THE POLITICAL INCORPORATION THROUGH CITIZENSHIP

OF SALVADORAN FORCED MIGRANTS

IN THE WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN AREA

By

Margarita S. Studemeister

Submitted to the

Faculty of the Department of Sociology

of American University

in Partial Fulfillment of

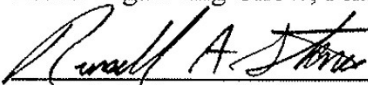the Requirements for the Degree
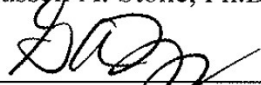
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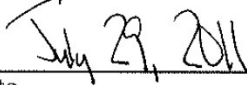Sociology

Chair:

Esther Ngan-ling Chow, Ph.D.

Russell A. Stone, Ph.D.

Gay Young, Ph.D.

Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences

Date

2011
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Washington, D.C. 20016

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DEDICATION

To Salvadoran forced migrants worldwide

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study explores the political incorporation through citizenship of Salvadoran forced migrants who fled armed violence in El Salvador from 1975 to 1991 and settled in the Washington metropolitan area. Snowball sampling sought maximum representativeness and produced a quota sample of 60 men and women. Using an interview guide, data were collected about their migration and legalization process in the United States (U.S.), and about their civic and political participation and sense of belonging towards El Salvador and the U.S.

The forced migration of these Salvadorans was gendered. More men than women departed when state repression targeted mostly men involved in confrontational political activism. During armed conflict, the vulnerability of women increased, leading to their flight. The mode and date of U.S. entry stratified Salvadorans into those without legal status or with conditional status and those with permanent residency and a path to citizenship. Most of them sought a "right to security," or the freedom to rebuild and sustain dignified lives. Many achieved permanent residency through social ties that made

them eligible via employment, marriage, or family. Others had to await suitable U.S. immigration law reform.

Driven by a "giving-back" obligation, these Salvadorans participate civically and politically toward the U.S. and El Salvador. Pre-migration experiences help them establish ethnic organizations in the U.S., mostly led by men. Exposure to the U.S. political system reinforces gendered participation. Women and men participate equally in U.S. elections. More women than men engage in advocacy and volunteerism, and more men than women, in partisan activities. To connect from the U.S. with communities back home, men head hometown associations, and men and women lead other homeland groups. Women are more inclined than men to use their resources to travel in order to vote in Salvadoran elections.

Salvadoran forced migrants exhibit an "acculturated homeland identity," a middle-class and uniquely American fusion, and they practice dual citizenship. Love and rootedness represent their homeland identity. Gratitude and U.S. cultural competence constitute their U.S. identity. Salvadoran forced migrants believe that they are negatively perceived as Latinos in the U.S., and that they are disenfranchised citizens in their homeland.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ABC American Baptist Churches v. Thornburgh

AEDPA Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act

ANDES National Association of Salvadoran Educators
Asociación Nacional de Educadores Salvadoreños

ARENA National Republican Alliance
Alianza Republicana Nacionalista

BPR Popular Revolutionary Bloc
Bloque Popular Revolucionario

CARECEN Central American Resource Center
Formerly Central American Refugee Center

CISPES Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador

CRECE Central American Refugee Committee

CRM Revolutionary Coordinator of the Masses
Coordinación Revolucionaria de las Masas

DED Deferred Enforced Departure

ERP People's Revolutionary Army
Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo

FAL Armed Forces of Liberation
Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación

FAPU Unified Popular Action Front
Frente de Acción Popular Unificada

FARN Armed Forces of National Resistance
Fuerzas Armadas de Resistencia Nacional

FMLN	Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front	
	Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional	
FPL	Popular Forces of Liberation	
	Fuerzas Populares de Liberación	
IIRIRA	Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act	
IRCA	Immigration Reform and Control Act	
LP-28	Popular Leagues-28 February	
	Ligas Populares-28 de Febrero	
MLP	Movement for Popular Liberation	
	Movimiento de Liberación Popular	
MS	Mara Salvatrucha	
NACARA	Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act	
ORDEN	Nationalist Democratic Organization	
	Organización Democrática Nacionalista	
PRTC	Revolutionary Party of Central American Workers	
	Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores Centroamericanos	
PRWORA	Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act	
PTA	Parent-Teacher Association	
TPS	Temporary Protected Status	
UDN	National Democratic Union	
	Unión Democática Nacionalista	
UGB	White Warriors' Union	
	Unión Guerrera Blanca	
U.N.	United Nations	
U.S.	United States of America	
USA		

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The United States is a country of immigrants, and immigrant experiences in the
United States continue to enrich the sociological imagination. The purpose of my study is
to explore the political incorporation through citizenship of Salvadoran forced migrants
who fled armed violence from 1975 to 1991 in El Salvador and settled in the Washington
metropolitan area. Their presence offers a unique opportunity to examine first-hand their
immigrant experiences.

A small group of these Salvadorans marked their arrival in the Washington
metropolitan area almost three decades ago. Joining the commemoration were the
benefactors who had opened their homes and provided assistance to these migrants.
"Many of them came without migratory documents and getting by was difficult," noted
Reverend León Cruz, who back then had connected the arriving Salvadorans with their
benefactors (Jiménez 2007). For the most part undocumented, these Salvadorans set out
to make a living clandestinely, explained Cruz, taking any kind jobs to survive.
Eventually, they secured immigration status in the United States. This dissertation study
documents the journey of Salvadoran men and women from their effectively stateless and
for the most part, clandestine existence upon arrival, to their public and active citizenship
today. It examines the political incorporation in the United States of this group of
formerly vulnerable and unprotected Salvadoran migrants.

Specific concerns guide this study. First, researchers have paid insufficient attention to the heterogeneity of the immigrant flows to the United States in the last fifty years. Second, scholars have called for more focus on the differential experiences of various subgroups of immigrants. My study responds to such a deficiency and to the scholars' call.

Their flight from armed violence in El Salvador characterizes the migration of this particular group as "forced." Forced migration has received relatively little attention in the sociological literature of U.S. immigration. Salvadorans fleeing armed violence in their country over a span of about fifteen years constitute a specific subgroup of all Salvadorans living in the United States. Scholarship has treated them as part of the fourth migration wave to the United States. In other words, they are considered part of the Latin American immigrants who arrived in this country following the 1965 immigration reform, even though their forced departure from El Salvador is a quite particular experience.

For the most part, scholars have examined the economic aspects of immigration; some have argued that even forced migration constitutes in essence economic immigration. In fact, official representatives of El Salvador and the United States frequently expressed such a view, and the United States government only reluctantly acknowledged a small number of Salvadorans as political asylees. My study gives prominence to flight from armed violence, considers this flight a significant variable, and distinguishes the resulting immigration as unique from other migration flows. The study adds the examination of a new variable to others, including national origin, education,

income, race, gender, length of residence, language fluency, and so on, that have been found to play a significant role in the experiences of immigrants in the United States.

Forced migrants who cross national borders are usually portrayed as faceless and voiceless masses of people with urgent and vital needs. News reports and anecdotal evidence, however, suggest that they possess some autonomy even under duress and hardship. My study seeks to identify the kind and extent of autonomy that Salvadoran forced migrants were able to exert in their places of destination. The study enquires into their efforts to become political protagonists in their host country.

Most Salvadoran forced migrants lived clandestinely in the United States until they were able to access a legal status. Fear of persecution in El Salvador was replaced by fear of deportation in the United States. In both countries, the official denial of their legitimate existence as forced migrants left them practically stateless. Salvadoran forced migrants represent an extreme case of effective temporary statelessness in relation to the country of origin and country of destination. Yet the agency of these Salvadorans, under conditions of loss or denial of access to membership in a political community, was crucial to their political incorporation. To this extent, they are a "case study" of political incorporation in the United States by an effectively temporary stateless group of individuals. Salvadoran forced migrants offer a unique window into extreme immigrant conditions that would be otherwise difficult, if not impossible, to reproduce.

Political participation has traditionally taken into account the socio-economic characteristics of immigrants, and only more recently has the influence of state policies (Bloemraad 2007) and of public and private institutions such as political parties, labor unions, and social organizations (Bloemraad 2007; Wong 2006) been found to play a

significant role. My study takes the position that the political incorporation of immigrants is fundamentally a social experience and therefore of concern to sociologists.

Last but not least, to study political incorporation, the notion of citizenship can serve as a proxy. My study proposes a three-dimensional concept of citizenship that encompasses legal status with corresponding rights and duties, political and civic participation, and sense of belonging. These are considered three different dimensions of citizenship and are treated together in the particular case of Salvadoran forced migrants in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area.

<div align="center">Research Questions</div>

The study examines the political incorporation through citizenship of Salvadoran forced migrants arriving in the Washington metropolitan area following flight from armed violence in El Salvador between 1975 and 1991. The four research questions are:

1. In what manner is the migration of Salvadorans to the Washington metropolitan area between 1975 and 1991 characterized as forced? How is the migration of men different from that of women?

2. Why did Salvadoran forced migrants acquire citizenship in the United States? In doing so, how do men differ from women?

3. In which ways do Salvadoran forced migrants participate politically and civically towards the United States and El Salvador? How do women participate differently than men?

4. How do Salvadoran forced migrants experience a sense of belonging towards the United States and El Salvador? In what way is belongingness experienced differently by men and women?

This introductory chapter first describes the theoretical background and the research methodology used. Next it discusses the significance of the study and its limitations and delimitations.

Theoretical Background

Past massive immigrations to the United States over the last two centuries have constituted veritable laboratories for sociological inquiry. Assimilation theorists posited that with increased years in the country, the foreign-born would gradually shed their distinctive behaviors and eventually melt into the native population. Those subscribing to acculturation spoke of the replacement of homeland culture for an Anglo-conforming mainstream culture. Variables such as socio-economic status, educational attainment, occupational specialization, spatial distribution, English language proficiency, and intermarriage and naturalization rates were monitored to confirm assimilation and acculturation. Skepticism about such straightforward outcomes, however, led to the development of important theories that are relevant to my study.

Such theoretical developments have considered other individual and social variables. They include, for example, the resources that immigrants bring, have access to, or are able to mobilize, and the structures of inequalities prevalent in a globalized country such as the United States. Thus, assimilation and acculturation are much more complex processes than once thought. Concepts such as structural and segmented assimilation,

selective acculturation, internal colonization, ethnic group resources, and intersectionality have been proposed to explain departures from straight-line assimilation and acculturation.

Moreover, citizenship theories contain concepts that are relevant to this study. Three dimensions from this theoretical perspective are used to assemble a theoretical framework for my study: legal status with concomitant rights and duties, civic and political participation, and sense of belonging.

The concept of citizenship as a legal status with corresponding rights and duties led to research into the legalization process, the relative importance of rights and duties, and the significance of dual citizenship among Salvadoran forced migrants. An examination was also made of their diverse forms of formal and informal, electoral and non-electoral, civic and political participation towards the United States and El Salvador. Finally, the sense of belonging among Salvadoran forced migrants was explored in terms of their perception of membership in both countries.

Research Methodology

Research was designed to be a small-scale qualitative study, since qualitative methodologies are well suited to describe, explore or examine current social phenomena in great detail. Moreover, this study is also a case study that is concerned with within-case variation. Case studies represent a research strategy that is adequate for "how" and "why" questions, and such are the characteristics of the four research questions considered in this study.

Since a sampling frame is unavailable, snowball sampling turned out to be the only feasible method available to conduct the study. This method is also appropriate because the individuals who meet the eligibility criteria are invisible and scattered. Furthermore, maximum representativeness in snowball sampling was achieved by collecting data from a broad range of respondents. This goal implied a larger rather than a smaller sample. Additionally, the goal was to compare men to women, and those who left El Salvador during two different historical periods. As a result, each grouping was to be composed of 15 members, and the total sample to amount to 60 members. Thus, snowball sampling was used to generate a quota sample of 60 Salvadoran forced migrants residing in the Washington metropolitan area.

Open-ended interviews were used to collect the necessary data to address the research questions of the exploratory study. Given the lack of empirical studies addressing a similar set of research questions, such a method of data collection is appropriate. The interviews were conducted in Spanish to capture as faithfully as possible the bulk of the lived experiences of the respondents. Moreover, summaries of the collected data were produced from the transcribed documents prior to beginning data analysis. These summaries were useful throughout the data analysis and dissertation writing process, serving primarily to confirm findings.

A slightly adjusted comparative method was applied during data analysis. First, the outcome of comparison during the interview process supplied the top categories and identified emergent subcategories. Second, the comparative review of transcribed text to produce summaries provided the opportunity to refine these subcategories. Third, the coding of text confirmed the usefulness of some of these subcategories, led to the

regrouping and establishment of new subcategories, and facilitated the creation of a third layer of coding terms where appropriate. A coding scheme and coded text constituted the end products of these three reiterative cycles.

To proceed with the writing of the data analysis, printed texts coded under the various subcategories of the broad categories were employed to discover patterns, linkages and deviant cases via a process of comparing and weighing statements made by respondents. Statistical reports of the frequency of codes also served to guide the process of assessing the relative importance of the labels across the data collected.

The sample in this study appears to be representative in three important ways. The age distribution of the sample matches that of the victims of armed violence in El Salvador. The reasons for the forced migration of the sample members were validated by available historical documentation. Also, their socio-economic background generally corresponds to the profile of Salvadoran forced migrants described in an earlier study with a similar sample. These characteristics of the sample suggest that the findings are likely generalizable to the Washington metropolitan area. The findings may also be relevant to Salvadoran forced migrants who settled in other urban areas of the United States.

With regards to the reliability of the findings, the study report provides sufficient detail for other researchers to follow the research methodology. Although it is unlikely that another researcher will arrive at identical results, the author of this study is confident that the findings will be reproduced to a satisfactory extent.

Significance of the Study

In theory, this study suggests that political incorporation can be examined sociologically by employing citizenship concepts. Three dimensions of citizenship are generally acknowledged: legal status with concomitant rights and duties, civic and political participation, and sense of belonging. This study tests the usefulness of these concepts and thereby calls for the consideration of political incorporation as a multi-dimensional experience.

Furthermore, the study seeks to overcome some of the limitations of past research on political participation. For example, much research has been conducted on political participation, frequently focusing on naturalization and electoral behavior. However, other forms of participation, formal and informal, electoral and non-electoral, and civic as well as political are also valid. In addition, citizenship theorists assume that the definition of various rights and duties are relatively similar, stable and universal worldwide. However, these legal categories do not necessarily make sense in the everyday lives of people everywhere and under all circumstances. Finally, sociologists have acknowledged that people have a sense of belonging in social groupings. In practical terms, however, the question of how they perceive themselves as members of a country remains understudied. This study suggests that qualitative methods allow sociologists to capture the experience of people in their own terms, and to theorize about reality as people see and experience it.

The findings of this study will provide insights relevant for emigration and immigration policymakers. The study presents political incorporation as an important aspect of the overall immigrant experience. It seeks to support the design of policies and

programs that foster humane and dignified coexistence. Understanding the rights and duties as migrants conceive them, the civic and political dimension of their agency, and their perceived membership in their country of origin and destination, can assist in policymaking. Policymakers can delve into the chapters to find ideas that can serve to enhance the relationships of states to migrant communities. Taking into account the troublesome anti-immigrant sentiment in the United States today, failure to redress this relationship can turn into political, social, and economic liabilities.

This study is relevant to Salvadoran forced migrants because it acknowledges the plight of these men and women and constitutes a testament to their agency in terms of their homeland and their adopted country. Most of all, the findings indicate that the civic and political labors of Salvadoran forced migrants remain unfinished.

In this regard, it may be timely to reconsider the missions of the existing Salvadoran organizations in the Washington metropolitan area. The ones established decades ago have served as civic and political "schools" that empowered Salvadoran forced migrants. They have also been vehicles for advocating on behalf of the rights of all arriving Salvadorans. More recently created organizations have served as bridges to reconnect Salvadorans in the United States with their counterparts in El Salvador. This study's findings are relevant to such a reexamination.

Ultimately, the findings contribute to the knowledge about cohesion and solidarity in societies experiencing immigration, particularly when migrants originate in countries beset by strife or torn by war. This study contributes to the contemporary scholarship at the intersection of migration and citizenship.

Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

The limitations and delimitations of this study mainly derive from the exploratory nature of the qualitative approach and from the nature and size of the snowball sample applied to the subject matter. The study is delimited to a particular subgroup of Salvadoran immigrants in the Washington metropolitan area. This group is made up of adult women and men who fled armed violence in El Salvador between 1975 and 1991, and who settled in this particular geographic area. There are only a few related studies of this subgroup, none of which examines simultaneously the three dimensions of citizenship in relation to them. Thus, this study builds on and extends research on the Salvadoran-origin population in the United States.

The findings of this study are likely generalizable to Salvadoran forced migrants in the Washington metropolitan area. Most of the findings are also likely generalizable to Salvadoran forced migrants living in other cities of the United States.

Organization of This Dissertation

This dissertation is organized into eight chapters. This chapter introduces the study, its four research questions, its theoretical background, and the research methodology used. Chapter 2 details the theoretical background, drawing upon two bodies of scholarship: assimilation and acculturation theories, and citizenship theories. Chapter 3 specifies the sample design and selection, the method of data collection, and the data processing and analysis. Findings are described in the next four chapters, corresponding to the four research questions. Chapter 4 addresses the contexts which Salvadoran forced migrants fled, concluding that theirs was a unique migration flow.

Chapter 5 documents the legalization process of Salvadoran forced migrants and suggests that such a process represents a search for security. Chapter 6 reports on the formal and informal, electoral and non-electoral ways in which Salvadoran forced migrants participate, revealing their wide-ranging practice of citizenship. Chapter 7 describes their perceived membership in their homeland and in their adopted country. The concluding chapter discusses the implications of the study findings in terms of further research and policymaking. The appendices reproduce the informed consent form and interview guide, both of them in Spanish and English, and present tables of sample characteristics.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Over the last two decades, scholars have criticized the portrayal of citizenship as universally accessible, inclusive, and uniform across populations within the geo-political boundaries of sovereign states. Quite contrary to this idealistic portrayal of citizenship, scholars now widely acknowledge that access to citizenship is far from complete worldwide. It is also unevenly and unequally available to residents within national borders. Consequently, various ways of conceiving citizenship have been advanced as interest in the topic revived. International migration has contributed partially to this revival. The presence of an increasing number of persons living outside their country of birth, whether in wealthy developed or in emerging states, has challenged the notions of citizenship in both sending and receiving countries.

Yet, considering the sizeable impact of international migration, until recently, there has been a dearth of empirical studies at the intersection of migration and citizenship (Janoski and Wang 2005). Scholars have contributed useful perspectives on the intersection (Bloemraad, Korteweg, and Yurdakul 2008; Bosniak 2000; Gerstle 2006; Joppke 2007, 1999; Kymlicka and Norman 1994; Lister 2003; Menjivar 2010) for purposes of my study. I focus on three particular dimensions of citizenship: the rights and duties associated with legal status, civic and political participation, and belongingness.

One dimension considers citizenship as rights and duties corresponding to a legal status. It has a normative character. A second dimension encompasses civic and political participation. It is a participatory dimension. Citizenship as a sense of belonging constitutes the third dimension. This involves the perceived membership in relation to a particular geo-politically defined community. These three dimensions are treated together in my study, which seeks to examine the political incorporation of Salvadoran forced migrants living in the Washington metropolitan area. Specifically, the study explores how these migrants acquire citizenship in the United States, they ways in which they participate civically and politically, and the manner in which they perceive their belongingness in terms of the United States and El Salvador.

Notably, my study seeks to extend the conclusions of major research scholars on Salvadoran immigrants in the United States (Coutin 2010, 2007, 2003, 2001, 2000, 1999, 1996; Mahler 2006, 1999, 1995; Menjívar 2006, 2000, 1993). Their research found that legality was of utmost importance to this immigrant group. A decade later, such legality emerges as citizenship and its import has increased.

As stated above, the three-dimensional concept of citizenship offers a proxy to examine political incorporation. While there is no widely accepted definition of political incorporation (Wong 2002), I have adjusted a characterization proposed by Gerstle (2006:27) to offer a sociological definition. Political incorporation is a process whereby persons come to think of themselves as legitimate members of a geo-political community with rights and duties, and participate civically and politically, to the extent that they choose. The elements of this definition match the three dimensions of citizenship: legal

status with rights and duties, civic and political participation, and belongingness. My proposed definition of political incorporation overcomes the one-dimensional treatment of the concept to date.

This chapter begins by summarizing theories regarding the incorporation of immigrants in the United States. Starting with assimilation and acculturation, the notion of segmentation and perspectives focusing on ethnic group resources and gender are reviewed insofar as they are relevant to my study. Next, I outline the theoretical basis of the three dimensions of citizenship as described above. This chapter affirms that the three dimensions of citizenship prove useful to the study of the political incorporation of Salvadoran forced migrants in the Washington metropolitan area.

Assimilation and Acculturation

The massive immigration flows at the turn of the last two centuries have been at the center stage of sociological inquiry in the United States (Menjivar 2010; Pedraza 1999; Waters and Jiménez 2005). Overall, sociological scholarship has depicted a relatively optimistic view in which immigrants are successfully "absorbed," "assimilated," "integrated" or "incorporated" into U.S. society over time and across generations (Alba and Nee 2003; Bean and Stevens 2003; Pedraza 1999; Waters and Jiménez 2005). Scholars have grappled with two macro-sociological processes generally labeled as assimilation and acculturation, present in the notions of structural and cultural assimilation advanced by Milton Gordon (1964). From a race relations perspective, Robert Park (1950) introduced the idea of contact, competition, and accommodation as ways in which immigrants settled amidst the urban population in the United States. A few

years later, E. Franklin Frazier (1957) made the distinction between race and ethnicity and spoke of group subordination rather than assimilation and acculturation. The duality of assimilation and acculturation prevails in contemporary discussions of immigrant experiences.

Subscribers to assimilation theory present an evolved Anglo-conforming mainstream affected by European, Latin American and Asian immigrants, the removal of discrimination and disenfranchisement, and by and large, a steady decline in overall political participation over the last half of the twentieth century. Thus, assimilation theory posits that with increasing duration in the United States, the foreign-born gradually shed their distinct ethnic traits and eventually resemble the native population.

A refinement of this general theory regarding immigrants distinguishes between acculturation and structural assimilation. Acculturation is the adaptation by an immigrant group to the cultural patterns of the dominant or majority group, while structural assimilation describes the entry of immigrants into close, or primary, relationships with members of the dominant group. The former precedes the latter. Moreover, once structural assimilation occurs, the way is then open to an abating of prejudice and discrimination and to the full participation of immigrants in society. In such a process, naturalization is regarded as a formal step. For the most part, the variables used to portray the assimilationist picture have been socio-economic status, educational attainment, occupational specialization, spatial distribution, English language proficiency, intermarriage, and naturalization rates.

Critics of acculturation and assimilation theories have exposed exceptions to the operation of these macro-level processes, revealing a gamut of outcomes for immigrants in the United States. In turn, they have proposed other ways to account for these exceptions, including some that draw upon the work of Park and Frazier.

<div align="center">

Segmented Assimilation and
Selected Acculturation

</div>

By the turn of the century, scholars had already advanced important theories to explain the uneven and incomplete assimilation and acculturation of newly arrived immigrants in the United States. Their portrayal of the incorporation process is pessimistic and doubtful in comparison to that offered by subscribers to the assimilation and acculturation theories of years before. They acknowledge structures of inequalities prevalent in a globalized country like the United States as well as patterns of group domination and subordination.

Portes and Zhou (1993) introduced the concept of segmented assimilation, suggesting that not all immigrants assimilate in the same fashion, into the same strata, or at the same pace, resulting in different outcomes. Children of dark-skinned, working-class immigrants who grow up in the inner city are at a great risk of assimilating into the lower class. Some experience assimilation with scant upward mobility or none. Others experience selective acculturation, in which youth maintain strong ties to their ethnic community. These ties act as a barrier to external cultural influences, reinforce homeland values via parental authority, and contribute to the development of ethnic identities. Thus, adherents to the segmented assimilation model offer an alternative stratified view based

on race/ethnicity and class, calling into question the optimistic perspective of earlier assimilation scholars.

In particular, adherents to the segmented assimilation model have researched the degree to which the assimilation outcomes are found among recent immigrants and their descendants. One reason is that since the passage of the 1965 immigration reform in the United States, immigrants hail mostly from Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia. In contrast, at the turn of the previous century, immigrants to the United States came from culturally closer southern and eastern European countries. Also the new mass immigration has continued years beyond the period of immigration back then.

Yet another reason for scholarly interest is that social prejudices and individual-level discrimination do not adequately account for the continued racial and ethnic inequities in the United States. In particular, these explanatory factors have declined to some extent with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Act of 1965. Both were landmark laws prohibiting discrimination and disfranchisement on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

From a historical perspective, Lieberson (1961) focused on whether a new group is incorporated into a society through force; whether by conquest, annexation or slavery; or whether through more or less voluntary migration. One possibility is that the migrant group prevails, typically through conquest, as exemplified by the European colonizers in the United States or the Spanish conquerors in Latin America. Another possibility is that the prevalent group dominates, as occurred during the century of mass immigration to the

United States at the turn of the eighteenth century. Mode of entry, Lieberson concluded, is fateful for the history of a society.

In a related vein, Blauner (1972) advanced the notion of internal colonialism in Western societies to refer to the institutional racism experienced by immigrant minorities in the United States. The positions occupied by these minorities in the socio-economic hierarchy are dispensed on the basis of cultural markers. In his view, these populations share oppression, prejudice, and economic underdevelopment, and lack real political autonomy and power.

Most Latin American immigrants understand the advantages of being white in the United States, and they are also aware that past migrations were successful in expanding the category of white. The current categorization of non-Hispanic/Latino white, however, signals resistance for the same to happen in regards to these new immigrants. Indeed, in order for such an expansion to be effective, members of the category must be open to admit the new immigrants. Similarly, expressions combining "non-Hispanic/Latino" with blacks, Asians, and other racial/ethnic categories represent manifestations of resistance to extend membership to Latin American immigrants in such groupings. Should such a trend prevail, Latin American immigrants will likely find themselves grouped into their own racial/ethnic category.

At the present levels of discrimination and xenophobia, it is unlikely that the category of white will expand to accommodate all Latin American immigrants. Research shows that exposure to the U.S. stratification system predisposes them to adopt a separate Latino identity (Frank, Akresh, and Lu 2010). While many may attempt to select the

category of white, only some will probably succeed. Even when these immigrants choose to self-identify as white, they will not be exempt from racial and ethnic prejudices on the basis of their skin color and cultural markers.

<p style="text-align:center"><u>Views on Ethnic Group Resources</u></p>

Sociologists have also turned their attention to the role of ethnicity in immigrant incorporation. Ethnicity implies the various kinds of resources that immigrants bring, have access to, or are able to mobilize in their new contexts. Views on ethnic-group resources illustrate the advantages and disadvantages of adhering to ethnicity. Ethnic resources allow immigrants to evade some disadvantages, yet they also pose risks to their assimilation in the host country. This focus has been applied almost exclusively to the study of the economic activities of immigrants.

Bonacich (1973) wrote about ethnic middlemen who as intermediaries put disadvantaged co-ethnics to work at the service of dominant formal marketplaces. Light (1984) introduced the idea of the immigrant or ethnic entrepreneur. Such an entrepreneur trains arriving immigrants in the establishment of their own businesses to cater to the needs of their ethnic community. Portes and Bach (1985) conceived of the ethnic enclave, or sub-economies, which shield ethnic entrepreneurs and workers from the disadvantages they would face in the mainstream economy.

Waldinger (1996) proposed the notion of the ethnic niche in reference to any economic position where a group is sufficiently concentrated to draw advantage from it. Ethnic niches also emerge when an ethnic group takes over a sector of employment so that group members have privileged access to new jobs, restricting entry to outsiders.

In cities across the United States, a variety of ethnic sites exist in zones-of-transition or in secondary business districts. In metropolitan areas undergoing revitalization, ethnic places can contribute to the rejuvenation of urban economies and cultures (Lin 1998). Yet ethnic places are also closely implicated in urban strategies of gentrification and global capital accumulation. Frequently, these urban strategies increase polarization in the affected neighborhoods and lead to the eventual displacement of most ethnic residents and businesses, as has happened in Washington, D.C. (Singer 2007).

<u>Gender Perspectives</u>

The above theoretical contributions are gender-neutral. They make no distinction with regards to differentiated immigrant outcomes for men and women in the United States. Research has shown, however, that gender is an important variable in these outcomes (Castles and Miller 2003; Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2005; Piper 2008a; Zlotnik 2003). Women represent over half of all migrants worldwide (Zlotnik 2003), and historically, they have been excluded from citizenship (Lister 2003).

From a feminist perspective, the notion of a "gender-pluralist citizen" conceives of both men and women as members of multiple groups and as possessing multiple identities (Hobson and Lister 2001; Lister 2003; Yuval-Davis 1991). Gender intersects with other stratification variables, such as class, ethnicity, race, age, skills, and legal status, among others, thereby affecting the way in which migrants are included and excluded, and the extent to which they are able to exercise their citizenship at their destinations.

Considerations of a similar nature have recently led scholars to combine gender with other stratifying variables into the concept of intersectionality (Abraham, Chow, Maratou-Alipranti, and Tastsoglou 2010; Yuval-Davis 2007). Intersectionality scholars focus on a range of stratification variables that produce different multi-layered identities or loyalties in particular contexts. These scholars put into doubt notions of national identity. In relation to migration, however, people depart from and arrive at gendered and otherwise stratified countries frequently with national identities intact. Chow (2010) adds that the particular combinations of intersecting differences result in "fragmented citizenship." That is, the various stratified positions of migrants create "social divisions that heighten inclusion or exclusion and a sense of belonging in a given locale" (Chow 2010:171).

At the core of gendered citizenship is the dominance of men in the public sphere as citizens and the relegation of women to the private sphere as non-citizens or incomplete citizens for much of human history (Lister 2003). Furthermore, a division of labor places the burden of household responsibilities on women. To be sure, men have been reluctant to regulate the private sphere or to affect the balance of power therein. The open-ended household responsibilities demand considerable time and energy from women, putting constraints on their exercise of citizenship. As a result, women endure "time poverty" (Lister 2003) with respect to men. Some women, however, have the means to overcome the constraints that household responsibilities place on them by acquiring the labor provided by domestic workers, who often are migrant women. Rather

than affect the balance of power in the household, affluent women effectively shift the burden of responsibility onto other women who work for them.

A body of research on the relevance of gender in migration to the United States (Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2005) indicates that men and women share many experiences at their places of destination. Yet women are affected differently than men in important ways. Research shows that men can experience a loss of status during migration, when compared to women. Men's loss of status represents a threat to their patriarchal role and to the gender ideology that sustains it. Thus, men often cling to the desire to return to their homeland. For women, a return to the homeland means a loss of the autonomy gained as a result of migrating to the United States and the prospect of reverting to gender roles prevalent in their homeland.

Research (Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2005) has shown that length of exposure to life in the United States does not decrease the orientation of immigrants towards their countries of orgin. Such an effect is stronger in women than in men. However, encounters with discrimination seem to affect interactions between migrants and the native majority population in the host country, impacting more men than women. Scholars opine that the gains women experience from their migration to the United States may compensate for their relatively low position in the racial, ethnic, and class stratification in the country.

Working immigrant women, compared to their home-bound peers, have a greater role in household decision-making and more control over household budgets. The balance of power in immigrant families shifts when husbands increase their share of

household work. Although migration can increase a woman's autonomy, women are far from emancipated, as gender inequalities are reinforced by gender ideologies. Many women work in low-status and dead-end positions, earning less than men. Women can also be found to dominate particular employment domains. Even so, in globalized economies, women may find more egalitarian, or less patriarchal, relations at work. Women's employment choices frequently accommodate their household responsibilities. Generally then, in addition to time poverty, financial poverty also affects women's exercise of rights and their political participation (Lister 2003).

Men continue to dominate formal political participation, and they have been unreliable in providing and enforcing women's rights and opportunities (Lister 2003). For example, where women have actively mobilized against authoritarian regimes, such as in El Salvador, once change comes about, they are not rewarded with a corresponding quota of political power (Silber and Viterna 2009). Although women's political representation in institutional politics has been on the increase worldwide, their gains have been gradual, uneven, and insufficient to effect fundamental changes in formal politics. As a result, formal politics have been labeled by some as "masculinist" activities (Lister 2003).

While formal political participation has been traditionally monopolized by men, informal participation has been regarded as a more "women-friendly" form of engagement (Lister 2003). Women's participation is dominant at the level of civic institutions or community organizations, yet such influence has not translated into formal politics where policymaking takes place. Furthermore, research has shown that even in the realm of informal forms of participation, men are dominant in the leadership of

hometown associations (Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2005). For women, however, homeland related activities depend on the availability of resources beyond those needed for the subsistence of their households (Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2005). Informal political participation is friendlier to women to the extent that they find it more compatible with the burden of household responsibilities.

In this vein, Coffé and Bolzendahl (2010) reported gender gaps across different modes of participation in 19 Western industrialized nations. Political participation is not a matter of women and men participating more or less, rather it is a matter of engaging differently, they conclude. Notably, women are more engaged than men in private activism, including signing petitions, avoiding or acquiring products for political reasons, and fundraising or donating money for social or political organizations. These kinds of activities can be easily integrated into daily routines, they added. Coffé and Bolzendahl (2010) also found that women have a greater propensity for voting than men. Men are likelier to be members of political parties, to join collective actions such as a protest or meeting, and to engage in political contact. These visible activities are more resource-intensive, requiring time and money.

The evidence suggests that while the household balance of power, the unequal access to resources, and the civic and political participation divide remain unchanged, gendered citizenship will continue to prevail (Lister 2003). Migrants share many experiences in their places of destination, including working, learning a new language, coping with discrimination, and so forth, that result in their segmented assimilation (Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2005). There are, however, plenty of differences in the

political participation of men and women in relation to homelands and adopted countries. Ultimately, participation towards both countries is meaningful and complementary from the standpoint of migrants.

<p style="text-align:center;">Three Dimensions of Citizenship</p>

Scholars have recognized that sociological theories of political incorporation are underdeveloped (Bloemraad, Korteweg, and Yurdakul 2008; Gerstle 2007, 2001b; Janoski and Wang 2005; Jones-Correa 2002a, 2002b; Waters 2007; Wong 2002). Traditionally, political incorporation has been discussed in the one-dimensional sense of political participation. Furthermore, such discussions have been narrowly restricted to formal behavior, particularly naturalization and electoral behavior. My study takes a broader approach. It applies citizenship theory to characterize political participation in three dimensions: legal status with concomitant rights and duties, civic and political participation, and sense of belonging. Figure 2.1 illustrates these three components of citizenship.
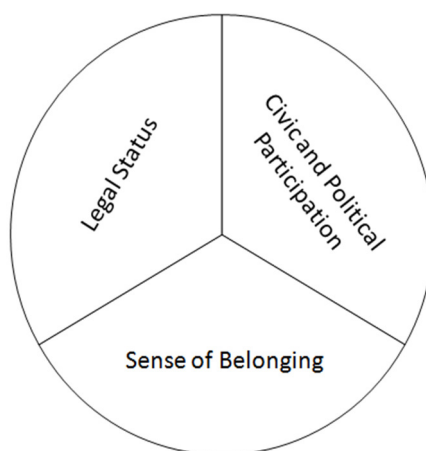
Figure 2.1. The Three Dimensions of Citizenship

As stated earlier, my study defines political incorporation as a process whereby immigrants come to think of themselves as legitimate members of a geo-political community with rights and duties, in which they participate civically and politically, if they so choose. The elements of this definition match the three dimensions of citizenship that I propose. The three dimensions are presented in the next sections of this chapter.

<div align="center">

Citizenship as Legal Status
with Rights and Duties
</div>

Under international law, states have the exclusive privilege of establishing norms of access to citizenship and of granting and enforcing citizenship. Thereby, states build "geographies of confinement" (Mountz, Wright, Miyares, and Bailey 2002) worldwide.

An essay by T.H. Marshall (Marshall and Bottomore 1992) published in 1950 is a major referent for the perspective of citizenship as a legal status. This essay analyzed the historical progression over two centuries from civil to political rights, and finally, to social rights in England. Civil rights, which developed in the 17th and 18th century, regulated and upheld individual freedoms and the right to justice and were institutionalized in the English legal system. Civil rights were followed by political rights, which involved influencing the exercise of political power, from participating in political parties to voting in parliamentary elections. Lastly, social rights manifested themselves in the form of a welfare state, ensuring a decent standard of living to all citizens. According to Marshall, this progression of rights served to limit social conflict in England. Ultimately, his view coincides with the notion of the welfare state.

Marshall's perspective of citizenship as a set of rights derives from the liberal notion that defines the relationship between individuals and the state as a social contract (Kymlicka and Norman 1994). Conservative thinkers, however, emphasize citizen obligations, including self-reliance, active participation, and civic virtues (Kymlicka and Norman 1994). Combining both perspectives, one arrives at a notion of citizenship that encompasses civil and political rights and social entitlements as well as obligations associated with a legal status recognized by a state.

Scholars have pointed out that the historical development of citizenship as described by Marshall is far from ubiquitous. Also, since the publication of Marshall's seminal work, welfare states have eroded in Europe and the United States as governments have implemented strategies seeking to circumscribe the role of government and favoring the deregulation and privatization of markets for goods and services. These strategies have also been forced upon developing countries, typically characterized by more limited, unstable, or unenforced civic, political, and social rights.

Moreover, states are more stratified and diverse than depicted in Marshall's publication, partially resulting from international migration. To be sure, contemporary comparative studies of citizenship in Europe, North America, and Australia reveal that exclusion, inequality, hierarchy, and securitization affect the legal status of non-citizens there (Isin and Turner 2007; Nyers 2007).

Global Hierarchy of States

In today's globalized world, not all citizenships are equally valued. Castles (2005) argues that there is a hierarchical system of citizenships, describing a five-tiered global

system of citizenships. At the top are U.S. citizens with a multitude of formal rights, even though differentially applied and enforced. In the second tier are other highly developed countries with rights that are weaker in some areas such as legal protection, but stronger in others such as public welfare. Next are transitional or intermediate countries with lesser legal protection and rights, encompassing less fair elections, less developed social protection, and less effective public benefits. In the fourth tier are poorer countries with a veneer of citizenship, characterized by autocratic regimes, social oppression, and non-existent public benefits. The fifth tier is made up of non-citizens worldwide, either as a result of an ineffective or virtually inexistent state or due to forced migration.

Certainly, the relative position of citizenships can rise and fall. Similarly, within this citizenship hierarchy, the relative standing of forced migrants can also undergo change when these persons gain access to citizenship in places of destination or restore citizenship in their homelands. Conceived in this manner, Salvadoran forced migrants left a fourth-tier country to become members of the fifth tier. However, as will be seen, they eventually gained formal access to citizenship in the top tier, exclusive to the United States.

Supra-State Legal Status

Critics of the legal status dimension of citizenship point to *supra*-state notions of "denationalized," "deterritorialized," or "post-national" citizenship (Joppke 2007). These notions have been mainly linked to the formation of a "European" citizenship as a result of regional integration. The experience of European integration, however, is not found elsewhere, circumscribing the application of these notions of citizenship mostly to those

member countries. Even so, citizenship is unevenly accessible to those living under the separate jurisdictions that compose the European Union. Furthermore, these *supra*-state notions are irrelevant to immigrants in the United States, who are expected to eventually naturalize, thereby becoming, if anything, "renationalized" or "reterritorialized" citizens (Joppke 2007).

Additionally, the idea of "global citizenship" or "transnational citizenship" detached from a particular state has arisen from notions of universal human rights and the primacy of personhood (Bloemraad 2004; Guarnizo, Portes and Haller 2003; Itzigsohn 2000; Soysal 1997). Subscribers to this notion label as "transnational" or "global," the interactions started by individuals who maintain relationships with their homelands or by members of political and civic organizations that trigger mobilization activities across borders. However, individuals are firmly grounded in national contexts, and organizations are bounded in particular states. For human rights and personhood to have any domestic significance, states need to implement national laws and enforcement mechanisms in accordance to international treaties, as applicable. Whereas international human rights law offers moral and juridical arguments--and such arguments have been used in claims-making by citizens and even by non-citizens against particular states--such a body of law does not eliminate or overcome national legislation. In this light, global or transnational citizenship is idyllic and, therefore, constitutes an impractical notion.

Naturalization

To naturalize in the United States, potential candidates must meet several requirements. They must be at least 18 years of age; have been lawfully admitted to the

United States for permanent residency, and have resided in the country continuously for at least five years; they must be able to speak, write, read, and understand basic English; they must have a knowledge of U.S. history and government; they must demonstrate good moral character; and they must subscribe to the principles of the U.S. Constitution (Passel 2007; Taylor and Parral 2006). The foreign-born obtain lawful admission to the United States as permanent residents after they have applied and are granted authorization to live permanently in the country. The legal status of permanent residency may be attained by qualifying for a family-sponsored or employment-based immigrant visa; by adjusting from temporary, refugee, and asylee visas, as allowed; or via a diversity visa lottery program, which seeks to increase visas to citizens of countries that are considerably underrepresented in the U.S. immigrant population.

Empirical studies on U.S. naturalization have focused on individual-level variables associated with decisions to naturalize and to the varied rates of naturalization among the foreign-born residents. Only a few studies of naturalization patterns in the United States are based on samples that identify immigrants of Salvadoran origin and none known that focus exclusively on Salvadoran forced migrants. The existing research among the most recent wave of Latin American immigrants has confirmed the relevance of socio-economic and time-related variables, particularly education and age, and of organizational membership (DeSipio 2002; DeSipio, Masuoka, and Stout 2006). Moreover, higher income immigrants, those who are homeowners and participants in the labor force, have been found more likely to naturalize (DeSipio, Masuoka, and Stout

2006). Being female also enhances the propensity to naturalize (Bass and Casper 2001; DeSipio N.d.; DeSipio, Masuoka, and Stout 2006).

Immigrants of Salvadoran origin are more likely to naturalize this decade than the previous one; however, their naturalization rates continue to be lower than rates for immigrants hailing from many other Latin American countries (Bass and Casper 2001; DeSipio, Masuoka, and Stout 2006; Passel 2007). The most frequently cited reasons by Salvadorans for naturalizing are for the right to vote, for protection, and for peace of mind about legal status (Brettell 2006). Furthermore, among duties and rights, those most important to Salvadorans are obeying the law, being a "good citizen" by helping others and giving back to the community, and raising children correctly (Brettell 2006).

Dual Citizenship

The popularity of dual or multiple citizenships has been on the increase. Dual citizenship allows a person to hold citizenship in two countries at the same time (U.S. Department of State 2011). The adoption of dual citizenship has spread to about half of the countries in the world, thereby favoring millions of individuals living outside their countries of origin (Jones-Correa 2001b; Sejersen 2008). Jones-Correa (1998) described immigrants living the "politics of in-between" as not fully integrated in the country of origin or that of destination. This condition, he emphasized, undermines political representation and accountability, reinforces marginalization, and encourages a perception of immigrants as outsiders.

El Salvador adopted dual citizenship in 1983 at a time when armed violence was widespread, forcing eventually up to a fifth of its population to flee. A person naturalized

as a U.S. citizen, as is the case of many Salvadoran forced migrants living in this country, does not lose the citizenship of the country of birth. As dual citizens, Salvadoran forced migrants owe allegiance to both the United States and their country of birth, they have access to the rights and duties available to citizens in one or the other country, and they are required to obey the laws of both countries. Either state has the right to enforce its laws, particularly when the citizen is found within the boundaries of the particular country.

Overall, as a receiving country, the United States does not encourage dual citizenship as a matter of policy due to unease about potential conflicts of law (U.S. Department of State 2011). The extension of dual citizenship to greater numbers of people worldwide has also contributed to the fear of disloyalty, abuse, and devaluation of U.S. citizenship. It has also driven many to support more restrictive immigration policies.

Recent research indicates that dual citizenship does not pose a personal conflict to beneficiaries, nor does it hinder the naturalization of immigrants in the United States. One study (Escobar 2004) concluded that dual citizenship facilitated and promoted naturalization among Colombians, and that ties with their country of origin do not dampen their political engagement in the United States. One of the reasons for pursuing naturalization is to gain access to federal and state resources made available exclusively to citizens as part of increasingly restrictive immigration legislation over the past couple of decades. An earlier study (Jones-Correa 2001b) found that immigrants from countries that recognize dual citizenship exhibit higher naturalization rates in the United States than immigrants from countries that do not.

In sum, states remain nominally the sources, guarantors, and enforcers of citizenship as a legal status with associated rights and duties. My study asks Salvadoran forced migrants about their motivations for seeking access to a permanent legal status and citizenship in the United States, exploring the relative importance of the corresponding rights and duties for men and women.

<div align="center">Citizenship as Civic and
Political Participation</div>

Citizenship regarded as civic and political participation characterizes the view of "civic republicans or participatory democrats," who equate the state and the political community (Kymlicka and Norman 1994). This particular view maintains that active membership develops a collective will. In this tradition, contemporary scholars speak of local citizenship, at the city or county level, as meaningful collective practices by community members that allow them to exercise control over their existence (Bosniak 2000). Local citizenship is allowed in a few jurisdictions in the United States. However, its decision-making scope is relatively limited. Political membership in any sub-national unit is ultimately subordinated to national citizenship, even though today, some states are contesting the federal government's power to enact immigration reform. Thus, local citizenship does not obviate the need for immigrants to participate at state and federal levels. On the contrary, it behooves them to be taken into account at all levels.

Traditionally, researchers have studied the electoral behavior of immigrants, examining patterns of registration and voting among them. Newer approaches have widened the scope of examination, focusing on the significance of pre-migration political

activities of the foreign-born; of political parties, labor unions, ethnic groups and other organizations; and of government policies and programs on the civic and political participation of immigrants in the counties of destination. I turn now to illustrate these various approaches.

<u>Electoral Behavior</u>

Certain markers of socio-economic status--particularly education, and length of time in the host country--are strong predictors of political participation in the case of immigrants, including those of Latin American origin, living in Canada (Ginieniewicz 2007). Similarly, naturalized immigrants from Latin America who have lived in the United States longer, with more years at current domicile, who are older, wealthier and more educated, and who are female, are more likely to register and to vote (Bass and Casper 2001; Jones-Correa 2001a). One researcher (Cho 1999) explains, however, that it is not aging that increases the likelihood to vote among immigrants. Instead, it is the socialization that is associated with it. Foreign-born immigrants who arrive as adults in the United States do not benefit from the socialization that takes place at an early age. Thus, length of exposure rather than age is at work here.

Research also shows differential registration and voting rates among immigrants in the United States, depending on country of origin (Bass and Casper 2001). Naturalized citizens who hail from El Salvador show lower registration and voting rates than those from Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Guatemala. Furthermore, the Salvadoran rates are slightly higher than those of naturalized immigrants from Mexico (Bass and Casper 2001).

A related question is whether dual citizenship impedes or enhances the political participation of immigrants in the country of destination. Naturalization requirements, electoral laws, and rules regarding dual nationality, explains Jones-Correa (2001b), set "the rules of the game," or the legal and institutional framework for immigrant naturalization and electoral participation. Together, they represent "costs" to new immigrants from Latin America that may shape their differential participation. In California, immigrants from Latin American countries are more likely to naturalize if dual nationality is recognized by their countries of origin, and once naturalized, they are more likely to vote (Jones-Correa 2001b). Immigrants' decisions as to whether to naturalize and vote depend on the institutional incentives and disincentives that exist, concludes Jones-Correa (2001b). However, another study supports a different view. It concludes that dual nationals of Latin American origin are less assimilated politically, and that they participate less in elections in the United States than Latinos who are only U.S. citizens (Stanley, Jackson, and Canache 2007).

Additional Forms of Participation

Scholars agree that the roles of political parties, labor unions, ethnic organizations, and community and religious groups towards immigrant communities have not remained intact over time. They argue that such institutions had been important to the political incorporation of immigrants in the past but that today, they no longer serve in such roles or to the same extent (DeSipio, Masuoka, and Stout 2006). For example, in the 2004 elections, both major parties reached out to Latin American immigrants in Los Angeles much more than in the past. Their efforts, however, were symbolic and selective,

focusing mainly on registered voters and in decisive states, without resorting to visible and massive mobilizations (Wong 2006). Today, labor unions, hometown associations and non-profit community agencies have replaced political parties in mobilizing new immigrants (DeSipio, Masuoka, and Stout 2006; Wong 2006).

Scholars have also concluded that the political experiences in countries of origin influence the participation of immigrants in their new destinations. One particularly relevant study (White, Nevitte, Blais, Gidengil, and Fournier 2008) advanced three hypotheses regarding the political participation of immigrants on the basis of their experience with the political systems in their countries of origin. The "resistance hypothesis" posits that prior exposure to a political system defines the engagement of immigrants in host countries. The "transfer hypothesis" suggests that political participation in the country of destination is shaped by the experiences of immigrants in their homeland. The "exposure hypothesis" implies that participation is influenced by the cumulated experience with the political system in the new environment.

Thus, according to the resistance view, pre-migration learning makes political re-socialization in the country of destination difficult. On the contrary, the exposure perspective highlights the importance of the new political context in determining the participation of immigrants in the host country. The transferability hypothesis states that post-migration experiences build on pre-migration practices.

Results of the empirical research of this study (White et al. 2008) indicate that immigrants living in Canada are able to transfer pre-migration interest in politics, continuing their interest in the country of destination. The study also reveals that length

of exposure to a new political system defines the extent to which immigrants from countries that are not advanced industrial democracies will become affiliated to political parties. Exposure has a decisive impact on voter turnout among immigrants too.

Another study (Ginieniewicz 2007) based on interviews with immigrants in Canada concluded that memories of repressive military regimes in Latin America lingered. However, the political tolerance in Canada helped these immigrants to involve themselves in activities in solidarity with their homelands.

One study (Waldinger 2008) shows that country of origin has a strong effect on binational exchanges. Salvadorans, for example, send remittances at high levels, but exhibit low rates in terms of participation in national elections in their homeland and traveling there. Binational interactions do not wane by themselves, the researcher concludes; rather, they diminish partially due to government policies in host countries. A range of efforts are deployed by receiving states designed to restrain international migration. Such efforts seek to uphold the citizenship of the admitted foreign-born, and at the same time, confine the unauthorized foreign-born present in their territories. Thus, there are distinct political barriers to binational mobility (Waldinger 2008).

White et al. (2008) also highlight the importance of diverse forms of political activities when studying the political participation of immigrants in host countries. Indeed, researchers of electoral behavior caution that their study results may be of limited use due to their narrow definition of political participation, which is limited to registering and voting (Bass and Casper 2001). Non-electoral forms of political participation need to be taken into account, they say. They also admit that various contexts may define

political participation differently and encompass activities that are outside the traditional definition used. Thus, in addition to those who register and vote, some people come together as a group or join an existing one to solve a community problem, and some mobilize around a particular issue. All of these activities fall outside strictly electoral participation, but are nonetheless ways of influencing the political context. Each kind of political activity, whether formal or informal, electoral or non-electoral, requires a different level of effort (White et al. 2008).

A study of the impact of the binational activities of immigrants on political engagement in the United States, using a 2002 survey sample that includes Salvadoran immigrants, revealed that those who are involved in U.S.-based homeland organizations devoted to assisting their communities of origin are also more likely to participate in political organizations in the United States (DeSipio N.d.). According to the researcher, the result suggests that some immigrants are more organizationally active, or that the distinction between these organizations may be more lax than conceived. Additionally, the same study concluded that immigrants with families in the United States, those who reported having experienced discrimination, and those who were permanent residents and naturalized citizens, tend to be organizationally engaged here. They are also more likely to report an intention to remain in the United States. Recent immigrants, however, are less likely to be politically engaged in the United States.

Immigrants are drawn together by national origin, gender, age, and so on, yet ethnicity stands out as the most deeply felt link. For many migrants, writes Bloemraad (2007), a common identity built around national origin can serve to mobilize them, even

if there are rural/urban, class, regional or even religious differences. Withdrawing into ethnic enclaves should therefore make political participation more difficult in the United States. Ginieniewicz (2007) reports studies showing that lack of language skills, unfamiliarity with the political system, and feelings of discrimination led immigrants to interact more among themselves.

Context of Host Countries

In studies of the political incorporation of immigrants, little attention has been given to the roles of social and political institutions and contexts, including laws and policies, or the role of ethnic and racial diversity where immigrants reside (DeSipio, Masuoka, and Stout 2006). One study demonstrated that the facility of their political participation is determined by the extent to which government policies and programs legitimize and fund community organizations, non-profit groups, and public agencies that mobilize immigrants (Bloemraad 2006). In particular, Canada's approach to diversity focuses on settlement programs and the promotion of multiculturalism and citizenship, favoring the incorporation of migrants.

Naturalization and electoral behavior alone are insufficient to account for the various ways in which immigrants participate at their new destinations. The pre-migration experiences of migrants, the role of ethnic and other kinds of organizations in their midst, and laws, policies and programs of sending and receiving countries have an impact on their civic and political participation. My study asks Salvadoran forced migrants about their political and civic participation in terms of the United States and El Salvador. It also examines whether women participate differently than men.

Citizenship as Sense of Belonging

Citizenship as belongingness refers to the way in which migrants perceive their membership in sending and receiving countries. Little contemporary research has been conducted that is germane to the sense of belonging among Salvadoran forced migrants in the United States. Moreover, the link of citizenship to a unique national identity has been put into question, particularly by intersectionality theorists as noted earlier. Generally, scholars observe that individuals maintain all kinds of identities and allegiances based on their attachments to diverse groupings within a state (Mountz et al. 2002).

Scholars speak of "differentiated citizenship," or "multicultural citizenship," arguing that citizenship has been transformed by changes in the criteria that determine legal status, affecting identities and loyalties (Joppke 2007). Historically, the liberalization of criteria delimiting access to citizenship, including preference of birthplace (*ius solis*) over descent (*ius sanguinis*), and the removal of racial, ethnic, cultural, and gender barriers to naturalization, has contributed to diversify the citizenry in many states. The claims-making that emerges from a diverse citizenry, including demands for fair treatment and equal protection for minorities, challenges the ideal of a single national identity (Joppke 2007).

Renationalizing Migrants

The state is called to renegotiate and reconstruct the political community, doing so with the consent of its citizens. States are reluctant to easily renounce the relationship with their diverse members, making "renationalizing" a more likely option for internally

diverse states than "deterritorializing" citizenship (Joppke 2007). Some states have taken a renationalizing approach toward their citizens living abroad. States have been also reluctant to subscribe to policies of open borders, preferring instead to confine migrants, establishing various kinds of temporariness or permanence. "Immigration policies," write Mountz et al. (2002:346), "shape identities through both their texts and their effects."

Few empirical studies deal with belongingness from a citizenship perspective. One such study by Waldinger (2008) concluded that a large majority of Latin American immigrants think of themselves first as nationals of their country of birth, declaring that their country of origin is their "real" home. Fewer speak of plans to return to live in their homelands. After 25 years of residence in the United States, however, two in five immigrants will not identify their country of origin as their real home. Self-definition as a national, however, can persist for a long time. The study shows that bilingual or English-dominant immigrants do not plan a return to their country of origin nor consider it their "real" home. Nevertheless, they will still state that they are nationals of their country of origin.

In the United States, consensus is building against granting undocumented migrants an "amnesty" to provide them with a legal status in the country. As a result, undocumented migrants are criminalized for entering the country without authorization. Their presence is delegitimized, and they are penalized severely, irrespective of whether subsequent to their unauthorized entry, they have obeyed domestic law, or of the length of actual residence in the country. Furthermore, those with temporary or even permanent status are also punished harshly for breaking the law. Immigration reforms in the United

States constitute the legal recourse to adjust and redefine the political community so as to accommodate the presence of non-citizens within its borders. Thus, immigration policies and debates thereof, insofar as they shape the notion of a political community, affect the manner in which Salvadoran forced migrants perceive their membership in the United States. Immigration policies also affect the public at large, and therefore the conditions of reception and tolerance of migrants. Similar processes happen in the homelands of migrants.

El Salvador has taken steps to renegotiate and reconstruct its own political community by allowing dual citizenship. More recently, the Salvadoran government created an entity charged with reaching out and maintaining relationships with its remittance-sending and other citizens residing outside of the country (Baker-Cristales 2008; Landolt 2008). The Salvadoran state has also engaged in its own process of renovating its political community and shaping the views of Salvadoran forced migrants. Regarding the latter, Landolt (2008) writes about a significant turn in the language used by the Salvadoran government. During the period of armed violence, Salvadoran forced migrants were labeled as "subversives" and "traitors." They are now described by the gendered term of "distant brothers," as members of the political community abroad. They are also singled out for their remittances that sustain relatives left behind in El Salvador.

However, the notion of "transnational governmentality" proposed by Baker-Cristales (2008) illustrates the efforts of El Salvador to establish a relationship of containment and control of their citizens scattered throughout the world, much like states are found to do with populations within their own territories. Prior to the allowance of

dual citizenship, Salvadoran forced migrants were outside the territorial control of the Salvadoran state. That is, internal policing, national levies, economic regulation, and public education, among others, did not cover them. Via dual citizenship and other governmental measures, the Salvadoran state sought to capture the wealth produced by Salvadoran forced migrants globally and to maintain their loyalty.

Following the end of the armed conflict in 1992, the Salvadoran government turned to advocate for the legalization of Salvadoran forced migrants in the United States, providing legal assistance to them via consulates worldwide. In 2000, the Ministry of Foreign Relations opened the General Office of Attention to the Community in the Exterior and appointed its first Vice-Minister for Salvadorans Living Abroad. However, it did not extend the right to vote in Salvadoran elections from abroad, in contrast to the rights of citizens of Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Honduras, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru (Baker-Cristales 2008; Landolt 2008). To be sure, the efforts at "transnational governmentality" of the Salvadoran government are incomplete and ineffective. In cross-border relations, Salvadoran forced migrants prefer to circumvent and resist state control, as will be seen in Chapter 6.

A study (Brettell 2006) involving Salvadorans and three other immigrant groups in the Dallas-Fort Worth metropolitan area revealed that a majority of them do not see any conflict in holding dual citizenship, that they maintain a sense of rootedness in their respective countries of origin, and that they are able to function with a dual sense of belonging. Salvadorans differentiate their relationship to both nations. They say they are thankful to both countries, one for giving life and the other for the opportunities. Asked

about their sense of belonging in the United States, Brettell (2006) reported that

Salvadorans responded by saying that belongingness means freedom and the opportunity

to become what one seeks to be in order to get ahead. In terms of El Salvador,

belongingness means being proud and humble. Their identities, the study concluded, are

shaped by both meanings. Moreover, in his research among Latin American immigrants

in Canada, Ginieniewicz (2010) did not find evidence to support the hypothesis that the

sense of belonging to the host country would be jeopardized among those respondents

who are engaged in homeland politics.

<u>Multicultural Identities</u>

Multicultural advocates who favor accommodating the increasing social and

cultural diversity of modern states lend support to group-differentiated identities

(Bloemraad 2007; Kymlicka 1995; Kymlicka and Norman 1994). Doing the opposite--

ignoring difference--hurts the political incorporation of immigrants (Bloemraad 2007). In

practical terms, rendering invisible differences such as race, ethnicity, or religion skews

statistics, leaves minorities out of the political process, and maintains social stratification

intact, they argue.

Coutin (2000) finds that there is no single view among Salvadorans in the U.S.

regarding their sense of belonging. Some view their belongingness as based on descent;

others speak of an affective link to their country of origin. Still others interpret their

belongingness through their behavior, including residing, working, paying taxes, and

contributing to the United States. However, becoming a U.S. citizen, Coutin explains,

does not evoke a spiritual renovation or conversion, as some may expect.

The majority of Salvadorans arriving in the Washington metropolitan area hail from eastern El Salvador, where the presence of Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) guerrillas battling the Salvadoran state was weaker and the counterinsurgency operations of the Salvadoran military were effective. They have been characterized as suspicious of politics and particularly of partisanship. These Salvadorans came as part of a clandestine chain migration that depended on mutual support among close relatives and acquaintances and compatriots from the same communities of origin. They have maintained loyalties of a narrow scope, such as villages or neighborhood (Landolt 2008).

Except for lawfully admitted refugees, the United States does not provide public assistance to promote citizenship or to enhance the political incorporation of immigrants. The Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act gave rise to remedial measures intent on redressing social inequalities, using categories of race to do so. As a result, when the newcomers to the United States access such government-sponsored programs, the assistance is provided primarily on the basis of race, rather than in the interest of political integration. Unsurprisingly then, immigrants are socialized into racial and ethnic group-differentiated policies in the United States. In contrast, a more supportive policy environment such as found in Canada facilitates and expedites the political incorporation of newcomers (Bloemraad 2006, 2007).

Conclusions

The theoretical framework of my study assumes that Salvadoran forced migrants experience segmented assimilation and selective acculturation in the United States. It also

assumes that ethnic group resources were mobilized in their settlement in the Washington metropolitan area. Gender, among other stratifying variables pertinent to assimilation and acculturation, is reflected in the differentiated access to and practice of citizenship by these Salvadoran men and women in relation to their homeland and in their adopted country.

The conceptual dimensions of citizenship discussed earlier will serve to interpret the findings of the four research questions in my study. Specifically, Chapter 4 illustrates the restricted citizenship of a majority under repressive authoritarian rule and armed conflict in El Salvador, which represent conditions that contributed to the forced migration of Salvadorans to the United States. Next, Chapter 5 documents the efforts of these Salvadorans to gain access to a legal status with the concomitant rights and duties as a way of overcoming their insecure presence in the United States. Chapter 6 describes the kinds of civic and political participation that activates and invigorates their national and cross-border citizenships in terms of the United States and El Salvador. Subsequently, Chapter 7 considers the manner in which Salvadoran forced migrants perceive their memberships in these two political communities.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

To understand the political incorporation of Salvadoran forced migrants in the Washington metropolitan area, I pursued a small-scale qualitative study. Qualitative methodologies are well suited to describe, explore or examine contemporary social phenomena (Babbie 2001; Gerring 2007; Gillham 2000; Gomm , Hammersley, and Foster 2000). They are usually applied to small-scale studies that seek a deep understanding of real-life interactions. Generally, the smaller scale allows for greater depth in the data collected as the next four chapters demonstrate. The variables that may be relevant to the research questions guiding this case study are only uncovered once data have been collected and analyzed. Usually, case studies seek to fill the voids or the shortcomings apparent in existing theories. The best use of the case study method is for extending understanding of social phenomena and is ideally suited to the peculiar more than to the general.

My study seeks to discover the unique ways in which Salvadoran forced migrants experience their rights and duties, participate civically and politically, and live their sense of belonging in terms of their homeland and their adopted country. As explained in Chapter 2, citizenship, theory was used to develop a three-dimension citizenship framework to serve as a proxy for the study of the political incorporation of this particular group of migrants.

Also, case studies are concerned with within-case variation. This study seeks to identify the way in which respondents were part of a forced migration, the manner in which they regard their rights and duties, and the ways in which they participate civically and politically and feel part of the United States and/or El Salvador. Simply put, case studies represent a research strategy that is adequate for "how" and "why" questions about current social phenomena (Yin 2003). These are characteristics of the four research questions in my study.

I take the view that social structures and human beings are inextricably linked. Structures impose rules on people, thereby limiting their individual agency for action. "Society only has form, and that form only has effects on people, in so far as structure is produced and reproduced in what people do," explains Giddens (Giddens and Pierson, 1998:77). In such relationships, people act purposefully or unconsciously. In interacting, they affect others on the one hand, and on the other hand, reproduce or change structures in intended and unintended ways. In my study, Salvadoran forced migrants are men and women who interact with other agents and with stratified structures in their homeland and their adopted country. They rationalize their actions and reflexively monitor the effect of their actions. These are ongoing and reciprocal interactions.

My entry point into this exploratory study was theoretical and based on existing empirical studies. Shortly after shaping the initial research questions, as I implemented my study, a process of reconsidering, eliminating, and reformulating questions ensued, which in turn served to focus my theoretical framework. Alford (1998:27) refers to a similar process, which he named the "rolling reformulation" of research questions. The

empirical phase of sampling and data collection and analysis was accompanied by theoretical readings and the rolling reformulation of research questions.

Furthermore, my study was inspired in grounded theory. Attention was paid to two aspects of grounded theory. A comparative orientation, which is typical of grounded theory, is applied in data analysis to establish patterns and detect the range of variation in the sample. As grounded theorists do, I use categories drawn from the statements of respondents themselves and examine their characteristics. I also focus on making implicit concepts found in the data, actually explicit. I propose such concepts in the appropriate chapters in this study.

This chapter describes the sampling technique used to identify respondents and the way that data were collected and analyzed for purposes of answering the four research questions. The chapter ends with a discussion of the research quality standards employed.

Sample Design and Selection

For the most part, small samples for in-depth and detailed study of social phenomena are common in qualitative studies (Miles and Huberman 1994). Thus, sampling is non-random and purposeful, driven by the research questions. The first step is to determine the sampling frame, which represents the population or the aggregate of members in which the researcher is interested. Next an appropriate sample is developed, one that will enhance the understanding of the case study.

The sampling frame constitutes all Salvadoran men and women who left El Salvador between 1975 and 1991 and who resided in the Washington metropolitan area during the phase of data collection. There are no adequate lists of the population

available, precluding the development of a sampling frame. When sampling frames are unavailable, snowball sampling turns out to be the only feasible method available among the 17 strategies in purposive sampling identified in the literature (Miles and Huberman 1994; Onwuegbuzie and Leech 2007).

In addition to the inexistence of a sampling frame, snowball sampling is appropriate to this study since the individuals who meet the eligibility criteria are invisible and scattered. The population is not to be found easily, neither geographically in specific neighborhoods, nor structurally organized in particular social groupings or sharing institutionalized practices that can be located or observed. In essence, this population is socially invisible.

Snowball sampling is time consuming and labor intensive. Scholars (Heckathorn 1997; Sargeant and Faugier 1997) have called such "hard-to-reach" populations also "hidden." However, both terms are deceiving and stigmatizing. With the right approaches the respondents were reachable. In fact, many of them reached out voluntarily.

Few researchers agree on a method of determining sample size, and for the most part, scholars do not detail how they arrived at a sample size for their studies. Ragin and Becker (1992) note that for case studies, samples of three to five have been recommended. Moreover, a study that sought to determine how many interviews were enough to achieve data saturation concluded that it had been reached after twelve interviews (Guest, Bunce, and Johnson 2006). Ultimately, however, these are only broad guidelines. If the selected population is heterogeneous, if the inquiry is wide-ranging or general, or if the study seeks to discover variation, a larger sample may be needed.

The goal of this study was to achieve maximum representativeness by collecting data from a broad range of respondents. This goal implied a larger rather than a smaller sample. Furthermore, the goal was to compare men to women as well as to compare those who forcibly migrated due to political violence to those who migrated due to armed conflict. As a result, each grouping was established to be composed of 15 members, for a total sample of 60 members. Thus, snowball sampling was used to generate a quota sample of 60 Salvadoran forced migrants residing in the Washington metropolitan area. For purposes of my study, the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area is defined as comprising of the District of Columbia; the Maryland counties of Montgomery and Prince George's; the Virginia counties of Arlington and Fairfax (includes Fairfax City and Falls Church); and the City of Alexandria, Virginia.

<div align="center">Development of Quota Sample</div>

Given the challenge described above, sampling involved persistently soliciting referrals in diverse ways to identify potential respondents. Sampling began when I contacted acquaintances who were known to interact with members of the Salvadoran community at work, in their neighborhoods, or in public activities in the District of Columbia, Maryland, and Virginia.

Less obvious were creative routes implemented to access potential respondents. Managers of Salvadoran websites and e-mail lists were contacted to solicit the distribution or posting of a message in attempts to seek respondents. Moreover, I placed a paid announcement in a free Spanish language newspaper distributed in stores, restaurants, and subway and bus stops throughout the Washington metropolitan area. An

online version of the paid announcement was produced and disseminated via the newspaper's website, remaining there for one month.

Also, I attended several events that attracted members of the Salvadoran community, including receptions at the Embassy of El Salvador, fundraising dinners for non-profit organizations, and discussion fora, where I solicited participants or referrals for the study. I became accepted as a member of a new Salvadoran women's organization. An outdated list of community organizations that had been issued by the Embassy of El Salvador was used to phone contacts appearing there. I collected names and phone numbers or e-mail addresses from public sources and private individuals. I also relied on members of the sample for additional referrals. Fortunately, the snowball sampling was successful, albeit challenging at various points.

Originally, I intended to develop a quota frame based on two criteria responsive to the research questions of my study. To explore the differential impact of gender on the way Salvadoran forced migrants behave, feel, and think about the three dimensions of citizenship, a quota of men and women seemed in order. Additionally, the quota frame had been designed to identify Salvadorans who had left their homeland due to political violence and those who had been driven by armed conflict. However, data analysis revealed that political violence continued to prevail during the period of armed conflict from 1981 through 1991. Political violence did not transform into armed violence. Analysis also showed that this ten-year period is associated with a surge in human rights violations against unarmed civilians. This period was also marked by patterns of human rights violations that reveal the coexistence of both political violence and armed conflict.

Thus, a clear delineation of two distinct and mutually exclusive contexts of armed

violence did not correspond to reality.

Table 3.1 shows the resultant quota sample. The sample is composed of 14 men

and six women who left El Salvador as a result of political violence during the period of

1975 and 1980. It also includes 16 men and 24 women who departed their homeland

between 1981 and 1991 due to political violence and armed conflict.

Table 3.1. Quota Sample ($N = 60$)

| Year range | Gender | | Total |
	Men	Women	
1975-1980	46.67%	20.00%	33.33%
	(14)	(6)	(20)
1981-1991	53.33	80.00	66.67
	(16)	(24)	(40)
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
	(30)	(30)	(60)

Snowball Sampling

Snowball sampling started out from a broad base of respondents and was

relatively shallow in an effort to achieve maximum representativeness. Such sampling is

more labor-intensive than developing the traditional snowball chains. I had to find ways

of relying on a wide range of sources and tapping beyond the members of the Salvadoran

community. The reality that Salvadorans are the majority subgroup among all Latinos in

the Washington metropolitan area enhanced the likelihood that other Latinos and even

non-Latinos were engaged in interactions with them in places of residence, at

employment sites and in businesses.

Since the eligibility criteria were part of the initial conversation with potential respondents, I was able to eliminate on the spot candidates who had entered the United States before or after the required timeframe, or who affirmed that they had left for reasons other than armed violence. The initial conversations took place face to face in public spaces, or privately via phone or email.

Furthermore, the eligibility criteria were repeated at the beginning of the open-ended interview with participants. I learned that in only one case, the person that I came to interview seemed not to have fully understood the criteria. When the interview began, the person admitted that the main reason for departure had been strictly personal. As a result, this particular interview ended and was discarded.

Access to the Salvadoran population for this snowball sample seemed feasible for four main reasons. First, Salvadorans forced migrants are known to have arrived in increasingly large numbers in the metropolitan Washington area beginning in the 1970s. Also, I had acquaintances who maintain contact with the Salvadoran community and who had assured me that access to the subgroup of interest seemed feasible.

Furthermore, when I began to design my study, there had already been much media coverage and talk about the need for immigration reform and the possibility of granting pathways to citizenship for undocumented Latinos residing in the United States. Large demonstrations for immigration reform occurred in several U.S. cities in 2006, and another march in Washington, D.C. had been announced for the day after the presidential inauguration of Barak Obama in 2009. These events had raised the relevance, visibility, and awareness of the topic, re-sensitizing those who for the most part had arrived without proper authorization many years ago.

Lastly, a number of states and counties nationwide had debated, considered and/or implemented anti-immigrant regulations and measures that had brought attention to the vulnerable and unprotected status of undocumented migrants. Generally speaking, the Salvadoran community sympathizes with the plight of the undocumented, is critical of measures driven by anti-immigrant, xenophobic. and otherwise discriminatory sentiment, and has been at the forefront of public pro-immigration activities in the Washington metropolitan area. In sum, I was confident that the members of this community would be open to hear about the study. I also believed that if eligible, many would agree to participate in it. In fact, this was the case.

Generally, it was quicker to gain access to men than to women. Respondents referred me primarily to men or to more men than women. It was also easier to find men than women in public activities and using the Internet. At the end of snowball sampling, all referrals gathered had been contacted. The majority of the referrals agreed to be interviewed, but some did not. Of the latter, many did not meet the eligibility criteria. There were only three eligible candidates who seemed to be willing but who are not part of the resultant sample. Two men did not show up to the interview appointment and repeated efforts to reschedule proved unproductive. One woman wanted to be interviewed via Skype only and declined a face-to-face interview.

The resultant sample was a success. It is quite representative in three important ways. First, the age distribution of the sample coincides with that of the victims of armed violence in El Salvador. The reasons for the forced migration of the sample members can be validated by available historical documentation. Also, their socio-economic

background generally matched the profile of Salvadoran forced migrants described in an earlier study.

Method of Data Collection

I implemented open-ended interviews to collect the necessary data to address the research questions of this exploratory study. An open-ended interview follows a general plan of inquiry rather than a specific set of questions that are more or less rigidly structured, as in survey or semi-structured questionnaires. Such an interview strives to be a flexible, rich, and meaningful conversation between the researcher and the respondent, on the basis of the interviewer's general outline and in pursuit of specific topics introduced by the interviewee (Babbie 2001). Given the inexistence of empirical studies addressing a similar set of research questions, such a method of data collection is considered as appropriate. I heard from the respondents about their "everyday lived world" (Kvale 1996) in terms of their rights and duties, their civic and political participation, and their sense of belonging toward the United States and El Salvador.

At the same time, the open-ended interview offered respondents an opportunity to tell their personal testimonies. Some of them affirmed that parts of their stories had remained untold until then. Recalling passages in their lives, including disadvantaged childhoods, painful family separations, or risky border crossing, evoked strong emotions during the interviews, particularly among men. Women on the other hand spoke movingly yet stoically about the loss of relatives and friends. At the end of the interviews, many modestly expressed their hope that their stories would contribute to more humane approaches towards migrants.

I followed a straightforward procedure to collect the data. I collected the names and contact information for referrals obtained through my acquaintances. I kept notes on such referrals and tracked progress in my attempts to reach them to set up an interview appointment. I established contact with potential candidates on my list of referrals via phone or e-mail, and, in a few cases, face to face. Initial arrangements for the interview were made via phone or e-mail for the most part. During this first contact, I assessed the respondent's eligibility for the study, obtained an agreement for an interview, and made an interview appointment. The objective of this first contact was to commit the potential candidate to a time, day, and location for the face-to-face interview.

The interviews were conducted in Spanish to capture as faithfully as possible the bulk of the lived experiences shared by respondents. I was prepared, however, to conduct the interviews in English, and the option was offered invariably to all respondents. The interviews were held in places convenient to the respondents. Some invited me into their homes; most met me in public places, including eateries, libraries, shopping malls, and outdoor seating areas. It was more difficult to coordinate an appointment with women than men. The predominant obstacles in the case of women were various kinds of family obligations. Everyone was punctual, and the interviews were completed as anticipated. Interviews lasted on average 65 minutes. The average time for interviews with men was 62 minutes and with women, 67 minutes.

I reminded respondents of their appointment, usually a day in advance, to ensure that they would be able to keep the appointment, or if absolutely necessary, to reschedule it. As agreed, I conducted the interviews on the day, time, and location of the appointments, recording a digital audio file. Prior to the interview, I reviewed the consent

form (found in English and Spanish versions in Appendix A) and obtained the necessary signatures for the interview and its recording. Only a few of the respondents preferred to read the statement themselves. Interviewees asked about my relationship to the topic of the interview. Some of them expressed interest in eventually hearing about the results and conclusions of the study.

<div align="center">

Researcher's Responsibility
Towards Respondents
</div>

In the researcher-respondent relationship, initiative rests with the researcher at many levels. It is the researcher who initiates the contact, who decides who is eligible or ineligible for the study, who confirms the appointment, who requests consent from the respondent, who directs the flow of the interview, who manipulates the data, and who interprets the findings. I am convinced that this places the researcher in an unequal power relationship with respect to the respondent. Furthermore, basic personal characteristics, including race, gender, ethnicity, class, and age, can affect communication. The greater the difference between the researcher and the respondent, the greater is the likelihood that the interview process may be affected. Such a phenomenon is called the interviewer's effect. As a result, misunderstandings and misinterpretation represent risks during the process of interview.

Yet in response to the researcher's control of the overall situation, the respondent has the power to cooperate, adjust, divert, resist, reject, and refuse. An interview session is a "complex interaction" (Noy 2007) primarily due to the power differential between the researcher and the respondent in terms of their roles and expectations. As a researcher, I am aware of the complexity of this power differential. I made efforts to

reduce the power differential and the interviewer's effect in my manner of dress and my conduct toward the respondents, striving to be an attentive and active listener.

Considering the above, my primary obligation is to the respondents. To counteract the power differential, respecting their confidentiality is of utmost importance. During the research process, I was tested at times when I could neither affirm nor deny if I had contacted the referrals and whether the referrals had agreed to be interviewed. My obligation to keep the identity of respondents confidential has led me to conceal and protect most of the personal information collected (such as place of origin) from the data collected, analyzed, and reported here.

I was aware that interviewing is difficult. The interviewer is managing the process of the interview at the same time as establishing a rapport, handling the audio equipment, asking the questions, listening to the respondent, and understanding what the respondent is saying. Managing the interview involves awareness of time, of the questions to be asked, and of how to move forward and complete the interview.

I had intended to take extensive notes during the interviews, but from the outset I noticed that this action was distracting to respondents. As a result, at most, sparse notes were made mostly to remind me of the need for further information or a follow up question. Instead, I maintained eye contact for most of the interview, except for the times when I needed to consult the interview guide. I also nodded and verbalized to express understanding of the experiences and views conveyed by the respondents during the interview session.

I was aware that respondents have a desire to be liked, to protect their dignity, and to maintain a level of personal privacy. I hope to have been respectful of these aspects

during the interview. I tried to avoid making respondents feel uneasy, ashamed, offended, judged, or defensive. In the first few interviews, it became quite clear that respondents expect questions that are germane to their understanding of the purpose of the research. Probes that respondents perceived as departing from the research purpose met hesitation. Clearly then, respondents were willing to share their experiences; however, they also sought to protect their personal privacy and self-esteem. They placed their own limits on the information that they were willing to share. Overall, I believe that the respondents were relatively truthful in their perceptions, interpretations, and descriptions.

Interview Guide

The data collection instrument used in the open-ended interviews with members of the sample was duly thematized. This instrument is included in English and Spanish versions in Appendix B. The interview guide served to focus on particular themes following a purposeful direction. I began the face-to-face interviews by briefly introducing the study and myself, even if for a second time after making the appointment. Then, I succinctly reviewed the purpose and importance of the study, reiterated the expected length of the interview, and offered assurances of confidentiality to put respondents at ease. Respondents were assured that they could stop participation at any time. Their permission to conduct and record the interview was requested.

The schedule began by asking respondents about their personal situation just prior to their departure from El Salvador and their current situation in the Washington metropolitan area. The circumstances that led to their departure and eventual arrival to the United States helped to confirm that they were forced migrants. Next, questions

focused on the impact of legal statuses on their daily lives in the United States. An exploration about the relative importance of rights and duties served to complement the discussion about legal statuses. Questions about civic and political participation followed and helped to elucidate the nature and extent of such participation prior to arriving and subsequently in the United States. The last section asked respondents to speak about their sense of belonging.

The flow of questions in each section followed a relatively chronological sequence to evoke the experiences from the past to the present. I kept close to the interview guide, mindful of the time used for each theme and careful to ensure that the data sought were gathered. The interview ended with wind-down questions and closure. The wind-down questions asked if the respondents wanted an opportunity to say what was on their mind. The interview closed by thanking the respondents and by asking for authorization to contact them again to ask further questions or to clarify a response.

The interview was recorded as an audio file, in accordance to the consent signed by the respondents, allowing the data collected to be reviewed at a later date. One concern regarding data collection was the fallibility of equipment or human error in handling the equipment or recorded files. The file of one interview was accidentally erased, and the interview had to be redone. Fortunately, the respondent was understanding and agreed to repeat the session.

The original plan to fully transcribe and translate the collected data proved to be financially costly and time-consuming. The alternative of tagging the audio files for selective transcription and translation was technically burdensome and time-consuming. Instead, I hired a native Spanish speaker to turn the audio information into typed text. For

this purpose, I provided the transcriber with standards that I had developed for this research. They were adapted to the transcriber's guidelines before the transcription began. The transcribing of the data involved a significant financial cost that was necessary to save time. Transcriptions were delivered in electronic format and printed out for review and consultation. Randomly, a handful of transcriptions were reviewed against the audio files to check for the consistency and quality of the transcribed text.

Moreover, summaries of the collected data were produced from the transcribed documents prior to beginning data analysis. These summaries captured in a brief form the most salient statements made by respondents in relation to their forced migration, legal statuses, and concomitant rights and duties, civic and political participation, and sense of belonging. The summaries proved to be essential in verifying information during the data analysis process.

<u>Data Processing and Analysis</u>

I implemented a slightly adjusted constant comparison method of data analysis (Dye 2000; Glaser 1978). According to this method, analysis begins with data collection as the researcher looks for key themes or recurrent activities, views, or experiences. As data collection advances, a range of responses along such themes, activities, views, or experiences are detected, illustrating the diversity of the initial categories. The researcher writes about the categories and documents the relevant instances in the data collected, seeking to uncover patterns found in processes and relationships. Then, coding of the data collected offers another opportunity to review, adjust, and develop the scheme of categories and subcategories and to identify instances of each. The writing of the analysis

conducted through data collection represents the formalization of discoveries made along the way.

Proponents of the constant comparison method view the steps described above as an iterative process for each member of a sample. In my study, however, the iterative process was repeated in three distinct cycles, rather than a single one. First, the outcome of comparison during the interview process supplied the top categories and identified emergent subcategories. Second, the comparative review of transcribed text to produce summaries thereof provided the opportunity to refine these subcategories. Third, the coding of text confirmed the usefulness of some of these subcategories, led to the regrouping and establishment of new subcategories, and facilitated the creation of a third layer of coding terms where necessary. A coding scheme and coded text constituted the end products of these three reiterative cycles.

Guided by the theoretical framework, the data collection instrument provided some initial broad categories for data collection. These initial broad categories were forced migration, legal statuses, rights and duties, political and civic participation, and belongingness. However, at the beginning of data collection, two matters became immediately evident. First, statements of respondents under the legal statuses and the rights and duties portions of the interview overlapped. In fact, the respondents thought of the legalization process as evolutionary steps that allowed them "to do more things." "Doing things" invoked rights and duties, such as the right to seek employment in the formal sector upon obtaining a work permit via political asylum, the right to travel abroad upon becoming a permanent resident, or the duty to pay taxes when using a Social

Security number. As a result, the initial two broad categories were collapsed together into "legalization process."

Second, it became immediately clear that political activities reflected only partially the range of engagements manifested by respondents as a contribution to the improvement of life in the United States and El Salvador. Respondents made references to other kinds of participation in the United States and El Salvador. This realization required an adjustment to the broad category of political participation. It was enlarged to encompass civic engagement also. Respondents were attuned to events in El Salvador and mobilized to help alleviate human suffering in relation to poverty or natural disasters. Similarly, respondents spoke about contributing civically to their immediate communities. Helping others was a recurrent theme that surpassed political participation. In the end, four top categories emerged: forced migration, legalization process in terms of rights and duties, civic and political participation, and sense of belonging.

During the interview sessions and the preparation of summaries of the transcribed audio files, key themes, recurrent experiences, and common practices began to emerge, as well as deviant cases. I sought to identify not only those shared and common ones, but also those unusual and particular ones, to obtain a range of views, experiences, and practices.

This dimension of the constant comparison method rendered subcategories under the four top categories. Thus, remarks about reasons that led respondents to forcefully migrate identified five major patterns. These five subcategories involved respondents who departed to put an end to their exposure to generalized political violence; those who had perceived that their life was in danger due to their actual or perceived membership in

opposition groups; those who knew or were victims of armed violence perpetrated by state repression; those who feared being recruited into one of the parties to the armed conflict; and those who left due to generalized armed conflict. Comments about their pre-migration economic standing were identified to assess the weight of economic factors in decisions to leave El Salvador.

A similar process served to define stages in the legalization process and the concomitant impact on the lives of respondents. During the coding process, those paragraphs were tagged more specifically in terms of rights and duties. In turn, they were categorized into the search for security, opportunity for self-development, freedom for human agency, and benefits. Next, the reiterative process of identifying subcategories of civic and political participation led me to distinguish respondents' statements about various kinds of formal and informal activities and thematic priorities for collective action. The broad category of belongingness proved challenging, and past empirical studies provided little guidance. In the end, the subcategories created to allow a comparison of belongingness included perception of membership and otherness in relation to the United States and El Salvador.

As described, Table 3.2 shows the major coding categories and the nature of the data collected using the interview guide. Under the category of forced migration, data about the events that led to the departure of respondents from their homeland were gathered. Data collected under legal statuses pertain to opportunities available to and decisions made by respondents, eventually resulting in the acquisition of U.S. citizenship. Next, the category of civic and political participation encompasses the diverse activities

involved in exercising citizenship and the significance of such involvement. Lastly, data

under sense of belonging collect statements about feelings of membership and otherness.

Table 3.2. Description of Major Coding Categories

Category	Description
Forced migration	Conditions of political violence and armed conflict in El Salvador, and economic factors, that influenced outward migration
Legal statuses with concomitant rights and duties	Reasons for seeking legal statuses and relative impact of various statuses on everyday lives in terms of rights and duties in the United States and El Salvador
Civic and political participation	Types of civic and political activities and their relative importance in terms of the United States and El Salvador
Sense of belonging	Perception of membership and otherness in the United States and El Salvador

During the coding cycle, I used the Qualrus software to code the text and to

develop the coding structure. Coding involved providing labels for sentences and

paragraphs to facilitate search and retrieval. Retrieval by these codes allowed me to

examine all occurrences of the same label across the sixty interviews and across the

responses provided by men and women. The relationships between codes were illustrated

in outputs of the coding structure. Codes were borrowed from existing literature, derived

from respondents' narratives, or created by the researcher by way of grouping

occurrences. In an attempt to ensure consistency in the coding activity, many labels were

defined and operationally circumscribed. Coding was a crucial step because the decisions

made during this step shaped the findings for the final analysis of the data collected.

To proceed with the writing of the data analysis, I printed out texts coded under the various subcategories of the broad categories, looking for patterns, linkages and deviant cases via a process of comparing and weighing statements made by respondents. Statistical reports of the frequency of codes also served to guide the process of assessing the relative importance of the labels across the data collected. The findings are presented in the four separate and subsequent chapters of this study. Respectively, these chapters discuss the forced migration of the respondents, their legalization process, their civic engagement and political participation, and their sense of belonging toward El Salvador and the United States.

The broader implications of the findings reported in the separate chapters are discussed in the conclusions of this study. There I ask how the findings of this qualitative study lead to theory discovery. I also suggest how the findings may be relevant to the experience of immigrants more generally.

<div align="center">Research Quality Standards</div>

As a researcher, I am preoccupied with research quality in terms of reliability and validity. The design of the study in accordance to the recommendations of seasoned scholars (Babbie 2001; Kvale 1996; Leedy and Ormrod 2001; Lewin and Somekh 2005; Yin 2003) is an essential step to achieve research quality. Additionally, the validity and reliability of my study also depend on the appropriateness and proper implementation of qualitative methods used in the study.

Validity, or truth value, is an issue that is pertinent to all stages of research. Case study research such as this one suffers from external validity in relation to the

generalizability of the findings. Indeed, representativeness between the sample and the population cannot be definitely claimed. Furthermore, by definition, qualitative research places limits on the generalizability of study findings.

Nevertheless, it is relevant to reiterate that the sample in this study appears to be representative in three important ways, as noted earlier. The age distribution of the sample matches well that of the victims of armed violence in El Salvador. The reasons for the forced migration of the sample members were validated by available historical documentation. Also, their socio-economic background generally corresponded to the profile of Salvadoran forced migrants described in an earlier study.

The above characteristics of the sample lead me to suggest that the findings are likely generalizable to the Washington metropolitan area. The findings may also likely be relevant to Salvadoran forced migrants who settled in other urban areas of the United States. An effort has been made to provide sufficient detail in reporting as to allow readers to make their own decisions about the suitability of the findings to other urban contexts where Salvadoran forced migrants are known to live in the United States.

With regard to internal validity, or whether conclusions adequately reflect social phenomena studied, a few remarks are in order. While some researchers claim that there is one stable reality that can be measured, others take the view that reality is too complex to do so. Internal validity can be discussed in terms of face and logical aspects.

The face validity of my study depends on the extent to which I have been able to faithfully reconstruct and interpret the statements of respondents. To achieve face validity, I have tried to provide illustrative quotes from respondents so as to allow the reader to evaluate if findings appear to be good "translations" of the everyday

experiences studied. Furthermore, I use previous empirical studies to measure the degree to which the findings fit the discoveries made to date by other scholars. When some of the findings from my study agree with those of other researchers, instances of convergent validity are duly noted. In other cases when differences exist, concurrent validity applies.

Moreover, it is important to consider the logical validity of my study, or the extent to which the operationalization of concepts is a good reflection of the proposed notions. At issue are questions of whether the same data would have been collected each time in response to the same questions, and whether other researchers would arrive at the same findings at the end of data analysis. To ensure logical validity, I have tried to provide detailed descriptions of major categories used during data processing and analysis. I have also provided information on ways in which these categories have been operationalized.

With regards to the reliability of the findings, this research methodology chapter provides sufficient detail for another researcher to follow. Furthermore, I have tried to implement such operationalization in a consistent manner at all stages of data processing and analysis as I handled the data collected. When in doubt, I reviewed my work, making adjustments as necessary to enhance consistency. Although it is unlikely that another researcher will arrive at identical results, I am confident that the findings will be reproduced to a satisfactory extent.

Conclusions

The research methodology applied for the purpose of my exploratory study led me to successfully gather and analyze the data provided by respondents that composed the snowball sample in accordance to the eligibility criteria. Open-ended interviews in

Spanish were conducted and transcribed to capture as faithfully as possible the lived experiences of the respondents. Subsequently, comparative data analysis was applied to arrive at the findings, which are reported in the next four chapters.

It is pertinent to underscore that the sample in my study appears to be representative of Salvadoran forced migrants in the Washington metropolitan area and likely in other cities in the United States. Moreover, the findings in my study find meaningful convergent and concurrent validity in sociological scholarship. Finally, this chapter provides sufficient detail for another researcher to follow the research methodology and arrive at results that reproduce the findings to an acceptable extent.

CHAPTER 4

FORCED MIGRATION OF SALVADORANS

The purpose of this chapter is to characterize the migration of men and women in the sample of my study as a distinct migration of Salvadoran forced migrants to the Washington metropolitan area. The chapter documents the pre-migration conditions that led respondents to leave their homeland, explains how this migration can be characterized as forced, and examines how the migration of men is different from that of women.

The term "armed violence" used in this chapter refers to two different contexts: A context of political violence that began at about 1975, and a context of armed conflict that spanned from 1981 through 1991. The depiction of these two contexts provides the backdrop for the forced migration of Salvadorans. Interspersed in this chapter are the voices of respondents. Their testimonies point to the range of violent conditions and events lived by them and, more generally, by the Salvadoran population, as documented by researchers and analysts since then.

The term "political violence" is defined as "a considerable or destroying use of force against persons or things" (Honderich 1976:98) as a means of suppressing challenges to the supremacy of the existing state on the one hand, or on the other hand, of seeking to effect change in the system of government. According to the Uppsala Conflict Data Program at the University of Uppsala in Sweden, an armed conflict is defined as "a

contested incompatibility concerning government," involving "the use of armed force between the military forces of two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state," and which results in some level of "battle-related deaths" (Uppsala Conflict Data Program 2011). An incompatibility concerning government means irreconcilable approaches about the political system, including the intention of replacing the existing government. In the case of El Salvador, armed conflict pitted the Salvadoran armed forces and non-state forces united in the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, or FMLN.

In recent decades, people of all nationalities have had to flee across international borders seeking safety elsewhere in order to avoid political violence or armed conflict. In particular, the worldwide population seeking refuge outside of their respective countries grew rapidly over the last quarter of the twentieth century, from 2.4 million in 1975, to 10.5 million in 1985, and to 14.9 million in 1990, and peaked at 18.2 million in 1993 (Castles and Miller 2003). This is precisely the time period when armed violence drove as many as one million Salvadorans, representing about 20 percent of the total population in El Salvador, out of their homeland. Some of them moved to neighboring countries; others left to distant Australia and New Zealand; and many came to the United States and Canada. Those who reached the Washington metropolitan area began to augment the small number of Salvadorans already living and working there.

This chapter begins by describing the sample characteristics and the settlement of arriving Salvadorans in the Washington metropolitan area. The pre-migration conditions that forced their migration are interpreted taking into account the above mentioned definitions of political violence and armed conflict. Then, the respondents are situated in

terms of the pattern of human rights violations in El Salvador during the years from 1975

through 1991. At the end, the question of state responsibility to protect these Salvadorans

is considered.

<center>Arrival and Settlement of Salvadorans
in the United States</center>

Migration from El Salvador to the Washington metropolitan area started in the

1950s with the recruitment of mostly women as domestic workers to serve diplomats and

international professional staff (Sánchez Molina 2005). These officials and professionals

worked at embassies and in the newly-established multilateral institutions, such as the

Organization of American States, the World Bank, and the Inter-American Development

Bank. Various private companies opening business in the U.S. capital also employed

some of these professionals. Moreover, as a significant number of local women joined the

labor force outside the home, the demand for domestic workers also grew, creating

opportunities in household services, mostly for women, but not exclusively so (Sánchez

Molina 2005).

In the 1970s, however, Salvadorans began to arrive in increasing numbers, helped

by friends and relatives already here, eventually turning the city into one of the main

destinations in the United States for those seeking to escape armed violence in El

Salvador (Sánchez Molina 2005). Respondents' statements in the next sections further

demonstrate that their departure was driven by the threats posed by armed violence.

Initially, many of them settled in the ethnically and racially diverse Mount

Pleasant and Adams Morgan neighborhoods. However, Salvadorans were unable to

translate their numbers into political influence at the level of the Washington, D.C. local

government, which was primarily dominated by African Americans. For its part, the local government failed to ensure the inclusion of the newcomers in public services and in the economic and social life of the city. Civil rights abuses against them and other Latinos in these neighborhoods led to street protests in Mount Pleasant in May 1991, although the immediate antecedent was a bungled arrest attempt which resulted in the shooting of a Latino man by a police officer (Council of Latino Agencies 2002).

Ten years later, another police officer shot two Salvadoran immigrants, killing one, in a nearby neighborhood. "This tragic incident served as a painful reminder," stated the Latino Civil Rights Task Force (2001) in a report, "that progress over the preceding ten years on the issues of civil rights and inclusion for the Latino community had been limited." Basically, Salvadorans have lived systematically excluded from public representation and from the services of the local government. Even prior to the publication of the report, Salvadorans living in the city and others who continued to arrive, had already begun to disperse to suburban Maryland and Virginia (Mahler 1995; Sánchez Molina 2005; Singer 2007).

The increase in the number of Salvadorans present in the United States over the decade of the 1970s and 1980s is staggering (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1999), as Table 4.1 illustrates. Between 1960 and 1990, the number of Salvadorans increased from 6,310 to over 465,433 nationwide. Salvadorans more than doubled their number from 1960 to 1970, reaching 15,717; and their number swelled manifold between 1970 and 1980 to 94,447. In the following decade, their number quadrupled. There are other estimates, however, that by 1990, around a million Salvadorans lived in the United States (Montes

Mozo 1988). The Washington metropolitan area was one of the urban centers that

experienced a rapid increase of Salvadoran-origin residents over these two decades.

Table 4.1. Salvadoran-born Population
in the United States by Decade

Decade	Population
1960	6,310
1970	15,717
1980	94,447
1990	465,433

Source: Source: Adapted from Terrazas, Aaron. 2010. "Salvadoran Immigrants in the United States." Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute. Retrieved January 23, 2010 (http://www.migrationinformation.org/USFocus/print.cfm?ID=765).

The Pre-migration Socio-economic Standing of Salvadoran Forced Migrants

A large number of the respondents in my study were post-elementary students,

either on a full-time or part-time basis, prior to their departure from El Salvador. Most of

those who left El Salvador as full-time working adults held non-agricultural work and

were employed in white collar jobs. Only a few experienced severe economic duress due

to unemployment as economic activities were affected by armed violence. Overall then,

up to the moment of their decision to leave, for the most part, respondents had been able

to support themselves, even if only modestly. Thus, they were far from being the poorest

of the poor, and most of them were better off than the poor majority in El Salvador. The

occupational characteristics of most of the respondents in my study, as detailed next,

placed these men and women in the working and middle classes of El Salvador. Sample

characteristics are detailed in tables included in Appendix C.

Table 4.2 describes the occupation of respondents prior to their departure from El

Salvador. Many respondents were students who worked at the same time. They are tallied

as students in this table. The table shows that 20 men were students. Five men held white

collar jobs; four worked in farming (includes family-owned farms); and one was

employed in manufacture or skilled trades. In the case of women, the table shows that 23

of them had been students when they left their homeland. Five of them were white collar

employees, and two were unemployed at the time.

Table 4.2. Pre-migration Occupation by Gender ($N = 60$)

	Gender		
Occupation	Men	Women	Total
White collar	16.67%	16.67%	16.67%
	(5)	(5)	(10)
Manufacture and trades	3.33	0.00	1.67
	(1)	(0)	(1)
Farming	13.33	0.00	6.67
	(4)	(0)	(4)
Student	66.67	76.67	71.67
	(20)	(23)	(43)
Odd jobs or unemployed	0.00	6.67	3.33
	(0)	(2)	(2)
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
	(30)	(30)	(60)

In terms of the employment of those students who also held jobs, men worked

primarily in farming (includes family-owned farms) and as white collar employees, and

women worked overwhelmingly in white collar jobs. The families of non-working

students could afford to keep them in school or university, made sacrifices to support them, or sent remittances to them from the United States for their living expenses. Those hailing from the countryside had to move to a town, city, or the capital to pursue post-elementary studies, and many of them worked. Such a move implicated their families, signaled that they lived with a relative in town, or turned students into boarders, even if only during weekdays. Overall, at the time of their departure, the level of education of the respondents in this study was above that of the average Salvadoran in those years.

Some students worked to earn a living or contribute to the household economy. Some of the students hailing from towns worked along with other relatives on the family farm. In the capital, students worked in a range of jobs. One young man depicted his "double life" as a 25 year-old student in the capital and a worker on his family farm in 1990. Another one recounted how sometimes in 1984 as a 18 year-old student and marketplace seller, he dodged flying bullets and human bodies strewn on the streets on his way to work early in the morning.

> So one could say that I led a double life, in what was a rural life, working directly in the fields, and what was the life of a student. [Q16]

> So I used to go to sell in the marketplace . . . amidst bullets and everything, seeing dead people . . . I would get up at 4:00 a.m. in the morning to go and return home at 11:00 a.m. because I went to school in the afternoons. [Q23]

Still other students belonged to families with their own modest means to produce a household income. One respondent, who was 21 years old in 1989, had worked from an early age in the family's carpentry shop along with his brothers. Similarly, a woman aged 27 in 1983 had worked at her family's store in addition to her factory job.

In El Salvador one starts to work at an early age. There we had a carpentry shop. . . . All the brothers used to do the work, that's how we kept studying and that's how we worked. [Q27]

I would go to school at night, and I was also a factory worker . . . My family had a small shop then and I ran it because ah . . . thank God, I was able to learn everything about running the business. [Q55]

A few respondents who were adult at the time of departure from El Salvador had possessed, or belonged to families that possessed, independent means for their livelihoods. They were small farmers and store owners in various towns of El Salvador. For example, one man belonged to a family that owned cattle and agricultural land outside of town as well as a well-stocked store. "We had sufficient cattle, we had land; we had a large store in town," he [Q03] said. Similarly, one woman's family raised cattle and produced milk and cheese to sell. "My grandfather," she [Q60] affirmed, "was a cattle-raiser, and um . . . we had a small store there selling milk, curd cheese and that's how we led life . . . poor and humble, but happy."

Other respondents who were also adults at the time of departure were employed for the most part. One man [Q01] commented: "I was all right because let's say, if one has a job, one has an income, and it's not much what one is paid, but it's also not much what one spends." Another one [Q06] said: "Truthfully, I did not come out of necessity. I lived well in my country. I had a good job and earned well."

Some respondents experienced the economic downturn, yet they seemed resourceful enough to find other employment. For example, upon losing his job, one respondent [Q14] found work teaching and selling. "So then after I lost that job due to the situation of war in the country," he stated, "I worked as an hourly teacher and also in insurance sales, selling all kinds of insurance." A couple of the respondents faced

political pressure in their jobs; however, it was the personal threat posed by the

immediate context that led to their departure from El Salvador. One professional man

feared what he described as the erratic behavior of soldiers along the roads he had to

travel to perform his duties in the countryside.

> For one, the political influence at the time affected my job . . . the area [in which I worked] was influenced by the party in power and they used to do and undo as they wanted . . . Thus, I was informed that I was to be replaced in my job, without being asked for consent, and without any grounds… At that time the armed forces covered the area where I basically moved about and that, that made me feel unsafe given that in those days the armed forces acted in an unpredictable manner. Sometimes they would detain any person, sometimes linking the person to terrorist groups, and that gave me a feeling of insecurity. I did not feel comfortable doing my job. [Q22]

One respondent led what seemed a comfortable middle class life. She had been a

white collar worker who had relied on domestic help to run her household. Even so, by

the time of her departure in 1985, the armed violence was already affecting her life and

that of her family.

> I left my house in El Salvador with two servants, and came here to take full charge of a household [. . .] We left a quiet life, it looked quiet, but it was a [. . .] psychosis there. [Q53]

Only a few of the respondents had serious difficulties in finding gainful

employment or in keeping jobs, and at least one was in a desperate situation prior to

departure from El Salvador. One resourceful man told about his various jobs. "I worked

in fishery, in agriculture and any job that I could," he [Q24] said, "also in construction."

Yet a different picture emerged from one woman who had difficulties finding gainful

employment. "I used to go from store to store attempting to find employment," she [Q49]

recounted, "There was none."

In sum, most of the respondents were part of the middle and working classes of El Salvador. From a solely economic standpoint, these respondents were not necessarily predisposed to depart. This finding is confirmed by one particular study (Montes Mozo 1988), which concluded that the vast majority of Salvadoran heads of household had performed non-agricultural work, mostly in white collar, business and sales, and semi-skilled/self-employed positions, prior to departure. Moreover, the average number of years of schooling among them was 8.7 years, which is higher than the average of less than six years for the total population of El Salvador at the time. In both ways, the sample characteristics of that study and mine are similar.

At the time of their departure from the homeland, about two thirds of the respondents constituted actually and potentially highly qualified labor and were at the beginning of their productive lives. Most of the rest were gainfully employed. From an economic perspective alone, their departure represented the irreversible flight of valuable human capital from the country.

<u>The Reasons for Departing El Salvador</u>

Most of the respondents in my study hailed from eastern and central El Salvador, as Table 4.3 indicates. These two geographic areas were the most conflict prone areas of the country; the western part was spared from the brunt of armed violence (Montes Mozo 1988). As many men hailed from the eastern as from the central part of El Salvador. Almost two thirds of the women fled the eastern part of El Salvador and the rest were from the central part of the country. Only two men and two women were originally from western El Salvador.

Table 4.3. Respondents' Region
of Origin in El Salvador by Gender ($N = 60$)

Region	Gender		Total
	Men	Women	
Eastern	46.67%	63.33%	55.00%
	(14)	(19)	(33)
Central	46.67	30.00	38.33
	(14)	(9)	(23)
Western	6.67	6.67	6.67
	(2)	(2)	(4)
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
	(30)	(30)	(60)

Table 4.4 reports the reasons respondents gave for leaving El Salvador. There are

two contextual reasons, involving political violence and armed conflict. There are also

three specific reasons: fear of being targeted as an actual or suspected member of the

opposition, labeled as "oppositionist" in the table; fear of being forcefully recruited into

the Salvadoran army or the FMLN guerrillas; and being an actual victim of armed

violence, or having family or friendship ties to a victim. It should be noted that in some

cases, respondents identified two or more reasons during the interview. I chose the most

specific and directly relevant reason provided by respondents in such cases. For example,

if the reasons were armed conflict and forced recruitment, the latter was chosen since it

was the most specific and personally relevant one.

Men left the country primarily because they were an actual victim of armed

violence, or had ties to a victim. Men also left out of fear of being targeted as an actual or

suspected member of the opposition, or they left due to the threat of forced recruitment.

Table 4.4. Respondents' Departure Reason by Gender ($N = 60$)

Departure reason	Gender		
	Men	Women	Total
General political violence	6.67%	16.67%	11.67%
	(2)	(5)	(7)
Oppositionist	20.00	23.33	21.67
	(6)	(7)	(13)
Direct/knows victim	30.00	13.33	21.67
	(9)	(4)	(13)
Armed conflict	20.00	46.67	33.33
	(6)	(14)	(20)
Forced recruitment	23.33	0.00	11.67
	(7)	(0)	(7)
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
	(30)	(30)	(60)

Most of the women departed El Salvador because of the generalized armed conflict. They also left due to their fear of being targeted as an actual or suspected member of the opposition, and because of general political violence. Thus, different reasons led to the forced migration of men and women to the United States.

The forced nature of the migration of these Salvadorans finds support in two pertinent studies (Montes Mozo 1988; Stanley 1987). In one study, about 28 percent of Salvadorans who had arrived after 1980 indicated that they had left El Salvador for political reasons, and another 21 percent for both political and economic reasons (Montes Mozo 1988). Another study concluded that fear of political violence was the main motivation for Salvadorans to migrate to the United States beginning in 1979 and through 1983 (Stanley 1987). Respondents' statements in the next sections further demonstrate that their departure was driven by the threats posed by armed violence.

Political Violence Beginning in the 1970s

The immediate antecedents of El Salvador's armed conflict are to be found in the mounting opposition to military rule and state-sponsored electoral fraud and repression (Almeida 2003, 2004; Alvarez 2010; Brockett 2005; Grenier 1999; Lauria-Santiago and Binford 2004; Lungo Uclés 1996; Montgomery 1982; White 2009; Wood 2003). Indeed, from 1972 to 1980, the Salvadoran state turned increasingly exclusionary and repressive. At the same time, sectoral organizations, representing mostly students, teachers, skilled workers, and farm laborers, grew numerically and became increasingly radical and disruptive in their protest activities. Some of these organizations had been established with government support in the 1960s.

In 1972, the rigged electoral victory of Colonel Arturo Molina represented a setback to the groundswell for democratic change, which was felt even within military ranks. A group of young military officers attempted an unsuccessful coup seeking to install the believed-to-be rightful winner, mildly reformist Christian Democratic Party presidential candidate José Napoleon Duarte, as president for the next five years. For his part, Molina fueled an anti-Communist nationalism that prevailed beyond his term in office as a way of pacifying antagonists who were readily labeled as enemies of the country. His government ushered in years of escalating and systematic state repression against an increasingly vocal, active, and radical opposition (Almeida 2003; Montgomery 1982).

One male respondent told about his deception by media reports falsifying events taking place in his country. He came to this realization after his arrival in the United States at age 15 in 1984, he noted, upon being exposed to a greater variety of viewpoints.

With the little education and . . . with the influences of the . . . the media in El Salvador, we felt that El Salvador was fighting a war against communism, the brutal communism, and [. . .] it seems that we accepted that reality that was given to us, and [. . .] we considered that . . . that our government was right in what it was doing. [Q05]

President Molina clamped down on members of opposition parties and trade unions, sending some 40 dissidents into exile between September 1972 and January 1973. He ordered the army to occupy the three campuses of the University of El Salvador in July 1972, resulting in the detention of 800 students and faculty members. He also ended the university's autonomy, to the alarm of left-leaning and progressive students and faculty activists. Still, their mobilization against the Salvadoran state continued unabated.

In the countryside, state repression targeted peasant organizations (Almeida 2003; Montgomery 1982). In April 1974, government forces killed at least four people protesting electoral fraud in Chimanequita, Department of La Paz, and in November of that same year, six peasants were slain in La Cayetana, Department of San Vicente—the site of a land dispute. During the operation at La Cayetana, security forces arrested another 25 peasants, forcibly disappearing 13 of them. In mid-1975, armed and security forces killed four peasants in Tres Calles, Department of Usulután, and 37 university students during a peaceful march in the capital. In October 1975, two striking farm workers on the Santa Barbara estate in the Department of Chalatenango were killed, and another four were disappeared. State repression relied on the armed and security forces and on the previously created ORDEN network of informants in the countryside. ORDEN eventually became a source of recruitment and support for emergent paramilitary groups, or death squads.

The Chinamequita, Cayetana, and Tres Calles events described earlier marked a turning point in the nature and level of state repression (Almeida 2003; Alvarez 2010). In addition to detention, torture, selective elimination, and exile, forced disappearances and group killings emerged as two new methods of state repression. The number of victims began to rise rapidly. To illustrate, while from 1966 until 1972 only one case of forced disappearance had been registered, 48 cases were recorded between 1973 and 1976, and another 611 from 1977 to 1980 (Almeida 2003).

Class-based violent conflict has characterized the history of El Salvador, particularly in the rural areas. One respondent who had been born and raised in the countryside spoke of the violence perpetrated against the dispossessed by local security forces under the direction of landowners. The particular incident he recounted involved the destruction of his family home on a landowner's estate. It was common practice, he explained, for rural laborers to be expelled when they complained about their conditions of work to the landowners.

> There has always been a degree of violence . . . because many wealthy would throw the poor out to the streets. There were many . . . many poor that would rise against the wealthy, and this I saw, I saw some eh . . . In some places they would burn down the homes of the poor, including the home of my own family had been destroyed . . . by the police. [Q02]

By the mid-1970s, a great number of sectoral organizations were actively contesting the successive exclusionary and repressive military governments of El Salvador. These organizations mobilized peasants and landless farmworkers in the countryside, urban slum dwellers, university students, school teachers, and industrial workers. They brought together members of the working and middle classes and the dispossessed poor of El Salvador. Nearly all of these 36 sectoral organizations

representing the Salvadoran opposition were founded between 1965 and 1980 (Almeida 2004). The members of these organizations engaged in demonstrations and marches, work stoppages, strikes, occupation of embassy and public buildings, and land seizures through about the end of 1980. Some of the respondents in my study said that they had been members of sectoral organizations and as such had participated in demonstrations and marches. Other respondents said that they had witnessed large protest activities in San Salvador. A woman who had participated as a student protester in one of the marches described running away under the onslaught of the National Guard.

> The current government ordered the [National Guard] out and ordered to kill, to break up those marches, and I was a victim of that situation. Why? We had to flee the bullets. [Q01]

In 1977, General Carlos Humberto Romero was declared the winner in fraudulent presidential elections. In response to intimidation, ballot stuffing, and other electoral irregularities, opposition coalition candidate Ernesto Claramont and his followers staged a demonstration that brought some 50,000 supporters to San Salvador's Plaza Libertad, opposite the cathedral, on February 27.

That night a mass was said by Salvadoran priest Father Alfonso Navarro, who was killed weeks later by the UGB, a death squad. After mass, a majority of the crowd left. Around midnight, military and security forces surrounded Plaza Libertad and ordered about 6,000 persons to disperse within 10 minutes. Then they opened fire on those remaining there. Claramont and some 1,500 to 2,000 persons, including women and children, took refuge in nearby El Rosario Church. Gas grenades were then thrown inside the church forcing some out. A truce was facilitated by the auxiliary bishop of San Salvador, allowing the evacuation of the rest of the people inside the church. Claramont

was given an ultimatum: to be detained by the military, to be placed under house arrest,

or to abandon the country. He chose the latter. The exact number of casualties that night

is disputed; however, at least 50 persons died as a result (Inter-American Human Rights

Commission 1978; White 2009). One respondent, who was 22 years of age at the time,

reported vividly her experience that night:

> I saved myself from a massacre that took place in 77 in front of the cathedral, then I already had my two-year old son, I had a son of two years of age, and I went to that protest . . . I saved myself miraculously because we ran terrified, like crazy persons . . . I hid in some shops there, we were . . . what do I know, 4 or 5 hours inside in that place, um, terrorized because we would be taken out any moment, and we only heard the tanks, the sirens, the fire trucks . . . the wounded being picked up, shouts, cries, shots, and we heard a while later that they were cleaning the streets. . . .We were taken out with the hands up, and each one was photographed, our names were taken down, and we were forced to tell them our addresses. [Q38]

Two years into his presidency, in an attempt to forestall a popular insurrection,

President Romero was ousted, and substituted first by a reform-minded civilian and

military junta, and later by a group of hard-line army officers in January 1980. However,

almost immediately, the army and death squads launched a wave of repression that

claimed by some accounts, nearly one thousand lives per month over the next two years

(Peceny and Stanley 2010).

The United States had increased its engagement with El Salvador during the

Romero presidency, determined to prevent El Salvador falling into the hands of an armed

insurrection as had recently happened in Nicaragua. President Jimmy Carter dispatched

military aid and advisors to the Salvadoran government. The majority of Salvadorans

targeted by government repression, however, continued to be unarmed noncombatants,

leading Archbishop Oscar Romero to send several letters to President Carter requesting an end to U.S. aid to the Salvadoran government.

At the international level and certainly in the United States, El Salvador was already notorious for human rights violations due primarily to state-sponsored and paramilitary violence. Although, as a result, U.S. military aid had been restricted to "non-lethal" materiel, before leaving office, Carter lifted the ban on U.S. arms sales to El Salvador. His successor, President Ronald Reagan, comfortable with an anti-Communist crusade, increased significantly military assistance to El Salvador, making it the single largest recipient of U.S. aid in the region. Military aid increased from $5.9 million in fiscal year 1980 to $35.5 million the following year, and then to $82 million in 1982. Similarly, economic aid to El Salvador increased from $58.3 million in 1980 to $114 million in 1981, and then to $182.2 million the next year.

Moreover, by the end of the decade of the 1980s, most of the sectoral organizations had joined in broad coalitions led by grassroots activists often sympathetic to insurgent groups, the first of which, the Popular Liberation Front (FPL), emerged in 1970 (Almeida 2008). The insurgent groups were convinced that the electoral path to power had closed, and they sought to prepare the necessary conditions for a massive insurrection. The strategy involved forming multi-sectoral coalitions that would respond to a call by insurgent forces for an insurrection. Thus, the insurgent groups set about to foster the creation of mutli-sectoral coalitions. In 1975, the FPL promoted the formation of the Popular Revolutionary Bloc (BPR). In 1976, the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN) established the Unified Popular Action Front (FAPU); in 1977, the Popular Revolutionary Army (ERP) supported the establishment of the February 28

Popular Leagues (LP-28); and two years later, the Revolutionary Party of Central

American Workers (PRTC) created the Movement for Popular Liberation (MLP)

(Alvarez 2010). By 1980, these multi-sectoral coalitions, each one linked to a different

insurgent group, and the National Democratic Union (UDN), which was the electoral

front of the Communist Party of El Salvador, came together as the Revolutionary

Coordinating Committee of the Masses (CRM). The most committed activists in these

multi-sectoral coalitions were also convinced that the insurrection plans of the insurgent

forces seemed the only one feasible way forward in view of continued electoral fraud.

At the end of 1980, five rebel groups, the FPL, ERP, PRTC, FARN, and the

Armed Forces of Liberation (FAL) joined to create the Farabundo Martí National

Liberation Front (FMLN). Up to then, some of these armed groups had occupied radio

stations, bombed newspaper offices, attacked police stations, robbed banks, and

kidnapped for ransom, but did not constitute a real threat to the Salvadoran state. Indeed,

the uncle of one respondent had been kidnapped and deprived of his freedom for five

months by one of these armed groups.

Soon after coming together as the FMLN, however, armed conflict broke out,

implicating the insurgency and El Salvador's armed forces in warfare, under successively

elected civilian governments. The armed conflict added another dimension to state

repression. Such was the situation at the turn of the decade. One respondent, a university

student at the time, described the context of her departure from El Salvador in 1980 in her

own personal terms:

> I became involved well, in the student movement, see, and . . . and, well, when I
> left the country it was in the midst of a terrible war, in the midst of killed and
> disappeared relatives, in the midst of my own um ... eh . . . fiancé, since we were

to get married, see, and already a month after [the engagement], he is killed; and it was a frightening situation in the sense [. . .] of having to leave the country, to depart the country. [Q36]

Clearly, the events depicted in this section illustrate that a majority of Salvadorans lived under a façade of citizenship, under autocratic regimes that severely restricted their social, civic, and political rights. The state used an anti-communist rhetoric that presented opponents as a national security threat to justify excesses of violence perpetrated by military and security forces. The state enlisted civilians to inform on neighbors and to carry out violent acts. The repression was intended to instill terror and to depoliticize the population. It also forced many to flee from their homeland.

<div align="center">Political Activism Against Military Rule</div>

Political activism under authoritarian contexts such as that in El Salvador at the time was a high risk endeavor due to the ruthless repression against opponents and the effective absence of any legal recourse for protection (Almeida 2003, 2004; Alvarez 2010; Brockett 2005; Grenier 1999). Instead of appeasing, state-sponsored repression seemed to fuel further political activism until the end of the decade of the 1980s. Often such activism involved the participation of several family members and overlapping memberships which further cemented the commitment of protesters. Via relatives, friends and neighbors, or at school, work or neighborhood, the stories of the respondents show that they were loosely connected by such ties to the sectoral organizations in El Salvador. As a result, some of them were affected directly by state repression. One respondent who was a young labor union member in the 1970s described how he was persecuted and declared to be an "enemy" by the government.

> At that time whoever belonged to the labor union was an enemy of the government. So a big two-month long strike began targeting the government, so the government then went about persecuting all . . . all who were labor union members [. . .] When the National Guard arrived to suppress the strike, over 50 persons were killed, many were injured. So from then on we had to tread even more carefully… one was unable to be at work because we would be sought out at work, in homes, one would have to move about secretly, disguised [. . .] labor unions were declared enemies of the people, and then they were sought out. [Q06]

Most labor and trade union members were affiliated with unions which were already left-leaning or which became increasingly radicalized. The number of dues-paying public school teachers affiliated to ANDES grew from 4,000 in 1974 to 5,500 the following year. In the late 1970s, ANDES had the capacity to mobilize 15,000 to 18,000 teachers for demonstrations, work stoppages, and strikes. At the time, university students numbered 26,000, up from 2,200 in 1960. University and high school students carried out their own protest activities and supported those of other sectoral organizations.

In El Salvador, men were typically dominant in political parties and labor unions, labeled by some "masculine" forms of participating (Lister 2003). However, both men and women increased their political activism beginning in the 1970s. Thousands of women joined these sectoral organizations, or created their own. Mothers, sisters, and daughters of disappeared persons, for example, joined to press for the whereabouts of their loved ones. Other women were activists and sympathizers of student and teacher organizations, and of labor unions. Some women took leadership roles in community organizations. Nuns worked with poor communities to address their needs and problems. In due time, women enlisted in the FMLN guerrillas. Their number reached about 30 percent of the approximately 13,000 members who laid down their weapons when the peace accords were signed in early 1992 (Viterna 2006).

State repression can increase the number of female-headed households when men are arrested, displaced, disappeared, or killed (Lindsey 2001). On the one hand, the vulnerability of women can increase as their support and protection mechanisms cease to exist. On the other hand, women may be called to take greater responsibilities, particularly those usually done by men, which in turn can lead to skill development and empowerment. Scholars have advanced various explanations for women's increased participation in political activism in the 1970s in El Salvador.

Some scholars maintain that structural changes in El Salvador resulted in men's out-migration and estrangement from their households and drove impoverished women into the labor force, many of them as single heads of households. Women's roles in the formal and informal employment awakened their political consciousness and led to their involvement in community and political mobilization. Others argue that it was the impact of state repression against aboveground mobilization on families and communities that energized women's activism. Network analysis has also sought to explain participation in political mobilization, arguing that members of a social network share an interpretation of their surrounding contexts. Political, religious, and family networks were significant for the guerrilla movements in Latin America (Wickham-Crowley 1992).

Notwithstanding, women maintained their household responsibilities, and assumed at the same time men's roles as heads of households, breadwinners, and political activists (Viterna 2006). Women's awakening and activism were gendered since they continued to maintain their traditional role. Women's time and financial poverty remained unchanged at best, and may have further increased. Additionally, although women participated alongside men, their roles and needs were subordinated in the

struggle against the authoritarian regime, as much as they were secondary at that time in the patriarchal society of El Salvador.

Additionally, some in the Catholic Church had established Christian peasant organizations and community groups in the 1960s. The priests and nuns so engaged were committed to Vatican II principles, and heeded the call by the Medellin bishops' conference of 1968 in favor of accompanying the poor in their quest for social and economic justice. Human rights monitoring organizations, including one affiliated with the Catholic Church, first appeared in 1975, documenting and offering legal assistance to relatives of the victims of state repression.

Some of the respondents in my study understood that they were, or were perceived to be, members of groups being targeted as enemies of the state. Some of them had participated in protest activities. Others, via membership or sympathy, were associated with political parties or other organizations opposed to the Salvadoran government. Being a university student in the 1980s was personally risky, asserted one respondent. Similarly, her association with teachers and with the Christian Democratic Party had placed her life at risk also, said another respondent.

> In other words, I had some political participation in the grassroots organizations, on the one hand. On the other, in El Salvador, the simple fact . . . in those days at least, the simple fact of being young and above all, a university student, was sufficient reason for the army or the national police—well, the repressive corps— to kill or abduct one. [Q18]

> [My spouse, who died in a suspicious car accident,] belonged to the ANDES 21 June [the teachers'] association… [I] sympathized with the Christian Democratic Party, which was a popular party at the time . . . we were not subversives as was said, and we did not participate in the violent activities at that moment . . . It's that I was afraid, afraid . . . afraid of a knock at the door . . . Because I lived on a block . . . where teachers lived. [Q56]

Still other respondents said they had been targeted based on the unsubstantiated claims of government informers. A few had been randomly detained. Some acknowledged having been put on alert after receiving threats or following the searches of their abodes or the capture or killing of persons known to them. The experiences recounted by three respondents are illustrative. The three men were university students at the time. They left El Salvador immediately after the incidents described in their statements below.

> Well, it was …. It was not only the "death squad" but also the army. They came to the house, searched it, and at the moment, I was not there. They continued to come. [Q30]

> The fact that I was put in jail without any . . . without any reason, just for being a suspect, and when I was in jail, I was beaten; already then that made me change. I left the . . . the jail and . . . and well, eh . . . my family sought me at the police and they did not acknowledge, they said that I was not at the police, then that made me begin to see that . . . eh . . . that is, that I could be . . . could be killed, right?[Q17]

> I had given eh . . . shelter to two persons who had been involved in . . . in some kind of activity . . . in what was going on then . . . they needed housing, and one day one of them . . . I was told, had disappeared, had been killed . . . So from that moment on, then, I decided not to return to my home and made the decision to leave the country at that moment because I did not know if they were watching the . . . the house where I lived, so I could not take the risk of returning. [Q11]

Some young women left El Salvador as a result of their spouses being singled out, sometimes only due to their youth and appearance. In the case of two respondents in my study, one left El Salvador after the release of her husband from detention, and another after the couple had received a threatening message from a death squad.

> My husband was a musician, wore his hair long, and was detained many times [by] the police because of that long hair and those blue jeans, those were worn by guerrillas, um, they tried to cut his hair off . . . [Q37]

> He was young, 19 years of age at the time, and he attends one of those meetings to see how we could avoid such violence and um, and it was the beginning of the

guerrilla insurrection. Then he is requested to make some . . . some . . . I don't know, in reality, someone asks, I do not remember very well, that he make, because he used to draw. As a result, in 80 . . . a warning from the death squads is received, that he was being . . . it said that he had to leave El Salvador, and we left. [Q54]

In particular, students, teachers, community organizers, and religious persons suffered state repression disproportionately. Fear for their own lives and for the lives of their immediate family and other relatives drove many to leave El Salvador. One respondent who was a university student and community worker in the early 1980s said that she had done so to save herself and her family.

If your job was with community organizations, that practically turned persons, converted persons into being suspect of something . . . there was a lot of suspicion . . . and the persons in government had put in place incentives and motivated the community, the population, to enable um . . . to inform them about suspicious activity… the armed forces came to my house . . . so I knew that I had to leave, because obviously my life was not safe anymore. Also, I did so to withdraw suspicion . . . that other members of my family would become victims due to contact, the . . . connection with me. [Q41]

Two of the respondents in the study spoke about their experience around the time of Monsignor Romero's assassination, portraying on the one hand, the collusion of intelligence and armed forces, and on the other, government intentions to kill them extra judicially. In the case of one man, security forces put him on notice, which gave him enough time to leave El Salvador. In the other case, although he was slated to be executed along with four other students, on the fateful day, he failed to show up at his residence.

About five of my peers had been captured and later disappeared; and showed up . . . some showed up dead later, for having the same job as I was doing. So um . . . at some point, especially after the assassination of Monsignor Romero, it was very clear that . . . that I was blacklisted… A given day they came to my home seeking me out, which by the way, I had been warned that . . . that one of these days they would come for me . . . thanks to an informer of an organization called ORDEN, but whom I had helped . . . he came, he told me: "Do you know? We have an

order to come to kill you here, so take precautions because we have the order."
[Q21]

That day at 10:00 pm the "death squad" arrived in my village with five names and we were the five students in the village, and fortunately they did not find me because I was not at home that day, and the others were found, they were . . . were killed. . . . We tried to investigate and through some acquaintances, the army said that no, that it had not been an accident, rather the army had on record that they had investigated me for several years, and that it was not an accident, thus it was a well-planned act that had . . . had been carried out. [Q19]

In March of 1980, the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero, planned and executed by a death squad, signaled that the possibilities for non-violent change were virtually closed. The day before, at the Cathedral of San Salvador, Archbishop Romero had ended a sermon with an unambiguous message directed at Salvadoran soldiers and police: "In the name of God, and in the name of this suffering people whose laments rise to heaven each day more tumultuously, I beg you, I ask you, I order you in the name of God: Stop the repression!"

Urban protest became virtually unfeasible in the face of the large-scale and systematic repression. The levels of political activism decreased as many Salvadorans abandoned the country and others joined the existing rebel groups that made up the FMLN. Over the next three years, by 1984, the ranks of these groups increased by ten thousand people (Peceny and Stanley 2010). In tandem, with U.S. assistance, the Salvadoran army began to increase in size and to bolster its capacity for counterinsurgency. From about 12,000 troops in 1980, the Salvadoran armed forces tripled, numbering 42,000 soldiers by 1984 (Corum 1998).

At first, state-sponsored repression seemed to invigorate the participation of Salvadorans in opposition activities. The accounts of respondents illustrate that via

relatives, friends, and neighbors and at school, work, or neighborhood, many were loosely connected to networks that proved important to the opposition in their mobilization efforts against the Salvadoran government. A point was reached, however, when the human toll resulted in the disarticulation of families, sectoral organizations, and opposition coalitions. Vulnerable to state repression and without protection, Salvadorans began to flee their homeland. Political violence, however, continued unabated for another decade, alongside an armed conflict that broke out in 1981.

Armed Conflict 1981-1991

The "final offensive" called by the FMLN rebels in January 1981 did not spark the mass insurrection that they expected would topple the Salvadoran government. Instead, it launched the armed conflict in El Salvador. The killing of large numbers of civilians the prior year likely contributed to spoil the FMLN's expectation (Alvarez 2010; Peceny and Stanley 2010). Furthermore, early in the armed conflict, a new pattern of repression became evident as part of the counterinsurgency strategy of the Salvadoran armed forces. Massacres of whole villages began to occur, such as that of El Mozote. There, in December 1981, over 900 residents were killed; only one witness survived to tell the story. Similarly, two respondents lived to tell about similar experiences elsewhere in El Salvador during the 1980s. In one particular instance, the woman's neighborhood had been surrounded, people had been taken out of their homes, and 42 residents had been summarily executed by government forces. Subsequently, the respondent acknowledged that she provided help to local young people actively opposed to the government who came to her asking for food or money to flee. Another respondent

recounted the killing of 15 persons in a peaceful rural community of devout Catholics.

Members of her family died among them.

> The police, the guard, the army, surrounded the neighborhood, surrounded the neighborhood during the night and then they went and got everyone out of their houses . . . and killed that day 42 persons . . . And really they killed not only because people, people would have gone to protests or . . . because those who actually . . . had taken up arms, had gone away from the neighborhood. Those who stayed behind, the working people, the people who were in disagreement with what was happening, and that well spoke out, but I think that speaking out is no reason for . . . killing a person . . . I felt very bad, very bad about that and so then I started . . . how to tell you . . . that there were times when the boys were fleeing and they would come to tell me: "[Q55] we have to leave, they are looking for us." Well, unbeknown to my husband, I would give them 20 *colones* so they could leave, I gave them food . . . and so I think that that was what . . . what hurt me. And then one time this man [an informer], who still lived there, he said to me: "[Q55] It is better that you seek where to go away because you have been "*puesto el sope al anca*" [targeted]. [Q55]

> My village was very Catholic ... did not get involved with anyone, it was a tranquil place, marvelous for me . . . and violence started there. They came to take each one out of every house . . . then they continued and entered a church, taking outside all of those who were there, lining them up, eh . . . tying their thumbs so, ah . . . behind their backs, and a shot in the head of each one. There were 15 persons among them there were relatives; there were cousins; there were uncles on my father's side. [Q45]

The counterinsurgency strategy affected the unarmed civilian population and

resulted in a high death toll and in the displacement of many within the country and

across borders. Political violence continued to victimize much the same groups as before,

and more. One professional [Q28] told of receiving a life threatening note following the

execution of former school companions. Teachers continued to be targets of state

repression. One respondent [Q42] spoke about how a fellow teacher had been killed when

he was ringing the bell for children to go outside for recess. "Thus," she said, "it was a

terrible fear that one had." Overall, individuals believed to be opposed to the government

had reason to fear for their lives. Surviving relatives of victims, men and women, found themselves forced to depart El Salvador.

> One night I had dinner with former school companions and two of them were killed that same night . . . I was told and went to see that they had been dumped . . . under a bridge . . . Then . . . a note was left, that it was known that I had been with them the night before and that I was one of them, participating against the government. [Q28]

> We, as a family, um . . . did not sympathize with the type of government at the time, um . . . and one . . . one of my brothers was killed so really, this forced us to leave the country. [Q46]

Likely the number of Salvadorans affected by armed conflict, and therefore feeling sufficiently threatened to flee, expanded with the extension of the armed conflict to almost all departments in El Salvador beginning in 1981. A greater number of women among the respondents may have left El Salvador during the period of armed conflict than prior to it.

One study has shown that the larger the geographical area of the armed conflict, the greater the number of forced migrants (Melander and Öberg 2003). Thus, large number of respondents, both men (9) and women (11), a third of all, had departed El Salvador between 1984 and 1989. This timeframe also saw the most intense contestation of territorial control in El Salvador. Women respondents were particularly aware of dangers along roads in El Salvador, which reflected precisely this territorial contestation. One respondent [Q35] spoke of three bus passengers being wounded next to her when guerrillas shot at the tires in an attempt to get the bus driver to obey their signal to stop. Another woman [Q49] observed that at military roadblocks "anything could happen" to women, including being mistreated, raped, or killed. Yet a third respondent [Q53] said that at roadblocks set up either by the government forces or the guerrillas, her husband

would be asked to hand over anything of value "if he wanted to live." "Whoever was doing it," she concluded, "his life was in danger."

By 1983, the FMLN had control over about a quarter of El Salvador. They drove out the armed forces from the north and northeast of the country to establish a rearguard and to build battalion size units to defeat the Salvadoran armed forces in conventional warfare (Corum 1998). They engaged in economic sabotage, disrupted the holding of elections, and for the most part, had the initiative in military clashes. In the countryside, the insurgents were able to oblige the local population to provide food, if not "war taxes," which made them practically self-sufficient in many ways.

Meanwhile, the Salvadoran armed forces were being reequipped and retrained for counterinsurgency, and their airpower developed, with substantial aid and advice from the United States. After several years, the Salvadoran armed forces outnumbered the insurgent groups. Their equipment and training were making them more effective in counterinsurgency. Soon they began to bomb and strafe FMLN strongholds indiscriminately, however, with little effect on the morale, infrastructure or capacity of the rebels. One respondent [Q14] who lived near a military base became aware of the intensified counterinsurgency operations at the time as "helicopters came and went at all hours of the day and night." "They carried corpses or the gravely wounded," he explained, representing "little soldiers . . . peasant boys with little education."

Over time, the ground and air operations of the Salvadoran government forces further intensified and improved. In response, the strategy of the FMLN rebels changed to a guerrilla war of attrition. They deployed small forces, which had to keep on the move, in ten of the country's 14 departments. The contestation for territory and for the

hearts and minds of the local population persisted. Respondents have clear memories of this period. One woman [Q39] living in a town at the time remembers how her family home had served as a trench at times for one or another side of the armed conflict. Respondents, including Q27 and Q57, spoke of almost daily armed clashes between the army and the guerrillas. The depiction by Q57 is vivid,

> Not a single night would go by without hearing bombs. Not a single night would go by without become aware that someone was killed in the surroundings where we lived in the city, and . . . and it was . . . it turned into almost normal for us to wake up the next day and on our way to work or to school see some corpse at a corner and everyone, whether child, young or old, stopped to see if they could identify who it was. [Q57]

The rebel forces intensified economic sabotage and engaged in ambushes, deployed snipers, and planted landmines. To undo the establishment of civil defense patrols and disrupt local governments, some of the FMLN groups carried out kidnappings and executions of mayors and government officials. Some of these tactics proved controversial, even within the FMLN.

At the same time, the FMLN also deployed small units to rekindle opposition in cities, and toward the end of the decade, demonstrations and marches had resumed. However, these visible activities failed to attain the size and intensity exhibited a decade before. As one respondent suggested, the intermittent closure of the national university could have contributed to dampen activism. Likely, the cumulative effect of armed violence also contributed to diminish participation.

By the end of the 1980s, a military stalemate existed, in which neither of the two warring parties was able to win. Despite being significantly outnumbered and under the constant attack by the Salvadoran army and air force, the FMLN was still an indomitable

force, when in 1989 it waged an assault on San Salvador and several departmental capitals. However, two weeks into the FMLN's offensive, the use of air raids against their urban strongholds preempted a mass insurrection, leading the FMLN to retreat into the countryside.

Among respondents in my study, one man [Q12], who was nine years old at the time and living in the capital of San Salvador, remembers being "surrounded by this war." "There were many power blackouts," he added, "we did not have drinkable water for those 15 days, food rations were quite limited, clothes, medicine too; the hospitals were full of wounded people." A woman [Q48], who was 12 years old and lived in a town at the time, recalls that her aunt had to hide her when guerrillas or soldiers came around so that she would not be recruited to go and fight.

During the FMLN offensive, one thousand or more civilians had been killed in the air raids, and six Jesuit priests and two of their domestic assistants had been slain. The exodus of Salvadorans continued. Several respondents left their homeland around this time. For example, one man left following the disappearance and killing of his brother, who was part of a family opposed to the government. Another respondent, an adult woman at the time, recalled being forced to move corpses. Both experiences constitute indelible memories of those days for them.

> We were part of an opposition… due to this, let's say, one of my brothers is disappeared, we find out that he is killed, and then so as not to encounter the same fate, the family decided that we leave …, the males, most of all. [Q16]

> I had to pick up corpses many times, put them on . . . on the pickup [trucks] . . . since the National Police or the National Guard at the time made you do it . . . many of the corpses were still warm . . . and these are consequences that you cannot erase from your life. [Q47]

Whereas the Salvadoran government believed that the FMLN had the long-term capacity to wage war, the November 1989 offensive created awareness of the difficulties of inciting a mass insurrection. U.S. military aid eventually became a pressure tool to force the Salvadoran armed forces to accept negotiations with the FMLN. Under the auspices of the United Nations, various meetings eventually led to the signing of a peace agreement in January 1992 that put an end to the armed conflict. Various provisions in the agreement served to demobilize the guerrillas and to restructure and reduce the military and security forces, to reform the judiciary, and to democratize politics in El Salvador (Studemeister 2001).

<u>Army and Guerrilla Recruitment</u>

Before the outbreak of armed conflict in 1981, respondents, men and women, began to already feel the pressure of forced recruitment by both sides. In the case of one woman, she had been accosted by guerrillas intent on training her in the use of weapons. Another respondent, who was a 19 year-old student at the time, objected to being recruited into the army as friends of his had been.

> I had to move from one place to another . . . my schooling ceased . . . because where I used to go to school . . . either the guerrillas would show up, ah, for you to practice using a machine gun, as well as the army would throw us down on the floor seeking whether among our notebooks we had any leaflets for a demonstration, and that was enough for you to be disappeared. Youth was completely terrorized. [Q38]

> At the time that I left, either the army or the guerrilla recruited you, and the corpses found everywhere you would walk in El Salvador looked horrible. So I left with fear of… left to save my life… because friends of mine had been recruited by the army. [Q25]

Moreover, the recruitment of minors by the armed forces or the guerrillas in El Salvador was not an uncommon experience. By Salvadoran law, compulsory military

service is required of nationals at 18 years of age; however, emergency legislation during

the armed conflict allowed voluntary enlistment at the age of 16. In the case of the

Salvadoran armed forces, as many as 80 percent of the new recruits during the period of

the armed conflict were below 18 years of age, a majority of them involuntarily drafted.

As for the FMLN forces, their ongoing need for recruits drove some of them to

engage in forced recruitment, which led to high desertion rates and a loss of support in

the rural areas. Such practice also damaged the FMLN's international standing. Its

recruitment of children was also both forceful and voluntary. However, in contrast to the

Salvadoran military, most recruits joined willingly.

Furthermore, women and girls were apparently relatively rare in the armed forces,

yet their presence was more significant in the guerrillas. (Ricca 2006; Verhey 2002;

Viterna 2006). These women performed all kinds of tasks, and some of them reached

leadership positions within rebel groups, the first time for such mass participation of

women in a political-military endeavor (Alvarez 2010). Young childless women were

targeted for recruitment by the FMLN, particularly in refugee camps. The FMLN did not

pressure women who were mothers or had families to enlist (Viterna 2006).

Young childless women and their families therefore had a well-founded fear of

enlistment into the FMLN forces wherever guerrilla members were present. In the case of

young men, fear of forced recruitment into the Salvadoran armed forces and willing

enlistment into the guerrillas seemed to be the predominant pattern in El Salvador. Men

in the sample, however, did not differentiate as distinctly, making references to the

general threat of forced recruitment stemming from both weapons-bearers, the armed

forces, or guerrilla organizations. The few women who brought up forced recruitment

during the interview did so only in relation to the FMLN.

The mothers of a few men in my study had reportedly feared the forceful

recruitment of their sons into the Salvadoran army or the FMLN forces at puberty.

Mothers made personal sacrifices and went to great lengths to press their sons to leave

the country, or to send them off to the United States. Such was the experience of several

men, exemplified by the following statement.

> My mother, seeing that I was already turning . . . becoming somewhat . . . having
> a man's body, which is what was needed to be… to be a combatant or soldier…
> decided that I should come here with the money that was supposedly for her, but
> she gave it to me so that I could come instead. [Q05]

A few male respondents had lived the experience of being unwillingly enlisted,

even if only for a few hours, or knew of others who had been forcefully drafted. One of

them [Q15] told about being recruited by the guerrillas to help during an armed clash,

saying that "with deceit, they called us and wanted us to dig trenches with them." A

typical case is represented by one respondent [Q27], who was a young man living in the

outskirts of San Salvador and who had been recruited by the army twice. "Priests," he

added, "would help me get out of, of the army, or my father, who had plenty of friends…

militaries… so, never, never, were they able to recruit and keep me there."

Young women were also candidates for involuntary recruitment, particularly by

the guerrillas. As a result, young women were also sent out of El Salvador, as

exemplified by the two respondents quoted below. In both cases, the threat of forced

recruitment came from the guerrillas.

> It was that in some way [guerrillas] had come to the house, looking for my brother
> as well as for me, so I did not want anyone to know that I was leaving. [Q39]

Well, the armed forces then did not draft women, but at the time, well, the guerrilla did kidnap girls of my age, so my grandfather was scared too and spoke to my mother, and they decided to send me to this country. [Q60]

Statements by men in my study are validated by the documented pattern of forced recruitment by the army and guerrilla forces in El Salvador. The men who said they departed El Salvador for reason of forced recruitment lived in secondary towns and the countryside, illustrating a class and gendered recruitment pattern. Moreover, young women represented potential recruits for the guerrillas. Although they assumed similar roles to men, their secondary status was left unaffected. Furthermore, Salvadoran women as mothers of minors played a "mothering" role in safeguarding the lives of their sons and daughters from forced recruitment. Over the years of armed conflict, the threat of forced recruitment drove some of the respondents to leave their homeland.

<u>The Human Toll</u>

For the most part, military and security forces and paramilitary units, or death squads, were responsible for harassing, persecuting, terrorizing, torturing, and killing members of agricultural labor and peasant organizations, priests and religious laymen who ministered to their members, student activists, and trade and labor unions that mobilized for reform and radical social change. Lesser numbers of violations were the responsibility of the FMLN. (Cuéllar 1999; *From Madness to Hope* 1993; Mahler 1995)

While comprehensive and exact statistics for violations occurring prior to and during armed conflict in El Salvador do not exist, the Table 4.5 suggests the scale of the human tragedy (Cuéllar 1999). This table documents three kinds of human rights

Table 4.5. Human Rights Violations in El Salvador by Year

Violation of right to	Year									
	1975-1976	1977-1978	1979-1980	1981-1982	1983-1984	1985-1986	1987-1988	1989-1990	1991-1992	1993-1994
Life	59	107	2,856	3,742	2,639	1,436	1,093	1,079	780	759
Personal freedom	52	425	2,275	4,052	2,679	3,749	2,494	3,119	989	156
Personal integrity	12	208	555	503	321	908	589	883	837	205
Total	123	740	5,686	8,297	5,639	6,093	4,176	5,081	2,606	1,120

Source: Adapted from Cuéllar, Benjamin. 2003. "Holding Armed Opposition Groups Accountable: The Case of El Salvador." Armed Groups: Approaches to Influencing Their Behaviour Project Meeting. Geneva: International Council on Human Rights Policy, p. 5.

violations. Right to life incidents refer to extrajudicial executions, forced disappearance, and deaths in/outside armed clashes. Violations relating to personal freedom encompass arbitrary arrest and other methods. Incidents violating personal integrity include torture, cruel treatment, and non-mortal casualties.

According to Table 4.5, a dramatic increase in human rights violations occurred from 1975-1976 to 1980-1981, jumping from 123 to 5,686 incidents per year, and then to a record high of 8,297 incidents in 1981-1982. The number of violations fluctuates thereafter, from 5,639 in 1983-1984 to 5,081 in 1989-1990. Following the signature of the peace accords in January 1992, incidents decrease significantly, from 2,606 in 1991-1992 to 1,120 in 1993-1994. Furthermore, two years, 1980 and 1984, constitute preludes to the highest levels of human rights violations in El Salvador. These two years preceded immediately the outbreak of armed conflict and the deployment of airpower in counterinsurgency operations, respectively.

Table 4.6 lists the number of respondents per year of departure from El Salvador. The two years that saw the most respondents leave their homeland are 1980 and 1984. In 1980, six men and three women left, and in 1984, three men and four women departed their homeland. As this chapter described, 1980 was the year that Archbishop Romero was killed, the day after calling on Salvadoran soldiers to disobey orders to attack civilians. This event signaled the unyielding stance of the Salvadoran government regarding repression. Moreover, 1984 represents the beginning of the most intense contestation of territorial control pitting the Salvadoran military against the FMLN guerrillas. Furthermore, as can be seen in the Table 4.5, the years of 1980 and 1984 preceded the two single years when the number of human rights violations reached the

Table 4.6. Respondents' Departure Year from El Salvador by Gender ($N = 60$)

Departure year	Gender		Total
	Men	Women	
1976	1	0	1
1977	1	0	1
1978	4	0	4
1979	2	3	5
1980	6	3	9
1981	0	5	5
1982	1	1	2
1983	1	3	4
1984	3	4	7
1985	0	1	1
1986	3	1	4
1987	1	1	2
1988	0	3	3
1989	2	3	5
1990	3	2	5
1991	2	0	2
Total	30	30	60

highest levels, confirming the determination of the Salvadoran government to wipe out

the opposition and the intensification of hostilities.

Also, the ratio of men and women is different in 1980 and 1984. State repression

beginning in the 1970s targeted more men than women for their participation in political

activities regarded as "masculinist," including marches, demonstrations, take-overs, work

stoppages, and so on, in an attempt to decimate the political opposition. Since it is men

who are predominantly detained, disappeared, displaced, or killed, men's risk of becoming victims of state repression is higher.

In contrast, 1984 marks the escalation of armed conflict, which implies a greater vulnerability of women. Armed conflict exacerbates inequalities, including gender-based ones. As men become arms bearers, women experience additional difficulties in caring for and supporting themselves and their families in such contexts.

Table 4.7 classifies victims by age categories. The bulk of the victims of human rights violations were aged between 12 and 35 years. The number of victims was highest among Salvadorans from 18 to 23 years of age, followed by ages 24 to 29, and next in equal numbers among those aged 12 to 17 and 30 to 35. Thus, young adults bore the brunt of human rights violations in El Salvador, from 1975 to 1994.

The age distribution of the respondents is presented in Table 4.8. As can be appreciated, the age group that suffered the bulk of the human rights violations is also the same age group that forcefully migrated from El Salvador to the Washington metropolitan area. Most of the respondents in my study were aged from 16 to 35 upon their arrival in the United States as Table 4.7 shows. The comparison of the age of the respondents to the human rights figures reveals that a majority of those who participated in my study had been members of the most vulnerable age groups in El Salvador.

This section presents human rights statistics to demonstrate that conditions of armed violence are associated to the migration of Salvadorans to the Washington metropolitan area. It also illustrates that the respondents in my study fall into an age group that suffered the most human rights violations in El Salvador.

Table 4.7. Victims of Human Rights Violations in El Salvador by Age

	Age Categories											
	Youth unknown age	0-5	6-11	12-17	18-23	24-29	30-35	36-41	42-47	48-53	54-59	60 and over	Adults unknown age
Victims	715	392	509	2,424	5,274	3,638	2,425	1,584	1,102	771	479	790	4,633

Note: Source does not provide years when violations occurred.

Source: Adapted from Cuéllar, Benjamin. 2003. "Holding Armed Opposition Groups Accountable: The Case of El Salvador." Armed Groups: Approaches to Influencing Their Behaviour Project Meeting. Geneva: International Council on Human Rights Policy, p. 8.

Table 4.8. Respondents' Age at Which Left El Salvador
by Gender

Age when left	Gender		Total
	Men	Women	
6 – 11	3.33%	3.33%	3.33%
	(1)	(1)	(2)
12 – 17	23.33	23.33	23.33
	(7)	(7)	(14)
18 – 23	36.67	40.00	38.33
	(11)	(12)	(23)
24 – 29	26.67	16.67	21.67
	(8)	(5)	(13)
30 – 35	3.33	13.33	8.33
	(1)	(4)	(5)
36 – 41	6.67	3.33	5.00
	(2)	(1)	(3)
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
	(30)	(30)	(60)

Refugees or Not?

My study is sociological and therefore, I use the term "forced migrants" or "forced migration," rather than the legal terms of "refugees" or "asylees," to describe the involuntary migrants or their involuntary migration. Nonetheless, it is relevant to review the contributions of international law to the social phenomena at hand.

For the first time ever, in 1951, the Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, and a subsequent Protocol of 1967, provided an internationally agreed upon definition of a refugee, and described a set of rights and obligations for states and refugees (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 1951, 1967). The convention defined refugees as persons outside of their own countries who were unable to return due to a well-founded fear of persecution. Persons must prove such fear on the basis of five

grounds. The grounds are race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership in a particular social group. Moreover, the convention affirmed that states were obliged to uphold the principle of *non-refoulement*, or refraining from forcibly returning refugees to their countries of nationality if such a fear persisted.

From the outset, the convention had limitations and failed to encompass all forced migrants worldwide (Kälin 2001; Zetter 1998). It focused on individual rather than on collective experiences of persecution. Moreover, it covered only those persons in Europe who had become refugees prior to January 1, 1951. Later, the protocol removed its geographical and time limitations. Additionally, the convention upheld the principle of sovereignty, granting states considerable discretion in interpreting their responsibilities and obligations to refugees when implementing its provisions into national laws.

The United States implemented the convention and its protocol as the 1980 Refugee Act, years after the first Salvadoran forced migrants entered furtively into its territory. The law made a distinction between refugees, or those who solicit protection while outside the United States, and asylees, who are present in the United States when they apply for protection. The applications of Salvadoran forced migrants, as provided by the act, tested what today is generally accepted as the biased operationalization of the act from the moment of its passage.

Not all the grounds for the presence of Salvadoran forced migrants in the United States were encompassed in the Refugee Act of 1980, or for that matter, in international law (Kälin 2001; Zetter 1998). Recognition of some of the grounds for their forced migration, such as generalized political violence or violation of human rights, awaited the drafting of two regional instruments. Specifically, the Convention on Refugee Problems

in Africa of 1969 defines a refugee as someone who seeks protection from "external aggression, occupation, foreign domination, or events seriously disturbing public order" in her or his country of origin and who is outside of that country. Similarly, the Cartagena Declaration on Refugees of 1984 considers as refugees "persons who have fled their country because their lives, safety or freedom have been threatened by generalized violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violation of human rights or other circumstances which have seriously disturbed public order." While not binding or universal, these instruments addressed the reality of forced migration in these two regions. Ultimately, in practical terms, they were unhelpful to unprotected forced migrants in Africa and the Americas.

Today, states continue to be both "the source of sovereignty" as well as "the site of sanctuary" (Adelman 1998). States control and contain their populations. Their responsibility also encompasses protecting the inhabitants in their territories. When states fail to protect their members, or when they coerce with the use of force, fleeing individuals seek the protection of other states. In the context of armed violence, coercion against people can also be exerted by contending armed groups. Regardless, forced migrants require the authorization of the destination states to be admitted as "refugees" or "asylees."

In the United States, decisions regarding refuge or asylum are usually handled on a case-by-case basis following the application of strict criteria and involving the assessment of documentary evidence of individual persecution. For Salvadorans who fled their country of origin and entered with or without authorization into the United States,

the prospect of submitting the required evidence was daunting, even if their experiences had made them eligible. For most of them, asylum proved to be practically elusive.

Furthermore, the United States was insensitive to the levels of armed violence in El Salvador when making decisions on asylum requests submitted by Salvadorans in the country. In 1985, only three percent of the Salvadoran applicants were approved for asylum, at a time when estimates indicated that as many as 20 percent of the population represented legitimate refugees (Coutin 1996; Gibney 1988; Tramonte 2002).

Respondents in my study affirmed they left as a result of armed violence, and their departure from El Salvador spanned from 1976 to 1991. In essence, they were civilians displaced from El Salvador due to the inability or unwillingness of the state to protect them from armed violence. Theirs was a distinct migration that was not recognized as a refugee flow by the sending and receiving states, and the Washington metropolitan area became a major destination for them.

Conclusions

The respondents in my study fled El Salvador from 1976 to 1991 to avoid becoming victims of armed violence. They are part of a distinct flow of forced migrants from El Salvador to the Washington metropolitan area. The respondents were members of the most vulnerable age group during the period of political violence and armed conflict in El Salvador. Respondents departed in substantial numbers particularly in 1980 or 1984, as the number of human rights violations in the country surged.

Armed violence affected men and women differently. More men than women departed El Salvador prior to armed conflict as state repression for the most part targeted

men involved in confrontational political activism. However, when armed conflict expanded, the vulnerability of women increased, contributing to their forced migration.

Thus, men left the country primarily for having been actual victims of political violence or due to family or friendship ties to an actual victim. Men also left out of fear of being targeted as an actual or potential member of the political opposition. When armed conflict broke out, they left due to the threat of forced recruitment.

Most of the women departed El Salvador because of the context of armed conflict. Previously, some had left due to their fear of being targeted as an actual or potential member of the political opposition and due to general political violence. They had also fled for having been an actual victim of armed violence, or due to family or friendship ties to a victim. Thus, different reasons led to the forced migration of men and women to the United States.

The next chapter will discuss the respondents' search for a legal status with rights and duties in the United States.

CHAPTER 5

THE LEGALIZATION PROCESS

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the significance of legal status, or lack

thereof, in the lives of Salvadoran forced migrants in the Washington metropolitan area.

Why and how did Salvadoran forced migrants acquire citizenship in the United States?

How do men differ from women in such regard? This chapter illustrates the substantive

role of the state in shaping, via immigration law, when and how migrants are able to gain

U.S. citizenship. This chapter also depicts the importance of social ties in facilitating

eligibility for legal status in the United States.

The chapter begins by discussing the legal avenues available to obtain

authorization to remain in the United States. Respondents applied for asylum in an effort

to avoid deportation and to obtain a temporary work permit. With the passage of

Temporary Protected Status (TPS), a large majority of them were eligible to apply for

this renewable, time-bound status designed to protect persons fleeing unfavorable

conditions in countries of origin, such as El Salvador.

Immigration reform opened a path to permanent residency in the United States.

The Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986, containing both benevolent

and restrictive measures, offered Salvadoran forced migrants who had lived in the United

States continuously since January 1, 1982, the possibility of permanent residency. In the

meantime, some were temporarily spared removal from the United States under the Deferred Enforced Departure (DED) executive order.

In 1997, the Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act, or simply NACARA, provided permanent residency to certain Salvadoran forced migrants with continued presence in the United States prior to September 20, 1990. A number of respondents obtained residency thanks to the visa sponsorship of their employers or the employers of the spouse upon marriage to a U.S. citizen, or based on their eligibility under family reunification provisions in existing immigration law.

This chapter reviews the impact and significance of each step in the protracted process that led Salvadoran forced migrants from an initial undocumented status to the acquisition of U.S. citizenship. It reveals that since their arrival in the United States, respondents were stratified by legal status since this contributed to determine their unequal access to valued resources and to the mobility mechanisms provided by immigration law. At the end, the chapter considers the importance of homeland citizenship to Salvadoran forced migrants.

Means Available to Attain a Legal Status

When forced migrants from El Salvador began to arrive in the United States, their presence in large numbers became a legal and political inconvenience to the U.S. government because the administrations of both President Jimmy Carter and President Ronald Reagan were supplying military and economic assistance to El Salvador (Coutin 2007). The political activism of Salvadoran forced migrants and their U.S. sympathizers and legal advisors continuously unraveled efforts portraying the Salvadoran government

as making progress in terms of human rights and democratic freedoms, and diminishing the domineering role of the United States in El Salvador.

Table 5.1 shows that two thirds of the respondents in my study entered the United States without authorization. About a dozen respondents entered the country with tourist or student visas. Most of these turned into "overstayers," when they failed to depart on the expiration date of their visas. Eight respondents held permanent residency prior to arrival in the United States. These latter respondents were keenly aware of the privileges associated to their immigration status upon arrival. They made sure to point it out to me. One respondent labeled as "other" in Table 5.1 had made an authorized stopover in the United States and decided against continuing his trip abroad. Essentially then, Salvadoran forced migrants were stratified by legal status into two groups: one small group with privileges and the overwhelming majority without.

Table 5.1. Respondents' Legal Status at U.S. Entry by Gender ($N = 60$)

Gender	Legal Status					
	Undocumented	Student	Tourist	Resident	Other	Total
Men	63.33%	6.67%	10.00%	16.67%	3.33%	100.00%
	(19)	(2)	(3)	(5)	(1)	(30)
Women	60.00	0.00	30.00	10.00	0.00	100.00
	(18)	(0)	(9)	(3)	(0)	(30)
Total	61.67%	3.33%	20.00%	13.33%	1.67%	100.00%
	(37)	(2)	(12)	(8)	(1)	(60)

From a global standpoint, Salvadoran forced migrants left behind a poor country mired in armed violence that was characterized by autocratic regimes and social oppression with a façade of citizenship. They entered a country where citizens have a

multitude of formal rights. This did not escape one respondent, who was astounded that in the midst of a large mass of local, state, and federal laws, people had many freedoms, even if differentially applied and enforced across the U.S. stratification system.

Although a number of unauthorized Salvadorans had applied for political asylum in the 1970s and 1980s, only around three percent of all applications were being approved (Coutin 1996; Gibney 1988; Tramonte 2002). The admission of Salvadoran forced migrants as asylees would have represented an acknowledgement of violations of international human rights law or humanitarian law by the U.S.-supported government of El Salvador.

If detected by U.S. immigration authorities, Salvadoran forced migrants with no legal status ran the risk of being apprehended and deported back home. Legal advocates and religious congregations, many of which joined as members of the Sanctuary Movement, argued that these Salvadorans deserved asylee status. They also denounced the politically driven immigration decisions being made in response to asylum petitions from Salvadorans. While denying asylee status to them, the U.S. government approved the applications of those who had left communist-inspired regimes in Nicaragua, Cuba, and Eastern Europe. Some legal activists filed suits to challenge immigration decisions. Others pressed for legislation to protect Salvadoran forced migrants from deportation and to allow them to stay in the United States.

Eventually, an amnesty provision contained in the IRCA of 1986 allowed 146,000 eligible undocumented Salvadorans to obtain permanent resident status (Gammage 2007). The eligibility criteria required them to demonstrate continued presence in the United States from January 1, 1982 onwards. The application cut-off date was set as May 4,

1988. IRCA also increased the residency requirements and hardship standards for the "cancellation of removal" of unauthorized immigrants apprehended in the United States. It imposed sanctions on employers who hired undocumented workers.

Subsequently, the Immigration Act of 1990 granted temporary protected status (TPS) to Salvadorans continuously present in the United States from September 19, 1990 onwards. Such status was effective for a period of 18 months and was subject to renewal. Unlike the amnesty provision in IRCA, TPS offered applicants no permanent benefits or public medical or cash assistance. TPS halted the execution of deportation orders and extended work authorizations to those eligible. It ended in 1992, and in its stead, as a result of an executive order, Salvadorans were allowed to stay under the deferred enforced departure (DED) status. DED allowed Salvadorans to renew their authorization to reside and work in the United States.

Next, when DED ended in 1996, 187,000 Salvadorans who had applied for TPS became eligible to seek asylum under the so-called "ABC decision," which was designed to ensure a fair hearing. The ABC decision was the outcome of a class-action suit filed ten years before alleging bias against Salvadorans in the asylum adjudication process. Under the ABC decision, immigration authorities were compelled to reopen asylum hearings under new regulations that were fairer to those Salvadorans whose prior applications had been denied. Only some 4,500 Salvadorans applied directly for benefits under the ABC decision (Frelick and Kohnen 1995). The approval rates rose from three to 25 percent within a year (Gammage 2007), providing relief from deportation to many Salvadoran forced migrants living and working in the United States. If approved, asylum was a means to permanent legal status.

The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) of 1996 restricted U.S. permanent residents' access to federal public benefits, regardless of their ability to work (Coutin 1996; Tramonte 2002). Its passage marked the rising anti-immigrant sentiment in the United States. It is unclear how the PRWORA affected Salvadoran forced migrants generally. If it did, PRWORA would have impacted the neediest non-citizens among them. Respondents in my study proudly commented that they had refrained from asking for public benefits. Those who had received public benefits explained that they had sought the benefits only in cases of utmost need and particularly in the early years of settling in the United States.

In 1997, under the Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act (NACARA), 129,131 Salvadorans were able to benefit from provisions for suspended deportation and cancellation of removal to their homeland and obtain permanent residency (Coutin 1996). By then, there were 434,293 Salvadorans who had obtained temporary or permanent legal status in the United States since 1980 (Coutin 1996). However, there still remained an estimated 335,000 Salvadorans living without authorization in the United States (Gammage 2007).

Thus, from a legal status perspective, Salvadorans were now stratified into undocumented, temporary, and permanent. Only those holding permanent residency in the United States were able to aspire to U.S. citizenship. For the undocumented and those with temporary authorization to live and work in the United States, citizenship continued to be unavailable.

Changing laws were sources of uncertainty and anxiety for Salvadoran forced migrants, as one respondent described. "Throughout, a process of legalization was

ongoing from the moment after I crossed the border," said a respondent [Q13], explaining: "in that always I had to be aware of the laws, what the implications were for me, what was that, what did I know or not know, and well . . . at the same time to continue to persevere ahead to be able to eh . . . save as necessary, and eh . . . pay for all those [legal] services." Thus, respondents continued their search for a permanent authorization to remain in the United States.

The Social Consequences of Mode and
Date of Entry Into the United States

As reported earlier, a few respondents arrived as lawful permanent residents; none as U.S. citizens. As residents, the respondents realized their privileged existence in the country, when compared with the difficulties and anxieties faced by the rest of their counterparts. They acknowledged so explicitly in the course of the interview, underscoring the singularity of their experience. Thus, the mode of entry into the United States created a social distinction between those with and without legal status in the United States. This distinction had major consequences on the resources and opportunities available to them. A loss of socio-economic status was practically automatic for undocumented Salvadoran forced migrants, not necessarily so for those who arrived as permanent residents.

Moreover, depending on date of arrival, the changes to immigration law, as described in the section above, presented Salvadoran forced migrants with opportunities to seek access to temporary or to permanent legal statuses in the United States. As a result, the existence of Salvadoran families of mixed legal status was not uncommon. Such situations were outcomes of a combination of factors, including eligibility for a

legal status based on time of arrival. Together, mode and date of entry established different starting points for Salvadoran forced migrants in the United States, distributing opportunities unequally (Shachar 2008).

Additionally, social ties that included U.S. citizens had an impact on the immigration outcomes of respondents. For example, one respondent [Q34] who obtained permanent residency via marriage to a U.S. citizen had felt concerned for the rest of her family back then. The other members of her family were awaiting a decision on their asylum application. "I was always worried about my family because my parents and my siblings were waiting," she said, "but I felt a great relief." Another woman [Q57] who had arrived as an adult in the United States felt disadvantaged in relation to her younger sisters, who obtained their U.S. residency as dependents of their mother on the latter's employer-sponsored application. "Of course, they arrived as residents," the respondent asserted, "so their situation was different; however, I was still illegal."

While respondents were generally aware of the various legal recourses available to them, years later, their memories about the intricate provisions of the laws and their access to them were at times blurry. It has been at least a decade since respondents had to deal with such intricacies. It is not surprising then, that during the interviews, some were uncertain about the exact immigration provisions invoked for their authorization to live and work in the United States, particularly in relation to temporary visas. As a result, temporary statuses are not differentiated by immigration program, but grouped and discussed as such. Similarly, the path to permanent residency is discussed indistinctly, regardless of the specific cases of the applicants. However, there was no confusion in relation to the process of applying for U.S. citizenship.

Unauthorized Upon Arrival

The lack of a legal status is usually associated with the absence of any rights and unauthorized migrants are generally unaware of the rights available to them in the United States (Bueker 2009). They fail to demand their rights and to seek enforcement of the same due to a fear of deportation. In the United States, even the undocumented are entitled to certain rights. Arriving Salvadoran forced migrants took advantage of them, including the right to public education for children, as will be seen below. Additional rights include the right to minimum wage, safe working conditions, and limited work hours, and to emergency health care. In essence, the undocumented had a measure of social citizenship (Marshall and Bottomore 1992); however, most felt unprotected and vulnerable.

At the time, studies estimated that between half to one million Salvadorans, as many as one fifth of the population of El Salvador, lived in the United States in the mid-1980s. A majority of them had entered and/or were living in the country "illegally," "unauthorized," or as "undocumented." A study of Salvadorans living in five major U.S. cities (Houston, Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco and Washington) found a significantly higher number of "illegal" or "undocumented" respondents who had entered the United States after 1981 (Montes Mozo 1988). Among those who arrived between 1941 and 1981, 43.2 percent did not have an authorization to enter the United States. This percentage increased to 73.1 among those entering the United States between 1982 and 1987.

This particular study (Montes Mozo 1988) also found that less than a fifth (16.7%) of all Salvadorans had arrived between 1941 and 1976, over one third (34.5%) of

them entered the United States from 1977 to 1981, and nearly one half (48.8%) between

1982 and 1987. Thus, the period covered by my study, 1975 to 1991, includes the period

that saw the arrival of a great many undocumented Salvadoran migrants.

The majority of Salvadoran forced migrants found an unfamiliar environment that

presented what seemed initially to be inhospitable conditions and insuperable challenges.

Respondents expressed a variety of factors that made them feel outright unwelcomed.

One of them [Q26] felt persecuted by U.S. immigration authorities. Women added the

absence of family support [Q37], the different customs and language and the experience

of poverty [56], and the lack of any rights [59]. Even so, "I thanked God for being in this

country," one respondent [Q26] noted. Aware of unsafe conditions left behind,

respondents understood that their presence in the United States offered them a degree of

security. To most, presence in the United States constituted in itself a respite from the

fear of armed violence in El Salvador.

> To begin with nobody understood me, nobody understood what I said, nobody understood how I felt, or understood my situation, so this did not make me feel welcomed. I was far from my family and that was like I was not supposed to be here. That is, if . . . it was not to be like I wanted. But I could not be there. [Q37]

> All was so difficult, very difficult, because to leave my family, imagine, there… a family that was and is so united. To leave there, to come to this . . . to a country so different in language, in the . . . the customs, and many times I tried to leave, I wanted to leave, but . . . I don't know, something held me back. However, yes we suffered, the first years we suffered scarcities, scarcities. [Q56]

> Perhaps security made me feel welcomed, let's say, because I know that likely nothing would happen to me, that there would be no guerrillas here, that nobody would attack me . . . eh . . . and yes, I did not feel welcomed because I did not speak English, I was . . . was not legally here, I felt that . . . I did not have rights to anything. [Q59]

Respondents spoke of enduring exploitation and marginality, thereby illustrating the loss of socio-economic status that most of them experienced upon arrival. Such loss was further complicated by the absence of habitual sources of support since for the most part, respondents arrived unaccompanied.

Most respondents lived in fear of deportation and subject to deprivations unknown to them before. Their undocumented status confined them to the territory of the United States. Many spoke about the carceral nature of their existence, about feeling imprisoned in the United States. One young adult [Q57] at the time of her arrival in the United States told of how her mother used to press her not to go out, citing the risk of detention and deportation. "So from home to work, and from work to home, and on weekends, if I wanted, we would go to English classes, or if not . . . to church," she explained, "and that was the most that I did." Several respondents likened the experience to being imprisoned. A woman [Q40] said: "To be without legal documentation means that you are like . . . like imprisoned in a place in which you can move about but cannot leave." "Inability to leave the country, to see my family, to return to El Salvador, and to be able to see my family," explained one man [Q29], "that is maybe the main problem that persons in such a state have." The respondents shared a geography of "confinement" (Mountz et al. 2002).

Also, undocumented migrants led "clandestine" lives (Coutin 1999). They sought to reduce their risk of detection by limiting their exposure in unsafe, non-ethnic spacesand remaining in private and familiar locations, or in ethnic enclaves (Portes and Bach 1985). His fear, said one man [Q20], who as a student had been detained once, had

been "to be sent back to El Salvador and to fall into the hands of the army, of . . . of authorities there, the police."

Yet sometimes the threat of deportation came from employers who were ethnic entrepreneurs (Portes and Bach 1985), such as in the case of one respondent who worked at a Salvadoran restaurant. Her employer deprived her of wages and provided her residential address to immigration authorities. In her own words:

> And this person did not pay me, I was made to work three months and afterward, this lady called immigration authorities on me. Then immigration authorities came upon me at 5:00 in the morning, at the place where I lived, and they caught me and I had to leave. [Q38]

The fear of deportation endured by respondents was relentless. "So one lived with that worry," observed one woman [Q44], who had been a young teacher in El Salvador, "I remember that we would have that always in mind: 'We don't have legal documents, what can we do about it?'" Another respondent, a woman hailing from the Salvadoran countryside [Q36], put it bluntly. She said that her first priority was "to find a place where . . . they would not . . . kick the door . . . and take me out, so that was the main thing, that was a right, well, to life, a right to tranquility, a right to peace."

A few respondents told of living in unsafe neighborhoods in Washington, characterized by crime and prostitution. They also spoke of living in areas where African Americans resided, and about being victims of violence there, illustrating racial tensions in the city. For women, live-in positions offered better living conditions and a way of managing their exposure to a range of risks in the neighborhoods where they could afford to live. One woman [Q43] affirmed that she had decided to take a live-in job "out of

desperation," after experiencing four sexual assaults in which, she explained, "I had to defend myself alone."

As undocumented persons, men and women had many challenges in common, as this section described. Aware of their precarious and vulnerable situation, Salvadoran forced migrants embarked on quests to obtain a legal status in the United States. Respondents made achieving security via a legal status their foremost objective. Theirs was a quest for their "right to life," their "right to security," defined as the freedom to establish, rebuild, and sustain dignified lives in their adopted homeland.

<div align="center">The Right to Education</div>

Since many of the respondents were young, they enrolled in public school, where they experienced a degree of safety. In retrospect, public schools proved to be valuable to the undocumented students in more than one way. While on school grounds, undocumented students were protected from immigration authorities, who at the time, appeared to conduct inspections in places other than public schools. One man [Q05], who as a 15 year-old registered in a local high school upon arriving in the mid-1980s, reflected upon the importance of requiring government officials to request permission to enter the school premises.

> The school director (this is how they call the position in El Salvador, director) said that . . . authorities needed to have permission, had to ask permission from the school to be able to enter and access schools, if they wanted to enter the schools. .. I did not make too much, being a kid, well, did not consider it of great importance. However, yes, it is very important to feel that if you don't have documents and you are studying, that you will not be taken out of the classroom. [Q05]

While attending school, the respondents had limited job opportunities, and so worked either for relatives who may have been ethnic entrepreneurs (Light 1984) or in other low-paying odd jobs, which likely constituted ethnic niches (Waldinger 1996). For the most part, they were precluded from gaining significant work experience and skills via internships or other student career-building activities. The same respondent, [Q05], illustrates this fact: "I could have found a job with the District of Columbia, working in the offices of the District of Columbia, the government, whatever, because they had internships, internships during summers for students, but I did not have access to such, so what I had to do was to work in restaurants and cleaning, or just cleaning." Cleaning services represented an ethnic employment niche (Waldinger 1996). Lack of career-building opportunities contributed to limiting the occupational mobility of young Salvadoran forced migrants.

Although many respondents who arrived as young adults in the United States wished to access college education or to continue their studies upon graduation from high school, they experienced considerable difficulties. They were unable to produce documents authorizing their stay in the United States, and therefore did not qualify for in-state tuition and federally funded student loans. "I wanted to study," one woman [Q44] said, "However, all would be halted when a legal status or a social security number would be asked . . . So that's where it stopped." For many, the lack of required documents brought an abrupt end to their plans for a college education. Some respondents managed to attend college by paying out-of-state tuition while working, but their continued schooling was interrupted at times.

Eventually, some public higher education institutions, including the University of the District of Columbia, enacted rules that allowed undocumented migrants to attend as in-state residents. In this regard, these institutions helped undocumented persons prepare for some amount of social mobility in the United States. However, by the time the rules changed, many others had been turned away; their aspirations for a college education and higher-income positions, and thus for upward mobility, has been dashed.

Nonetheless, learning English proved important for Salvadoran forced migrants as they entered the labor market. Language acquisition was particularly advantageous for those who were eventually able to pursue college. Virtually all respondents realized the importance of acquiring English language skills. Free or low-cost English classes were offered as part of adult public education and, to some extent, as part of some churches' outreach programs. Moreover, these programs did not ask respondents to produce documentation authorizing their presence in the United States. Men and women took advantage of these opportunities, as illustrated in the words of respondents that follow. However such classes offered only the basic levels of English skills. Such skill level limited the occupational mobility of respondents. Furthermore, household responsibilities affected women's attendance at English language classes, illustrating the continued patriarchal practices in immigrant families.

> What I lack[ed] was . . . was education and English. We had the same potential as any gringo could have in another country in the world. So I realized there, with all kinds of people—from Central and South America, also Asia, Europeans—who are intelligent but in their own languages, that we were seeking to translate that intelligence into another language…that of the United States. [Q24]

> In that transition of six months, we learned English. We used to go twice a week to some churches where instruction was free. At night, those two days, my nephews took care of my children and the two of us went to school. Later on my

husband continued going to school and I turned my attention to the children, saying: "Soon I will continue." [Q53]

The right to education, including the acquisition of English language skills, was linked to their pursuit of the "right to security" and the "right to life." Respondents understood that education is an important factor in occupational and social mobility in the United States. Age at arrival and policies of public educational institutions with regards to proof of legal status in the United States contributed to determine the respondents' prospects for mobility.

<div align="center">The Right to Work</div>

The importance of proof of employability varied greatly depending on the local labor market, the employment sector, and immigration policies in place at the time. However, it became progressively difficult to find gainful employment over time, as new sanctions were imposed on employers in attempts to stem the hiring of undocumented workers. Thus, the statements by respondents reflect this variability, as exemplified by one man [Q04] who said: "I am not going to say that having documents was unnecessary, however it was not essential, practically almost nobody would ask for them. It was easier to move about without any documentation." A woman [Q59] offered a different experience, explaining: "I had a job and I was fired because I did not have documents." "Sometimes," she added, "that hurts because one is only an illegal, not a criminal."

Lacking proper proof of employability in the United States, some of the respondents were blatantly exploited by employers, experiencing a loss of occupational and socio-economic status. Generally, however, there was enough demand for labor so as to lead many to move from job to job seeking to enhance their income. Each time,

however, respondents ran the risk of being asked for proof of authorization to work in the

United States.

> I was working where there were jobs but one was not paid much. In a way one is
> exploited [. . .] but one always keeps moving on, changing jobs, eh . . . always
> everywhere one would be asked for proof of residence. [Q01]

> Well then at work, unfortunately employers take more advantage of the
> undocumented person. I spent . . . I went to work cutting grapes for drying, eight
> days and I was not paid even a nickel Why? Because I could not . . . did not have
> papers… [Q08]

> My first job as soon as I arrived in the United States was washing dishes, as
> "dishwasher" in a restaurant [. . .] I was exploited more, I was not given days
> off, to rest [. . .] however right away, that job I had two or three months, and
> right away I obtained the other job I now have. [Q25]

The few respondents who arrived as professional adults to the United States were

unable to find employment in their field of study because they lacked on the one hand

the validated educational credentials and on the other hand, an acceptable way of

certifying their experience. As a result, their experience and training were dismissed,

making them less competitive candidates in their respective fields in the United States. In

effect, they "lost years of professional experience that even today, after becoming a

citizen, makes life difficult," according to one respondent [Q29].

Furthermore, respondents reported an inability to plan for the future because of

their undocumented status. Their legal status impinged on their ability to have some

degree of control over their personal lives. One woman [Q49] said that arriving in her

early twenties and living with the inability to plan and the anxiety of an uncertain future

proved to be her greatest challenges.

In practice, the rights to minimum wage, safe working conditions, and limited

work hours were unenforceable for Salvadoran forced migrants living without

authorization in the United States. Both men and women had a common experience. Thus, they exercised limited social citizenship, acquiesced to the working conditions found in places of employment, and in many cases occupied ethnic niches (Light 1984) of employment upon arrival.

Under the Cover of an Asylum Application

About a third of respondents applied for asylum in the United States, mostly to avoid deportation and obtain some relief from the insecurity of their unauthorized presence, or to regain their freedom upon being detained by immigration authorities. Based on information available to them regarding approval rates for Salvadoran applicants and their understanding of the requirements for a successful case, respondents did not have much hope that their applications would be approved. On the one hand, asylum adjudications were politically biased. On the other hand, it proved quite difficult for the respondents who had applied for asylum to establish individual persecution as required and provide supporting evidence.

> To solicit political asylum, you had to have evidence that you had been persecuted and that was [. . .] a "catch 22." How are you going to ask that a political asylee bring along evidence of persecution? That would be as if I had asked the people that [. . .] were looking for me: "Please give me evidence because I am going to the United States and would like to request political asylum." [Q41]

Respondents also realized that the review of their asylum applications would take time, so they would most likely have to face a rejection in the near future. Their lives turned into what could be called a "conditional temporariness" in the United States.

In the meantime, however, submitting an asylum application allowed respondents to receive a temporary authorization to work in the United States and to apply for a valid

Social Security number. Both documents were essential for employment in the country.

Additionally, the Social Security number allowed respondents to engage in many other

important activities, such as opening a bank account, obtaining credit, or applying for a

driver's license. "So that gave me security," observed one respondent [Q16], "and with

that I could also obtain a driver's license, it also helped with that." Political asylum

applicants established thereby a legitimate presence in the United States.

The statements of respondents indicate that applying for political asylum seemed

to be an effective mechanism in response to, or as a way of preventing, deportation.

Respondents applied for political asylum when detained by immigration authorities at the

border or at their destination, as one man did [Q06] who had been a persecuted trade

unionist in El Salvador. Some, however, applied immediately upon arrival in the United

States, as one woman [Q54] recounted, so as "not to suffer." At least one respondent

[Q07] reported being unaware that he had applied for political asylum. Nonetheless,

when stopped by immigration officials, he was spared detention. He thought that he had

applied for a work permit. As one respondent [Q06] affirmed, as an asylum applicant,

one had freedom of movement within the national territory and an authorization to work.

Their statements are reproduced immediately below.

> Luck helped me too [. . .] it was good that if one was taken by immigration
> authorities, one would get a work permit [. . .] Because one would complete a
> paper for political asylum and it was a guarantee that with it you could work, you
> could go anywhere, but not leave the country. [Q06]

> There in Houston, I applied for a work permit; later I became aware that it was
> not a work permit but that the lawyer had given me a permit for political asylum
> [. . .] it helped me because I . . . was caught by immigration authorities and . . .
> and they left me alone. [Q07]

> From the first day that I entered I had a social [security number], because we had been given it . . . we had applied for asylum, which was never approved nor did they even turn to us, but it was so as to get papers, the work permit in order not to suffer.[Q54]

For many, asylum was not a favored option because of the known rates of denial and of the stigma attached to doing so. The asylum requests that respondents had submitted proved to be ineffective. Most applications were denied or were never decided, as in the case of respondents in my study. Moreover, Salvadoran forced migrants did not wish to alienate the state and people in their homeland by being known to have applied for asylum in the United States. They did not want to risk or preclude the possibility of returning to El Salvador, if the conditions changed. One respondent [Q41] explained the stigma in the following words:

> Many people did not want to solicit political asylum because they were also afraid that if they were granted political asylum, they would be unable to travel to El Salvador, for they were not going to be well regarded: "How is it possible that you left and did that? Why did you ask for political asylum?" [Q41]

In addition to political asylum, as soon as Temporary Protected Status became available in 1990, respondents turned to this means of obtaining a renewable authorization to stay in the United States. One woman [Q46], who as a teenager had entered the United States without authorization, depicted how she had combined applications for political asylum and for temporary protected status. The new legal recourse facilitated the possibility of obtaining a work authorization and a Social Security number.

> The first step was really [. . .] to request political asylum, for as mentioned, the assassination of my brother, next that of my husband, um . . . also um . . . someone else in his family who had been disappeared; so the most immediate at that time was an application for political asylum, even if it was and continues to be difficult to obtain. A few months after requesting political asylum, this

government authorized the TPS, "Temporary Protected Status," which we used to obtain a work permit. [Q46]

Her case is not unique. Salvadoran forced migrants were attentive to immigration law changes and developed personal strategies to optimize their chances for acquiring a legal status in the United States. Such strategies served them to pursue the "right to security," or the freedom to establish, rebuild, and sustain dignified lives in the United States.

A Degree of Security in Renewable Temporariness

When Temporary Protected Status, or TPS, became available in 1990, many eligible Salvadoran forced migrants, even those who had applied earlier for political asylum, submitted their applications. For thousands of Salvadoran forced migrants across the United States who did not have a work permit and lived as undocumented in the United States, access to the new temporary status represented the possibility of achieving a degree of security, even if only temporarily. Their fear of deportation subsided to an extent, albeit on a renewable short-term basis. "The aspect of my life that changes," remarked a man [Q10], "is that I did not have to keep hiding, that nobody could inspire fear in me." TPS effectively sanctioned the presence of its recipients in the United States, thereby eliminating the apprehension linked to sanctions for entering the country without authorization.

Additionally, TPS endorsed the applicability of protections extended to all workers by federal and state labor laws in the United States. "It gave me a legal status," said a woman [Q47] about TPS, "which disallowed employers from cheating me out of

my earnings because of lack of papers." She added: "It gave me the right to enforce my rights, and I enforced my rights in such aspect."

TPS did not address other concerns held by Salvadoran forced migrants. For example, TPS failed to grant in-state tuition to those interested in pursuing college education, or to enable them to apply for educational loans. Moreover, TPS failed to allow respondents to travel and visit their families in El Salvador. Those temporarily authorized, along with their undocumented counterparts, continued to be confined to the national territory of the United States. Respondents repeatedly voiced both limitations, detailing the impact on themselves and their immediate families.

Furthermore, toward the end of each months-long term, Salvadoran forced migrants endured the anxiety over the renewal of the authorization to live and work in the United States. "I always lived with that fear that they would not renew it again," said a woman [Q58]. The rising cost of renewal was an added worry. One woman [Q42] observed: "One paid some 90 dollars at the beginning. Later, the last time I renewed it, it cost me some 120 dollars if I am not mistaken, and it is now costing some 500 or 600 dollars."

Researchers have advanced the notions that TPS kept their recipients in a "permanent temporariness" (Bailey, Wright, Mountz, and Miyares 2002) or "'in-between' status or liminal legality" (Menjivar 2006). The first notion evokes an everlasting instability. The second implies a legal status between two others, or an intermediate legal status, which TPS was not. Rather TPS is effectively a dead-end status: It leads to no other legal status. TPS is also an authorization to live and work in the United States that is subject to periodic renewal. Thus, a more appropriate term is

"renewable temporariness," to highlight the recurrent process of renewal, which was a source of insecurity. TPS afforded recipients a stay of deportation and endorsed the applicability of labor laws to their employment in the United States. The possibility of non-renewal and the rising cost of the permit undermined the degree of security offered by this "renewable temporariness."

<div align="center">Deceptive Security in Permanent Residency</div>

Salvadoran forced migrants, who were recipients of TPS or had submitted for asylum applications prior to 1 April 1990, were able to gain access to permanent residency in the United States primarily via the NACARA program of 1997. It was a much welcomed opportunity for respondents who via NACARA became eligible for permanent residency. The outcome represented no less than a tectonic shift in the lives of respondents in the United States. "Thank God that's how I was able to obtain my permanent residency via TPS, via the permits that I had had from 90 until then as a good citizen, as a good person, I had behaved well and all that," said one man [Q10], who had arrived as a young student in the United States in 1990. He emphasized that he had "devoted [himself] to work and as they say, to behave well, to not have . . . to not have problems [. . .] not to go around in gangs, not to do anything, just [his] work, [his] home and [his] family." NACARA became available slightly more than two decades after the earliest date of arrival of one respondent in my study, namely 1976.

Table 5.2 illustrates the legal means available to respondents to obtain permanent resident status in the United States. By the time the NACARA program was enacted, the majority of respondents had found other means to become residents in the country. Thus,

NACARA was relevant only in the case of seven respondents: four men and three women.

Table 5.2. Means of Acquiring Lawful Permanent
Residency by Gender (*N* = 60)

Means	Gender		
	Men	Women	Total
Employer sponsorship	30.00%	26.67%	28.33%
	(9)	(8)	(17)
Family reunification	16.67	20.00	18.33
	(5)	(6)	(11)
Marriage	16.67	23.33	20.00
	(5)	(7)	(12)
Amnesty law	20.00	20.00	20.00
	(6)	(6)	(12)
NACARA	13.33	10.00	11.67
	(4)	(3)	(7)
Asylum	3.33	0.00	1.67
	(1)	(0)	(1)
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
	(30)	(30)	(60)

A majority of the respondents in my study, or their spouses, had been able to identify employers willing to sponsor them for permanent residency in the United States. Such sponsorship benefitted 17 respondents. A dozen respondents were granted residency via the amnesty law of 1986. A similar number became residents via family reunification provisions in immigration law. Via marriage, another dozen respondents obtained their permanent residency in the country. Table 5.2 shows that two thirds of the sample in my study, both men and women, relied on their own social ties, including family, spouses, and employers, to attain residency. Only one third of the men and women did so as a

result of changes in immigration law that favored them on the basis of their individual

situations.

Some of the interviews revealed the great length to which respondents went to

find ways to obtain U.S. permanent residency on their own. For example, one woman

[Q55] sought to work only for employers willing to sponsor her residency application.

Needless to say, she was deceived at least once, and spoke of declining an offer of

employment after she failed to secure the commitment of the potential employer for the

sponsorship. Another woman [Q45] endured spousal abuse in the hope of gaining such

status, which the husband used to exert patriarchal dominance in the household.

Repeating a common goal, a man [Q26] describes how he went about achieving his

permanent residency.

> Well, um when . . . I had just arrived, for me it was unachievable, right? To come
> to have legal documents, but at the same time it was a goal that I wanted . . . that I
> had set for myself [. . .] At first I tried though my job to obtain residency, then I
> married and the one I married she helped me, since she was a resident; it is
> through her that I became a resident. [Q26]

> To have to put up with so much from a husband for a residency is very hard
> because he always threatened that if I did not do what he said, he threatened
> saying that he would get me deported. [Q45]

Salvadoran forced migrants found the much awaited respite from the fear of

deportation when legal permanent residency was attained. Via residency, they were able

to overcome living clandestinely, in conditional temporariness, or in renewable

temporariness, as undocumented, asylum applicants, or TPS recipients respectively.

Initially, legal permanent residency signaled the attainment of a substantial level of

security. "I did not come here because I wanted to violate laws," emphasized one man

[Q08], "but because I love my life." To him, permanent residency felt like "one's life has swelled, as if it has expanded," he added.

Permanent residency emancipated Salvadoran forced migrants from the "subnational spaces [. . .] to avoid detection and harassment" and the sense of incarceration within the United States (Coutin 2010). "It is beneficial for the person because the person is legal, can travel to see family, can have better jobs, better opportunities, businesses," explained one man [Q06], "and it is good for the country because taxes are paid."

Additionally, residency addressed at least two other major long-standing concerns held by Salvadoran forced migrants. At long last, respondents felt that they could have a degree of control over their lives. The permanent residency carried with it the possibilities of long-term settlement in the United States, thereby formally opening new opportunities for mobility and assimilation based on a legitimate status in the United States. For men, residency became a means to advance towards the restoration of their patriarchal status, following a loss of status via migration. Women's statements revealed a sense of autonomy, a gain experienced as a result of their migration. "First were the opportunities and the facility to take control over my life," declared one woman [Q49], "it was no longer adrift, it was no longer day to day, I could choose."

For women, residency had particular importance in that it allowed them to invoke the family reunification provision to obtain the same status for their mothers and their children. Such facility was voiced much more frequently by women than by men, who tended to send remittances to family left behind in the homeland. One woman remembered vividly the impact of residency in her life, in the following remark:

> Good God! I could say the biggest gift—because it was, how should I say, a relief not to hide from anyone, to be free to exercise my rights . . . Firstly, the most beautiful thing that residency gave me was to be able to bring my children legally. [Q43]

However, the sense of security achieved with permanent residency would soon shatter as immigration law became more stringent in 1996 with the passage of three federal laws. The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA), known as the Welfare Reform Act, denied federal public benefits, such as food stamps, to categories of lawful and unauthorized immigrants. Some states later chose to reinstate some of these benefits for legal immigrants who lost eligibility under PRWORA. The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) strengthened immigration enforcement and, among other provisions, accelerated deportation of undocumented migrants who committed crimes. The Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA) facilitated the arrest, detention, and deportation of noncitizens. Unsurprisingly, changes spurred Salvadoran forced migrants to seek security by applying for U.S. citizenship.

Men and women in my study achieved permanent residency primarily through the social ties that made them eligible for such legal status. Only a small number of the respondents gained access to residency on the basis of their individual situations. Via residency, men and women were able to overcome living clandestinely as undocumented persons, in conditional temporariness as asylum applications, or in renewable temporariness as TPS recipients. Becoming residents released respondents from the "subnational spaces" (Mountz et al. 2002), where they moved to avoid detection and harassment, formally opening opportunities for mobility and assimilation. Residency

allowed women to exercise "activist mothering" (Naples 1996), seeking and seizing opportunities to exercise their newly gained autonomy. As conceived by working Latinas, activist mothering inspires actions directed to address the needs of children and community. The concept provides coherence to these women's roles in relation to their family, employment, and civic and political participation. For men who had experienced a loss of their patriarchical status upon migrating, residency provided new opportunities to restore such a status. For both, permanent residency served to break the geography of "confinement" (Mountz et al. 2002).

<div align="center">The Quest for Inalienable Security</div>

Without any doubt, Salvadoran forced migrants felt threatened after restrictive changes to immigration law were put into effect some fifteen years ago. They had already experienced the difference between being undocumented, having a work permit as asylum applicants or TPS recipients, and enjoying relative security as residents in the United States. Respondents are aware, however, that laws can be readily changed, as they had in their lifetime in the United States, affecting their access to social, civil, and political citizenship (Marshall and Bottomore 1992). Some had already anticipated that anti-immigrant sentiment could lead the United States to reduce the protections and benefits offered to U.S. permanent residents, thereby widening the gap between them and U.S. citizens. Thus, the realization of their continued vulnerability drove them to seek U.S. citizenshipas soon as they were able to meet the eligibility requirements. The words of one respondent illustrate these points:

> I had also been hearing the lawyers and people like that, that in the next years the immigration situation here would become more tense, would be harder and more

difficult, that it would be better to become a citizen in the first place to be able to vote and to be able to participate in matters of this government [. . .] and so it was. [Q51]

For some Salvadoran forced migrants, the pursuit of U.S. citizenship confirmed that they had already transitioned to a considerable degree their lives from El Salvador to the United States. They had been segmentally assimilated into "subnational" (Mountz et al. 2002) and ethnic (Light 1984) positions initially, and permanent residency opened new opportunities for mobility and for assimilation into the stratified structure of the United States. Respondents who had been undocumented at one time depicted the acquisition of U.S. citizenship as the culmination of their legalization process. Commented one woman [Q39] who had arrived as a teenager: "I was without a work permit for six years; after six years of being here I was able to get a work permit; and then after eleven years and a half, I was able to get residency, and after 18 years, I was able to get my citizenship." All in all, U.S. citizenship was considered a personal achievement, as one woman described:

> Well, what I remember is that . . . it's as if . . . your whole life passes in front of one, and one says: "Wow, where have I arrived! What one could achieve." And when I was further back, when I had just arrived, no . . . it never crossed my mind that I would achieve what I had, to become an American citizen. [Q58]

It must be said that for some, the decision to apply for U.S. citizenship involved surmounting a personal conflict. Those who were opposed to U.S. military and economic assistance toward El Salvador during the period of armed violence found the idea of seeking U.S. citizenship contradictory. Consistently, these respondents manifested that their ability to make a distinction between the government and the people of the United States was crucial to their turnaround in this regard. That is, they rationalized that the

opinions and sentiments of the public at large are not necessarily reflected in the

decisions of U.S. policymakers. One man expressed this turnaround in the following

manner:

> It was a matter of process to understand that one thing is what the government does and another thing is the attitude of the population of the United States once it understands issues [. . .] I understood that these were two separate things, on the one hand, the government and corporations; and on the other hand, the people. [Q21]

Overwhelmingly, the vast majority of men and women expressed a desire to

participate as voters in the political system of the United States. Moreover, they viewed

the exercise of their right to vote as a way of having an impact at the domestic and global

levels on policies or on politicians making decisions.

For the most part, men focused on the political impact of their citizenship

domestically as their statements below indicate. One of them said that he had sought

citizenship in order to be part of the political system in the United States. Another man

saw citizenship as a means of contributing to influence for more humane policies. The

third respondent was driven by a desire to be heard, counted, and recognized as a Latino

member of the local political community. Citizenship signified a moral commitment to a

political community for a fourth respondent. These views endorse the sense of duty of

these men to actively participate in the public arena as a member of the political

community, even if, as one respondent underscored, as an ethnic minority member.

> I acquired a . . . as a way of saying it, a moral commitment upon becoming a citizen and I felt with much more . . . much more . . . much more rights and with . . . of course, and with much more obligations. But . . . but yes, I feel that things changed but they changed for the better. [Q04]

> I wanted to vote, wanted . . . wanted to be part of the political system, wanted to be able to vote and wanted to feel a bit more secure here. [Q05]

> [Citizenship] has the value of being able to vote, of shaping policies here, of voting for the persons that one thinks will benefit the large majority [. . .] or for persons who are more . . . more sensitive toward . . . toward human beings. [Q08]

> I became an American citizen to participate with the vote and so as to begin to be counted as Latinos because Latinos do not give *pisto*, money, to the . . . the politicians; we give insignificant amounts. But to begin to be respected in regards to health problems, to not be ignored because we are here and are here to stay and are productive members of this society, and we are contributing to this society; for this, I became an American citizen. [Q25]

Moreover, statements by women reflect their concerns for family and for a much wider community, whether represented by the people of El Salvador, or more globally. Their statements reflect the activist mothering orientation noted earlier in this chapter (Naples 1996). These women sought to access the rights associated with citizenship, particularly the right to vote, and regarded the impact of voting beyond their immediate personal and political settings. The three statements below illustrate the women's regard of citizenship as a way of "mothering" others, from family to global community.

> I knew that by becoming a citizen I could help my parents and my siblings. In fact, once I obtained my citizenship, I applied and requested my parents, for their residency, and they got it three months ago. Thus, being a citizen gave me the idea of being more secure in this country and to be able to help my parents . . . [Q39]

> I have to vote and all of us have to vote, because we have to exercise this right, because it impacts all of us, not only here domestically in the United States, but abroad; and I am thinking that to such an extent, any citizen in this country should take this into account. [Q41]

> First because from the United States I can help my community of origin in El Salvador and all Salvadorans; I can make a difference in reforms here as a citizen [. . .] and at the same time as I said, push projects there as a Salvadoran also, right? [Q44]

In the opinion of men, U.S. citizenship placed Salvadoran forced migrants on an equal standing with their native-born counterparts. Considering the loss of status that

accompanies migration represents a threat to men's patriarchial role of dominance in the

public and private spheres, U.S. citizenship provided validation of the superior category

of membership in the United States. These Salvadoran men felt they would be perceived

differently upon becoming U.S. citizens. Their statements reflect a concern to attain an

enhanced social status via U.S. citizenship, which is considered valuable.

> So, becoming a citizen is . . . to obtain another, other elite category, right? Even if
> you continue employed in the same line of work. But one has also more benefits,
> you are regarded differently. [Q01]

> My motivation to seek citizenship is because I wanted to be free in the United
> States and to . . . have equality as all others. And with residency alone, I did not
> feel safe in the United States. When in any situation, for anything, citizenship is
> more important than residency. [Q02]

From a pragmatic and personal standpoint, many Salvadoran forced migrants also

saw protections, conveniences and benefits accruing to them via U.S. citizenship. Men

and women pointed out the importance of social citizenship, such as access to federal

employment, of the right to social security benefits, and of unimpeded return to the

United States in case they retired to live in their homeland. They highlighted the

importance of civic citizenship, encompassing the protections afforded to them by

citizenship in relation to their exercise of newly acquired political freedoms, or political

citizenship. Two respondents illustrated the impact of social, civic, and political rights on

their everyday existence.

> In fact, it allowed me to become more involved in political issues here, for
> example, in Obama's campaign [. . .] I could do it with greater security [. . .]
> and with greater right, now than before. [Q21]

> Because in business, it is needed. To vote, to obtain any license, anything else,
> you are asked to be a citizen. If you want a loan, you have more benefits as a
> citizen. If you want federal employment, you can have it if you are a citizen.
> [Q31]

Furthermore, women seemed to have a more sanguine approach to a couple's decision regarding the acquisition of U.S. citizenship (Bass and Casper 2001; DeSipio N.d., 2006). One respondent sought to clear up her spouse's doubts about U.S. naturalization and convince him to apply for U.S. citizenship. The wife of another respondent surreptitiously submitted his application for U.S. citizenship along with the completed forms for herself and the couple's sons. Yet another one voiced respect for her husband's feelings but pointed out the financial burden of not seeking U.S. citizenship in both of their cases, as described below.

> He [clung] to the dream of returning and returning. I respect that, and continue to respect it. However, today, maybe due to the times and the situations that obstruct the improvement of our country . . . we are able to assimilate the idea of establishing citizenship, better than to renew residency. Because [a residency renewal] is for another 10 years, okay? If we had paid whatever it is, citizenship would have already paid for itself. [Q53]

Moreover, the ten non-citizen respondents cited cost and also language as barriers to pursuing U.S. citizenship. Nonetheless, all of them expressed a desire and determination to acquire it, underscoring also access primarily to social and political citizenship (Marshall and Bottomore 1992). "Yes," said one woman [Q33], "I have thought that soon I will become a citizen [. . .] mostly to vote; I would like to vote in this country." Additionally, non-citizens spoke of some of the benefits and conveniences noted earlier.

Scholars who study U.S. naturalization have confirmed the relevance of socio-economic as well as time-related variables such as education, age, and organizational membership (Bass and Casper 2001; DeSipio N.d., 2006). However, the men and women in my study, regardless of socio-economic and time-related variables, sought U.S.

citizenship primarily, to overcome the vulnerabilities of their status as lawful permanent residents in the United States. Women interpreted the acquisition of citizenship in terms of activist mothering (Naples 1996), while for men, U.S. citizenship offered new opportunities to restore their patriarchal status as upright citizens. Existing research (Bass and Caspar 2001; DeSipio 2006; Passel 2007) contends that Salvadoran-origin migrants have low naturalization rates. All in all, the Salvadoran forced migrants in my study fail to confirm this pattern.

<p style="text-align:center">Becoming Dual Citizens</p>

None of the respondents spoke of "naturalization," when referring to the acquisition of citizenship in the United States. Overwhelmingly, most of them sought citizenship as a way of achieving greater security in the United States. For most of the respondents, U.S. citizenship became an "additive citizenship" to their Salvadoran citizenship (Coutin 2003), turning them into dual citizens.

Respondents reflected upon the culmination of the legalization process, expressing the enormous influence that their experiences had on their self-development. Individually or as a group, they could not have achieved as much had they remained in El Salvador. Two illustrative yet succinct statements confirm the enormity of the impact. One man [Q20] observed: "This citizenship has given me many things that . . . that my own country has not." "United States is our home," remarked a woman [Q32], "it welcomed us, and well, it has offered opportunities and I have much to thank her."

The constitutional right of Salvadorans to dual citizenship effectively eliminates the need to resolve a common yet deep dilemma experienced by many immigrants faced

with the requirement of opting for a single citizenship. Salvadorans do not experience the

personal dilemma of having to renounce their original citizenship. Absent such a

quandary, the decision to apply for U.S. citizenship is rendered unproblematic for all

Salvadorans. The personal agony suffered by many holders of other citizenships is an

unknown experience to Salvadorans in general. The statements of men and women in my

study confirm earlier studies (Escobar 2004; Jones-Correa 2000) indicating that dual

citizenship facilitates and promotes naturalization. Respondents were well aware of the

quandary of nationals without access to dual citizenship. Moreover, rather than a sense of

living the "politics of in-between" (Jones-Correa 1998), not fully integrated in one or

another country, the respondents experienced dual citizenship as "additive citizenship"

(Coutin 2003), despite respondents' segmented assimilation in the United States. These

two aspects are reflected in the following statements:

> Perhaps more prevalent among Mexicans was saying that they kind of would lose
> their identity upon becoming . . . upon becoming a U.S. citizen. Not so in my
> case, that did not happen, I did not see it that way because El Salvador has dual
> citizenship. [Q19]

> Even when I was in hardship, even knowing all that I had gone through in El
> Salvador, even so I would say that if I had been in a position to lose my
> Salvadoran citizenship, I would not have wanted to become a U.S. citizen, still
> knowing all that I had gone through in El Salvador. [Q39]

> Look, I consider myself both, that is . . . Salvadoran and U.S. citizen, that is what
> I consider myself, what I am . . . I feel that I carry out the responsibilities in both
> countries, that is, I do not see any conflict. I obey the laws here and do what I
> have to do, contribute to the community, and the same in my country, I feel that in
> my country, well, I am also doing my bit to help there. So no, no, it's not a
> problem for me. [Q49]

> In fact, some of the respondents opined that dual citizenship should be the norm.

They also think that gradually, more countries will decide to allow dual citizenship. "It

should be the norm, the rule, for persons to be able to regularize their legal status in this country, immigration-wise," noted one man [Q11], "and at the same time, to maintain their legal linkages to their country of origin." To be sure, men and women in my study embraced dual citizenship.

When it came to weighing the value of their rights and duties in the United States and those in El Salvador, the importance of those associated with their lives in the United States was resoundingly greater. For 51 respondents, their rights in the United States are of greatest importance, and for eight respondents, seven men and one woman, said that both sets of rights and duties were equally important, even when they had little opportunity to practice them in their homeland or from the United States. The outlier was a woman who asserted the primacy of her Salvadoran rights. Table 5.3 tallies their responses in such regard.

Table 5.3. Importance of Rights and Duties in El Salvador vs. U.S. by Gender

Rights and Duties in El Salvador vs. U.S.	Gender		Total
	Men	Women	
Rights and duties in El Salvador	0.00%	3.33%	1.67%
	(0)	(1)	(1)
Rights and duties in El Salvador and USA	23.33	3.33	13.33
	(7)	(1)	(8)
Rights and duties in USA	76.67	93.33	85.00
	(23)	(28)	(51)
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
	(30)	(30)	(60)

Respondents said that they exercised their right to carry a Salvadoran passport, and that they preferred to use it instead of their U.S. passport to enter their homeland. Most of them have registered their children at the Consulate of El Salvador, enabling their daughters and sons to have access to Salvadoran citizenship. Clearly, Salvadoran citizenship continues to have a historical and socio-cultural meaning to them. At the same time, the rights and duties acquired in the United States regulated their existence in the most significant ways. Thus, respondents in my study upheld their Salvadoran citizenship, confirming results from another study (Escobar 2004), which reported that the acquisition of a second citizenship by dual citizens does not dampen their ties to their homelands.

Occupationally, nowadays, a large majority of men and women work in white collar jobs. As many men are business owners as blue collar job workers. The same pattern applies for women. One man and one woman experience unstable employment or are occupationally disabled. Table 5.4 provides the exact numbers. Compared to their occupational situation in El Salvador, the majority of respondents have had occupational mobility since their arrival in the United States. They have been able to assimilate into the labor market of the globalized economy of the United States. Thus, they have been able to restore their class-location as part of the middle and working classes at their destinations in the Washington metropolitan area. Early on, Salvadoran forced migrants identified education as an important variable in their assimilation process; however, access to educational and career-building opportunities was unequally available to them, as is reflected in the occupational distribution shown in the following table. Namely, those who arrived as young migrants had enrolled in public schools and been able to

acquire the English language skills required to enhance one's occupational opportunities in the U.S. labor market. The same can be said about young adults who also gained English language proficiency and pursued studies beyond high school.

Table 5.4. Present Occupation in U.S. by Gender ($N = 60$)

| Occupation | Gender | | |
	Men	Women	Total
White collar	60.00%	73.33%	66.67%
	(18)	(22)	(40)
Blue collar	20.00	10.00	15.00
	(6)	(3)	(9)
Business	16.67	13.33	15.00
	(5)	(4)	(9)
Odd jobs or unemployed	3.33	3.33	3.33
	(1)	(1)	(2)
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
	(30)	(30)	(60)

In all the years, neither the government of the United States nor the government of El Salvador has expressly acknowledged the experience of Salvadoran forced migrants as distinct victims of U.S.-supported autocratic regimes in El Salvador, with one quite narrow exception. Such exception is represented by those Salvadorans, including one man [Q08] in my study, who benefitted from the ABC decision.

Conclusions

This chapter reveals that since their arrival in the United States, respondents were stratified by legal status, which contributed to determine their unequal access to valued resources and to the mobility mechanisms provided under immigration law. The mode and date of entry into the United States determined their legal status and the mobility

mechanisms available to the respondents over the course of the last three decades. In the process of legalizing their presence in the United States, respondents were stratified as undocumented, as holding conditional or renewable temporariness, as permanent residents, and as citizens. Their legal status, in turn, determined the respondents' access to social, civil and political rights in the United States, contributing to shape thereby their segmented assimilation in the United States.

As an important step in the legalization process, respondents achieved permanent residency primarily through the social ties that made them eligible for such legal status. Via residency, men and women were able to overcome living clandestinely as undocumented persons, in conditional temporariness as asylum applicants, or in renewable temporariness as TPS recipients. This conclusion dispels the myth that for all migrants immigration reform is the primary manner of legalizing their presence. Instead, it is mainly through social ties that respondents were able to bind their permanence in the United States.

In contrast with other immigrants, the men and women in my study pursued U.S. citizenship primarily in search for their "right to security," as a way of diminishing their social vulnerabilities in the United States. The right to security is defined as the freedom to establish, rebuild, and sustain dignified lives in their adopted homeland. For the most part, women interpreted the acquisition of citizenship in terms of activist mothering, while for men, U.S. citizenship offered new opportunities to restore their patriarchal status. Furthermore, contrary to the reported pattern of low naturalization rates among Salvadoran-origin migrants, respondents in my study actively sought U.S. citizenship.

Finally, the chapter reveals that the decision of respondents to become U.S. citizens was unproblematic for them because they are able to hold dual citizenship. U.S. citizenship was interpreted as an "additive citizenship" (Coutin 2003).

The next chapter reports on the civic and political participation which accompanied the legalization process of Salvadoran forced migrants in the United States.

CHAPTER 6

CIVIC AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The purpose of this chapter is to ascertain the ways in which Salvadoran forced

migrants participate politically and civically, and to identify how women's participation

differs from men's, in relation to both the United States and El Salvador. Respondents

had fled armed violence in El Salvador between 1976 and 1991. Electoral fraud was

commonplace and the state faced a well-organized and relentless opposition in the 1970s.

Subsequently, the opposition organizations waned as state repression surged and then

persisted, and armed conflict broke out, pitting the armed forces of the government

against insurgent forces united in the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front.

The respondents were familiar with and active in formal and informal ways in the

extremely polarized and confrontational politics of El Salvador. Furthermore, there was a

high degree of personal risk associated with non-electoral political participation in El

Salvador. Respondents encountered a different context in the United States, including the

practice of civic volunteerism and a wide array of non-electoral means to participate

politically. Gerstle (2006) contends that immigrants can acquiesce in host countries,

coping with the concomitant discrimination and marginality. They can eagerly pursue

displays of patriotism to demonstrate their good faith, sometimes affecting thereby their

surrounding context. They can also establish new institutions and devise their own

approaches to turn their host country into their adopted home. To an extent, all three

approaches are to be found among the respondents of my study, as will be described in this chapter.

The sections of this chapter that follow first describe the overall participation of Salvadoran forced migrants. Next the chapter delves into the various formal and informal, electoral and non-electoral ways of participating civically and politically in relation to the United States and El Salvador. However, barriers to the civic and political participation of Salvadoran forced migrants continue to exist, as this chapter reports at the end.

<u>Civic and Political Engagement in the</u>
<u>United States and El Salvador</u>

As newcomers who were, for the most part, undocumented and lacking English language skills, Salvadoran forced migrants found themselves automatically excluded from institutional forms of exercising their political rights in the Washington metropolitan area. The various stratified positions of respondents as unprotected and vulnerable migrants upon arrival served to heighten inclusion or exclusion in their places of destination (Chow 2010). The experiences of armed violence in El Salvador, however, failed to dampen prospects for their civic and political participation in the United States. They were able to transfer their pre-migration political awareness and activism, continuing both in the United States (White et al. 2008). To be sure, the pre-migration political competences of some respondents helped them establish self-help groups and service agencies upon arrival in the Washington metropolitan area. Soon these migrants also acquired proficiencies with civic institutions and the political system in the United States (White et al. 2008). Their cumulative experience with the political system in their

destinations served them to devise their own approaches to exercising their citizenship in El Salvador and the United States.

The following two tables show the relative relevance of various kinds of civic and political participation of respondents in my study, both oriented towards the United States and El Salvador. An active civic and political interest among the respondents is documented, both in their places of destination in the United States and toward their places of origin in El Salvador. For a majority of the respondents, the nature of their engagements corresponded to their "additive citizenship" experience. The tables confirm the importance of studying the diverse forms of participation by migrant men and women in their host countries (Bass and Casper 2001; Lister 2003; White et al. 2008). The various kinds of engagement detailed in the tables ultimately represent ways of influencing the political contexts experienced by the respondents. Furthermore, each kind of participation, whether formal or informal, electoral or non-electoral, requires a different level of effort (White et al. 2008).

Table 6.1 classifies the engagement of respondents toward the United States into five categories: advocacy, civic volunteering, partisan activities, activism with Salvadoran self-help and service organizations, and electoral voting. As can be seen, more women than men engage in advocacy and civic volunteerism, and more men than women participate in the activities of political parties. Men and women participate equally in U.S. elections and via Salvadoran self-help and service organizations in the Washington metropolitan area. Thus, the table confirms that partisan activities are dominated by men and reinforces the view that women's participation is inclined towards civic institutions and community organizations (Lister 2003; Naples 1996). Moreover, on

the one hand, the table reflects the pre-migration gendered participation, which women and men transferred via migration. On the other hand, the table also shows the empowerment of some women via migration, to the extent that they are represented in partisan activities that have been traditionally dominated by men.

Table 6.1. U.S. Civic and Political Activities by Gender ($N = 59$)

	Gender	
U.S. Activities	Men	Women
Advocacy	17	22
Civic volunteering	10	19
Partisan activities	21	14
Salvadoran self-help/service organizations	9	8
Voting	24	25

Note: Respondents reported participation in one or more civic or political activities.

Table 6.2 distributes participants in accordance with their kinds of post-migration civic and political participation oriented towards El Salvador. Post-migration participation has been classified into four kinds: advocacy, activism with Salvadoran homeland organizations, partisan activities, and electoral voting. The table shows that men dominate the advocacy activities. Men and women are equally involved in activities oriented towards El Salvador, both in terms of partisan activities and via homeland organizations. In relation to voting, more women than men use their time and financial resources to vote in El Salvador. One study (Coffé and Bolzendahl 2010) found that women have a greater inclination to vote than men in Western industrialized nations. An

equal number of men and women show no civic or political participation towards El

Salvador, as Tables C.2 and C.3 in Appendix C show.

Table 6.2. El Salvador Civic and Political Activities by Gender (*N* = 48)

	Gender	
El Salvador Activities	Men	Women
Advocacy	4	1
Salvadoran homeland organizations	18	17
Partisan activities	8	8
Voting	2	5

Note: Respondents reported participation in one or more civic or political activities.

Thus, Table 6.2 reveals that the post-migration participation of men and women

towards El Salvador is different in important ways from their engagement towards the

United States. The table indicates that women have been empowered to engage in

partisan activities and institutional politics via voting in the homeland. Also, men have

increased their participation civic or community engagement and advocacy (Lister 2003).

However, as will be seen further, men's roles in hometown associations put them in

contact with the elected leaders of El Salvador, at the national and local levels. Thus there

is a change in form, but not a change in the nature of the engagement; it is, therefore, still

dominated by men. Not all respondents are active both in the United States and El

Salvador. A small number of men and women participate in the United States alone. In

effect, their Salvadoran citizenship yielded to that of the United States (Gerstle 2006).

Both Tables 6.1 and 6.2 in combination reveal the differences in time and financial

resources men and women devote to engage civically and politically towards the United States and El Salvador.

The various kinds of civic and political participation are discussed in greater detail in the next sections of this chapter. The discussion has been grouped into Salvadoran self-help and service organizations, individual and collective advocacy, civic volunteerism, electoral participation, political campaigns, and El Salvador oriented organizations. Barriers to civic and political participation occupy the last section of this chapter.

<p style="text-align:center">Salvadoran Self-help and Service Organizations</p>

Prior to leaving El Salvador, about a third of the respondents had participated in sectoral organizations, particularly in student groups opposed to military regimes there. As such, they viewed themselves as part of the broad opposition movement in their homeland. The activism of about a dozen respondents continued uninterrupted upon their arrival in the United States. Regardless of their legal status, these Salvadoran forced migrants volunteered to organize self-help groups and service organizations as a way to redress their marginalization and exclusion from social, civic, and political rights (Marshall and Bottomore 1992). Their activism remained unaffected by their pre-migration experience and by their undocumented status in the United States. They assisted in the provision of essential services and advocated for immigrant rights.

Some of the abovementioned organizations are still operating today. They were critical in mobilizing Salvadorans for the large pro-immigration marches of 2005 and 2006 in Washington, D.C. In attendance in these marches were the earliest activists and volunteers of these organizations, some of whom were part of the sample in my study.

According to the accounts of respondents, arriving Salvadoran activists and their U.S. sympathizers sensitized people in the Washington metropolitan area to the violations of human rights law and humanitarian law in El Salvador. Additionally, together they advocated an end to U.S. military assistance to the Salvadoran government. In essence, the ultimate target of their political agency in the United States was the majority of the population in El Salvador. Indirectly, their agency sought to contribute to achieving social justice there, as these respondents recalled. Local institutions, particularly churches, in the Washington metropolitan area, sheltered a few Salvadoran forced migrants. Volunteer opportunities at these organizations abounded and attracted both Salvadoran forced migrants and sensitized U.S. citizens.

Eventually, the local organizations combined with similar ones existing nationwide into a loose, grassroots network, henceforth, the Solidarity Movement. Additionally, religious institutions came together into the so-called Sanctuary Movement. Their common ground was to be actively committed to human rights and non-U.S. intervention in El Salvador. Both the Solidarity and the Sanctuary Movements spanned the United States, contributing to create a relatively favorable environment for arriving Salvadorans. Several respondents in my study had been and continue to be committed to making common cause. One of them, a woman [Q38] who arrived in 1979 and who energetically volunteered with these organizations¸ described in detail the multiplicity of efforts that combined into the Solidarity and Sanctuary Movement:

> We saw the need for Salvadorans to become organized, for Salvadorans to establish offices to give out information and guidance. That is, we brought the churches in . . . to support us . . . so that we could facilitate the arrival of those who were coming, the thousands that had started to come, right? . . . We offered many things for free. We were able to get lawyers. Churches that would . . . give

us guidance. . . . We worked very hard building movements of students, also to generate movements of Salvadoran people, U.S. citizens, the churches [. . .] We used to organize enormous protests until well, thank God, until the peace accords happened . . . From there on, another struggle began, right? [Q38]

The Mt. Pleasant neighborhood of Washington became the site for the offices of these Salvadoran self-help groups and service organizations. Several respondents said they volunteered and continue to participate in these organizations. Specifically, CARECEN, the Central American Refugee Center, now the Central American Resource Center, was founded in 1981 to provide legal services to those fleeing armed violence in Central America. The Clínica del Pueblo, was established in 1983 as a one-room clinic, one night per week, with one volunteer doctor, to address the health care needs of Salvadorans and other Central Americans leaving their war-torn countries that decade. CRECE, the Central American Refugee Committee, was a self-help organization, which no longer functions today, as confirmed by one respondent. Casa de Maryland in nearby Takoma Park was founded in 1985 to help primarily Salvadorans settling in Maryland suburbs near the capital.

Men pointed out the value of these organizations in terms of contributing to their ongoing political awareness about events and developments in their homeland. They spoke of the role that these organizations played in pressing for immigrant rights and in their own legalization processes. They also pointed out that CRECE offered empathy, hopes, and support to them and to other Salvadorans. To be sure, CARECEN and CRECE provided respondents with significant learning experiences in terms of the political system of the United States, as the quotes below indicate.

Yes, for example, I go with CARECEN on marches that it organizes, all the marches that it organizes, I go. Well, eh . . . if it is necessary for me to leave my

job early, I do so [. . .] Recently, they organized one and I went. I asked permission to leave work early and went; it was at 4:00 p.m. [. . .] I remember when I had just arrived we marched from about here to the White House, with CARECEN, yes. [Q07]

So above all, I participated through CARECEN and that is where I have gotten to know [. . .] the persons who… ran for public office, everything about TPS [Temporary Protected Status] [. . .] And of course, it was an organization that was and is very linked to the situation experienced in El Salvador then and now. [Q16]

Well when I came here [. . .] CARECEN had been recently created and I was part of the CARECEN volunteers . . . I was part of . . . CRECE, another organization that helped recently arrived people, and it was nice because we used to get together, share our experiences and also our hopes to one day see change in our country in order to return there. [Q28]

Women underscored the opportunities for socialization that being part of the abovementioned organizations provided. One woman [Q35] said she had volunteered out of a "need to be involved with other Salvadorans, in touch with [her] compatriots." Another one [Q47] echoed this view, admitting: "I [came] seeking out my folks, my people that departed, and I [came] seeking them out, seeking solidarity." Moreover, staff and volunteers of these organizations joined to help others. Women noted that helping others made their lives meaningful. As one [Q36] remarked: "Our life made sense once again."

The abovementioned organizations were veritable schools for civic and political participation in the United States. For example, respondents organized to address their needs, volunteered to help others, reached out to people and institutions to educate, lobby and advocate, and mobilized for marches and other visible activities. Also evident in the statements made by respondents is that activism with more than one organization reinforced their commitments and their learning experiences. For example, a few

respondents volunteered with CARECEN and were part of CRECE. A similar pattern prevailed among members of sectoral organizations in El Salvador (Almeida 2008, 2004).

Implicit in the remarks made by respondents in my study is the clustering of Salvadorans in the Mt. Pleasant neighborhood, which was an important contributing factor to the establishment of CARECEN, la Clínica del Pueblo and CRECE there. This neighborhood is where many of the Salvadoran forced migrants arrived in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The establishment of Casa de Maryland in a suburb of Washington in 1985 signaled the start of a new settlement pattern in the metropolitan area.

Since then, many Salvadoran forced migrants have moved into the suburbs that surround the District of Columbia. Those who remain living in the Mt. Pleasant neighborhood or closely nearby reveal the continued challenge of organizing and exerting political influence in the city. Their long-time exclusion and marginalization from the African American-dominated power structure in the city remains. Their efforts to affect their unequal position continue as documented below.

As Bloemraad (2007) notes, shared origins, similar migration experiences, common language, and heritage constitute strong bases for the establishment of these Salvadoran self-help groups and service organizations. These variables are necessary but insufficient in this particular case study. The key condition was their common pre-migration political orientation and/or political will that brought together these Salvadoran activists and volunteers. They were directly or loosely connected to the sectoral organizations in El Salvador. Furthermore, as they recounted, these respondents had been victims of state repression and/or had relatives, friends, and neighbors who were

detained, disappeared, displaced, or killed by Salvadoran military and security forces. Their approach represented an obligation to give back.

<p style="text-align: center;">Advocacy</p>

Education, health care, and immigration matters constitute the main concerns that guided the advocacy of respondents in my study. Over the last three decades, women have demonstrated broad concern for the wellbeing of children and youth, particularly in the Mt. Pleasant neighborhoods of Washington, and for public education more generally in the metropolitan area. The need to address health care among Salvadorans led to the establishment of the Clínica del Pueblo, as indicated earlier. Over the same three decades, respondents living in the District of Columbia, Virginia and Maryland have pressed for immigration reforms to prevent deportations and to provide Salvadoran non-citizens with a stable legal status and a path to citizenship.

Respondents worked vigorously to obtain the necessary resources for publicly funded daycare centers and for the betterment of public schools in the District of Columbia. They were involved in collective activities as parents and as employees of daycare centers and schools serving the Salvadorans and others living in the city. One woman [Q34] recounted the multiple times that she attended school board meetings to press for the allocation of funds to complete the construction of her children's school. Another woman [Q44] did the same to demand quality education for the children of mostly immigrant, low-income or single-parent families, a majority of them of Salvadoran origin. As a mother of daughters enrolled in bilingual programs in D.C.

public schools, one respondent [Q51] said that she had "struggled a lot to maintain bilingual education."

Among respondents, a few women had been or continue to be volunteers of the Clínica del Pueblo. In addition to providing medical services, the organization's staff and volunteers work to create awareness about the illnesses prevalent in the Latino community and ways to prevent or treat them. They also offer guidance and referrals in dealing with any health matters. Although initially staffed by Salvadorans and U.S. professionals, with a predominantly Salvadoran clientele, this service organization as well as other similar ones in the Mt. Pleasant area, have gradually become multi-ethnic, reflecting diverse migratory flows into the Washington metropolitan area.

In the Mt. Pleasant neighborhood, a number of local issues over the years mobilized Salvadoran businesses and increasingly multi-ethnic residents, sometimes jointly, other times in opposition. Respondents have participated in town hall meetings, have approached local elected officials, and have pressed for their demands when local community affairs have concerned them in the Washington metropolitan area. Respondents claimed victory in cases of police abuse and construction debris on public streets in Mt. Pleasant, and in restraining anti-immigrant sentiment in public debates on local issues in Virginia.

Additionally, respondents detailed their participation in drives to register people to vote and to help complete applications for TPS, NACARA, and U.S. citizenship. Other pro-immigration activities encompassed street fairs, marches, vigils, and visits to lobby members of Congress. "We participate," one woman [Q52] explained, "because we want these people to have citizenship." She added: "We want them to be 'legal,' and to come

out of the shadow, to stop living clandestinely, to cease to feel they do not belong to anything, right?"

A few respondents had also participated decades ago in bolder grassroots activities, such as hunger strikes and massive protests calling for the respect for human rights and objecting to U.S. intervention in El Salvador then. These more confrontational public activities required them to take a certain degree of personal risk as non-citizens years ago. One man spoke of participating in a hunger strike. A woman remembered attending big demonstrations in Washington. In the 1980s, the El Salvador protest marches were mainly organized by CISPES, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, an organization that was mentioned in passing by several respondents. Still another woman recounted how a U.S. activist had warned her to avoid arrest in the course of participating in street protests. "Never allow yourself to be arrested because you are not a citizen," she [Q55] was advised. That is when the respondent reported saying to herself: "As soon as I can, I will become a citizen."

Respondents who are familiar with individual rights in the United States find themselves drawn into protecting or assisting other Salvadorans known to them or encountered by them in public places. They defend or help voluntarily. Several anecdotes were supplied pointing to the empathy felt by respondents towards compatriots in their interactions with public authorities, service providers, and private businesses.

> Many people rent apartments and do not get their security deposit back. So when it was a case of not returning it to this young man, he did not speak up because he does not speak English. I went to speak on his behalf with the manager and fought to see that it was given to him. [Q25]

> I like helping others out, for example, I help where sometimes . . . our people are poorly treated due to lack of English proficiency. Eh, on several occasions I have had to . . . to meddle to defend our people. [Q60]

With regards to monetary donations, it is difficult to ascertain the level of monetary contributions respondents made to civic and political activities focused on El Salvador or the United States. Clearly their donations are an additional aspect of their participation. Many respondents said that they had supported monetarily political candidates in the United States, or non-profit organizations oriented towards raising funds to assist various community projects in El Salvador.

Moreover, phone calls and letters have traditionally been used in private advocacy efforts. Today, the Internet provides its users with an additional dimension of opportunities to engage in less visible private and collective advocacy, or cyberparticipation. Women in Western industrialized nations have been found to prefer private advocacy (Coffé and Bolzendahl 2010), such as cyberparticipation allows. In my study, men and women reported making phone calls and writing letters upon specific requests, usually distributed via e-mail. Additionally, they engage with others or privately via the Internet in support of civic and political activities. "Always, anytime I can," said one respondent [Q11], "I send emails or letters to my representatives on matters that I think are of greatest relevance to the Latino community, and also to the community where I live." Respondents reported using e-mail to press for immigration reform, health care, or more generally other Latino related issues. They have also been activated to attend public events in response to invitations distributed via the Internet. Furthermore, in turn, they retransmit invitations to others who they believe share the same or similar concerns. Both men and women are engaged in cyberparticipation.

Advocacy offers respondents in my study a flexible manner to participate civically and politically in the United States, thereby affecting public policies and the allocation of public resources. It represents a way of giving-back to improve their various communities. However, advocacy encompasses a great variety of activities, some more or less confrontational, collective, and public.

Women reported involvement in advocacy to press for high-quality day care and public schools, health care services, and immigration reforms that offer immigrants a path to citizenship. Men's advocacy was in support of immigration reforms.

Respondents are able to gauge the level of their participation in advocacy activities, depending on the availability of time and financial resources on the one hand, and on the requirements involved in particular activities or responses on the other hand. Respondents had experienced high-risk in their large-scale public activities in the context of polarized and confrontational politics in El Salvador. In the United States, advocacy generally carries a low-risk to the extent that it refrains from escalating to a confrontation with authorities. Overall, respondents transferred their pre-migration advocacy but also via exposure acquired new ways of participating in advocacy in the United States.

Civic Volunteerism

The acquisition of permanent legal status and subsequently citizenship and the development of English language competence have enabled respondents to volunteer in the public schools attended by their sons and daughters. Respondents are aware that being active in their children's schools affects the perception that teachers and administrators have of their students. One respondent [Q01] pointed out: "One has to get involved in

order to . . . really, so that one's children are regarded differently and respected more."

More women than men spoke of volunteering in the public schools of their children and

of being engaged at a higher level of commitment. These respondents realized the great

disadvantage of other parents who are inactive in their children's schools. It is likely that

legal status influences the level of volunteerism in public institutions. What seems clear is

that respondents use civic volunteerism as a way of signaling their willingness to

assimilate, and in the case of public schools, in the interest of children. Women exhibit

thereby activist mothering. Men also reported involvement in public schools yet their

approach underscores volunteerism as a citizen obligation that encompasses self-reliance,

participation and civic virtues (Kymlicka and Norman 1994).

Men made their presence known at the public schools of their children by being

active members of the Parent-Teacher Association (PTA), by getting to know school staff

at various levels and by serving as translators and interpreters during evening activities

organized for parents. For their part, women recounted more substantial engagement with

public schools such as volunteering during the daytime, teaching Spanish language, and

serving in PTA leadership positions. For women, the primary goal of such volunteerism

is clearly the wellbeing of their own children in public schools. One respondent keeps

this goal in mind when she volunteers even when her "otherness," she says, is palpable in

relation to the upper middle-class professional parents of most students in this particular

public school in Virginia. "I can feel it from other parents, who look down on one, so I

can feel a bit . . . out of place," she [Q58] commented, "but I go on because I know that it

is important for the education of my son, and to let the teachers know that they can count

on me, and that we are a team."

Places of worship offer respondents, irrespective of their legal status, ways in which to help fellow congregants and other religious communities in El Salvador. A number of respondents volunteer in this manner. Respondents spoke of involvement in religious instruction. One man encourages Salvadoran youth to pursue opportunities for personal development. Respondents are also concerned with offering services beneficial to their congregations, including guidance and skills development. "Here in the parish," noted one woman [Q39], "I organize workshops of all kinds, how to be a good citizen, how to apply for permanent residency in this country, for a work permit, how to apply for a driver's license, how to take care of one's health, for . . . for the wellbeing of families." Women's involvement in producing and reproducing good citizens via their private and public efforts was a recurrent theme in the interviews. Such statements represent the activist mothering orientation.

The pulpit has also served to engage the congregants in support of visiting religious groups from El Salvador. At churches, the respondents have also mobilized congregants in assisting victims of natural disasters in El Salvador. Reportedly, the pulpit was also instrumental in mobilizing Latinos in massive pro-immigration reform demonstrations in Washington in 2005 and 2006.

Public schools and places of worship represent important sites of civic volunteerism for men and women in my study. To such an extent, White et al.'s exposure hypothesis is relevant. None of the respondents had reported civic engagement in El Salvador; there were simply few if any opportunities in their contexts. In the United States, they learned to participate civically. Women and men participate differently. The

former from an activist mothering perspective, the latter from a citizen obligations

approach.

Electoral Participation

About one fourth of the respondents were too young to vote in El Salvador prior

to their arrival in the United States, and an additional number were eligible to vote but

left before they had the opportunity to participate in scheduled elections. Several of those

who were old enough to vote in the 1972, 1977 or 1984 elections in El Salvador spoke of

electoral fraud and of disappointment in the political system at the time. They commented

on the futility of elections when moderate presidential candidates were cheated out of an

electoral victory and thereby prevented from taking office. As a result, one respondent

[Q24] declared that his support of these candidates had been futile, saying: "The only

vote that I had offered to my country had been useless." A woman [Q37], whose father

had been involved in Salvadoran politics, told of observing as identification cards were

taken away from opposition supporters at the polling station in order to prevent them

from voting. One man [Q28] remembered how his ballot was invalidated and a woman

[Q55] recounted how her hand and credential had been stamped as if she had voted

before she was told that there were no ballots available to cast her vote.

> I was going to vote and they already knew that I would not vote for [the ruling
> party], and a soldier approached me and hit me in the hand [. . .] so that I would
> mark the entire ballot. So I really did not vote, in other words, the ballot was
> eliminated. [Q28]

> I was asked for my ID and I was very happy because I was going to vote, because
> I was always saying ... that . . . my rights had to be respected. Next the woman put
> a stamp on my credential, and then put a stamp on my hand, and when I asked:
> "Where is my ballot because I want to vote?" "There are no more ballots," she
> said. [Q55]

The general disappointment with electoral fraud led other respondents to refrain from participating in Salvadoran elections as a matter of principle. One woman [Q38] remarked about the futility of voting. "It was a waste of time to vote because governments were imposed," she said, "As much as you voted and as much as the people you had elected won, there was no change." Repeatedly, respondents confirmed their distrust in elections as an effective means of influencing the political system in El Salvador. One man [Q18] explained his rejection of elections like this: "We did not want to be part of . . . of a political lie, in which there was talk of elections, but elections were never respected."

The respondents' frustration with the electoral system in El Salvador did not remain unchanged. Instead, upon becoming U.S. citizens, men and women turned to participation in U.S. elections. Thus, their exposure to the political system in the United States fostered their electoral behavior. For many, electoral participation in the United States was their first experience. Their views regarding elections underwent a turnaround as statements below exemplify. In this sense, pre-migration experiences did not adversely affect their electoral behavior in the United States, even though memories of autocratic regimes did not vanish, much as Ginieniewicz (2007) found to be the case among Latin American immigrants in Canada.

Respondents in my study became strong advocates for electoral participation in the United States and in El Salvador, assisting CARECEN in voter registration efforts. They believe that each vote is important, that a vote can make a difference, and that voting is a way for citizens to be heard. One woman [Q42], who out of frustration with repeated electoral fraud in El Salvador had decided not to vote again, said she realized

her mistake years later, once in the United States. "It is a mistake for one not to . . . not to make one's vote count," she affirmed, "because even if it is only one, any person who does not vote is a lost vote [. . .]. "Even if not acknowledged publicly," she continued, "[Salvadoran authorities] did know how many people were against them and who had voted against them, right?"

Practically all the respondents who became U.S. citizens said that from the moment they obtained the right to vote, they have voted in national elections. Studies have shown differential registration and voting rates among immigrants in the United States depending on country of origin (Bass and Casper 2001). Such rates for Salvadoran-origin citizens are low. However, the reported pattern is not consistent with the findings of my study, suggesting that additional variables influence the differential voting rates among Salvadoran-origin citizens in the United States.

As many men as women vote in the United States, illustrating their similar assimilation in this particular regard. Respondents are involved in presidential elections but less so when elections concern only local elected offices and issues. One young mother [Q58], however, expressed guilt at not having been more involved in the last state and local elections, particularly because anti-immigrant measures and other local issues affect her life in considerable ways, as she explained:

> But I know that I am missing out in becoming educated and who knows why . . . this affects the schooling of my children, affects . . . I heard rumors that Governor [Bob McDonnell] does not want to allow people with TPS [Temporary Protected Status] to obtain driver's licenses, and I have many relatives, and there are many people with TPS, my husband has TPS. If he is unable to get a driver's license, he cannot work because the company requires a driver's license. [Q58]

For the most part, respondents in my study registered to vote during or immediately after the citizenship ceremony. Most of them claimed to have registered as Democrats and to vote accordingly, but not necessarily blindly. A few respondents reported having registered as Republican and mostly voting as such. Another few are registered as independent.

Respondents are aware of the contributions of some political candidates elected into offices. They said to respect candidates who advocate and follow through on their campaign promises on issues of relevance to them. They acknowledge the contributions of Salvadoran-origin politicians; a few have even switched political allegiances to vote for candidates who share their concerns and points of view. One respondent [Q14] quoted below referred to the track record of Maryland Delegates Ana Sol Gutiérrez (District 18 in Montgomery County) and to the personal history of Arlington County Board Member J. Walter Tejada (Virginia). A second respondent [Q25] spoke of having voted at times for Republican candidate Thomas M. Davis, III, to represent District 11 in Virginia's House of Representatives. Another respondent [Q59] revealed her attentiveness to Latino candidates running for public office. Her support is forthcoming only if what they stand for is acceptable to her.

> We have the case of Ana Sol Gutiérrez. She struggles a lot for the rights of students; also for persons without legal documents, without migration documents, to be able to have driver's licenses [. . .] We have the case of Walter Tejada, in Arlington County, who is a person that I have seen since he was . . . a community activist, as a common person [. . .] and who slowly and through his own effort, dedication and determination has been able to move up. [Q14]

> Eh . . . I am not an automatic Democrat. Tom Davis has been a Republican candidate all the time, but he has helped in many ways, in supporting [U.S.] assistance to El Salvador, in support of TPS, well, he has done many things for El Salvador, and that is why I voted for him a couple of times. [Q25]

I am happy when I see Latinos [. . .] sometimes they are not Republican [. . .] Truth is, maybe that's unimportant. [. . .] When I see that that a Hispanic is offering something good for . . . for Hispanics [. . .] because we are less represented [. . .] If I think that the person is inadequate, I will not vote for him. [Q59]

One respondent offered his observation regarding the existence of two political parties in the United States whose political positions, to him, seemed virtually the same. In contrast, he pointed to the existence of greater differences among some political parties in El Salvador, highlighting the existence of one that favors the poor majority, the FMLN. His view appeared to be shared by some of the other respondents.

A few respondents have flown occasionally or frequently to El Salvador to participate in elections. One of them [Q29] described the festive-like mood: "When I am there for elections, it is a get-together for us as a family; we go to vote for the party of our choice." If voting in Salvadoran elections were not a financial burden or otherwise an inconvenience, it is likely that a greater number of respondents would have liked to have done so in past elections, or to do so in future ones. Indeed, some respondents stated that they were unable to travel to vote in Salvadoran elections, mostly due to lack of funds, or scheduling difficulties. Instead, they try from their homes in the Washington metropolitan area to convince their relatives in El Salvador to go cast their ballots. It is noteworthy to point out that these are only a couple of examples of how respondents have used their exposure to the political system in the United States to influence electoral behavior and outcomes in El Salvador.

Interestingly, more women (5) than men (2) among the respondents reported having traveled to vote in Salvadoran elections. These women set aside the time and financial resources to do so, on the one hand. On the other hand, most of them also

engage in partisan activities, which likely reinforce their commitment to vote in El Salvador. Thus, these few women are active in a form of political participation that has been the domain of men. It remains to be seen if their partisan participation in Salvadoran elections contributes to make such participation "women-friendlier." With regards to men, although more men (8) than women (5) are engaged in partisan activities, only two men have traveled to vote in Salvadoran elections, likely a reflection of their role as the main breadwinners in their respective households.

The 2009 presidential elections in El Salvador interested many of the respondents. A former television reporter, Mauricio Funes, ran as the presidential candidate of the FMLN, the leftist party of the country's former guerrillas, and won. He is the first FMLN candidate who is not a former guerrilla commander. The election outcome raised the hopes of a majority of Salvadorans, including many respondents, and marked a turning point after two decades of rule by the rightist National Republican Alliance (ARENA) party. The significance of the FMLN's electoral victory was highlighted by one respondent [Q45], who declared: "I voted for the same cause that my brother died for, and my whole family voted, well, for the left, for it was a promise that we had to keep in memory of my brother who died for the cause that he loved."

To be sure, the respondents have learned much in the United States, as they have assimilated U.S. electoral behavior. Such learning has also led some of the respondents to participate in Salvadoran elections and to influence other Salvadorans to do the same. While men and women fully participate in national elections in the United States, their electoral participation in El Salvador is unequal, depending on time and financial resources.

Political Campaigns

As mentioned earlier, considerably more respondents reported having registered as Democrats than as Republicans, and a few said to have registered as independent. Respondents who are affiliated to the Democratic Party explained their choice in terms of their own orientation and experiences. One man [Q20] said that the Democratic Party was closer to marginalized constituencies, while a woman [Q46] thought it supportive of immigrant rights. Similar opinions were manifested by other respondents in my study.

> I conceived of the Democratic Party as one that in this country was, eh . . . closer to the needs of marginalized persons, and we belonged to a marginalized community, as undocumented, eh, . . . whose rights, including political asylum, were being denied. [Q20]

> It is more out of hope that I belong to the Democratic Party, that they will do more for immigrants and to change foreign policy too. [Q46]

For a few respondents, their prior familiarity and comfort with political candidates drove them to get involved in the candidates' political campaign. The candidates are the former District of Columbia Mayors Adrian Fenty and Marion Barry; Wilma Harvey, President of the Board of Education of the District of Columbia; Maryland Delegates Ana Sol Gutiérrez (District 18 in Montgomery County) and Víctor Ramírez (District 47 in Prince George's County); Montgomery County Council Member Nancy Navarro (Maryland); and Arlington County Board Member J. Walter Tejada (Virginia), and Arlington Commissioner of Revenue Ingrid Morroy (Virginia). Their labors during these campaigns contributed to electoral victory for the candidates.

> So for her, we had gone knocking door to door and speaking about her. [. . .] Who knows how many times I went out. I helped. I helped a lot. [Q01]

> I participated in campaigns [. . .] even before I became a citizen. Already in 1988, I participated in the political campaigns for mayoral and the council positions in . . . in Washington. [Q20]

> Recently I have been supporting the campaign of Nancy Navarro . . . She inspires me as a Latina, as a woman who demonstrates that we as Latinos can excel and that we have the [. . .] strength. [Q40]

Several men and women among the respondents in my study actively promoted Democratic presidential candidate Barack Obama. His personal story and his campaign promises, which overlapped with the main concerns of respondents (immigration, health care, and education), won the support of most respondents. Additionally, a few respondents were also involved in his campaign beyond the Washington metropolitan area. Their involvement contributed to his presidential victory in contested locations.

> We put up signs everywhere [….] It was very emotional because we knew that he is a descendant of an immigrant person, and that his studies and intelligence have gotten him to where he is. [Q23]

> Yes, for Obama's campaign, I was working in Virginia – which is a state where it was believed that Obama would lose – . . . knocking door to door. I would take about 15 to 20 persons from D.C. all the way to Virginia to work there. [Q45]

A few female respondents were particularly troubled by having to choose between Democratic Party presidential hopefuls Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama during the primary elections. The inner conflict that these candidacies posed for women are reflected in the statements below. Comparing race/ethnic and gender disadvantages, respondents considered that of the two disadvantages, a white woman had a better chance of winning the presidential elections. The reason mentioned was the deep-seated stigma of race and ethnicity associated with Obama.

> There was a division among Salvadorans, whether to support Obama or to support Hillary Clinton. So, in my view, I would say, there is still a lot of discrimination against people of color. So, I looked at it from the point of view of who had greater possibilities of winning the presidential election, whether an Afro-

American or a White woman. In such regard, for me, Hillary Clinton had greater possibilities because of that taboo that still exists . . . the discrimination. And many persons said that, that, that, that no, that it was time for this matter to change. [Q46]

It hurt me that a Black man was preferred over a woman. For me, it's very personal, I am a feminist. Yes, women, we have struggled to have a place in society . . . It takes us double or triple to be accepted for jobs. [Q54]

The Obama campaign for change was able to inspire and mobilize several respondents in what they reported as the first and only time that they had helped in such a way in a presidential election. They were attracted by the profile of the candidate and by the stated priorities for his presidency. At the time of the interviews, it was too early into the presidential term to gauge among respondents the impact of the Obama administration's performance on the thematic priorities of the respondents (immigration, health care, and education). It is relevant to add that with regards to elected politicians in general, one of the criteria mentioned by respondents in my study was follow-through on campaign promises. To this extent, respondents will be examining the Obama record on immigration, health care, and education.

Months before the presidential campaign in the United States, the presidential candidacy of the FMLN party had also catalyzed the Salvadoran community in the Washington metropolitan area. The candidate had promised to govern moderately for "safe change," on the heels of two decades of rightist ARENA party governments. During his campaign, Mauricio Funes, the FMLN candidate, visited the Washington metropolitan area. He greeted and delivered speeches to audiences of Salvadorans living in the Washington metropolitan area. Several respondents participated and supported the

activities organized to introduce the presidential candidate to the Salvadoran communities in the metropolitan area and to raise funds for his political campaign.

Furthermore, many respondents followed the presidential raceand some traveled to support the FMLN presidential campaign, to serve as observers, and to vote in El Salvador. One respondent summarized the qualitative impact of a relatively small number of votes favoring the FMLN candidate:

> I think that on the 15th of March of this year [2009] there was an enormous transformation in the sense that . . . eh . . . the FMLN won the elections, although not by a large margin, by 70,000 votes. We see that it's not much, but . . . it makes an enormous difference, an enormous difference. [Q21]

Previously and since then, respondents have also worked to influence other political campaigns in El Salvador, particularly in support of candidates for elected offices in the Departments of Cabañas and Morazán. Reportedly, the Washington metropolitan area is home to the largest group of Salvadorans from Cabañas. In the case of Morazán, it is home to the largest number of Salvadorans hailing from the town of Intipucá. Thus, respondents hailing from Cabañas have supported the election of a teacher to a municipal council while those from Intipucá have endorsed the mayoral candidacy of Hugo Salinas, who had lived in the Washington metropolitan area.

> In Cabañas . . . for example, a person, who was an outstanding teacher, who grew up, worked, and volunteered, and then came to want to be a member of the municipal council, right? We have supported him. In campaigns, for example, calling a radio station from here . . . and signing a letter that yes, we are in favor of him. With donations, no . . . We have talked about it, but have not done that yet. [Q08]

> The only person that I have helped and supported a lot is Hugo Salinas. . . Eh . . . going to . . . the meetings that he had here to publicize his campaign and . . . and participating in the activities that he held here… for example, tours, parties and all such activities organized here. [Q23]

Respondents in my study participate in partisan activities in the United States as expected: More men than women are active in this manner. The number of women who engage in partisan activities, however, should be considered as it can suggest that political parties can attract and accommodate the participation of women in women-friendlier ways. One such important way, which women in my study acknowledged, is through the political candidacies of women. However, while important, political candidacies are not enough. Women's political representation in party politics is insufficient to turn practices dominated by men into ones that welcome women (Lister 2003).

In terms of political parties in El Salvador, the pattern is the same. More men than women actively participate with the FMLN party. Once again, the number of women who engage in partisan activities with the FMLN party should receive attention, particularly because more women set aside time and financial resources to travel to El Salvador to vote.

Silber and Viterna (2009) report that following the end of armed conflict in El Salvador, the FMLN, now a political party, initially shed its focus on incorporating women "as equals" into its ranks. This shift led women's organizations to become independent and to pursue feminist agendas. After successive defeats in presidential elections, the FMLN party adopted gendered policies, which have turned it into the party with the greatest number of women in the legislature and in the party national leadership of El Salvador. These same gendered policies and the candidacies of women seem attractive to respondents in my study. Thus, also the FMLN party in El Salvador has sought women-friendlier policies.

There is further consistency in terms of partisan participation in the United States and El Salvador. Men and women are inclined to membership in parties that they consider work for Latinos in the United States and for the disadvantaged majorities in El Salvador.

<center>Salvadoran Homeland Organizations</center>

Uniformly, respondents believe that human needs are greater in El Salvador compared to the United States, where public and private funds exist for social investment. This acknowledgement drives respondents' efforts to collect donations, raise funds, and otherwise care for their communities of origin in El Salvador. "We are very, very sentimental," explained one man [Q04], "we hear that . . . something happens in El Salvador and like crazy, we show up wanting to see what can be done."

The efforts of hometown associations target specific villages, or *cantones*, in their homeland. These associations encourage and sustain the highly localized cross-border relationships of Salvadoran forced migrants in the Washington metropolitan area. Through hometown associations, respondents in my study have been able to reestablish village-level bonds and to mobilize resources seeking to assist and improve the living conditions in their places of origin or communities of their choice.

Moreover, projects undertaken by hometown associations are generally perceived as non-political and non-partisan. Yet such associations are essentially substituting the role of the state in infrastructure development and in the support of public services. This view was driven home by one woman [Q32], who declared: "With our donations we have

helped [. . .] so that now [there are] the basic services: water, electricity, roads, eh . . .
also to improve schools, buy school supplies, and such."

Men dominate the leadership of hometown associations in the Washington
metropolitan area. Their leadership puts them in contact with representatives of the
government of El Salvador. These men have had a degree of access that would likely be
difficult to obtain for an ordinary citizen in El Salvador. Respondents have had to work
with local mayors and departmental governors to implement their projects in villages of
El Salvador. They have also had contact with officials of El Salvador's Ministries of
Treasury and Customs, Education, and Health in relation to materiel being introduced
into the country for use in educational installations or health facilities.

Hometown associations fundraise by promoting social and cultural events, where
pupusas, or Salvadoran stuffed corn flatbread, are served, and performers enact
traditional dances. A respondent [Q08] who leads one such group explained that the
group's activities help people deal with alienation and isolation, preventing them from
turning to alcohol and from spending their free time alone on weekends. "This helps you
to be more active in your personal life and to develop [. . .] to build coexistence," he
explained.

Hometown associations can also serve to mobilize support when disputes arise in
their places of origin. However, only one respondent provided an example: A letter to the
President of Pacific Rim was circulated for signature from Salvadorans in the United
States, to express concern over the adverse impact of the Canadian company's proposed
gold mining operations on the local environment and people in El Salvador. Such concern
has apparently become a genuine issue for his hometown association.

Among the respondents in my study were some who have been unable to establish hometown associations representing their places of origin. As a result, they have devised other options. One woman from the capital of San Salvador claimed to have established a non-profit devoted to assisting her mother's hometown. Another respondent, who did not find enough people from his village living in the Washington metropolitan area, chose to become involved in support of educational projects in El Salvador sponsored by a non-profit organization. Men and women were involved in these different homeland organizations. They were fundraising to establish science and computer laboratories in a region, to create jobs for older adults as a way of combating age discrimination prevalent in their homeland, providing access to the Internet, and improving parent-teachers relations in a particular community.

Respondents helping communities in El Salvador prefer to maintain their support for projects in El Salvador independent of any political party in their homeland. One respondent [Q25] told of how unbeknownst to the group, donations from a hometown association had been repackaged by government officials in bags stamped with the logo of the political party then in power. Homeland organizations are wary of a relationship with the governing party or any political party in El Salvador based on past experiences, as one man explained during the interview:

> The government, at least in the past, from time to time, used to come with their ideas, but it was mostly about how to extract money from the people . . . right? But in terms of the connections [to communities in El Salvador], it was managed [by the associations] . . . Ultimately, the government tried to take advantage from establishing closer ties, but it is the community itself that has developed all its . . . its connections. [Q30]

Organizing and fundraising efforts by respondents in my study continue apace. They spoke of being engaged in new groups for the advancement of Salvadoran women [Q38, Q52, Q53]; for Salvadoran professionals [Q21, Q35]; for indigenous peoples of El Salvador [Q21, Q45]; and to declare Washington a sanctuary in order for the police not to collaborate with immigration authorities [Q36]. They also claimed to be involved in building a coalition of organizations to press for the right to vote in Salvadoran elections from the United States [Q24]. Moreover, respondents band together in larger efforts when they have been called to fundraise for victims of natural disasters, such as earthquakes or heavy rains, no matter where in El Salvador. "It does not matter who we help wherever it happened," noted a respondent [Q08], "what's important is to help."

Respondents participate in multiple forms of civic and political participation simultaneously, which contributes to reinforcing the overall activism of these Salvadoran forced migrants. Such practice was already noted in Chapter 4 in relation to sectoral organizations in El Salvador. For example, one respondent who participates in the fundraising events of various hometown associations also attends events organized by groups supportive of the FMLN party. "So I think that it is . . . very nice really, not to only belong to a political party but to work with different organizations on various themes" opined one woman [Q46]," as long as they are of social relevance to our country, to our citizens, as much in El Salvador [as here] because many of these organizations work for the Central American, Latin American community here too."

Salvadoran immigrants involved in Salvadoran homeland organizations participate politically in the United States, which is also confirmed by another study (DeSipio N.d.). The reverse cannot be affirmed with data collected in my study. One

researcher suggests that the explanation for simultaneous participation in both countries may be found in the inclination of some immigrants towards organizational activism. Yet an alternative explanation may be plausible.

During the 1970s, Salvadorans were engaged in a massive grassroots organizational effort, and in the 1980s in the organization of the FMLN guerrillas that were militarily undefeated. To be sure, the pre-migration political awareness and participation of Salvadoran forced migrants is relevant to their own organizational efforts both towards the United States and El Salvador.

<p align="center">Barriers to Civic and Political Participation</p>

In the course of the interviews, respondents spoke of barriers to their civic and political participation. The main barriers that they identified related to the context of Washington, D.C., their legal status in the United States, and their gendered roles.

As noted in Chapter 4, respondents arrived to settle in the Mt. Pleasant neighborhood of Washington, D.C. They encountered an impenetrable and dismissive local government dominated by African Americans. Salvadoran forced migrants have made numerous efforts to achieve a level of influence in local politics, as described in this chapter. One example constitutes the support of several respondents in the political campaigns of Democratic Party candidates for the mayorship and council of the District of Columbia. Other examples are various advocacy efforts on local issues, including police harassment. To this day, Salvadorans living in the Mt. Pleasant area continue their organizing and mobilizing initiatives seeking to affect public policies and budget

allocations in the city. These efforts have yet to yield a representation and influence proportional to the size of the Salvadoran community.

Some respondents said that they became active once they acquired a legal status in the United States, primarily for fear of deportation. They were intent on limiting the personal risk of being detected and detained by immigration authorities. Thus, the lack of a legal status depressed the level of participation of the respondents in my study. One woman [Q46] explained how such participation was little and later changed substantially when she obtained a legal status: "We always used to eh… try to help a little, to participate to the extent to which we felt secure and after acquiring eh… residency, citizenship, we have participated a lot."

The barrier of legal status may explain the timing in the establishment of El Salvador oriented organizations, such as hometown associations. They were established years after the first grassroots organizations such as CARECEN, Clínica del Pueblo, CRECE, and Casa de Maryland appeared. Their creation may have coincided with the moment when Salvadoran forced migrants had started to acquire at least permanent residency in the United States. Residency contributed to their assimilation and upward mobility, also providing time and resources for them to carry out the establishment and activities of these organizations. Permanent residency also allowed their leaders and membership to travel and to reconnect to their places of origin. The establishment of the hometown associations was predicated on the outcome of outreach and fundraising activities in the United States and travel to El Salvador.

Women acknowledged that much of their time and energy is or has been devoted to their families living in the United States. Prioritizing families, they struggle or have

struggled with balancing their roles in and outside their homes. Invariably, the women who presently have open-ended household responsibilities spoke particularly of time constraints affecting their civic and political participation. Women interviewed worked outside the home.

> I am coming to the conclusion that really, I cannot do everything, that is, because what is happening is that my family suffers, that is, my children do not have as much attention as they need from me and all that. [Q49]

Even so, the data collected indicate that women are as active as men, but they are active differently than men, as reported in this chapter. Also, women regard raising children as a public responsibility that they carry out privately. They spoke of raising responsible, law-abiding, and upright citizens and of protecting their children from undergoing the pain and risks that they associate with armed violence.

> So I have to struggle for them, educate them politically, and that none of the bad things that happened to me, that I lived during the civil war, will ever happen to them, and I have to struggle on their behalf, and here I am active politically, I am involved, that is with policies here and also my life is here. [Q38]

Moreover, respondents stated that they had to scale down their civic and political participation when they turned to raise a family in the United States. They had to maintain the kind of participation that is compatible with their family priorities. If forced to choose, women said that they preferred to devote their attention to helping out compatriots residing in El Salvador. The reasons cited are two. First, they said that the needs are greater in El Salvador than in the United States. Second, the impact of their contribution is greater in the former than the latter. The statements below illustrate these points. One woman lists her priorities as raising a family and operating the two businesses that she owns. Another woman expresses her wish to participate more than she

presently does. Yet another woman explains how she is active again now that her

daughters are older.

> Sometimes I have been invited to El Salvador [. . .] but I have been unable to go because . . . due to having two small children, and I have two restaurants and much work and it does not allow me to leave. [Q31]

> I wish I could do more, I wish I could have more time to do more things [. . .] That is I work full time, have two children, am super busy [. . .] I wish I could do more for the country, the truth is the country has needs. Every time that I go, I . . . I . . . I . . . say . . . so many needs, no? The environment . . . a lot of things, poverty. [Q33]

> For many years I was quite inactive; my small daughters made it a bit more difficult . . . Now that my daughters are older, I have the opportunity to participate more and to help the new government in El Salvador more, to see what we can do to ensure that . . . that there be a real change in our country, that things change for the benefit of people. [Q46]

Women in my study are keenly aware of gender inequality and discrimination in

the United States. They advanced notions of equality almost exclusively in terms of their

roles in the workforce.

> It is impossible to believe that we live in the United States and that actually in accordance to the . . . the Department of Labor, eh, women earn $0.71 for every dollar that a man makes. So there are disparities, inequalities in this country. I would like to see these changed; that would be fantastic. [Q41]

> The case of the female who earns less than the male [. . .] Nowadays, a female works well there, in construction, next to the male. It's the same. She uses the same tools, although perhaps at moments they are more careful with the female. But she is performing, right? Practically similar work, so these things should not, there should not be a reason for . . . a difference in . . . wages, right? [Q50]

The statements by respondents illustrated only some of the barriers to their civic

and political participation in the United States. At least for the respondents in my study,

legal status no longer constitutes a barrier to their civic and political participation in the

United States and El Salvador. Even so, barriers remain, including time and financial

limitations, social, civic, and political inequality and exclusion, and the untouched patriarchial structures that continue to subordinate and oppress women.

To illustrate, at places of destination, men and women find institutional structures that remain inaccessible at the level of political parties and in local, state, and national governments. Respondents are welcomed in campaigns that serve to elect Democratic Party political candidates at local, state, and national levels. However, their participation does not translate into representation and influence within the Democratic Party or in government, or in the implementation of the kinds of policies that the candidates promised the Latino community in the United States. The same could be said in regards to El Salvador. Salvadoran forced migrants, men and women, face barriers in achieving the level of representation and influence that their contribution to El Salvador represents.

Conclusions

Men and women share the view that they have an obligation to give back to their communities by participating civically and politically in the United States and El Salvador. The findings in this chapter indicate that both the transfer and exposure hypothesis advanced by White et al. (2008) are at work in the civic and political participation of Salvadoran forced migrants in the Washington metropolitan area. As noted, both pre-migration experiences and exposure to the political system in the United States are relevant.

Salvadoran forced migrants brought with them to the Washington metropolitan area, their pre-migration, gendered political awareness and experience. In the Washington metropolitan area, the gendered practices served initially to create Salvadoran self-help

and service organizations, and later, Salvadoran homeland organizations. Both kinds of organizations have remained mostly under the leadership of men, irrespective of the view that the nature of their activities were of a "feminized" character, according to researchers. These organizations provided vehicles for the reaffirmation of gendered politics, particularly at a time when the political structures in Washington, D.C. were impenetrable and unresponsive. In particular, Salvadoran homeland organizations constitute the means for men and women in my study to maintain cross-border interactions between communities in the United States and El Salvador.

Exposure to the political system in the United States reinforced the gendered civic and political participation of respondents in this country, with some particularities. Women and men participate equally in U.S. elections, a gender-neutral practice promoted in association with the acquisition of U.S. citizenship. Public schools and places of worship are important sites for the civic volunteerism for men and women. While women approach volunteerism from their activist mothering perspective, men do so from a citizen obligations approach. More women than men engage in advocacy and civic volunteerism, while men engage in partisan activities in the United States.

In terms of partisan activities, more men than women participate with the Democratic Party, the party of choice of most respondents, and with the Republican Party in the United States. To involve more women, parties must adopt women-friendlier policies, beyond supporting women's political candidacies and party leadership roles. The FMLN party has reportedly done so. As many men as women in my study participate with the FMLN party in El Salvador. Men and women identify with these parties, they

say, because the Democratic Party has the interest of Latinos in mind, and the FMLN party seeks to favor the disadvantaged majorities in El Salvador.

The next chapter will discuss the sense of belonging of Salvadoran forced migrants in the United States, and will examine how men and women differ in this regard.

CHAPTER 7

SENSE OF BELONGING

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the nature and extent of belongingness in terms of the United States and El Salvador among respondents in my study. In particular, the chapter offers insights into how this aspect differs among men and women. Belongingness, or sense of belonging, is defined as the perception of membership and otherness in relation to the homeland and the host country.

Compelled to leave their homeland by armed violence, Salvadoran forced migrants arrived in the Washington metropolitan area seeking protection and enforcement of their "right to security," or freedom to establish, rebuild, and sustain dignified lives in the United States. They achieved this by acquiring U.S. citizenship and restoring their Salvadoran citizenship. At the same time, via laws and policies, both countries sought to control, coerce, and contain their presence. Today, these men and women contribute in diverse manners and to varied degrees, civically and politically, towards El Salvador and the United States. Such participation reflects the "giving-back obligation" felt by respondents towards disadvantaged communities left behind or communities in need in the United States. In this context, how is their sense of belonging towards the United States and El Salvador characterized? Is it different for men and women?

It must be remembered that Salvadoran forced migrants were considered "enemies" and "traitors" by the Salvadoran state for many years. For the U.S.

government, they were economic migrants or criminals who crossed the border and lived and worked without authorization in the United States. In this way, both states affected understandings of membership in their respective political communities. Only relatively recently the Salvadoran government admitted the significance of the remittances sent by these men and women for the economy. Later, the Salvadoran government created a department to handle transnational relations with the diaspora throughout the world. Emigrant Salvadorans came to be labeled by the gendered term of "distant brother." This chapter, however, addresses only their present sense of membership and otherness in relation to the United States and El Salvador.

This chapter considers the views expressed by respondents regarding their social and cultural relationship to El Salvador, their homeland, and to the United States, their "adopted homeland," "their second home." The chapter also considers the relationship of belongingness to the dual citizenship held and practiced by Salvadoran forced migrants. Next, on the flipside, the chapter presents the sense of otherness perceived by respondents. It ends by reviewing the respondents' main appeals to the United States and El Salvador. Throughout, differences in the perceptions of men and women are examined.

<div align="center">

The Heart of the Matter and
a Matter of the Heart

</div>

A person born in El Salvador, regardless of the place of birth and/or citizenship of the mother or father, is considered a citizen of the country by birth. Salvadorans by birth have the right to hold double or multiple citizenships. Respondents are aware of these provisions in the constitution of El Salvador and are pleased with what they regard as an

important validation of their identity. Respondents said that birth constitutes a landmark event linking them perpetually to El Salvador. Such a relationship is unchanging and lasting, irrespective of other events in the course of their lives. "I think that my heart is there where I was born," affirmed one man [Q07], "that is my home, yes." Another one [Q12] asserted the irrelevance of formal citizenship, saying that "what a paper states is one thing, but you know that inside of our hearts, we are from our place of birth and that will always prevail in our souls."

Table 7.1 categorizes feelings associated with the sense of belonging of respondents in my study. As many men as women spoke of their love for El Salvador and of their cultural ties to the homeland. Also an equal number of men and women said to experience feelings of "otherness," in El Salvador, as discussed later in this chapter.

Table 7.1. Sense of Belonging to El Salvador
by Gender ($N = 57$)

Feelings	Gender	
	Men	Women
Love	19	18
Roots	13	14
Otherness	4	5

Note: Respondents reported one or more kinds of feelings.

Many of the respondents used the terms "love" and "heart" when speaking about their feelings of belonging to El Salvador. Also, respondents regard the heritage that derives from their place of birth to be an inseparable part of their identity. The place of birth is the place of the heart, roots, and heritage, many explained. Additionally, the love, rootedness, and heritage implied in their place of birth are irreversible and immutable.

Even their presence in the United States is intricately bound to El Salvador. In words reproduced below, two men and two women shared their interpretations of these kinds of considerations.

> My [Salvadoran] citizenship, in a non-legal sense of the word, but in a cultural sense, yes, yes, right, explains my origin and the love that I have for the country and everything. It is linked to everything, to the reason that I am here and all that; it is part of that. [Q20]

> It's a matter of identity; that is, I came to this country as an adult person; that is, I did not grow up here. So my growth, my development, even my studies [. . .] were in El Salvador [. . .] So that is a lot of time and it cannot be tossed into the trash can. [Q29]

> It is something that we carry inside of us, that is never lost, and that only because we completed here some papers and signed, eh . . . or declared loyalty to this country, one does not stop being Salvadoran. [Q46]

> The truth is that I was born, I grew up and I think that I will die being Salvadoran [. . .] My heart tells me, my heart . . . makes me feel that I am Salvadoran. [Q51]

For the most part, statements about the rootedness and heritage of Salvadorans were made by women in my study. These expressions highlight their roles in the enforcement and reproduction of identity in the private sphere. "I wanted [my daughter] to cling to the roots, to keep roots and customs, my culture, ours," recounted one woman [Q36]. To achieve her goal, she obtained U.S. residency for her mother, who came to the United States to raise her granddaughter. "One of the main forms was my mother," explained the respondent, by "having my mother near." Moreover, women provided examples of the commonly held beliefs about Salvadorans, which are associated with the Salvadoran identity. One example is the oft-heard comment of a woman [Q55] who commended the hard-working nature of Salvadorans: "I will tell you we are not lazy. We are people that dislike charity. We like to work for things, we do not like charity, and we

are hard-working." Moreover, it is common for the parents to register their children as Salvadoran citizens at consulates nationwide.

Furthermore, the love, rootedness, and heritage of respondents justifies the giving-back obligation to their communities, primarily in their homeland, and to a lesser extent, to those in the United States. One man [Q22] spoke of "a debt that one has with the homeland." This obligation is concretized via their civic and political activities in the United States and El Salvador. The United States, another man [Q07] noted, "is a borrowed home so as to be able to help my people." Yet a third man [Q11] confirmed his ties to El Salvador are eternal: "These ties will always be there," he remarked, "and I think that they are reinforced with time and with the kind of activity that I have decided to do, which is to . . . to try to help the neediest in El Salvador."

Respondents find no contradiction whatsoever between their concurrent commitments to El Salvador and to the United States. The two distinct relationships are grounded in different periods of their personal histories, in an additive manner. For the majority, childhood ties the respondents to El Salvador and adulthood to the United States. Each country evokes specific associations. El Salvador evokes a sense of solidarity and the United States, a sense of gratitude. The giving-back obligation has a different meaning depending on context. "I am an American citizen. I am not taking undue advantage of citizenship; I am exercising my rights and responsibilities in this country," explained one respondent [Q24], adding: "I make an effort to work in the benefit of poor people who do not have the means to cope in El Salvador and . . . I want to be part of them, to be a sort of voice for them."

A few respondents, however, find pain and grief associated with the Salvadoran part of their belongingness. They manifested apprehension about their memories and a wish not to relive the past. While they did not reject their Salvadoran identity, the negative memories contributed to their lack of an orientation and participation towards El Salvador.

Salvadoran forced migrants have common notions of Salvadoran identity. For some, particularly those from towns and the countryside, it is more localized, but it is still Salvadoran. Hometown associations reinforce such localized identities, since these associations focus on "parochial scales of social obligation, such as villages or neighborhoods" (Landolt 2008). Yet there is a common narrative about the Salvadoran identity. Moreover, the length of exposure to the United States does not diminish the homeland-bound identities (Brettel 2006; Ginieniewicz 2010; Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2005; Waldinger 2008). Women enforce and reproduce the Salvadoran identity in the private sphere.

Intersectionality has called into question the link between citizenship and a national identity, asserting that an individual holds a composite identity based on linkages to groupings within a state, including class, race, ethnicity, gender, and so forth. In the case of these Salvadoran forced migrants, this assertion fails to hold. As one respondent [Q20] maintained, forced migration is part of Salvadoran citizenship. "It is linked to everything," he said, "to the reason that I am here and all that; it is part of that."

Balancing Heart and Mind

Dual citizenship validates the respondents' sense of belonging toward El Salvador and the United States. The acquired citizenship in the United States has particular meanings for them. Men and women are thankful for access to the right to security, which is formalized via U.S. citizenship, including the freedom to exercise their giving-back obligation. They manifest admiration, respect, and/or loyalty toward the United States.

Dual citizenship turned naturalization into an uncomplicated process for respondents in my study, devoid of the anxieties endured by immigrants from countries that disallow dual citizenship. Salvadoran forced migrants do not use the term "naturalization" to refer to the acquisition of U.S. citizenship. The bond of respondents to El Salvador, described in the section above, likely would have depressed the naturalization rates of this particular group of migrants were it not for dual citizenship. Indeed, some respondents clarified that they would not have applied for U.S. citizenship if they stood to lose their Salvadoran citizenship.

For most respondents, the acquisition of U.S. citizenship was a personal accomplishment. It constituted a planned and anticipated event in a legalization process, driven by a search for security from the moment of entry into the United States. Symbolically, U.S. citizenship explains the forced migration of these men and women as much as Salvadoran citizenship does. It is a status symbol in their homeland. As one respondent [Q01] affirmed, it means membership in an "elite" political community.

In the view of many, dual citizenship should be the norm rather than the exception. A positive relationship towards both states depends, however, on equal and

fair treatment in El Salvador and the United States. "So for someone who has negative experiences, who feels persecuted by immigration authorities, discriminated by people on the streets, etcetera, etcetera," explained one man [Q19] in my study, "will be less identified with this country than someone who has a favorable experience." The same, he said, applies to El Salvador. "Someone who arrives in El Salvador and does not have relatives or friends, anymore, and when upon arrival feels like a tourist, undesirable," he continued, "Well, that will be the last time this person visits the country." The giving-back obligation towards the United States is expressed in a commitment for a constructive engagement with the United States. In his words:

> After 30, 40 years, practice is that we have remained. We have come and we have remained. So if one remains, it is a matter of making this ours, and of making it good. [Q19]

The argument of conflicting loyalties posited by detractors seemed irrelevant to respondents. "I do not see a subject or a factor that will push El Salvador to threaten the national security of the United States," asserted one respondent [Q30], "and lead to question one's citizenship or one's . . . one's loyalty, let's say, to this country." Repeatedly, respondents affirmed their sense of belonging to both countries in a range of ways.

"I feel that I carry out the responsibilities toward both countries; that is, I see no conflict," said one [Q49]. Another one likened dual citizenship to family loyalties. There are multiple loyalties embedded in a family and these loyalties can change and adapt as new commitments are made in life. "It's like when you marry," explained another respondent [Q02], "Your mother will always be your mother, but you no longer have the same participation as now in your own home."

Notwithstanding the above, ties to El Salvador have weakened over time for some of the respondents in my study. The ties that are most affected are family and people in places of origin. They cited loss of family and friends and the changes that neighborhoods and villages had undergone since they departed. Their remarks are illustrative: "there are few in my family remaining" [Q14], "in my village, I feel like a stranger since of all my friends, very few live there" [Q27], " I used to go three or four times [per year] to the county; now I go once every two or three year" [Q30], "I am not one of those persons who will be going to El Salvador every year because I don't have anything, no home, I don't have anything" [Q59].

In sum, men and women in my study do not perceive any conflict in holding dual citizenship and are able to function with a dual sense of belonging (Brettel 2006; Ginieniewicz 2010; Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2005; Waldinger 2008). They differentiate their relationship to both countries. In terms of intersectionality, in addition to a Salvadoran identity, they have a U.S. identity. The latter is the subject of the next section.

<u>Gratitude Turns Into Fondness</u>

Statements by respondents indicate that part of the dual sense of belonging includes feelings of gratitude, even of fondness in some cases, towards the United States. The feelings of gratitude are linked to their social ties in the United States, encompassing family, friends, and neighbors; homes and neighborhoods; and education, employment and/or business enterprises. These social ties eventually become bonds.

Table 7.2 classifies the feelings towards the United States that respondents

expressed during the interview. As many men as women said that they had been changed

by the experience of living in the United States. They had undergone acculturation.

Similarly, men and women affirmed that they are thankful for the opportunities that they

had come upon in this country. Virtually all men and women agree that discrimination

against them as Latinos and Latinas exists, and some of them provided examples of

feelings of "otherness."

Table 7.2. Sense of Belonging to U.S.
by Gender ($N = 56$)

Feelings	Gender	
	Men	Women
Acculturated	17	18
Gratitude	18	16
Otherness	9	7

Note: Respondents reported one or more kinds of feelings.

The respondents who express unease about the role of the United States in the

armed violence in El Salvador, who acknowledge the prevalence of corruption,

discrimination, and xenophobia in the United States, and who carry guilt over having fled

their homeland, are not necessarily exempt from this sense of gratitude. The list includes,

in their own words: "the racism" and "the many political things that happen" [Q15], "the

bulk of U.S. military aid was being sent to that country" [Q16], "I felt [. . .] deceived to

have left my country" [Q18], and "How a country, a nation that is so wealthy, with so

many values, right, with so many educated people, can help in the destruction of another

country" [Q44]. In the end, as one man [Q15] said: "I feel thankful to this land, I give

thanks to God for this land, truthfully, yes." Ultimately, "This is my country, I decided it," said a woman [Q55], "I was not born here. I decided it."

Gratitude toward the United States seems to grow into fondness for the country with the passage of time. "Possibly because of the many years," said one respondent [Q15], "I feel that I belong more here, truthfully, yes." Another respondent [Q58] echoed: "I have led . . . led a greater part of my life here in the United States [. . .] So, I have a greater fondness for the United States."

The tables in Chapter 4 that describe the occupational status of the respondents in my study demonstrate that, eventually, most of them were able to restore in the United States the occupational status that they had upon leaving their homeland. Some improved their occupational status in the United States. From the time of their arrival to the present, virtually all had enhanced their socio-economic standing in the United States. Invariably respondents described their gratitude for the opportunities they were able to seize here. Consistently, they compared their situation today with that at some other point of time, frequently in relation to El Salvador. Had they stayed in El Salvador, some envisioned themselves "killed for one or another reason" [Q01], and certainly, "nowhere near from where I am" [Q05].

Respondents in my study acknowledged that they have acquired cultural knowledge in the United States, including language, values, and habits. This knowledge has allowed them to participate in the public sphere at some level. Acquisition of English language skills was of utmost importance to their occupational mobility as well. Consistently, they cited the rule of law, respect for life, and freedoms as admirable values that they discovered immediately upon arrival. Early on, many realized that they needed

to become culturally competent in the United States. They used the terms "acculturation" and "adaptation" to describe the process of gaining such cultural competence. One woman [Q37] described her cultural competence as an addition to her Salvadoran identity:

> I think that I have been acculturated, and acculturation made me see myself, myself in another situation. That is, I always conserve my principles, my roots and my Salvadoran culture, and I combine them. Now I have Salvadoran culture with the culture here and that, that has opened doors, right? To learn English, to learn about law, to learn about rights, so this is what has made me feel I had rights. [Q37]

According to respondents, cultural competence had an impact on their civic and political participation. "It gives one more self-confidence, more . . . eh . . . more security to go . . . and ask for whatever any citizen of this country would demand at the local level," commented one respondent [Q09]. Another respondent [Q20] described the acquisition of cultural competence as developing a "democratic personality." This competence "has changed us with time and for the better, has made us better persons with greater potential" to contribute in El Salvador, one woman [Q55] said during the interview.

Respondents are keenly aware of their acquired cultural competence when comparing themselves with compatriots who have arrived in the United States as part of a different and more recent migration flow. In their view, immigration requirements should include learning the language, upholding the rule of law, and acquiring cultural competence. Not doing so, or not supporting the acquisition of cultural competence, they noted, would lead migrants to isolation and ultimately to marginalization. One woman

described with empathy the lack of confidence and marginalization felt by arriving

migrants in the United States:

> It feels unpleasant, just to be unable to communicate, unable to express eh . . . It is an enormous emptiness, it hurts, it saddens. You feel isolated, you are in an enormous country, but in jail at the same time, because you do not . . . do not have any abilities. [Q32]

Men and women in my study are keenly aware of the cultural competence that

they have acquired in the United States. It is their U.S. identity. They are able to function

with it, and it exists alongside their Salvadoran identity. Although intersectionality

theorists do not contemplate national identities, respondents in my study acknowledged

their separate and different Salvadoran and U.S. identities. The next section will address

the sense of otherness of respondents in terms of both the United States and El Salvador.

<u>Otherness</u>

For the most part, upon their arrival respondents generally did not feel outright

welcomed in the United States, nor explicitly rejected by the population. They were

consistently alarmed and astounded, however, by the enormity of the structural and

cultural gap between El Salvador and the United States. Even those hailing from the

capital of San Salvador, or those having relatives in the Washington metropolitan area,

were overwhelmed by this chasm. Today, this feeling has waned; however, most

respondents were distressed by rising discrimination and xenophobia in the Washington

metropolitan area. "Right now, for example," observed one woman [Q55], "there is a

terrible, terrible anti-immigrant wave, and what happens is that we are blamed for all the

problems in the United States right now." This sentiment was deeply disappointing to

respondents and even difficult for a few to comprehend. One respondent described his

disappointment:

> They used to say that the American people had . . . had good intentions, right? Not nowadays, because now there are other sentiments [. . .] in 2009, 2010, the situation changed a lot. But back then [in the 1980s], yes, there were . . . this country had good sentiments toward immigrants, at least toward Salvadorans. [Q56]

Upon arrival, respondents in my study became keenly aware that racial and ethnic

discrimination exist. One respondent [Q24] asserted that he was unprepared for his

encounter with prejudices. "One is never told," he explained, "'Look, there is

discrimination because of your color, because of your origin, because of your accent.'

They forget to tell you that part." Today, all admit that discrimination persists and is

pervasive. One woman recounted how her siblings varied in skin and eye color, adding

that it was only in the United States that she had been made aware of these differences.

"Of course, there in El Salvador," she [Q57] explained, "we did not know what

discrimination was, it was never spoken about, we never used that word."

Some said that they had never been discriminated against, even though

discrimination exists. One woman [Q46] was frustrated because the acquisition of

residency or citizenship in the United States had no impact on the discrimination against

Salvadorans. "So to still feel discrimination," she explained, "when we are permanent

residents or citizens, is difficult." "We feel," she continued, "that we do not belong here

sometimes." Others claimed to have experienced prejudices set off by markers that

expose them as Latina or Latino. When pressed to provide instances, they obliged.

In the United States, several personal characteristics trigger prejudices,

respondents observed. Among those mentioned were English language pronunciation and

level of proficiency, physical appearance, and manner of attire. One respondent [Q26] expressed his awareness of difference in this manner: "If I had been born here, I think that just the same, I would look in the mirror and say: 'I am not North American.'" On the basis of these markers, respondents affirmed having experienced acts of discrimination on the part of the members of the Anglo majority, as well as by African Americans, other Salvadorans who were from the countryside and arrived more recently, and Latinos. Incidents took place in schools, places of employment and stores.

Specifically, less than ten men reported incidents of arbitrary traffic stops and moving violation tickets; calls by neighbors into the local police reporting strange odors emanating from a home; police warnings to neighbors regarding an unusual number of persons being seen entering and leaving abodes; employment and housing discrimination; and the inappropriate manner in which local authorities approach respondents and react when an alleged unlawful act is committed. Similarly, less than ten women narrated discrimination and mistreatment at work; rejection in personal interactions in public places, including stores, buses and from neighbors; gender discrimination; age discrimination; and maltreatment due to language barriers. The incidents narrated by women involved private individuals rather than public authorities.

Most respondents spoke of their sense that Salvadorans, along with all other Latinos, are negatively perceived, and that their contributions go unrecognized. Latinos have to make extraordinary efforts in their jobs, some said, to demonstrate their abilities and to excel. They actually try to do so. Moreover, one man [Q09] suggested that the bicultralism of Salvadoran forced migrants has been undervalued in the United States. This biculturalism is also perceived as a threat to other racial or ethnic groups, he added.

Yet in a diverse work environment or in relation to a diverse customer base, bicultural

competence can be an added-value, another respondent said. It is rarely, however,

acknowledged and much less compensated, she added.

Generally, then, men and women felt segmentally assimilated. One man [Q09]

expressed disappointment that his efforts to integrate are met with disdain, saying

"although one makes the effort to integrate more and more and more . . . but, well, one is

regarded also as a second class citizen because of being Latino . . ."

> I do not feel like the citizen that I am . . . by the way that people perceive one, no?
> Particularly these days, with a bit of suspicion [. . .] It is quite paradoxical, it is
> complex, because at the same time the opportunities and trust that one is offered
> here are extensive. Yes, it is paradoxical and it is really difficult to put it into
> words and thus . . . to show a reliable . . . a reliable image of what it really is.
> [Q05]

> Well, you know that Hispanics are . . . as they say here, stereotyped. That's what
> we are, but in reality, eh, we, not all Hispanics, can be categorized into a group or
> sub-group – as drug dealers, gang members, drunkards, vagrants. No, we cannot
> be categorized like that. So we, Latinos, have to excel and demonstrate to the
> whole world that we can do it too. [Q40]

Respondents described their own ways of coping with discrimination. Most

respondents cope by dismissing, minimizing, or avoiding situations that could trigger

discrimination, so as not to become overwhelmed or victimized by it. They spoke of

learning to "deal with it," of not paying attention to it, of remaining positive and

dismissing it, and of not turning it into a "self-fulfilling prophecy."

Many respondents made references to class, or the existence of socio-economic

stratification in El Salvador. Invariably, they cited rampant and persistent poverty and the

existence of a large poor majority. One respondent suggested that in the absence of a

middle class in El Salvador, he and other compatriots in the United States constitute that

middle class. Respondents pointed out that those with money have privileges and access to power in El Salvador, in contrast with the rest of the population. It is this socio-economic disparity that had contributed to unleash armed violence there, she and many others pointed out. "If one has, one enters, if one doesn't then one does not enter, and this I do not like in the country," she [Q52] described, adding: "That is why there was war." Poverty, exclusion and marginality were repeatedly brought up as the backdrop to past and present violence.

A handful of men and a similar number of women described interactions that triggered feelings of otherness when they have visited El Salvador. The triggers involved customs, preferences, and knowledge acquired in the United States that set them apart from the majority of Salvadorans in their homeland.

Respondents believe that discrimination persists, that they are negatively perceived as Latinos, and that they are victims of the rising anti-immigrant sentiment in the United States. In this sense, their U.S. identity reflects a segmental assimilation in the United States. In El Salvador, some respondents experience their otherness in cultural and class terms.

<div align="center">Demands Towards El Salvador
and the United States</div>

As citizens of El Salvador and immigrants in the United States, respondents have reflected upon their experience in relation to their homeland and to the country that adopted them. Their remarks revealed a number of demands towards both. Toward the United States, their demands were primarily in relation to the country's foreign and immigration policies. With respect to El Salvador, their demands dealt mainly with the

right to vote in Salvadoran elections from the United States and support for those Salvadoran citizens who wish to rebuild lives in their homeland.

Some respondents did not hide a level of resentment due to the role of the United States in supporting autocratic governments involved in state repression and the indiscriminate killing of civilians in El Salvador. "We have a history of resentment towards the United States – all Salvadorans do," observed one woman [Q35]. She went on, as did other women [Q36, Q37, Q44], to explain the role of the United States in the political violence and armed conflict in El Salvador. They expressed a desire for such policies to change, and for the United States to respect other countries and peoples worldwide.

Respondents also sketched their views of fair and humane immigration policies. They regard migration as unevenly affecting those that have the least resources and as the result of globalization. To them, migration is an induced phenomenon that is preventable and that can be mitigated. "Well, one should not [. . .] close the doors on these people, one should open them and one should give them opportunities," suggested one man [Q05]. In an interdependent world, in terms of trade policies, "if these policies are forcing people to leave," remarked another man [Q19], "then the countries where they go should recognize them."

The predominant view of respondents, primarily advanced by women, is that migration happens at an unacceptable social cost. Women depict family separation as a costly social consequence of immigration policies. "I think that the family separation is not ... not . . . is not right," noted a woman [Q34], "For example, when children are born here and their parents are deported." In a similar vein, another woman [Q35] asked

rhetorically: "How many people have been left without a father, a mother, due to immigration? How many people have died on the way? How many people have lost a leg, an arm attempting to jump a train or have drowned in the river?"

Respondents repeatedly opined that immigration contributes to the economy of the United States is many ways. Migrants provide the United States with a workforce and with consumers. In exchange, the United States provides them with gainful employment. It is a mutual convenience of sorts. The respondents see an immigrant in most migrants. They regard migrants as resilient and tenacious workers, performing much needed, backbreaking jobs that make a difference in the lives of people on a daily basis in the Washington metropolitan area. One respondent [Q25] listed: "Those who dispatch pizzas, those who mow lawns, those who paint, those pave the streets, those who build the Wilson Bridge, those who construct the metro system."

Respondents worry about conditions and restrictions that a future immigration reform may contain, particularly if some of the provisions could further drive undocumented migrants into clandestinity and keep them there for the rest of their lives. To be sure, in their view, the solution does not lie in criminalizing the undocumented.

"We are people who come really out of necessity," commented one woman [Q46], " to work, to try to advance; and to contribute, not only to our country, but to U.S. society too." Respondents said they understood the existence of geopolitical boundaries and the varied immigration laws adopted by states worldwide. Although they are far from idealizing the undocumented migrant, respondents believe that migrants deserve to be acknowledged for their merits whenever appropriate and relevant.

Moreover, respondents also admit that immigration policy should not be "one-size-fits-all," but rather that it should allow potential immigrants to achieve various levels of legal status with differentiated rights and obligations in the United States. Some of those who arrived undocumented have turned to criminal activities, acknowledged respondents. Many more, however, have assimilated and deserve a legal status in the United States. Others want to earn some money and return to the lives they left in their homelands. A few respondents proposed that accommodations could be made for them.

Respondents also expressed demands toward El Salvador based on their particular sense of entitlement. In their view, the government of El Salvador should grant Salvadoran citizens the right to vote abroad. Furthermore, it should offer them facilities, incentives, and guarantees to invest in the country. It should also encourage and help families who wish to return so they can easily resettle or retire in El Salvador. The reasons they give for such a sense of entitlement include their overall contribution via significant remittances to sustaining their families and homeland and to the development of their places of origin.

Virtually all respondents like being treated as Salvadorans, rather than as U.S. citizens, by Salvadoran immigration and customs authorities upon their arrival in El Salvador. Such treatment reinforces their sense of belonging and reaffirms the recognition of their citizenship in their homeland.

Today perhaps more than ever, respondents seem to be seeking to redefine their relationship with the state and people of El Salvador. Not a single respondent had effusive comments about their experiences as representatives of Salvadoran homeland organizations with national authorities in their homeland. "One does not find the way to

be heard," said one man [Q04], "One does not find the manner to share opinions with someone so that things improve, that is very difficult with our governments."

Furthermore, respondents remarked on the offensive opinion about Salvadorans living in the United States that exists among the political and economic elites in El Salvador. Salvadoran forced migrants as a group are considered "the duck with the golden eggs," or "donkeys laden with money," as the statements below describe.

> In El Salvador, the immigrant who has been able to eh . . . obtain a legal status is seen rather as a . . . as . . . "the duck with the golden eggs" and not as a matter that . . . as a . . . as something that needs to be cared for and [. . .] that has to be invested in. So the immigrant is seen as a resource to exploit, rather than something that can be nurtured to extract rewards further in the future. [Q11]

> "They have money but don't have education," say the wealthy there, right? "Donkeys laden with money," they say, right? Why? Because the majority of us who are here did not finish school in El Salvador, right? But are business owners and have money. [Q52]

Virtually all respondents seem to agree that the government of El Salvador may miss a unique opportunity to capture the human capital and imagination of Salvadorans in the Washington metropolitan area, or for that matter, the United States. The entitlement that Salvadorans living in the Washington metropolitan area feel was succinctly expressed by one respondent. Regardless of the party in power, he said, respondents are entitled to the right to vote in Salvadoran elections, whether in El Salvador or locally here, in the United States.

Respondents are eager to make their "democratic personalities" available for the betterment of El Salvador. They are not satisfied with limiting their contribution to the local level of their villages or neighborhoods. They are seeking an American Salvadoran identity vis-à-vis national authorities and people in their homeland. However, to date, El

Salvador has not granted them the recognition and leverage that they seek. Their political leverage has yet to be felt, whether in El Salvador or in the United States.

<div align="center">Conclusions</div>

Intersectionality theorists have called into question the link between citizenship and a national identity, asserting that an individual holds a composite identity based on linkages to groupings within a state, including class, race, ethnicity, gender, and so forth. In the case of respondents in my study, their experiences of forced migration explain their inseparable but distinct Salvadoran and U.S. identities. Theirs is an "acculturated homeland identity." It is an American Salvadoran identity.

Men and women do not perceive any conflict in holding dual citizenship and are able to function with both identities. Respondents regard the heritage that derives from their place of birth to be an inseparable part of their Salvadoran identity. Many of the respondents used the terms "love" and "heart" when speaking about their feelings of belonging to El Salvador. Yet respondents are also deeply grateful for the opportunities of exercising their right to security in the United States. They are also keenly aware of the cultural competence they have acquired in the United States. Both aspects are part of their U.S. identity. Both identities oblige respondents to give back to communities left behind in El Salvador and to the United States as "good citizens" of their adopted country.

Furthermore, respondents believe that discrimination is pervasive, that they are negatively perceived as Latinos, and that they are victims of the rising anti-immigrant sentiment in the Washington metropolitan area. Their U.S. identity is perceived and

experienced as second class in the United States. In El Salvador, respondents experience

otherness in terms of disenfranchised citizens. Whether in El Salvador or in the United

States, the political leverage of Salvadoran forced migrants has yet to be felt.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

My study considers four research questions in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7. Chapter 4 discusses the manner in which the migration of respondents is characterized as forced and how the migration of men is different from that of women. Chapter 5 presents the reasons that led Salvadoran forced migrants to acquire citizenship in the United States, examining how men differed from women in the process. Chapter 6 delves into the ways that these Salvadorans participate politically and civically toward the United States and El Salvador, looking particularly at the ways men participate differently than women. Chapter 7 examines their sense of belonging towards the United States and El Salvador and the way that belongingness is experienced by men and women. My study has explored the gendered experiences of forced migration, citizenship acquisition, civic and political participation, and sense of belonging. This chapter treats the significance of the findings of these four chapters for further research and policymaking.

Generally speaking, in terms of the men and women who migrated forcefully from El Salvador to the United States between 1976 and 1991, the notions of the right to security, giving-back obligation, and acculturated homeland identity reflect their shared experiences in the host country. As discussed, the right to security is defined as the freedom to establish, rebuild, and sustain dignified lives at their places of destination. The giving-back obligation compels these men and women to contribute in diverse

manners and to varied degrees, civically and politically, towards El Salvador and the

United States. Their acculturated homeland identity reflects the combination of

Salvadoran and U.S. identities held by the respondents. Gender differences in regards to

these three notions exist and are duly noted throughout the discussion in this dissertation.

Graphically, the three notions in the respective dimensions of citizenship are represented

in Figure 8.1.
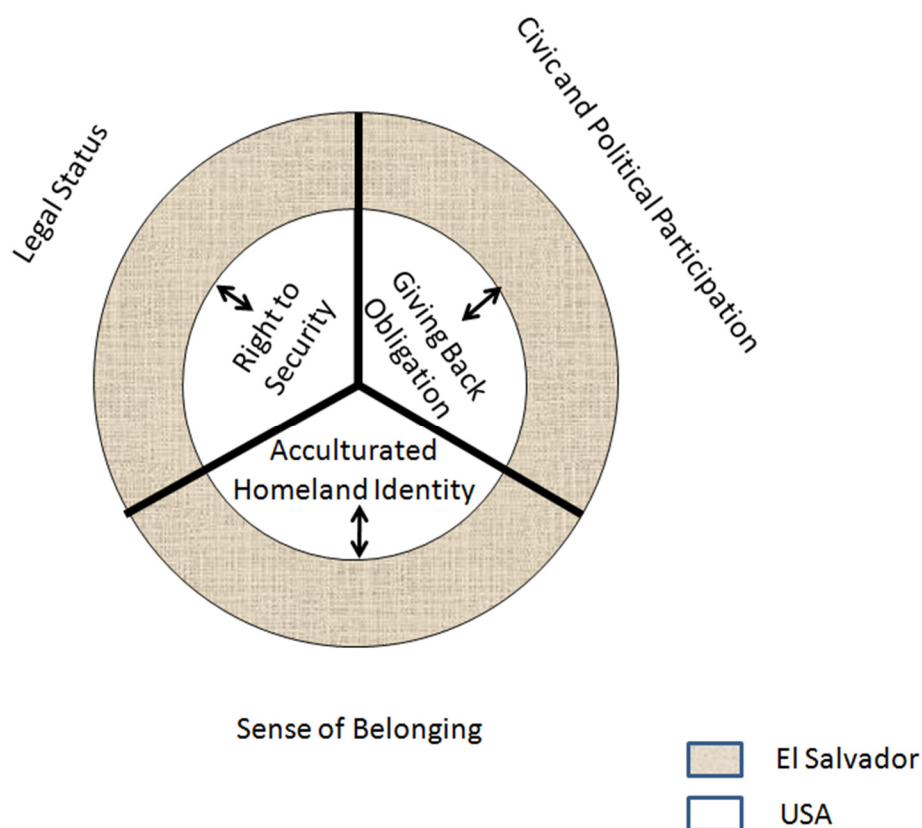
Figure 8.1. The Three Dimensions of Citizenship
for Salvadoran Forced Migrants

Given the findings of my study, this chapter discusses the research and policy

implications in relation to forced migration, the acquisition of citizenship, civic and

political participation, and sense of belonging.

Forced Migration

This case study confirms that the concepts of "forced migrant" and "forced migration" are useful constructs to interpret the experiences of a distinct subgroup of immigrants hailing from El Salvador who currently reside in the Washington metropolitan area. At the time of their migration, sending and receiving countries failed to protect and enforce the protection of these Salvadorans. Both El Salvador and the United States attempted to render the existence of Salvadoran forced migrants invisible due to political expediency. Today, their distinctive migration is diluted and deemed part of the wave of Latin American immigration following the U.S. immigration reform in 1965, or in terms of the migratory flow of Salvadorans in general. The findings of this exploratory study offer new perspectives on a particular subgroup of Salvadorans that is part of this Latin American migration wave, demonstrating the importance of researching the heterogeneity of migration flows, even years after their initial entry into the United States.

In a country where, during the period covered by this study, one out of every three Salvadorans actively opposed the U.S.-funded government (Lovato 2011), the events that sparked the forced migration of one fifth of the population of El Salvador reemerge publicly every so often. In 2011, on a stop-over in El Salvador, U.S. President Obama visited the tomb of Archbishop Oscar Romero, killed by right-wing death squads while celebrating mass in 1980, praising the Salvadoran president for his "courageous work to overcome old divisions in Salvadoran society" (BBC 2011). The year before, Salvadoran President Mauricio Funes acknowledged that soldiers and security forces had committed human rights violations and apologized on behalf of past Salvadoran governments

(Reuters 2010). Two years earlier, a 300-foot-long grey monument engraved with some 30,000 names, the Monument to Memory and Truth, was erected in San Salvador to honor the victims (Ellingwood 2008). Each of these acts provoked public controversy, confirming that truth remains a contentious issue long after the guns are silenced (Pope 2003), and that long-simmering tensions continue to prevail in El Salvador. The creation and existence of Salvadoran forced migrants are inescapably linked to the unfinished truth-telling and accountability project in El Salvador. Political convenience for parties in opposition and to the armed conflict has served to justify a policy of forgetting, rather than one of accounting for, the past abuses of power. While forgetting may provide short-term stability, the past continues to be a source of continued instability in El Salvador.

Furthermore, today, gangs and criminal organizations are cited as the main sources of insecurity for people in El Salvador, as most respondents also acknowledged. Presently, the estimated homicide rate for El Salvador stands around 62 per 100,000 people. This rate is higher than the average of 25 homicides per 100,000 people in Latin America, which is a region with some of the highest homicide rates in the world (Seelke 2011). Research has established that the origins of two gangs currently operating in El Salvador are linked to the inhospitable conditions of racism and exclusion that Salvadoran forced migrants found in East Los Angeles during the 1980s (Wolf 2010). To women in my study, these gangs represent an unacceptable social cost of forced migration. Thus, gangs are a byproduct of the segmented assimilation of Salvadoran forced migrants in one of their places of destination. Estimated at a membership of 10,000 in El Salvador, Mara Salvatrucha (MS or MS-13), predominantly composed of

Salvadoran migrant youth, and Eighteenth Street (Calle Dieciocho), with a more diverse membership, are the largest gangs operating in El Salvador.

Moreover, some of the gang members active in El Salvador have re-entered the United States without authorization and MS-13 and Calle Dieciocho have also expanded into Central American immigrant communities across the United States (Seelke 2011; Wolf 2010). The strong multinational relationships of gang members in El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, Mexico, and the United States call for a coordinated strategy that addresses the structural conditions that provide gangs with opportunities for criminal activities in all of these countries. Such a strategy must reach much beyond the states' current emphasis on fine-tuning some proper balance of preventive and repressive measures (Seelke 2011).

In Central America and Mexico, it is likely that the continued violent activities of gangs and criminal organizations, on the one hand, and state repressive actions, on the other, will contribute to produce "forced migrants." It is also likely that some of these migrants will seek asylum in the United States, particularly when their respective states are unable or unwilling to provide effective protection. Some evidence of this tendency exists. In 2010, U.S. asylum requests from Mexico reached a high of 5,551 and that same year, 165 asylum requests were approved (Giovine 2011). Thus, it may be timely for the United States immigration authorities to consider this new "forced migration."

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2010) has acknowledged that violence from gangs and criminal organizations can affect numerous people where the rule of law is weak or inexistent. The U.N. agency (2010: 21) has also affirmed that "[y]oung people, in particular, who live in communities with a pervasive and powerful

gang presence but who seek to resist gangs may constitute a particular social group for the purposes of the 1951 Convention."

Additionally, the U.N. agency (2010:21) indicates that the interpretation of the grounds cited by the convention and protocol relating to the status of refugees should be "inclusive and flexible enough to encompass emerging groups" and responsive to "new risks of persecution." It remains to be seen whether and to what extent the United States will follow the U.N. agency's guidelines in relation to those fleeing violence from gangs and criminal organizations. Given geographical proximity of Central America and Mexico to the United States, these new forced migrants will probably seek to lay claim to a right to security in the United States, as much as Salvadoran forced migrants did decades ago. Once again, it behooves all states affected to explore a coordinated approach to provide protection and assistance in the face of emergent forms of violence.

<u>A Path to Citizenship</u>

Upon arrival in the United States, Salvadoran respondents in this study were stratified by legal statuses. The mode and date of entry contributed to determine their access to resources and opportunities. From the moment of their entry into the United States, they experienced unequal access to social, civil, and political rights in the United States. In the process of legalizing their presence, respondents were stratified as undocumented, as holding conditional or renewable temporariness, as permanent residents, and as citizens. Would their legal statuses in the United States have been different upon entry had political expediency not prevailed over collective grounds for protection? On the one hand, the ABC decision indicates that U.S. asylum decisions were

biased, suggesting a breach of the rule of law. On the other hand, Salvadoran forced migrants were often unable to produce the kind of evidence that immigration authorities required to consider their individual asylum requests. In the end, many respondents achieved a path to citizenship through the social ties that made them eligible, whether via employment, marriage, or family reunification. Thus, a welcoming environment and social interaction with people in the host country can contribute to diminish inequalities much before legal reforms are put in place to address the undocumented or temporary status of migrants.

A number of insights were gained from the interviews that bear on current local or national policymaking with regards to undocumented migration. Respondents who arrived as minors to the United States were able to enroll in public schools, where they acquired English language skills and knowledge to compete in the labor market, relatively free from the threat of seizure at school and subsequent deportation by immigration authorities. While they were undocumented workers, many employers hired them, some even sponsoring their applications for permanent residency. Respondents in this study appear to have related to other immigrants, some of whom employed Salvadoran forced migrants, and to non-Latino residents of the Washington metropolitan area via employment and during their civic and political activities.

The panorama today, however, is quite different as anti-immigrant measures have been advanced across the United States, instilling fear in immigrant communities. The federal 287g program (U.S. Immigration and Custom Enforcement 2009), which authorizes local law enforcement officers to detain undocumented persons, has been found to be ineffective in targeting serious criminal offenses. More undocumented are

apprehended for petty crimes and traffic violations than those with serious criminal records (Migration Policy Institute 2011). A particularly stringent legislation is Arizona's SB 1070, which seeks to identify, prosecute and deport undocumented migrants. This law obliges police officers to detain people they have reason to suspect are in the United States without authorization and to validate their immigration status, unless doing so would obstruct an investigation or emergency medical attention. SB 1070 also makes failure to carry immigration documents a misdemeanor in the state. It also allows Arizonans to sue if they believe federal or state immigration law is not being carried out.

Since 2010, when Arizona Governor Jan Brewer signed SB 1070 into law, "copycat" laws have been proposed or adopted in increasing number of states in the United States (Lacayo 2011; National Council of La Raza 2011). As of July 1, 2011, 26 states have rejected copycat legislation in 2010 and 2011. Five states have passed similar legislation: Alabama, Georgia, Indiana, South Carolina, and Utah. Copycat legislation is pending in seven states.

Further, pernicious particularities have been added in some of the copycat laws that have been passed, turning them into harsh derivatives of Arizona's SB 1070. In Alabama, the law requires schools to gather information on the citizenship or immigration status of the students even though they are allowed to attend classes. Georgia's copycat law, much like that of Alabama, punishes drivers for transporting an undocumented person. Additionally, in Georgia, those providing housing to the undocumented are also subject to penalties. In Indiana, businesses that hire undocumented workers can be shut down, and the use of any language other than English is prohibited in government transactions.

To be sure, the National Council of La Raza (Lacayo 2011) affirms that there is evidence that SB 1070 and copycat initiatives represent the outcome of a coordinated campaign of anti-immigrant organizations and spokespersons rather than the efforts of a broad grassroots movement. Even so, anti-immigrant initiatives demonstrate a concerted effort to spread fear and mistrust among the undocumented and those who come in contact with them, thereby further marginalizing and driving these migrants into clandestinity. The experience of Salvadoran forced migrants in this study indicates that the right to security, or the freedom to lead dignified lives, drove them to seek ways to regularize their presence in the United States. The lack of a legal status was a significant disadvantage and from the start, they sought ways to overcome it.

Thus, instead of anti-immigrant legislation targeting youth, policies that seek to protect them and to foster their education portend a greater likelihood that these young migrants will be able to forge social ties and improve their chances for upward mobility in the United States. That is, provided they also obtain a path to a permanent legal status. In combination, anti-discriminatory legislation and public education have contributed to incorporate immigrants socially, occupationally, and civically and politically over the last few decades. Today, however, the role of public education in such regard is threatened by the current economic downturn, the chronic underfunding of public schools, particularly in states with large immigrant populations (Jiménez 2011), and anti-immigrant measures.

Moreover, the parents of migrant students cannot be left behind. Parent liaisons and adult English language instruction in immigrant communities would likely enhance parents' understanding of the public school system and encourage their participation in support of their students' achievements. Furthermore, at the college level, payment of in-

state tuition could be pegged to a portion of tax contributions made by students and/or their families over time. Similarly, access to federal loans for college education could be linked to a portion of their tax contributions at the federal level. As some respondents indicated, access to internships and other career-building opportunities would have contributed to prepare them for the labor market. Ultimately, the United States has a need for a highly skilled workforce. In such regard, the Dream Act bill pending in U.S. Senate could contribute to towards such a need. The bill proposes to offer a conditional permanent legal status to men and women under the age of 35, who arrived before the age of 16, who have resided in the United States for at least the last five years, and who have graduated from a U.S. high school or obtained a General Education Diploma. Individuals would be required to attend college or serve in the U.S. armed forces for at least two years during the conditional period and in order to obtain permanent residence.

Vigorous promotion of labor rights, and access to, and enforcement of, these rights without prejudice based on legal status would help to stem out unscrupulous employers who exploit migrant vulnerabilities. The need for many businesses to cut costs increases the likelihood that the labor and workplace safety and health rights of the most vulnerable workers will be violated. Lack of labor protection across industries and companies with a high concentration of undocumented workers puts these workers at risk and drives down the wages and affects the working conditions of other employees at the expense of those industries and companies that are compliant.

Last but not least, the path to legalization is infrequently offered by host countries to unauthorized migrants. When it is offered, it is partial, benefitting only a portion of the undocumented population. The Dream Act mentioned above is one example. Needless to

say, in today's anti-immigrant environment, any initiative offering a path to permanent residency and subsequently, to citizenship, will be controversial. Critics say that legalization rewards people who broke the law. They also argue that the administrative infrastructure cannot easily cope with the sheer number of applicants.

However, in combination with other measures, allowing the undocumented to obtain a legal status is a way of managing migration. It is also a more pragmatic solution when compared to calls for wholesale deportation of those living without authorization in the United States or for sealing the country's borders off. In such regard, migration may be a more manageable challenge if conceived as a shared responsibility among sending and receiving countries or regionally. If so, knowledge about, and involvement of, the relevant immigrant communities could contribute to building awareness and reaching consensus among stakeholders towards a manageable migration regime.

Indeed, in the past the United States has imposed requirements to legalize the undocumented, and immigrants had to meet prerequisites prior to being granted permanent residency. Respondents in my study were of the opinion that unfettered immigration was unmanageable for any country, and that countries had a sovereign right to impose reasonable requirements for legalization. To date, requirements have included length of presence in the country, proof of employment, proficiency in the local language, clean police record, verification of social security and tax contributions, and ties to the country (Levinson 2005). The findings of my dissertation point to the significance of social ties to the United States, including family, education, employment, formal and informal political and civic participation, and of sense of belonging. My research begs the question of whether legalization requirements should not prioritize some or all of these

aspects, over the number of years of uninterrupted presence, or an apparently arbitrary arrival date in the United States. The findings of this study indicate so. A further review of existing empirical studies in regard to other immigrants--or even among U.S. citizens-- may confirm my conclusion or offer additional constructive suggestions of the relative importance of various requirements.

<u>Political and Civic Participation</u>

My study revealed a wealth and breadth of civic and political activism among Salvadoran forced migrants. The depiction of such activism belies studies which place Salvadorans among the most politically apathetic subgroups of immigrants in the United States. The findings also depict the "giving-back" obligation that drives Salvadoran forced migrants to contribute to the communities left behind in El Salvador and to the United States. By doing so, Salvadoran forced migrants activate their citizenship in the United States and restore their Salvadoran citizenship.

The findings in this study as well as existing research on the changing role and influence of a range of organizations in the United States towards immigrant communities point to the importance of continued empirical research into the formal and informal, electoral and non-electoral, and civic and political participation of immigrants. Such research has also highlighted that men and women participate differently, using their time and financial resources in particular ways. There is a need for finding better ways of capturing and interpreting the gendered participation of migrants, particularly with a view to making comparative analyses across immigrant communities and migrant

flows. For such a purpose, qualitative studies would be particularly well suited initially to describe, explore and examine civic and political practices.

This study describes how pre-migration experiences in political participation in El Salvador facilitated the establishment of Salvadoran self-help and service organizations. Many of these organizations continue to be relevant today. Additionally, respondents have created new and meaningful ways of maintaining cross-border relations and contributing to communities in El Salvador via homeland organizations. Considering that the United States and El Salvador have a laissez faire approach to immigration and emigration respectively, the pre-migration organizing experiences acquire a much greater importance for Salvadoran forced migrants, particularly given the precariousness of their start in the United States.

Since Salvadorans have continued to migrate to the United States, the roles of these organizations have not diminished. However, it may be timely to inquire into the expectations and needs of the Salvadoran immigrant community in regard to the various kinds of organizations that exist today. Additionally, it may also be opportune to study the extent to which these organizations are able to identify and address the new challenges posed by an evolving Salvadoran community. At this moment, for example, their voices in shaping immigration law reform on the one hand, and on the other, in influencing bills authorizing Salvadorans to vote outside of El Salvador seem particularly relevant. One could also conceive of their involvement in cross-border problems, such as shaping regional violence prevention strategies targeting youth in Central and North America. Beyond these specific suggestions, the larger question is how Salvadoran

communities across the United States can better leverage their representation and influence in policymaking in both countries.

Furthermore, the Salvadoran self-help and service organizations served as civic and political schools, introducing Salvadoran forced migrants to the political system in the United States and to formal and informal, electoral and non-electoral ways of participating in the United States and from the United States towards El Salvador. They also helped promote and facilitate the legalization and citizenship acquisition of many Salvadoran forced migrants. Today, they continue to serve in these capacities, contributing thereby to the political incorporation of immigrants in the Washington metropolitan area.

To involve men and women across the range of organizations serving the Salvadoran communities, policies that are as friendly to men as to women must be implementable and enforceable. The findings in my study point to the importance for political parties in the United States and El Salvador, and for homeland organizations working on behalf of communities in El Salvador to consider ways of enhancing a more equitable participation by Salvadoran men and women. Further research into effective ways of incorporating men and women is pertinent, particularly to the extent that empirical findings can recommend policies and means of enforcing them across the range of organizations working among immigrant communities. Such research would benefit from understanding the significance of pre-migration organizational experiences of immigrants as well as the impact of migration on gender dynamics in households and on gender roles and relationships more generally.

Migrants may seize opportunities for civic volunteerism with non-ethnic organizations and institutions to the extent that their missions are relevant to immigrants' lives. Moreover, these organizations and institutions must be able to accommodate the gendered roles of men and women, and offer them an agreeable environment for substantive participation and leadership. Additionally, the sphere of action of these organizations and institutions should not pose a threat to the immigrants' right to security. In today's anti-immigrant environment, such conditions seem difficult to come by. However, insofar as organizations and institutions actively resist and push back anti-immigrant attitudes and initiatives, they will be able to be held in good esteem by migrants. Certainly, legislation that intimidates the public at large and instills fear and mistrust in immigrant communities is counterproductive to immigrant volunteerism.

Sense of Belonging

My study proposes the concept of "acculturated homeland identity." This identity is composed of a Salvadoran identity and a U.S. identity, and is an essentially middle-class and uniquely American fusion. Men and women do not perceive any conflict in functioning as dual citizens. They associate love, rootedness, and heritage with their Salvadoran identity, often even localized at the level of their village or neighborhood of origin. They are grateful to and fond of the United States. Furthermore, they are keenly aware of the cultural competence that they have acquired in the United States. Theirs is a newly acquired "democratic personality." However, respondents believe that discrimination is pervasive, that as Latinos and Latinas they are negatively perceived, and

that they are unfairly targeted by the rising anti-immigrant sentiment in the Washington metropolitan area.

Sociologists presently have the opportunity to study the impact of the current anti-immigrant climate on communities across the United States, particularly in states where restrictive legislation has been proposed or passed. What effect will this climate have on the sense of belonging of immigrant men and women? Will the development of belongingness to the United States slow down or cease among them, and to what extent? What feelings will shape immigrants' sense of belonging under these conditions? How will belongingness to the homeland change among these men and women? Does the impact vary by social class and by country of origin?

The emergence of the varied legislative proposals serves to highlight the consequences of legal status as a stratifying variable in the United States. This stratifying variable divides people living and working in the United States fundamentally into those who have authorization to do so and those who do not. The former are part of, or on their way to becoming part of, the political community of the United States; the latter are excluded. However, it does not have to be this way. With some exceptions, international law grants non-citizens access to most of the same rights as citizens (Goldstone 2006). These exceptions are the right to vote, to hold public office, and to leave and enter the country. Whether the anti-immigrant laws adopted by some states uphold or violate the rule of law will be for the courts to decide. In the meantime, however, the challenge ahead calls for an organized movement seeking to uphold the rights that citizens and non-citizens have in the United States and the effective protection of immigrant communities.

The data collected from respondents indicate that is unrealistic for the host country and people to expect that these Salvadoran forced migrants will give up their Salvadoran identities. The data also suggest that the immigrants' experiences in their new destinations have a profound impact on their identities. As a result, immigration policies in sending and receiving countries involved in global migration that welcome and accommodate ranges of national identities seem to be most appropriate.

A number of variables contribute to shape a range of acculturated homeland identities among Salvadoran forced migrants. Migration-related variables encompass the mode and date of entry and the educational and employment opportunities that influence mobility in the United States. Variables related to their pre-migration situation involve gender, ties to urban or rural origins in El Salvador, and political activism. Post-migration variables include involvement in civic and political activities toward host country and homeland, El Salvador's promotion of dual citizenship, and ethnic identification in the United States. Looking ahead, one may ask how lasting and stable such identities are. Relatedly, one may ask to what extent these identities are transmitted inter-generationally, particularly since Salvadorans have continued to migrate to the United States, replenishing immigrant communities.

Certainly, the promotion of dual citizenship by El Salvador reinforces the Salvadoran identities of citizens abroad and underpins the cross-border social, economic, and political relations of Salvadorans living in the United States. However, the Salvadoran government's approach is strictly patriarchal, placing an emphasis on men who departed, excluding virtually half of all Salvadorans living outside of their homeland. This approach invalidates the women's plight and their new roles, structural

locations, and identities developed in the United States. To be sure, the migration of Salvadoran forced migrants was gendered and gendering. In this latter sense, precisely women's new roles, structural locations, and identities facilitate their cross-border relations and their contributions to the homeland. The Salvadoran government would be remiss not to embrace a new perspective towards Salvadoran women and men living outside of their homeland. Salvadoran forced migrants deserve no less.

Ultimately, the findings of my case study uncover the ways in which Salvadoran forced migrants relate, participate and think of themselves as members of the political communities in El Salvador and the United States. It is my hope that the study will stimulate others to embark on studies that explore these dimensions of citizenship across forced migrant and other immigrant groups living in the United States. Furthermore, policymakers can delve into the chapters to find ideas that can help enhance the relationships of states to their respective migrant communities. Most of all, it is my hope that the findings will inspire immigrant activists to organize and mobilize and people at large to support the rights of citizens and non-citizens and the effective protection of immigrant communities in the United States.

APPENDIX A

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Date:

From: Margarita S. Studemeister, Ph.D. Student, Department of Sociology,

             American University

To: Participants in Study About Citizenship

        Thank you for your participation in my study about citizenship that is part of the

requirements towards a Ph.D. degree in sociology from American University. This study

explores the views about citizenship among Salvadoran adults at least 18 years of age and

living in the Washington metropolitan area who left their country of origin between 1976

and 1991 due to violent conflict there. The interview will last about two hours and will

take place at a day, time and place of your convenience.

        During the interview, you will be asked to speak freely and frankly about your

views, experiences and feelings regarding the following topics: your arrival to the United

States; your efforts to obtain or maintain a legal status in this country; being a Salvadoran

citizen or becoming a U.S. citizen; citizen rights and duties; your political participation;

and your feelings of belonging to a nation.

        Your participation in this study will have no direct benefit to you, however, this

study will hopefully contribute to knowledge about citizenship from the perspective of

persons like you who left their country of origin due to violent conflict. Such knowledge will play a role in debates about immigration policy reform.

Moreover, your participation in this study is voluntary and does not involve any payment. There are no right or wrong answers to the interview questions.

It is possible that interview questions may evoke a range of personal emotions. Questions may also raise concerns about personal risks, such as social embarrassment and political stigma, if answers directly attributed to you were to be publicly disclosed. Consequently, you may choose not to respond, or to respond partially to any question, and you may withdraw from the study at any time. Furthermore, to protect your personal identity and to make sure that your participation in this study and your answers remain anonymous at all times, information about your identity, including name, address and telephone number, along with my copy of this form, will be kept under lock and key for safekeeping, and will be available only to me.

To fully and faithfully capture your responses, the interview will be recorded and a digital audio file will be produced. The audio file will be transcribed and partially translated to analyze the information that you provide. Your answers and those of other persons who are interviewed as part of this study, will serve to produce a study report. No link will be made between your personal identity and your responses to interview questions to make certain that your participation in this study and your answers remain anonymous at all times. No reference will ever be made that could link you personally to this study. Instead, pseudonyms will be used to protect your identity and the identities of others mentioned by you during the interview.

Documents containing your personal identity and the audio file of the interview will be destroyed, by use of a paper shredding machine for paper or by erasing electronic files, at the end of this study, approximately a year after the interview.

If you have questions at any time about the study, you may contact me at (202) 669-5262 or via email at ms0270a@american.edu, or contact:

- The Department of Sociology of American University, 4400 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20016-8066, at (202) 885-2475

- Peter Jaszi, Chair, American University Institutional Review Board, 4400 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20016-8066, at (202) 274-4216, or via email at pjaszi@wcl.american.edu

By signing immediately below, you approve the recording of your interview.	
_____	_____
Signature	Date

By signing immediately below, you certify having read and understood the content of this form; agreeing to participate in this study; and receiving a copy of this form.

Participant's name	Student's name and contact information Margarita S. Studemeister (202) 669-5262, ms0270a@american.edu
Participant's signature	Student's signature
Date	Date

FORMULARIO DE CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO

Fecha:

De: Margarita S. Studemeister, Estudiante de Doctorado, Departmento de Sociología, American University

Para: Participantes en el Estudio sobre Temas de Ciudadanía

Gracias por participar en mi estudio sobre temas de ciudadanía. Este estudio cumple uno de los requisitos para obtener el título de doctorado en sociología de American University. El estudio sondea los puntos de vista sobre temas de ciudadanía entre aquellos salvadoreños mayores de 18 años de edad que viven en el área metropolitana de Washington, y que salieron de su país de origen entre 1975 y 1991 y a raíz del conflicto violento. La entrevista durará aproximadamente dos horas y se está llevando a cabo en un lugar, un día y una hora de su conveniencia.

Durante la entrevista, se le solicitará que hable libre y francamente sobre sus puntos de vista, sus experiencias y sus sentimientos en relación a los siguientes temas: su llegada a los EEUU, sus esfuerzos por obtener un estatus legal, sus derechos y deberes, su participación política; y sus sentimientos de pertenencia a un país.

Su participación en este estudio no le va a rendir ningún beneficio a Usted, sin embargo, este estudio contribuirá a generar conocimiento sobre temas de ciudadanía desde los puntos de vista de personas como Usted quienes salieron de su país de origen por el conflicto violento. Tal conocimiento jugará un papel en los debates sobre reformas a las políticas de inmigración.

Además, su participación en este estudio es a manera voluntaria y no involucra pago alguno. No existen respuestas correctas o incorrectas. Para captar de manera

completa y fidedigna sus respuestas, la entrevista será grabada y se producirá un archivo digital de la misma. Este archivo digital será transcrito y traducido para analizar la información que Usted provea. Sus respuestas y aquellas de otras personas que serán entrevistadas para este estudio servirán de base para producir un informe.

Es posible que las preguntas durante la entrevista produzcan una serie de emociones en Usted. También pudieran provocar cierta preocupación en Usted acerca de los riesgos personales que pudiera sufrir, por ejemplo vergüenza social o estigma político, si respuestas que se le atribuyan a Usted fueran a ser públicamente reveladas. Por lo tanto, existen medidas para protegerlo/a a Usted y a otras personas que participen en este estudio. Estas medidas son las siguientes:

- Usted puede optar no responder o responder parcialmente a cualquier pregunta, y Usted podrá retirarse del estudio en cualquier momento.

- Además, para proteger su identidad personal y asegurar que su participación en este estudio y sus respuestas permanezcan anónimas en todo momento, información sobre su identidad, incluyendo su nombre, dirección y número de teléfono, junto con mi copia de este formulario, serán mantenidos bajo candado y llave para salvaguardarlos, y solamente yo tendré acceso a dicha información.

- No se vinculará su identidad personal a sus respuestas a modo de garantizar que su participación en este estudio y sus respuestas permanezcan anónimas en todo momento. No se hará ninguna referencia que pueda vincularlo a Usted personalmente a este estudio. Mas bien, se usarán seudónimos para proteger su identidad y las identidades de personas allegadas a Usted a quienes Usted mencione durante la entrevista.

- Al finalizar este estudio, aproximadamente un año después de la entrevista, se destruirán todos los documentos que contengan información sobre su identidad personal y los archivos digitales de la entrevista, ya sea usando una trituradora de papel o borrando los archivos electrónicos.

En caso de que Usted tenga preguntas sobre este estudio, en cualquier momento puede contactarse conmigo al (202) 669-5262 or por correo electrónico al ms0270a@american.edu, or ponerse en contacto con:

- El Departmento de Sociología en American University, 4400 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20016-8066, al (202) 885-2475
- Peter Jaszi, Chair, American University Institutional Review Board, 4400 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20016-8066, al (202) 274-4216, o por correo electrónico al pjaszi@wcl.american.edu

Al firmar aquí abajo, Usted está permitiendo que se grabe la entrevista.	
_____ Firma	_____ Fecha

Al firmar aquí abajo, Usted asegura haber leído y/o repasado y comprendido el contenido de este formulario; estar de acuerdo en participar en este estudio; y haber recibido una copia de este formulario.

Nombre del participante	Nombre de la Estudiante Margarita S. Studemeister (202) 669-5262, ms0270a@american.edu
Firma del participante	Firma de la Estudiante
Fecha	Fecha

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE

My study seeks to gather the views towards citizenship among Salvadorans who left their homeland between 1975 and 1991, and who settled in the Washington metropolitan area. I am asking them to tell me about what seems important about citizenship to them. Thus, there are no right or wrong answers. Rather, I am only interested in what you and others can tell me about your experiences and what you care about in regard to citizenship.

Personal Background

1. Tell me about yourself.

Forced Migration

2. Let's talk about why you left El Salvador and how you arrived in the United States. What do you remember?

Legal Status

1. There has been a lot of talk about the undocumented or illegal migrants living in the United States. Were you ever in such a situation? What was life like here at the beginning?

2. Describe your efforts to maintain, obtain or change your legal status in the United States. What were your options during the course of your life?

3. How did your initial and any subsequent legal status in the United States have an impact on your life? Tell me how your life changed with each legal status.

4. About your Salvadoran citizenship. Are you presently a Salvadoran citizen and why do you say so?

5. Compared to Salvadoran citizenship, how important is U.S. citizenship to you, and why?

Rights and Duties

6. Turning now to the rights and duties of citizens. Do you think that those leaving their homelands should have certain rights and duties in the United States? Which ones and why?

7. Are there rights and duties that have been particularly important to you? Which ones and why?

8. Over time, have some of these rights and duties become more or less important to you? Which ones and why?

9. Presently, are having rights and duties in the United States more meaningful in your life than having rights and duties in El Salvador? Why?

Political/Civic Participation

10. While living in El Salvador, were you politically or civically active? How so?

11. Describe the opportunities that you have had for getting politically or civically involved, even if you chose not to get involved, upon arriving here.

12. Has your political or civic involvement changed over time? How and why?

13. Presently are you involved in any political or civic activities here or in El Salvador? Tell me about such activities.

Sense of Belonging

14. Upon arriving in the United States, did you feel welcomed? What made you feel welcomed or not welcomed?

15. Has the way that you feel to be part or not part of El Salvador and the United States changed since then and how has it changed?

16. Have you ever felt despised in the United States or in El Salvador? Tell me about those instances.

17. Are your feelings more intense toward El Salvador or toward the United States? In which way and why?

Other

18. Tell me anything else that I have not asked you about how you think or feel about citizenship and your experience with it.

19. Can I call you if I have questions about anything that you or others have said?

Thank for time, commitment and effort.

GUIA DE ENTREVISTA

Mi estudio busca recoger los puntos de vista sobre el tema de la ciudadanía entre aquellos salvadoreños que salieron de su país de origen entre 1975 y 1991 y que se radicaron en el área metropolitana de Washington. A quienes entrevisto, les estoy pidiendo que me hablen sobre la importancia que tiene la ciudadanía para ellos. De tal manera que realmente, no existen respuestas correctas o incorrectas. Mas bien estoy interesada en lo que Usted y otros me puedan decir sobre sus experiencias y sobre lo que Ustedes consideran importante respecto al tema de la ciudadanía.

Personal Background

1. Cuénteme sobre si mismo/a.

Forced Migration

2. Hablemos sobre por qué Usted salió de El Salvador y cómo llegó a los Estados Unidos. ¿Qué es lo que Usted recuerda?

Legal Status

3. Se ha hablado mucho sobre los migrantes indocumentados o ilegales que residen en los Estados Unidos. ¿Estuvo Usted en este tipo de situación alguna vez? ¿Cómo fue su vida aquí al principio?

4. Descríbame sus esfuerzos por mantener, obtener o cambiar su estado legal en los Estados Unidos. ¿Qué opciones tuvo Usted en el transcurso de su vida?

5. ¿De qué manera tuvo su estado legal inicial, y luego su estado legal subsiguiente, en los Estados Unidos, un impacto en su vida? Cuénteme cómo cambió su vida con cada cambio de estado legal.

6. Respecto a su ciudadanía salvadoreña. ¿Es Usted actualmente ciudadano/a salvadoreño/a? ¿A qué se debe que Usted diga así?

7. En comparación con la ciudadanía salvadoreña, ¿qué importancia tiene para Usted la ciudadanía estadounidense, y por qué?

Rights and Duties

8. Ahora, pasando al tema de derechos y deberes. ¿Cree Usted que aquellos que salen de su país de origen deberían de tener ciertos derechos y deberes en los Estados Unidos? ¿Cuáles y por qué?

9. ¿Hay derechos y deberes que han sido particularmente importantes para Usted? ¿Cuáles y por qué?

10. Con el pasar del tiempo, ¿han cobrado mayor o menor importancia para Usted algunos de estos derechos y deberes? ¿Cuáles y por qué?

11. Actualmente, ¿es para Usted más significativo tener derechos y deberes en los Estados Unidos que tener derechos y deberes en El Salvador? ¿Por qué?

Political/Civic Participation

12. Mientras Usted vivía en El Salvador, participaba Usted política o cívicamente? ¿De qué manera?

13. Cuénteme sobre las oportunidades que Usted ha tenido para participar política o cívicamente desde que llegó acá, aunque no lo haya hecho.

14. ¿Ha cambiado su participación política o cívica en el transcurso del tiempo? ¿Cómo y por qué?

15. Actualmente, ¿está Usted participando en actividades políticas o cívicas acá o en El Salvador? Cuénte sobre tales actividades.

Sense of Belonging

16. Al llegar a los Estados Unidos, ¿se sintió bienvenido? ¿Qué lo hizo sentirse

bienvenido o no bienvenido?

17. ¿Ha cambiado la manera en que Usted se siente ser parte o no ser parte de El

Salvador y de los Estados Unidos desde entonces y de qué manera ha cambiado?

18. ¿Alguna vez se ha sentido menospreciado en los Estados Unidos o en El

Salvador? Cuénteme sobre tales incidentes.

19. ¿Son más intensos sus sentimientos hacia El Salvador o hacia los Estados Unidos?

¿De qué manera y por qué?

Other

20. Dígame cualquier otra cosa que no le haya preguntado sobre lo que Usted piensa

o siente sobre el tema de ciudadanía y su experiencia al respecto.

21. ¿Podría comunicarme con Usted en caso de tener alguna pregunta respecto a lo

que dijo Usted u otras personas?

Thank for time, commitment and effort.

TABLES: SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

Table C1. Codes Used in Tables of Sample Characteristics
for Men (Table C.2) and Women (Table C.3)

Category	Codes	Value
	*	Non-citizen
ID	1 - 30	Men
	31 - 60	Women
Origin	E = Eastern	Usulután, San Miguel, La Unión, and Morazán
	C = Central	La Libertad, San Salvador, Chalatenango, Cabañas, La Paz, San Vicente, and Cuscatlán
	W = Western	Santa Ana, Ahuachapán, and Sonsonate
Context	C	Capital of San Salvador
	T	Town
	R	Rural
Work then	B	Business
	BC	Blue Collar
	F	Farming
	M	Factory and Trade
	S	Student
	WC	White Collar
	X	Odd Jobs and Unemployed
Reason left El Salvador	C	Armed Conflict
	P	Political Violence
	O	Opposition
	R	Forced Recruitment
	V	Victim
Entry mode	Res	Permanent Resident Visa
	Stu	Student Visa

Category	Codes	Value
	Tour	Tourist Visa
	Transit	Transit Visa
	Undoc	Undocumented
	B	Business
	BC	Blue Collar
	M	Factory and Trade
Work now	S	Student
	WC	White Collar
	X	Odd Jobs and Unemployed
	AL	Amnesty Law
	E	Employer Sponsorship
	EF	Employer Sponsorship of Family Member
Legal path	F	Family Reunification
	M	Marriage
	N	NACARA
	P	Political Asylum
	EQ	Rights and duties equally important in the USA and El Salvador
Rights and duties	S	Rights and duties important in El Salvador
	U	Rights and duties important in USA
	A	Advocacy
	C	Civic Volunteerism
Participate in USA	P	Political Party Membership and Activities
	S	Salvadoran Self-Help and Service Organizations
	V	Voting
	A	Advocacy
Participate in El Salvador	P	Political Party Membership and Activities
	S	Salvadoran homeland organizations
	V	Voting
Belong to USA	A	Acculturated
	G	Gratitude
	O	Otherness
Belong to El Salvador	C	Roots
	H	Love
	O	Otherness

Table C.2. Sample Characteristics - Men ($N = 60$)

ID	Gender	Origin	Context	Work Then	Year Left	Reason	Year Entered	Age at Entry	Entry Mode	Work Now	Legal Path	Rights	Participate in USA	Participate in ES	Belong to USA	Belong to ES
1	M	C	C	S	1980	O	1980	25	Undoc	WC	EF	U	CPV	-	GO	H
2	M	E	R	F	1979	V	1979	29	Undoc	BC	AL	U	CPV	-	AG	O
3	M	E	T	F B	1986	C	1986	39	Res	BC	F	U	V	-	AG	-
4	M	E	T	S	1980	V	1980	20	Undoc	WC	E	U	ACPV	S	AG	H
5	M	E	R	S F	1984	R	1984	15	Undoc	WC	AL	U	APV	AS	GO	H
6*	M	C	T	M	1976	O	1977	19	Undoc	X	AL	U	CS	-	AO	-
7	M	E	T	S	1982	R	1982	17	Undoc	BC	AL	U	APV	PS	G	H
8*	M	C	R	WC	1991	V	1991	23	Undoc	BC	P	EQ	-	PS	GO	H
9	M	C	C	S	1979	O	1979	21	Res	WC	F	U	APSV	AP	O	O
10	M	W	T	S	1990	R	1990	15	Undoc	BC	N	U	ACV	S	AO	C
11	M	C	C	S WC	1980	O	1980	27	Res	WC	F	EQ	APV	S	AG	HO
12	M	C	C	S	1990	C	1990	10	Res	B	F	EQ	APV	S	-	CH
13	M	E	T	S F	1984	R	1984	14	Undoc	WC	N	U	CPV	S	G	H
14	M	E	T	WC	1986	C	1986	36	Tour	WC	E	U	PV	S	A	H
15*	M	E	T	S X	1989	C	1989	16	Undoc	WC	N	U	A	-	AO	HO
16	M	C	T	S F	1990	O	1990	24	Undoc	WC	N	U	ACV	S	G	CH
17	M	C	T	S	1978	V	1978	17	Res	WC	F	U	CPV	S	AG	C
18	M	C	C	S	1986	O	1986	27	Undoc	B	EF	U	PV	S	G	H
19	M	C	T	S	1980	V	1980	23	Stu	WC	M	EQ	APSV	VS	A	H
20	M	W	T	S WC	1979	V	1979	23	Undoc	WC	AL	U	PSV	P	AG	C
21	M	C	R	S WC	1980	V	1984	32	Tour	WC	M	EQ	ASV	AS	G	C
22*	M	E	T	WC	1991	C	1991	30	Tour	WC	M	U	AC	-	A	CH
23*	M	E	T	S X	1984	C	1984	18	Undoc	B	EF	U	P	P	O	H
24	M	E	T	F	1987	R	1987	22	Undoc	BC	E	U	AV	S	AG	C
25	M	E	T	S M	1978	R	1978	19	Undoc	B	E	U	ACPV	S	A	H
26	M	E	T	F	1977	P	1977	18	Undoc	B	E	U	PSV	PS	GO	C
27*	M	C	T	S M	1989	R	1989	21	Undoc	WC	EF	EQ	AP	P	-	C
28	M	E	T	WC	1983	V	1983	29	Transit	WC	M	EQ	PSV	PS	AG	CH
29	M	C	C	WC	1978	P	1978	27	Stu	WC	M	U	APSV	A	A	CH
30	M	C	C	S	1980	V	1980	17	Undoc	WC	AL	U	APSV	V	AG	CH

Table C.3. Sample Characteristics - Women (*N* = 60)

ID	Gender	Origin	Context	Work Then	Year Left	Reason	Year Entered	Age at Entry	Entry Mode	Work Now	Legal Path	Rights	Participate in USA	Participate in ES	Belong to USA	Belong to ES
31	W	E	T	S	1988	C	1988	19	Undoc	B	AL	U	CPV	S	A	H
32	W	E	T	S	1984	C	1991	16	Undoc	WC	M	U	CPV	S	G	C
33*	W	C	C	S	1980	P	1980	13	Tour	WC	F	U	C	S	A	C
34	W	C	C	S	1980	P	1980	16	Tour	WC	M	U	ACV	S	A	C
35*	W	E	T	SWC	1988	C	2006	46	Res	WC	F	U	AS	A	-	H
36	W	E	R	SWC	1981	O	1981	20	Undoc	WC	AL	U	APSV	PV	G	C
37	W	E	T	S X	1979	O	1979	21	Undoc	WC	E	U	ACV	PV	A	C
38	W	C	R	S X	1979	O	1979	22	Undoc	B	AL	U	APSV	PV	AG	H
39	W	E	T	S B	1987	C	1987	17	Undoc	WC	N	U	ACV	S	AO	HO
40	W	E	T	S	1984	C	1984	23	Tour	WC	M	EQ	ACPV	S	A	C
41	W	W	T	SWC	1981	V	1981	30	Tour	WC	M	U	AV	S	G	C
42	W	E	T	WC	1984	P	1984	33	Undoc	WC	E	U	A	PS	G	H
43	W	C	T	X	1986	C	1986	27	Undoc	BC	E	U	CV	S	GO	C
44	W	E	T	WC	1981	O	1981	22	Undoc	WC	AL	U	APV	S	G	CH
45	W	C	T	S	1989	V	1989	23	Undoc	X	N	U	ACPV	SV	A	C
46	W	C	C	S	1982	O	1989	23	Undoc	WC	E	U	ASV	PV	-	C
47*	W	E	T	X	1990	V	1990	31	Undoc	BC	N	U	AS	P	G	H
48	W	E	T	S	1990	C	1990	13	Res	WC	F	U	APV	S	GO	CH
49	W	E	T	S	1981	O	1981	23	Undoc	WC	M	U	ACPSV	S	AGO	H
50	W	E	T	WC	1983	C	1983	28	Undoc	BC	EF	U	AV	-	G	H
51	W	E	T	SWC	1988	C	1988	32	Tour	WC	F	U	ACPSV	-	O	CH
52	W	W	T	SWC	1990	C	1990	37	Res	B	F	U	ACPV	S	A	H
53*	W	E	T	WC	1985	C	1985	28	Tour	WC	AL	U	C	-	AG	CH
54	W	C	C	S X	1981	P	1983	22	Undoc	WC	AL	U	CPV	-	AG	HO
55	W	E	T	S M	1983	V	1983	27	Undoc	WC	E	U	ACPSV	-	AG	HO
56	W	C	T	WC	1980	O	1981	22	Tour	WC	F	U	AV	-	A	H
57	W	C	C	SWC	1984	C	1984	23	Tour	WC	M	U	ACV	P	A	HO
58	W	E	R	S	1989	C	1989	14	Undoc	WC	E	U	CV	S	AGO	-
59	W	E	R	SWC	1979	P	1979	19	Tour	WC	E	U	CPV	PS	AO	O
60	W	E	T	S B	1983	C	1983	14	Undoc	B	M	U	ACV	S	AG	H

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