The Rise of the Informal Marriage: A Women’s Empowerment Analysis of “Unidos” Relationships in Rural Guatemala

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1 United or joined in non legally or religiously sanctioned marriage
Abstract

This study examines the relationship between changing marital arrangements and women’s empowerment in the rural Guatemalan towns of San Antonio Palopó and Santa Catarina Palopó. I analyze the potential costs and benefits for women associated with both formal and informal marriage in terms of their social status, ability to participate in the religious community, economic well-being, and legal protection. Throughout, I also include discussion regarding the degree of choice women exercise when determining their type of union.

Introduction

A full foot taller than every person around me, there was no way to blend in. When I timidly ventured to glance around the small colonial church in San Antonio, Guatemala, I met the gazes of many staring eyes all seeming to question who had brought the gringa to church with them. What made it worse was that almost the entire ceremony was in Kaqchikel, leaving me more lost and out of sorts than I already felt. Always a few seconds behind, I attempted to follow the actions of my host mother, Patrona, as we alternated between sitting, standing, and kneeling when directed by a mysteriously absent woman whose voice preached loudly over the microphone.

I will admit, I am not the most informed Christian; church rules and edicate are not familiar to me. So once communion began, I questioned whether it would be inappropriate for me to take part. I waited, hoping that my host mother would give me some idea of what to do. As I attempted to understand the order within the somewhat chaotic procession of people lining up, I kept expecting Patrona to get up and go. But to my surprise as nearly every person in cloudy

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2 The somewhat negative term used for foreigners in much of Latin America
3 The Mayan language spoken in the two towns
incense filled church went to get in line, my host mother stayed seated next to me.

I was sure that this must have been my fault. As a woman who had many times told me of her strong religious beliefs, it only made sense that she skipped communion because I was not allowed to go with her. Yet a few minutes later, the priest brought out a large cross that he placed on the heads of the churchgoers as they kneeled to give their donation at the altar. When this began, Patrona quickly shuffled from her spot and whispered to me that I should wait there. I could not help but wonder why she would participate in this act but not in the communion.

After the service ended, we quietly began our walk up the hills towards their home among the fragrant onion fields of San Antonio. After assuring her that it had been a beautiful ceremony, I mustered the nerves to ask Patrona why she had not taken communion. Her reply was brief as I had become accustomed to receive from her: “No puedo hacerlo... Es pecado” she explained. It was in this interaction that my three weeks of field research began.

Like many women in San Antonio and Santa Catarina, Guatemala, I found out that Patrona was part of a religiously taboo *unidos* relationship. Much to my surprise, I slowly learned that the majority of marriages in both town are these types of informal unions, a transformation that began to take root starting about fifty years ago. Despite being a bit late to follow the trends, these types of unions are highly prevalent in Latin America. Author Teresa Martin explains in her article entitled, “Consensual unions in Latin America: Persistence of a dual nuptiality system,” that what she calls “consensual unions,” referring to a variety of non-formal unions, have been present in Latin America for centuries starting with the introduction of colonialism (Martin 2002: 35). Yet only lately have they become the norm in these two Mayan communities.

Inspired by the ideas of Latin American feminism, I began to see the necessity of

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4 “I can’t... It’s a sin”
research regarding empowerment within the institution of marriage and gendered labor. Although in the United States, the women’s suffrage movement largely tried to take woman out of the role of the wife and caretaker, much new literature on the ideas of Latin American feminism actually value women for this role. Author Helen Safa explains in her article, “Women’s Social Movements in Latin America,” that “Latin American women are insisting on distinct forms of incorporation that reaffirm their identity as women, and particularly as wives and mothers. This form of incorporation differs from the contemporary U.S. and western European experience in which women seek a gender-neutral participation in the public sphere” (Safa 1995: 228). Despite my initial bias against gendered labor, the ideas of Latin American feminism forced me to consider women’s potential to maintain their separate sphere as wives and mothers while still acting as empowered women. Therefore, while looking within the familiar institution of marriage, I investigated the empowerment potential for women through an analysis of the costs and benefits to both types of unions.

In addition, Martin notes at the end of her article what she thinks is lacking from the research regarding consensual unions in less developed countries. She says,

> In developed countries, cohabitation is generally seen as a sign of emancipation and as an indication of a weakened normative imperative to marry… Although there are few data on women’s underlying preferences, the higher prevalence of consensual unions among lower educated strata suggest that the type of marital relationship women end up living in might not always be a matter of choice, but rather the outcome of social constraints (Martin 2002: 50).

As Martin discusses, it is difficult to determine whether in less developed countries informal marriages represent positive change for women, such as those in San Antonio and Santa Catarina because current research is lacking about the degree of choice women have in terms of informal marriage or whether instead it is something that is forced upon them. This is likely the case because as Martin explains, women themselves are not generally asked their perspectives on the
Drawing on Naila Kabeer’s ideas on empowerment, I attempted to do exactly what Martin suggests as necessary: examine whether women in San Antonio and Santa Catarina have a choice in their unions by talking directly to them. She says in an article for the journal, *Gender and Development*, that “to be disempowered means to be denied choice, while empowerment refers to the processes by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such an ability… Alternatives must not only exist, they must also be seen to exist” (Naila 2005:13-14). In following the suggestions of Kabeer, I take a decision making-empowerment perspective. It is the case that in San Antonio and Santa Catarina there exist two options for unions: formal and informal. But whether women have the power or even believe that they have the potential to determine their type of union is something that has yet to be researched.

Overall, my research focuses on the question: *Does the transition from formal to informal marriage represent positive change in terms of women’s empowerment in rural Guatemala?* For the case of my research, I consider empowerment in terms of women’s ability to exercise choice as well as in terms of improved resources and protections. I argue that based on four main costs and benefits that include social status, ability to participate in religious institutions, economic well-being, and legal benefits, union types in San Antonio and Santa Catarina can be examined in order to understand prospects for women’s empowerment within these communities.

**Methodology**

The majority of my research during my three weeks in San Antonio and Santa Catarina from February 12th through March 5th, 2014, consisted of both formal and informal interviews with women of varying ages. I broke up my interview subjects into three categories: the elders in the community (usually 60 and above), the older generation of mothers (about 35-60), and young
mothers or women of marriageable age (15-35). While I primarily focused on the younger two
generations of women, I received most of my information about the elder generation through
interviews with the generation of older mothers. With more time, I would have liked to extend
my study to discuss first-hand with the generation of elders in order to see their opinions on the
actions of the younger generations. However, for the sake of time and a more contemporary
analysis of women’s prospects and roles, I chose to focus on the younger two generations of
women.

The older generation of mothers was important to interview because starting at this time
appears to be when a shift began to occur away from formal to informal marriage within the
communities. I also interviewed many women who were either recently married or _unidos_ as
well as young women near or at marriageable age to see if generational differences existed. In
this, I was also able to better understand how parental decisions and advice affected the decisions
of their children while examining how marital viewpoints have transformed in the past years.

Throughout my research, I began studied four primary components of women’s lives
affected by marital decisions. As previously mentioned, they include both positive and negative
social, religious, economic, and legal consequences. For the social perspective, I tried to gauge
the acceptability of formal versus formal unions through questions I asked regarding women’s
perspectives on their union and the unions of other individuals in the community. I also
examined terminology used by women to discuss their marital arrangements in order to see how
women present themselves. For religious information, I tried to gauge the religious views of my
interviewees while also interviewing both leaders of the Catholic and Evangelical churches in
San Antonio. I did this in order to understand the teachings of the church regarding spousal
relationships and see how strictly members of the community ascribed to these teachings.
Finally, I focused on the legal and economic aspects of marriage by talking with the local Juez de Paz, learning about and acting as a witness in a civil union, and looking specifically at the Código Civil of Guatemala in addition to discussing marital-economic arrangements with my interviewees. In this I also considered marriage and divorce costs to determine how those could play a role in women’s decisions.

**Results**

*Social Status*

One interesting thing that I found is that in the native language of Kaqchikel, words do not exist to differentiate between formal and informal marriage. In both cases, the Kaqchikel terms used to say marriage are *culbik* or *klanen*. Most of the individuals that I asked were unable to tell me any difference in the words. However both Patrona and a Catholic catechist from San Antonio believed *culbik* to be the more outdated of the two words, while the two Evangelical pastors in San Antonio that I talked to said that both were equally used, thus showing a potential religious-linguistic connection. In addition, the Kaqchikel term *wachquehil* is also used to refer to the male partner in both formal and informal marriages.

What is relevant in these lack of distinctions is that in the prominent language used in the community, women are not able to determine the type of relationship other individuals in the community are part of or distinguish their own when discussing it. However, in Spanish, women can say whether they are *casados* or *unidos*. In some cases, I found that women still called their partner in informal unions their *esposo* and when asked said that they were *casada* until I

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5 Peace Lawyer  
6 Guatemalan Civil Code  
7 Married  
8 Husband
specifically asked if they were *casada* or *unida*. Further research could be done to determine whether this is a reaction to hide informal unions because of injuries to status or merely a belief that they are functionally married and may as well address themselves as such. There were, however, some *unidos* women who told me that they chose to call their partner their *marido* instead of *esposo*. While *marido* is usually used interchangeable with *esposo*, they have adopted it as a makeshift term to discuss their informal partnership.

Nevertheless, I did notice that perceptions regarding the superiority of formal marriage to be most prevalent among religious leaders and individuals involved in either the government or legal systems in San Antonio. Interesting, it is in the church and legal institutions within the community that Spanish is used. Therefore, only when distinctions were linguistically possible did stigma arise. For example, it was certainly clear that married women, such as a Catholic fruit vendor that I talked to, viewed formal marriage to be better. However, her view appeared to be based off of the protections that marriage provides, which I will discuss later, rather than a disapproval of *unidos* relationships. Yet in all three interviews that I had with leaders of the Evangelical and Catholic churches in San Antonio, they told me very clearly that the Bible says that it is a sin to be part of an *unidos* relationship. They often dismissed potential reasons to choose an *unidos* relationship and instead cited laziness as the root of this phenomena. This too seemed to be the view of both the municipal secretary and Juez de Paz who said that people just did not care enough to get married. The Juez de Paz even told me that since people in the community do not obtain increased tax benefits such as in the United States, the choice to marry in the community is based off of moral obligation, thus implying that marriage is the more moral option.

*Religious Teachings*

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9 Another term for spouse
As I began to discuss earlier, both the Evangelical and Catholic churches have strong opinions on the sanctity of marriage. *Unidos* relationships are considered sinful because they involve sex outside of marriage. Even if a couple lives functionally as if they were formally married, they are not allowed to participate within the church such as the taking of communion while they are still allowed to attend services.

This banning from religious participation is incredibly hard for many women in the community, as religion is an important aspect in many women’s lives. One such case was that of Rosario, a highly educated women in San Antonio who paid her way through college by teaching Spanish to foreigners. While Rosario now believes her *unidos* relationship is the better choice for her, I was surprised to hear that it was very difficult for her for many years. As a devout Catholic, she suffered after her partner, Santos, told her that he would not get married to her. Like my host mother who is also *unidos*, she was no longer allowed to take communion after moving in with Santos.

Rosario admitted that at one point after spending many years with Santos, she considered leaving him to be able to confess to the church and be allowed to take communion again. However, he convinced her out of this by explaining to her that he wanted to stay together with her “for love rather than commitment,” meaning that he did not want their legal or religious marriage to be what caused them to stay together. After this, she began to agree with Santos and now likes to call him her “*novio*” or “*amante*” and even refused to marry him when he offered a few years ago. She believes that their relationship allows for her to have the freedom she needs and the opportunity to leave if she ever wanted to do so, something that would be much harder for her if married.

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10 Lover
11 Boyfriend
The barriers to divorce for religious individuals stem from the fact that according to the churches, divorce is not an option in either sect. In an interview with one of the Evangelical pastors from San Antonio named Francisco, I asked whether there were any instances that would permit individuals to divorce. Francisco, who appeared to be in his sixties and dressed in the traditional men’s San Antonio traje,\(^{12}\) certainly seemed a man of old values. Therefore, not surprisingly, he quickly assured me that there were no circumstances under which it was acceptable to divorce. I proceeded to ask him about cases of spousal abuse as I was aware of the prevalence of this problem in the community, and while he tried to avoid it, he finally conceded that if an individual must, they may separate as long as they do so outside of the church. That said, they are certainly not allowed to have other marital or sexual relationships after separating. It is only after being widowed that an individual is allowed to get remarried.

In some ways, the religious commitment provided by formal marriage acts as a protection for women. This viewpoint was shared by two Catholic fruit vendors I met. After passing their home every day on my walk into town, I decided to stop in the small home fruit stand filled with bagged pieces of fruit costing a mere one quetzal\(^{13}\) (approximately fifteen American cents). The young women, twenty and twenty-seven, worked at the store with the older sister’s three and five year old children who I had become accustomed to responding “\textit{hola}\(^{14}\)” as they called out to the amusing \textit{gringa}.

Immediately when I asked if they would mind if I talked to them about my research, they pulled out a stool and told me to sit. This is something that I found people more than willing to do on a variety of occasions. I then proceeded to inquire if they were married, which luckily for my project was a relatively normal question. The older told me that she and her husband had

\(^{12}\) The term for traditional Mayan clothing  
\(^{13}\) Currency of Guatemala  
\(^{14}\) “Hello”
married in the Catholic church ten years ago and happened to know my host family from church. When I inquired after why she decided to get married and what she thought about *unidos* relationships, she quickly explained to me that not only did she believe in marriages for religious reasons, but as a women, it was much safer to get married. In order to justify the benefits of being married, she kept repeating that marriage is for life. Thus, she explained that she would never end up being left alone to take care of her children by her husband because as a devout Catholic, divorce or separation were not options for her. Whether her husband believed the same, I cannot be sure.

She then pointed to her twenty year old sister as an example of this and said that with women at her age, men often “*engañar a los mujeres*,”15 by moving in together like in an *unidos* relationships without the intention of long term commitment. After a few months, they leave them for another woman. Therefore, she believe that her sister was better off alone than with a man because if she got pregnant, she would have to take care of the child. Instead as a single woman, she could work and manage her own money without the financial burden of children.

Yet on the other hand, women can benefit from the increased ability to separate from their spouses if the need for such arises. While there are certainly other reasons for women to leave their spouses, the great majority of the cases that I heard of regarding women leaving their husbands were alcohol and abuse related. In fact, in San Antonio, the *Juez de Paz* assured me that the majority of the cases that come in are of women in the community to report spousal abuse. This perhaps should not be surprising when considering that Guatemala has an incredibly high rate of murder for women, which from 2000 to 2005 averaged forty-eight deaths per month. Author Roselyn Constantino attributes this violence to the continued strength of *machismo*.16

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15 “to deceive or cheat the women”
16 Roughly translates to male chauvinism
culture (Constantino 2006: 108).

Although women may still informally separate from their spouse or partner when married, women not involved in legal marriages face better prospects. This seemed to be even more the case with Catholic women. With the system of confession in the Catholic church, I was told that a woman that was involved in an informal union may choose to dissolve the union, repent, and regain their right to participate in the church and marry. In addition, a woman who has dissolved an informal union is more likely to be able to find a future partner because if merely separated from their husband, many men would be unlikely to agree to a relationship with a still married woman.

Overall, it should also be noted that barriers to religious participation are more likely to be a qualm for women. During the time that I had the opportunity to attend a Catholic church service in San Antonio, there clearly was a higher percentage of women present. This potentially indicates that religion plays a bigger part in women’s lives in the communities. Women are also the only ones that volunteer to take care of the church. For instance, twice a week Patrona went to clean the church and even after thirty years, she still seemed upset that she is not allowed to take communion. Therefore, it seems likely that women in both communities are more likely to desire marriage for religious reasons because they have higher value for their role in the church and perhaps stronger religious moral obligations. Yet unless views on marriage change in the community, the prospects for women’s continued participation in the church seem bleak. In truth, the only choice that leaves them well off religiously is to formally marry and remain that way, something that is easier said than done.

*Economic of Marriage*

As was traditionally the case, both informal and formal unions can provide economic
security for those involved. Ruth Bunzel, in her book, *Chichicastenango*, which focuses on a Quiché Mayan community, explains, “In selecting a mate for their son, parents are guided primarily by economic considerations… The parents of the girl want a good provider for their daughter. Before acquiescing to a betrothal they satisfy themselves that the boy is a good worker, that he has some property and some trade or professions…” (Bunzel 1952: 25). Bunzel’s report may be somewhat dated and from a different Mayan community, but much of the same mentality still exists in San Antonio and Santa Catarina today. As Bunzel shows, when together, families are able to consolidate resources such as property and secure the economic stability of their children. They are also able to create stronger kinship ties that can act as a security system in times of crisis. In these regards, not much has changed in the traditional economic benefits of marriage.

To elaborate on this idea, it was also explained to me that for both men and women, *interés*\(^\text{17}\) is often involved in decisions to marry. During an interview I had with a young woman from Santa Catarina in an *unidos* relationship, she explained to me that her sister had married a man who believed her father to be in the possession of a great amount of money. Upon discovering that she was not as wealthy as he originally thought, he left her after only three months of marriage and because of the high cost of divorce, the couple is still legally married. I am sure that this is also the case for some women who marry in order to gain wealth.

Interestingly, it seemed that many people believed *interés* sometimes acted as a motivation for men not to marry in order to protect their property. The truth of the matter is that because men are responsible for providing property for their spouse, it appeared that financial *interés* was more of a factor in men’s refusal to marry than in women’s. And although the

\(^{17}\) Roughly translates to interest, but in this case implies financial motivations
Código Civil provides many protections for women, something that will be discussed later in more depth, women who are not legally married are less likely to take legal action if they separate because they cannot afford the cost of a lawyer. In a somewhat different finding that can be applied to this case, Marion Carter in her article about “husband’s household authority” says that when it comes to money management, “women in consensual unions had lower bargaining power than their formerly married counterparts” (Carter 2004: 646-647). From this point, it seems likely to believe that women in informal marriages overall have less bargaining power outside the legal realm because they perceive their own power as less as well as are likely less recognized by the man’s family and the community. Therefore, in a battle over property and financial care, unmarried women appear somewhat worse off.

Finally, it should also be noted that financial costs often act as barriers to formal unions even if the desire to marry exists. By two different women in Santa Catarina, I was told that weddings can cost in the tens of thousand of quetzales. When considering the stark poverty that many individuals face, something that has gotten worse in the past fifty years, there is no way that this cost is feasible. On the other hand, I was told by the municipal secretary of San Antonio that a civil union only costs twenty-five quetzales and including the costs associated with the religious ceremony (not including a party), he believed marriage costs to be around two hundred quetzales. While this is significantly less and only approximately twenty-five American dollars, even this cost is out of the reach of many people in both San Antonio and Santa Catarina who scrape by on only a few quetzales a day. I was also told by the Juez de Paz that the legal fees to pay for a divorce are usually at a minimum over two thousand quetzales, further strengthening the financial arguments against marriage. For this reason, even women who would like to get divorced do not have the opportunity to do so and the knowledge regarding potential future costs
sometimes prevents couples from marrying in the first place.

Legal Problems and Protections

On a positive note, legal protections for women have changed significantly in the last years in regards to unions. In my conversation with the Juez de Paz, he explained that all mothers, no matter their relationship with the father, are guaranteed financial care from the man for both the woman and her children. This is much like the system of alimony in the United States. What is required though is the man’s recognition that the child is his own if the child was not born within a formal marriage where paternity is assumed. Although one may be skeptical regarding this system of recognition, new changes to the Civil Code have made it so that if a man does not want to legally recognize a child, the woman is able to force the man to take a DNA paternity test. If the man refuses this, then by default he is considered the father of the child because it is thought that if not the father, he would have no reason to oppose the test (Guatemalan Civil Code).

Another improvement can be seen in a new law that was added to the Guatemalan Civil Code that allows for couples in unidos relationships to be legally considered married after three years. Article 173 roughly translates to say that

The ‘unión de hecho’ of a man and a woman that are able to contract a marriage can do so themselves before a mayor or notary of their neighborhood to produce legal effects as long as there has always been a shared home and life that they have maintained constantly for more than three years before their family members and social relations, achieving procreations, care, and education of their children and reciprocal help (Guatemalan Civil Code, Articulo 173).

This law was explained to me by the Juez de Paz as being another protection mainly intended for women. It allows for a woman alone to have her marriage legally recognized without the presence of her partner, thus providing her with the opportunity to marry even if her husband

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refused. This type of union is in many regards similar to a common law marriage in the United States and makes it so that women in Guatemala receive the same legal benefits as if formally married.

However, the fact is that legal protections in many cases did not seem to be utilized very much by women in the communities. As Martin explains, “some segments of the population may also feel alienated from the legal system, lack access to it, or perceive no practical benefits from legal contracts over implicit agreements” (Martin 2002: 36). Building on both Martin and Kabeer’s ideas, one issue that inhibits women from using their legal benefits is lack of education regarding their rights. This point was supported by an interview I had with a teacher in San Antonio named Maria who said, “If I don’t pay attention and don’t know my rights, I’m always going to be ignorant and I’m going to suffer… But if I pay attention and put them into practice, I won’t forget what I’ve learned” (Maria, Field notes February 20th 2014). Maria believes strongly in education as a tool for women’s empowerment because she thinks that education is what teaches women their rights. She also told me in the same interview in response to Patrona saying that she did not see any problems regarding women’s equality that this is because Patrona is aware of her rights. Thus, if uneducated or separated from the legal system, there is little hope that women would even be aware of their potential to gain legal protections, going against the connection between empowerment and perceived options.

Martin’s point also seems to hold true based off of two conversations that I had where it appeared that women preferred their *unidos* relationships because of their sense of “alienation” from the legal system. They both were unwilling to commit to the responsibilities they associated with marriage and one of the women repeated that marriage is a commitment because “you have to sign papers.” Her understanding of the legal system may have been relatively minimal and

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seemed to scare her as a result. So while she plans on getting married to her *marido* in the future, she thought it was important to be sure that legal marriage was what both people desired, perhaps partially because of her lack of familiarity with the legal system.

Overall, legal benefits for women no matter their marital arrangement may mark progress in Guatemala. However, without the knowledge or financial resources to access the legal system, women are perhaps no better off than if it did not exist. Thus, when utilized, Guatemalan law provides relatively equal benefits for women in both marital arrangements. But because of the disconnect with the legal system, the majority of women’s lives are more affected by the other factors previously discussed.

**Conclusion**

Although it would be nice to say that I found one marital arrangement to be consistently better than the other in terms of empowerment, my research proved to me that the costs and benefits of marital decisions are incredibly case specific. In choosing between informal and formal marriage, women had to concede to certain trade-offs and risks that I have discussed. For example, a woman who makes the mistake of entering into a relationship with a man who is abusive is better off in an informal marriage because she can remove herself more easily with clearer cut ties. Whereas, a woman that values her ability to participate in the church may be happier if she legally marries.

Yet what I will say is that although almost all of the women I interviewed in the generation of older mothers that were part of *unidos* relationships would have preferred formal marriage, out of the three women in the younger generation that I formally interviewed involved in *unidos* relationships, all three of which told me that their relationship had been their decision or a mutual decision. The other two young women that I interviewed that preferred formal union...
were either married or about to be married. From this, it seems that today, women have the opportunity to decide their union type even if historically this was not the case.

This likely stems from young women modeling their decisions off of their parents’ united relationships or an increased societal acceptability of informal marriage. In fact, in one surprising case, one of the other women that I talked to actually told me that her married parents were the ones who advised her to wait to get married until she had been with her partner for a few years. Before marriage, they thought it important that she spend some time living together until they were sure that they wanted to be married, even if she had children with her partner. But overall, I would say that in almost all cases, I feel confident to conclude that marital decisions are now a joint decision between individuals in the younger generation, a positive finding in terms of prospects for women’s empowerment.

To conclude, I feel it is important to suggest a further study regarding the topic of Latin American feminism. One interesting finding from my time in San Antonio and Santa Catarina is that in much of the younger generation, a new phenomena has begun to occur where young women have decided to avoid both formal and informal marriage. To provide an example, one young woman that I interviewed from Santa Catarina that is currently studying in college and is the president of a women’s organization called “Mujeres Mayas” told me, “If I marry a person that has not studied… he isn’t going to understand the system that I’m in. I talk, I have friends, I go out, I have meetings, I’m studying. So it’s a very different rhythm than people who are aren’t studying” (Lidia, Field notes February 23rd 2014). Along with her fears of the educational differences they would face, this young woman told me that she does not think that she would find a man that would accept her lifestyle and lack of desire to participate in gendered labor.

As a result of my conversations with many young women who told me of their similar
desires to work or study rather than marry, I would propose that it be examined whether or not there has also been a rise of feminist ideals more similar to those found in the United States in these communities and perhaps the rest of Guatemala. While many women may embrace their gendered identity, it also seems relevant to study circumstances under which women desire to abandon their role as the wife or mother. It seems that within Latin America, feminism may be taking on yet another definition.
Works Consulted


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