45.5%) reported insomnia problems; 51% of males reported constantly sore feet, while only 38.1% of women did. However, women (77.8%) suffered more headaches than men (22.2%), and 59.3% said they felt ill all the time, while only 41.7% of men did.

The most interesting differences entail a series of questions linked to the ways in which people perceive and face their situation in the United States. They were asked if they felt they could trust someone, talk with someone, if they missed their family, felt alone, if their wages were enough; they were also asked also about lack of job stability, the possibility of having health insurance, and whether they felt fear. Again, a higher number of men felt constantly alone or missed their family, did not trust someone or had no one to talk to. They also said that their income was not sufficient, that their work was unstable and, in general, that they felt fear.

As we can see, all research agrees that migration is a painful process for individuals, even if it is planned and voluntary, because separation from family, friends and community causes emotional adjustments (Jirojwong and Manderson, 2001: 168; see Table 2). Twenty-first century migrants experience depression,

nostalgia, sadness, anxiety, hope and anger. The cure for migrant pain: (a) cannot be handled from an individual perspective of disease; (b) migrant pain has to be linked to discourses that turn into policies, programs or courses of action; and (c) the mental health of migrant workers must be addressed in the context of a labor policy for globalized capitalism.

CONCLUSIONS

Agnes Heller says that "feeling means to be involved in something." We must convert suffering to pain so we can "become involved in the cause of humankind" (2004: 313). Heller argues that pain develops when action or refraining from it has been linked from the beginning to intention, has been linked to a conscious or unconscious decision, selection (2004: 311). As we stated throughout this work, primary submission to power to become a "subject" is politically very useful, since it entails a process of domestication that continuously reiterates a perspective of victimization constructed, accepted and performed by migrants themselves.

Physical pain and emotional suffering are ways of tracking the manner in which dominant discourses become instilled and reproduce, configuring stigmatized identities. We could perhaps use Nietzsche's typology of the stoic, skeptical or hapless personality as a guide for understanding the emergence of anxious personality structures (stoic) or depressive ones (skeptical). Where could we place the narcissists described by Žižek? Is the hypnotic repetition that "the American dream exists" the painful "joy" of the discourse of the dominated? Žižek says that perhaps the role of the master is to establish the lie that can hold the solidarity of the group: surprise subjects with claims that manifestly contradict the facts, state again and again that "black is white" (2003: 94).

We reiterate our thesis that stigmatizing, negative discourses are effective ways to undermine resistance, preparing the subject to move and assume new functions. Current forms of domination are strategic and more difficult to trace through conventional mechanisms (legal or physical violence), but it is through the narratives appropriated by the dominated and the deployment of policies, programs and concrete actions of various stakeholders (makers of public policy, public servants, pundits) that we find the ways in which identity policies are constituted, rebuilt, and reproduced to shape the psychic constitution of the migrant.

TABLE 1.
Identity policies aimed at transnational families

	THOSE WHO LEAVE	THOSE WHO STAY
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	AMBIVALENT SOCIAL ASSESSMENT • Responsible • Brave, courageous • Victimized	NEGATIVE SOCIAL ASSESSMENT • Abandoned children/wives • Lack of a paternal/maternal figure • Broken families
COUNTRY OF DESTINATION	NEGATIVE SOCIAL ASSESSMENT • Ideas involving migrants: • Illegals, potential criminals • Prejudice, discrimination	ABSENT SOCIAL ASSESSMENT

Source: Author's elaboration.

TABLE 2.
Psychosocial costs of migration

	ANGER	SADNESS	RELIEF	FEAR	ANXIETY	HOPE
THOSE WHO STAY	Abandonment. New responsibilities. • domestic • family	Living apart. Loneliness.			Dangers in crossing and daily life. Worrying over the welfare of • husband. • father. • partner.	Being together. That they don't forget their family.
THOSE WHO LEAVE				Fear. Persecution. Illness. Unemployment. Losing the family	Guilt. Abandonment of • children, • mother, • family.	Hope. Return. Getting ahead, fulfilling the dream. Having the family.

Source: Author's table based on fieldwork data.

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