Globalization of the periphery:
The challenges of transnational migration for local development in Central America

Prepared by:
Katharine Andrade-Eekhoff
Claudia Marina Silva-Avalos
FLACSO Programa El Salvador[1]

Working document

April, 2003

[1] FLACSO thanks the Rockefeller Foundation for its generous support of this project.

Table of Contents

I. Introduction

According to the 1992 national census, the municipality San Antonio Pajonal, in Western El Salvador had a population of approximate 3,800 at that time. The mayor estimates that 80% of the registered voters in the municipality currently live in Los Angeles. The mayor of San Sebastian in Central El Salvador considers that the hometown association in Los Angeles, California is a second city council with which he can work in order to bring water, education and other basic infrastructure projects to the population. The Garifuna communities along the Atlantic cost of Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua have established strong cultural links among their communities that also include migrants in Brooklyn, New York and Los Angeles, California. And the graffiti of youth gangs born in Los Angeles, such as the Mara Salvatrucha (MS) or 18th Street, can be found in cities and small towns in southern México, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and El Salvador. These are all diverse examples of the manner in which a "silent" globalization of peripheral territories affects Central American populations through international migration.

International labor migration from and to Central America is not new, but the volume and dynamics of the processes have grown phenomenally over the last two decades and are bringing about dramatic changes in households that now bridge national borders. And clearly the flows that go back and forth between those that are here and those that are there have a dialectical influence both there and here. Yet, relatively little is understood within the region on the implications of these processes on the local socio-productive fabric in the sending areas. It seems as though despite decades of increasing levels of international labor migration, principally to the United States, policy makers, community leaders, directors of NGOs and academics are just beginning to realize that tremendous changes are taking place but without fully understanding their implication for national, international, and particularly local policy and programs. What does it mean in terms of effective citizenship that 80% of the registered voters of a given municipality live in Los Angeles? What are the political and developmental implications of having a "second municipal council" that lives in another country? How are socio-cultural relationships transformed through international migration? And are the gang formations observed throughout Central America part of closely knit transnational ties or mere imitations facilitated by greater penetration of U.S. media and the deportation of Central American youth from the peripheral streets of Los Angeles?

Through this paper we seek to offer a framework for future analysis of many of these important issues. In doing this, we start by reviewing what is currently known about the phenomenon of transnational communities resulting from international labor migration in the Central American countries of El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala and Honduras. In addition to having worked with Central American migrants, been migrants ourselves, as well as carry out research related to these issues for over a decade, we have conducted extensive bibliographical searches in the region gathering published as well as unpublished materials.[2] To complement these secondary resources, a series of interviews in each of the countries as well as with migrant leaders and

[2] See Appendix II with bibliographical listings organized by region and country.

academics in Los Angeles and New York were carried out between November 2002 and February 2003.[3] While we seek to provide an overview from the four countries, readers will notice that many of the references and examples presented are from El Salvador and Guatemala. This is due to several factors. First of all, our accumulated knowledge has focused primarily on Salvadoran followed by Guatemalan migration. But even more important is the relative lack of research that has been carried out in Nicaragua and Honduras. The exception here is the excellent work done on Nicaraguan migration to Costa Rica. None-the-less, information on Honduras is remarkably lacking. A cursory review of the bibliographic appendix reflects these general tendencies. This in no way means that migration and transnationalism from Honduras is less important; rather less is known about the actual dynamics.

This document is organized into six main sections. The first offers a conceptual framework for understanding transnational communities and their articulation with international labor migration. The second section provides a regional and historical context of international migration in El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Honduras. The third section analyses the types of transnational community networks and their fields of action in the region. This is followed by a review of the actors that make transnational community networks function in Central America. The fifth section focuses on issues related specifically to youth and international labor migration. The final portion of the document analyses the responses of government authorities, both local and national, in Central America to the emergence of transnational territories and social relationships. Four appendices compliment this text: 1) a list of interviews carried out, 2) useful bibliographical references ordered by country, 3) used web sites, and 4) data tables from U.S. census information between 1990 and 2000 on the number of migrants from the four countries in various states and cities.

[3] See Appendix I on interviews carried out.

II. Conceptual framework of transnational communities and international migration

The use of the concept of transnationalism as associated with migration has developed into a growing literature that has also faced considerable criticism. This concept has more generally been used when referring to international firms and capital. But it has also been applied to crime, terrorism, cyber-communities, diasporas, and religious organizations just to name a few (Vertovec, 2001). Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt (1999) define transnationalism as "occupations and activities that require regular and sustained social contacts over time across national boarders for their implementation" (219). Guarnizo and Smith (1998) delimit two types of transnationalism: from above and from below. Governments and corporations are involved in the first case, whereas migrants and small business owners would exemplify the second. Portes (2001) considers that an even more precision is required since its application is being appropriated to analyze a broad multiplicity of actors, activities and relationships. He proposes that analysis differentiate between *international* actors (States and other institutions with a clear national base but that may have activities in other countries), *multinational* actors (institutions whose purposed and interests transcend the borders of a national state, such as the Catholic church or the United Nations), and *transnational* actors. In this last group the author proposes that transnational refers to activities that have been initiated or sustained by non-institutional actors, be these organized groups or networks of people that act between borders. In this sense, transnational activities of migrants are but one of the possible manifestations.

While the application of transnationalism to the phenomenon of migration has received criticism, it is based upon several premises that help to explain the links between the global and the local. First, people who leave their home areas (towns, countries) do not necessarily break their ties with these territories.[4] It is precisely in this way that the concept of transnationalism as applied to the migration process emerged (GlickSchiller, et.al. 1992). Multiple studies have been carried out demonstrating diverse forms of transnational relationships among migrants and their places of origin.[5] The will be discussed in greater detail in the coming pages.

Secondly, international migration does not take place in a vacuum. It is linked to relationships and thus it is important to talk of the social networks that expand multiple territories (Morales Gamboa, 2002; Vertovec, 2001; Levitt, 2001a; Popkin and Andrade-Eekhoff, 2000). These networks are an integral part of the most intimate relationships of individuals beginning with those of the household and the family where potential migrants take advantage of their contacts with siblings, aunts, cousins and others living in different territories in order to obtain information about migration, financial support for the trip and support for insertion in a new locale. The destiny of the migrant is not random but rather based on these family and community relationships. People from a particular locale emigrate to specific cities outside their home country and even participate in the labor market based on ties to family and friends. In the Salvadoran case, natives of the municipality of Ozatlán, Usulutan seek opportunities in Houston,

[4] Although it is important to note that not all migrants maintain links with their places or countries of origin.
[5] See in particular the special editions of **Comparative Urban and Community Research**, Vol. 6 , **Ethnic and Racial Studies**, Vol. 2, March 1999 and **Global Networks: A Journal of Transnational Affairs,** Vol. 1, No. 3, July, 2001 analyzing new research and theory concerning migrant transnationalism.

Texas while residents of Santa Elena, Usulutan (another nearby municipality) migrate to Los Angeles (Andrade-Eekhoff, 2001). The Kanjobal of Santa Eulalia, Huehuetanango in Guatemala are primarily located in Los Angeles (Loucky and Moors, 2000; Popkin, 1999) due to the ties with other family members and friends who established the first migratory routes. The Garifuna of Belize, Guatemala and Honduras live in the Bronx and Brooklyn in New York or in the South Central neighborhood of Los Angeles. Studies on the Nicaraguan migration to Costa Rica likewise emphasize the importance of these networks (Morales, 2002; 2000).

Thirdly, transnational ties are not limited to occasional family remittances or trips home, which in and of themselves do not constitute a new phenomenon. Rather the breadth and depth of these ties as well as their frequency as facilitated by the transformation of global communications and travel are the important developments to be examined. Guarnizo (2000) considers that there are two important categorical points of differentiation: core versus expanded transnational practices. The first refer to activities that form an integral part of the individual's habitual life, are carried out in a regular manner, and lead to patterns and are therefore relatively predictable. Expanded practices are those that happen only occasionally as in response to a natural disaster or political crisis. Itzigsohn et al. (1999) use a similar dichotomy based on broad and narrow transnational practices. Broad practices are not well institutionalized and require only sporadic participation and/or movement, whereas narrow ones are highly institutionalized, constant and involve regular travel. Levitt (2001a) incorporates additional considerations beyond just the intensity or frequency of the ties but also their scope. She distinguishes between comprehensive versus selective practices. Comprehensive activities involve broad social fields of exchanges that are not only economic, but also social and political in nature, also called economic, social or political remittances. Selective ones are limited to engaging in more restricted activities, such as only sending family remittances.

But these remittances are not one way, flowing from the core to the periphery. To illustrate this point it is useful to consider the various types of flows that are *exchanged* transnationally. Clearly the most visible and researched issue relates to economic remittances. The flows that are exchanged relate to labor moving from one space to another and sending home goods and capital. These *migradollars*, as they have been termed by some analysts, are clearly an important part of the transnational exchanges that take place. But family remittances are only one type of economic exchange taking place in transnationalism. The emergence of transnational entrepreneurs has also demonstrated that new economic activities linked to international labor migration are an important expression of these sorts of exchanges (Portes, Guarnizo and Heller, 2002; Landolt, 2001; Landolt, Autler and Baires, 1999). These economic niches include *encomenderos* who travel back and forth between the migrant population and the home communities or countries carrying letters, money, goods and news that are exchanged back and forth. Entrepreneurs in the host country are using their knowledge and contacts to establish viable businesses that take advantage of economic opportunities in various settings. At the same time, sending country entrepreneurs have been using their transnational contacts to take advantage of imports of goods via migrants, or to export products for the "nostalgic" market (Lungo and Andrade-Eekhoff, 1999; Andrade-Eekhoff, 1999).

Socio-cultural exchanges impact not only the migrant but those that do not migrate as well. While these types of flows are much less tangible they include the reproduction of social and

cultural identities in diverse spaces. For example, researchers have found that certain basic everyday household decisions are made very far away (Levitt, 2001b). Thus, daughters in San Salvador may have to consult with their mothers in Los Angeles regarding which carpenter to hire to rebuild a kitchen cabinet. Or the *quinceañera* party financed and planned in elaborate detail in the U.S. but celebrated in Chalatenango, mixes cultural and social expressions from both societies. Likewise, patron saint celebrations are held simultaneously in Los Angeles and San Juan Tepezontes, in El Salvador or in New York and Livingston, Guatemala. Beauty queens in Houston are selected based on their ability to raise funds for their hometown in Guatemala, a place they may never have visited but has become part of their identity and social and cultural heritage. Young men participate in the hundreds if not thousands of soccer teams and leagues that form part of migrant social life in Los Angeles, Washington D.C., Miami, and New York. At the same time, they may also support a local soccer team in the hometown or country. Some of the clearest exchanges of this sort can be seen through the celebration of Central American independence day (September 15) in various cities in the United States in which not only are music, food, language and artistic expressions shared but include the participation of various dignitaries from the home countries. The Catholic Church of San Salvador sent a replica of the "Saviour of the World" monument to Los Angeles for the August patron saint festivities held in that city in California. One of the main variations was that this Jesus, instead of wearing sandals, donned tennis shoes, a symbol of U.S. culture and commercialism linked to migrants. These are not just simple reproductions of activities from one place to another but involve transnational exchanges and flows.

Political exchanges are also multiple and varied. The most evident of these has to do with legal status of migrants and their family members. One of the main services offered by the consulates of Central America in the United States has to do with the registration of U.S. born children in order to guarantee their inclusion as citizens of the parents' homeland. At the same time, some migrants obtain U.S. citizenship in order to return to live "permanently" in their home country and not have to worry about traveling at least once a year to maintain their legal permanent resident status. In the process, these naturalized U.S. citizens bring with them ideas and practices concerning rights and responsibilities from another society. While many Central American migrants continue to travel via the informal undocumented routes, more are able to initiate travel as permanent residents, having successfully negotiated the legal process with the assistance of close relatives legally residing in the U.S. These increasingly varied residency arrangements raise relevant issues for the discussion concerning the meaning of citizenship and rights in a transnational society. And as a result, legal advise is also becoming transnationalized as attorneys from Central America set up offices to practice Salvadoran law in Los Angeles in conjunction with partners back home.

But political exchanges go far beyond legal issues. Included in this form of transnational flow is a style of organizing and understanding of rights and citizenship based on the sending area but also on the receiving country. Faist (1999), in his analysis of transnational social space, talks about dual state membership incorporating complementary elements of political culture from various states. These elements of citizenship can be legal (as described above) or political-institutional, involving various elements related to participation, access to rights, and the enforcement of duties. For example, hometown committees in New York reproduce organizational structures from the home country but at the same time seek non-profit status in the

U.S. in order to demonstrate a certain level of institutionality. The levels of transparency and accountability demanded by the supporters of the hometown association in their new country require different standards from that in the places of origin. The levels of documentation regarding the use of funds for community projects in the beneficiary communities in Central America mean that local counterparts become involved in this form of social accountability and fiscalization. In some cases, elected authorities welcome these processes, thus contributing to a deepening of democratic practice. However, there are situations where local elected officials block efforts of migrants, seeing these as a threat to their authority. In other situations, some associations serve as new scenarios of "dientelism", possibly replacing old forms of clientelism but not the system of exclusive rights, benefits and reciprocity. This is found when for example, the President of a Hometown Association garners exclusive personal benefits in the community of origin based on his privileged tie between local authorities and migrants; he may even become the new "*cacique*" replacing old schemes of privilege in rural areas.

The frequency and scope of these exchanges (economic, socio-cultural and political) are all important in determining the breadth and depth of transnationalism in the migration process. Some individuals and households may engage almost exclusively in frequent economic exchanges but over time also develop social and political exchanges. Or as certain households participate in economic exchanges, other individuals or households may become involved predominantly in social or political transnationalism and infrequently or never send or receive family remittances. We posit that more or less frequent exchanges of greater or lesser scope will lead to differing processes of transnationalization in terms of its breadth and depth.

At the same time, these transnational relationships can take place in various types of communities. The basic foundation of these ties links families together through kinship. Much discussion is currently taking place as to the "disintegration" of the family due to international migration. And while not all families linked into migration engage in transnational relationships, many maintain some level of exchange. Levitt (2001a) considers that non-migrant family members can be brought into a transnational situation when the household has a high level of dependency (economic or otherwise) on the migrants. This means that the transnational sphere goes beyond the specific individual and begins to incorporate entire households, and as these expand can indeed incorporate entire communities. Thus the transformation of kinship and the family through transnational exchanges requires a much more nuanced examination of the types of flows that take place, their frequency, and their scope in order to better understand the implications for households. Additionally, multiple studies point out that generational and gendered differences are important factors to take into account as these processes are examined (Levitt and Waters, 2002; Levitt, 2001a; Menjivar, 2000; Popkin and Andrade-Eekhoff, 2000; Pessar, 1999; Mahler, 1999; Barahona, s.f.; Zilberg and Lungo, 1999).

However, kinship is not the only type of transnational community that has emerged as migration has been studied. Ethnic, religious and political communities engage in transnational exchanges through migration. Likewise, territorial communities linked transnationally require constructing geography in a new light. For purposes of the present analysis, we are particularly interested in the territorial link where social relationships are reproduced in transnational locales in Central America. This local territory in Central America can be identified by a shared common history, political-administrative divisions, and/or geographical aspects (Pérez Saínz, et al. 2001). Given

these characteristics, we consider that it is pertinent to focus on neighborhood communities (that share a common history) located in the same political-administrative territory (the municipal district). Moreover, various types of communities may reside in a given territory and the ways in which these engage in transnational flows are the foundation for understanding the development issues. It has already been mentioned that migrants from one municipality tend to migrate to a particular receiving area. But within these territorial links, kinship, ethnicity, religious and political communities may also interact transnationally, thus forming a complex web of interactions and flows that transcend national boundaries. These are aspects that will be discussed in greater detail in the fourth section of this document.

But first it is necessary to provide a historical context on the evolution of these processes in the Central America. The following section explores various aspects of international labor migration in El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Honduras as these peripheral countries have become more articulated with the global economy.

III. Historical Context of International Labor Migration in Central America

International labor migration from Central America is changing many facets of life in El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Guatemala. Over the last two decades the volume of international labor migration to the United States has increased so dramatically that in countries such as El Salvador, the topic enters into practically all facets of daily life and politics. But within the region there are important dynamics that differentiate the types of flows and merit mention.

First of all, there is considerable migration within the region. The most notable case on interregional migration has to do with Nicaraguan labor migration to Costa Rica, which until the 1990s, in terms of volume, was about the same as that taking place to the U.S. Over approximately the last decade, migration between these two Central American countries has exploded becoming a much more important dynamic than that to the U.S. However, this does not mean that migration northward does not take place in large numbers; rather relatively speaking it is a less important phenomena (Baumeister, 2001).

A second dynamic has to do with transit. As migration from the southern cone (particularly Peru and Ecuador) to the U.S has increased, the countries of Central America have become important territories of transit. These flows are highly dynamic but have significant impacts in certain areas, in particular border towns. Tecun Uman in Guatemala is perhaps the most evident case in point, but these flows can be found throughout the region.

Finally, the labor migration to the United States has dominated much of the region over the last two decades. The most dramatic case is that of El Salvador where estimates range from 15% to 35% of the Salvadoran population living in the U.S. To highlight the importance of this migration, the following table summarizes various factors that merit attention. While the accuracy of each of the indicators can be debated,[6] the data presented offer a quick overview of the relative importance of international labor migration to the U.S. for each country. In the case of El Salvador, the sheer volume of people as well as family remittances makes international labor migration an unequivocal factor related to labor, trade, social policy, among other issues. In Guatemala, the annual increase in the number of migrants to the U.S. between 1990 and 2000 points to the growing importance of this phenomenon. Honduras reflects the highest annual growth rate of migrants, which will ultimately lead to increases in family remittances. And while the indicators related to Nicaragua reflect relatively less impact, it must not be forgotten that the majority of current migration is to Costa Rica.

[6] Some debates center around the actual amount of remittances and how they are transferred and counted and others have to do with the estimates related to the number of migrants in the various receiving countries.

Table 1. Basic indicators concerning migration and remittances in Central America

Selected Indicators	El Salvador	Guatemala	Honduras	Nicaragua
Remittances (1999)	$1,580,000,000	$535,000,000	$368,000,000	$345,000,000
Remittances as a percentage of....				
Foreign Direct Investment	684%	364%	160%	115%
All exports	63.2%	19.3%	21%	63%
GNP	12.6%	3.0%	6.8%	14.4%
National Population	6,200,000	10,100,000	6,300,000	4,920,000
Migrants in U.S.				
1990 Adjusted Census[7]	583,396	279,361	142,482	212,480
2000 Adjusted Census	1,117,960	627,331	362,170	294,337[8]
Annual increase of migrants	53,456	34,797	21,969	8,186
Annual growth rate	4.78%	5.55%	6.07%	2.78%
Migrants as a proportion of national population	18.03%	6.21%	5.75%	5.98%

Source: selected data from 1999 from IADB, 2001; data from the U.S. census calculated using the data base generated by the Mumford Institute, Albany.

These three simultaneous processes (intraregional migration, transit migration and migration to the U.S.) are intimately linked to global political and economic forces (Sassen, 1998; 2000; Portes and Fernandez-Kelly, 2002). As was mentioned in the previous section, migration is related to social networks. But these networks are a part of broader economic and political processes that make it possible, and even necessary, for them to transcend borders. Nicaraguan labor migration is intimately linked to Costa Rican labor market needs in certain sectors. Domestic workers, agriculture and construction are the dominant employment sectors of Nicaraguans in Costa Rica. This has taken place as Costa Rica's economic activities expand into more globalized employment opportunities that generate better paying jobs but at the same time require cheap labor for certain types of activities (Morales and Castro, 2002; Baumeister, 2001). This is also true in the case of Central American migration to the U.S. Over at least the last half century, the countries of Central America have become more and more intimately linked to U.S. business and political interests, in which the U.S. has intervened at different points to protect these interests.[9] During the 80s, the Central American region was considered to be a staging ground for major geopolitical battles during the cold war era. The Reagan Administration saw Central America as a back door to Soviet communist expansion and therefore went to

[7] The U.S. Census has been heavily criticized for undercounting migrants due to diverse methodological issues. The Mumford Institute has evaluated the results from the 1990 and 2000 census, adjusting data to take into account some of these issues. Please see the web page for further details and access to the respective databases: http://www.albany.edu/mumford/census/.

[8] It is estimated that as of the year 2000 there were approximately 350,000 Nicaraguans in Costa Rica (Baumeister, 2001). Together with U.S. migration, migrants represent approximately 13% of the Nicaraguan population.

[9] For example, the U.S. supported the 1954 coup of the democratically elected Arbenz government in Guatemala when attempts were made to carry out a land reform that was not in the interests of the United Fruit Company. See for example, Stephen C. Schlesinger, Stephen Kinzer, John H. Coatsworth, and Richard A. Nuccio, 1999 **Bitter Fruit: The Story of the American Coup in Guatemala**, Cambridge Mass: Harvard University)

tremendous efforts to protect U.S. interests. U.S. troops based in Honduras supported Nicaraguan contra rebels against the Sandinista government in Nicaragua; U.S. military and foreign aid in El Salvador during that decade reached an estimated $6 billion- all to ensure that FMLN rebels did not take political control in that country.

These economic and political links are an important historical foundation of international labor migration taking place today (Popkin and Andrade-Eekhoff, 2001), and can be differentiated within the region. In El Salvador, where international labor migration has clearly become a significant phenomenon, roots to this process can be traced all the way back to the 19th century (Hamilton and Chinchilla, 2001; Cordova, 1995). Labor flows were differentiated by class. For example, early migrants to the San Francisco Bay Area tended to be from the elite classes of Salvadoran society, whereas those involved in regional coffee harvests were peasants. While relatively small in numbers, the migration waves of 1960s and 70s to the U.S. from El Salvador established the foundation of social networks that later flows would rely upon. Various studies have emphasized that working and middle class women were protagonists of this early flow northward, taking advantage of relatively fewer legal and economic barriers (Zentgraff, 1995; Andrade-Eekhoff, 2001). For example, in the 1960s, Salvadoran women gained access to U.S. labor markets via travel agencies that quite legally recruited and placed domestic workers in U.S. homes. Others obtain a tourist visa by producing a round trip airline ticket at the U.S. consulate. The civil war in the 1980s uprooted thousands of Salvadorans. Many fled war torn rural areas to neighboring Honduras while others sought refuge and anonymity in urban areas. Those with the means, both economic as well as social, headed to the U.S. in unprecedented numbers. Increasing restrictions for entering the U.S. legally contributed to the emergence of a parallel travel structure involving large sums of money paid to *coyotes*, who continue to engage in the transportation of undocumented migrants. While it is unclear as to the number and proportion of undocumented migration from El Salvador, other means of entry continue to exist, and tend to reflect class differences. Some migrants are able to obtain tourist visas and use these in quite creative manners, traveling back and forth, working for several months at a time in order to generate higher rents on their labor, while others simply overstay their tourist visa becoming undocumented. Due to the increasing number of Salvadorans who have obtained permanent legal status or become U.S. citizens over the years, more family members are able to also obtain legal permanent residence and thus enter the U.S. with full rights. Thus simply categorizing current migration flows as undocumented or illegal is clearly problematic since a great deal of heterogeneity exits.

However, in each of these cases, differing levels and types of resources are necessary in order to engage in international migration. Those who have accumulated a certain level of wealth have access to tourist visas, offering them a much less expensive way to participate in international migration flows. Those with fewer economic resources pay as much as $4,000 to use the parallel structure set up through out the region and México. In order to obtain this amount of cash, properties may be mortgaged or social networks, particularly other migrant family members, may be called upon to loan the money to pay for the trip. Thus, international labor migration is clearly not an option for all, particularly those Salvadorans with scarce economic and social resources. But those who engage in it, do so in a differentiated manner.

Similar patterns and historical roots can be found in Guatemalan migration, with an important variation based on ethnicity. Labor migration to the northern border area of México and within Guatemala for the harvesting of various agricultural products, particularly coffee, has a long history, particularly among certain indigenous populations. The intensity of the civil conflict in various parts of the Guatemalan highlands was also a factor that involved the uprooting of thousands of people, some of whom migrated within the country, others to the border areas in México and yet others who migrated to the U.S. Social networks and financial resources were again important factors in differentiating migrant flows. However, another group of migrants that has been relatively less visible in international flows can be found on the Atlantic coast of Guatemala. Concretely Garifuna migration to the U.S., transcending national borders within the region, links families in New York (more specifically the Bronx and Brooklyn) and Los Angeles (the areas in and around South Central Los Angeles). In interviews carried out in the U.S., it appears that most migration takes place legally. Since many of the Guatemalan Garifuna migrants in the U.S. now have permanent residence status or are U.S. citizen, new migration takes place within the established legal framework.[10]

Similarly, Honduran migration from the Atlantic coast to the U.S. appears to have a much longer trajectory than many of the other flows in the region. Again the Garifuna population from Honduras (and the rest of the Atlantic coast of Central America), has been migrating to the U.S. for decades. Historical evidence dates back to World War II when the U.S. government recruited Garifuna men from Belize for jobs left vacant by U.S. workers serving in the armed forces (Miller Matthei and Smith, 1998). Additional labor links from Honduras were established through the U.S. owned banana plantation companies. Today, men and women from the Atlantic coast of Central America, in particular Honduras, work on U.S. owned cruise ships, thus facilitating their incorporation into international labor markets. In other parts of Honduras, New Orleans is considered to be one of the major settlement areas for ladino migrants and those living in this area tend to be U.S. citizens or permanent residents. This flow dates back to the 1960s and 70s involving middle class residents from Tegucigalpa. More recent flows however are diversifying not only the places of reception but also the places of origin of migrants. Honduran communities near the Salvadoran border have tapped into the migrant social networks of their neighbors and can be found in the Washington D.C. area around Arlington, Virginia. Others are going to Los Angeles and New York, and in the area of Olancho migrants are settling in Springfield, Massachusetts.

In Nicaragua, international migration has a long history linked to economic and political turmoil, contributing to various differing flows between sending and receiving areas. Two receiving countries dominate the migration flow from this country: Costa Rica receives an estimated 56% of all Nicaraguan migrants, with approximately 28% going to the United States (Baumeister, 2001: 37). Flows have differed over time. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, thousands of Nicaraguans left the country for Miami following the overthrow of the Somoza government by

[10] Although based on an interview in Honduras this may not be completely true. One informant mentioned that while the Garifuna population does not use coyotes for migratory purposes, not all migration is completely "legal." Some "lending" of documents between family members may take place, thus facilitating a legal entry into the U.S. but using the identity of a brother or sister. This information however has not been corroborated with other informants, and interviewees in New York were insistent that almost all migration now is via legal means. The main point however continues to be valid: a significant proportion of the Garifuna population has established permanent status in the U.S. while maintain close cultural and familial roots in their home communities.

the Sandinistas. This migration was a more urban, better educated and wealthy flow as compared to others. But greater levels of international migration have taken place during the 1990s, both to the U.S. and Costa Rica, skyrocketed in recent years in the case of Costa Rica. In general, flows to Costa Rica are considered to be quite different than those to the U.S. In the first case, migrants tend to be from the southern area of the country, more likely to live in rural areas, and generally with fewer economic resources. Migrants may be seasonal, harvesting bananas, melon, sugar cane and coffee returning home for portions of the year. Other migrants are more permanent working in domestic services or construction in San José (Baumeister, 2001; Morales and Castro, 2002). Those heading northward are more likely to be from urban areas, in particular Managua and from wealthier sectors of the society and are better educated than the general population. Additionally, it appears that there is more migration to the U.S. from northern departments of the country (Baumeister, 2001).

A more careful examination of these flows links them quite directly into the global labor market. U.S agroindustry relies on Central American and Mexican immigrant workers, sometimes even recruiting them from specific towns and communities in their homelands for jobs in the meatpacking or poultry industries or as farm laborers. Such is the case of a Honduran community near the Salvadoran border. Informants consider that nearly half of the town's residents go to work in the Tampa, Florida area for up to 8 months of the year, recruited directly by employment agencies from Florida. This clearly appears to be a new "bracero" program allowing Central Americans to come for set periods of times to work in agricultural harvests in places like Florida. However, as evidenced by a lawsuit against the largest poultry company in the U.S., there are concerns that these companies recruit undocumented migrants from Mexico, Honduras and Guatemala.[11] Regardless of the legal status of the workers, Central Americans are part of the global work force that makes possible the new global mode of accumulation, particularly in the U.S. (Sassen, 1998; 2000; Portes and Fernandez-Kelly, 2002, Lopez, et al. 1999) as well as Costa Rica. Providing cheap labor as domestic workers, farm laborers, janitors, meat packers, construction workers and other low skilled employment, Central Americans are an important part of this facet of the globalized workforce.

This can be further highlighted in part with a look at some of the migration flows to the U.S. using census data from 1990 and 2000.[12] There are some common patterns in terms of migration to specific states in the U.S.. California, Florida, New York and Texas are important places of reception for nationals from each of the four countries although in differing degrees. While the only the fourth most important place of migration for Hondurans in 1990, Louisiana has been recognized as being one of the main destinies for non-Garifuna Honduran migrants. Florida has been the state of preference for Nicaraguans although there is an important contingent in California. Migration of the Garifuna population from the Atlantic coast of Honduras and Guatemala has been concentrated mainly in New York as well as California. The main cities of migration reflect these broader state level trends as well.[13] Los Angeles is the main city of migration for Guatemalans and Salvadorans and the second most important for Hondurans and

[11] La Prensa Grafica http://www.laprensagrafica.com/dpt15/noticias/noticias28.asp, February 21, 2003
[12] Detailed data tables are included in an Appendix IV. In particular see tables 1 through 4.
[13] See tables 6 through 12 in the Appendix IV.

Nicaraguans. The Washington D.C. area has long been thought of as the second largest place of migration for Salvadorans but in reality it falls behind Houston and New York.

These patterns of broader international migration are differentiated on a local level within the countries of origin. For example, the case of Garifuna migration to New York and Los Angeles has already been mentioned. In El Salvador is it generally recognized that in the eastern part of the country, migrants travel to New York and Washington D.C. area. Migrants from Totonicapan in Guatemala are in Houston, Texas (Hagan, 1994), whereas those from Soloma are in Delaware.

However, one of the more important dynamics taking place currently is the diversification of Central American migration locales in the U.S.[14] The mid-west and southern states are attracting more and more Central Americans. The fastest growing states between 1990 and 2000 for Guatemalan migrants were Nebraska, South Dakota and Wyoming; for Hondurans, North Carolina and New México have shown the highest growth rates; Salvadorans appear to be migrating to Vermont, Arkansas, and Tennessee faster than any other place; and while Nicaraguan migration has not been growing at the same rate, Indiana and Wyoming are attracting more Nicaraguans relatively speaking. Similar diversification is noted as related to the cities that Central Americans are living in. Guatemalan migration to the Grand Rapids, Michigan area grew by 1030% each year between 1990 and 2000; Tulsa, Oklahoma and Raleigh, North Carolina are attracting greater numbers of Hondurans; Salvadorans have been going to Fayetteville, Arkansas area at the rate of 737% increase per year.

The actual numbers of migrants from these countries to these states and cities has not reached the levels of the traditional places of reception. But the relative importance of this process greatly impacts the demographics in these new receiving areas. For example, news articles note that "Georgetown, Delaware has grown by 2,000 residents as Guatemalan immigrants moved into the town of 5,000 to work in poultry processing plants…. Some 1,000 Guatemalan immigrants live in trailer parks in Marydel, on the Delaware border with Maryland, and work in nearby poultry plants at wages of $6 per hour."[15] Obviously, 2,000 Guatemalan migrants is not a large number, but given a town with only 5,000 inhabitants, a sudden influx of this size is not only considerable but represents 40% of the population.

The quote above ventures a hypothesis as to why migration patterns in the U.S. are changing. It points again to the importance of labor markets: it is very likely that new Central American migrants are going to where there are "better" employment opportunities. Agricultural labor continues to attract workers. But it is also probable that meat packing and poultry processing offer new employment opportunities for Central American migrants, and may affect local demographics more markedly (Fink and Dunn, 2000). The deregulation and deunionization of many sectors of the U.S. economy has lead to lower wages and poorer working conditions for U.S. nationals in many of these labor markets.[16] These jobs are recognized as being some of the

[14] See Table 5. Annual Growth Rate of Central American Migrants, by State and Nationality in the Appendix IV.
[15] http://www.migrationint.com.au/ruralnews/london/jul_1996-02rmn.html viewed on Feb. 24, 2003.
[16] See Schlosser, E. (2002) **Fast Food Nation: The Dark Side of the All American Meal** Harper Collins, for an analysis of this industry as well as meat packing.

most dangerous in the U.S. But these are precisely the sort of "better" jobs that many new Central American migrants end up in.

This is not to say that all Central American migrants are occupying the bottom rungs of the U.S. labor market. In deed, a recent study of transnational entrepreneurs found that men and women engaged in business ventures that involved transnational activities had higher incomes and were more likely to have lived in the U.S. over a longer period of time, particularly among Salvadorans (Portes, Guarnizo and Haller, 2002; Landolt, 2001). The comparative study between Dominicans, Colombians and Salvadorans found that transnational entrepreneurs represent a significant proportion of self-employed persons in the immigrant communities. However, transnational businesses as a form of labor market insertion tend to be reserved for an elite group of migrants, offering employment options for those who are more highly educated, and there are important differences among the migrant populations included in the study.

This brief discussion of the broader economic and political underpinnings of international labor migration in the region highlights the importance of these overarching relationships between sending and receiving countries. Thus international labor migration is not just a product of wage disparities but rather an (unexpected) outcome of engagement of the core in the periphery and the use of the periphery in the core, or in the words of Saskia Sassen (1998), between centrality and marginalty. U.S. foreign policy as well as economic expansion with in the region set the foundation for the integration of these labor markets. Banana plantations along the Atlantic coast established links into the U.S. labor market, something which has shifted into service sector employment through cruise ships, a part of global expansion through tourism. As a result, cities like San José in Costa Rica, and Los Angeles and New York need Central American migrant workers to clean the office buildings, build new shopping complexes, cut and care for lawns and gardens, and take care of other people's children. Simultaneously, Central American workers are a critical part of the agroindustrial complex in the U.S. as well as Costa Rica, harvesting food that is consumed nationally and internationally, as well as butchering cattle and processing chicken served in fast food chain restaurants expanding throughout the world. In turn, the towns and cities of Central America are being transformed by the work done by migrant family members in La Fortuna and San José, in Costa Rica and Houston, Texas and Georgetown, Delaware in the U.S..

IV. The Types of Transnational Community Networks and Their Fields of Action

International migration in Central America has taken on new facets not only because of global labor markets, but also because of the ties that migrants maintain through diverse manners with their places of origin. These transnational communities maintain links through various types of social networks involving actions and activities in the socio-cultural, economic and political spheres. Different types of communities have been identified as maintaining transnational links via migration. This section will briefly review the various types of transnational migrant communities in the region followed by a discussion of some of the more relevant issues related to economic, socio-cultural and political flows.

Types of transnational communities: Clearly the foundation for the vast majority of migration taking place in the region today is based on social networks, and family relationships are critical in this process. While kinship is critical, family members may not always provide the support needed, expected or desired by the migrant. Menjivar's (2000) work on the functioning of social networks among Salvadorans in San Francisco highlights the fact that reciprocity is expected, but families with scarce resources may not be able to contribute as desired by the migrant, are sometimes riddled with conflict, and are immersed in a broader context of reception. Thus, while social networks are a critical resource for migration, they are not always cohesive. However, kinship forms an important foundation in this process.

At the same time, gendered differences can also be observed as men and women access diverse labor markets. For example, women working in domestic service serve as a critical contact for other women (female family members or friends) seeking employment, and may overlap with the networks of their female employers for referring and recommending someone to care for the children of a neighbor or friend of the employer. Likewise, interviews carried out for this study even mentioned the rotation of female relatives in the home country in elderly care, thus incorporating an almost seasonal aspect to an otherwise more permanent job. Concretely, several Honduran women from the same family engage in a unique form of "job sharing" in their employment carrying for an elderly man in Texas: one woman works for several months and then is relieved by her sister, cousin or mother who come from Honduras to Texas to take over, also for several months. Menjivar (2002) has noted that while women have fewer financial and material resources for exchange as compared with men, because of the role women play in seeking out the assistance of community organizations, they are able to broaden their networks.

Additionally much concern has been raised about the impact of migration on non-migrant family members, particularly focusing on so-called family disintegration. Andrade-Eekhoff (2001) points out that much depends upon the position and role that the migrant played in the household prior to departure. Barahona (s.f) found that a great deal of the migrants found in the southern part of Nicaragua where their study was carried out were young-adult daughters of the heads of household. Popkin (1998) found that in-laws played a critical role in "overseeing" the nuclear families of their married migrant sons in Santa Eulalia, Huehuetenango in Guatemala. Obviously, the impact on the household in the home country will vary greatly if the migrant is single without children compared with a man or woman who is considered to be the head of

household. Furthermore, Mahler (1999) considers that migration certainly alters gendered as well as generational relationships in sending areas, but is only one of a multitude of factors that come into play. While a variety of studies have touched upon the topic of changes in the household, this continues to be a relatively uncharted area in Central America, and in fact is also related to a relative dearth of studies on the family in general,[17] yet it is clear that kinship, and within this gendered differences, continues to be an essential backbone of transnational migratory processes.

However, kinship networks are far from the only ones existent in transnational migration. Ethnicity also plays an important role for transcending place. Two broad ethnic groups have been identified as participating in transnational migration from the Central American region: indigenous Mayan Guatemalans and the Garifuna population along the Atlantic coasts of Belize, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua. While among the indigenous population of Guatemala differing ethnic groups form the basis for transnational social networks, this has also fed into a Pan-Mayan movement (Popkin, 1999). However, it is important to point out that these networks are part of closely knit specific ethnic groups differentiating between Q'anjob'al, Awakateko, and K'ich'e Mayans, among others (Congcoop, 2002; Loucky and Moors, 2000; Popkin, 1999; Hagan 1994; Burns, 1993).

Among the Garifuna population, while networks can also be observed on a national level between those of one country and a corresponding receiving community, the links among the various national populations transcend the territory of the nation. And while studies appear to be scarce on this migratory process, this is far from a new phenomenon[18], and the links clearly transcend family. There is an extensive and what appears to be a close working relationship among the Garifuna diaspora organized in Central America, and principally Los Angeles and New York. In fact, in November, 2002 a convention of Garifuna organizations from the region and the U.S. was convened in Livingston, Guatemala. Hondurans Against Aids, based in New York City, is working on issues related to this disease with the Garifuna population in specific communities in Honduras, and also coordinates membership affiliation of U.S. based migrants with ODECO (*Organización de Desarrollo Etnico Comunitario*) in La Ceiba, Honduras. Thus, clearly ethnicity serves as another form of transnational community in the international migratory context.

Religious transnational networks among the migrant population have also been found. Both Catholic as well as protestant transnational representations can be found in Central American migratory processes. Popkin (1999) in his discussion of the transnational relationships forged between the migrant community of Santa Eulalia in Los Angeles and the highlands of Guatemala demonstrates the way in which ethnicity and religion are elemental factors in maintaining relationships across borders as well as constructing identity. Pentecostal churches, flexible and decentralized, build networks that likewise span borders but also incorporate migrants from the

[17] See the studies carried out and published in Cordero, A. (1998) **Cuando las mujeres mandan** San José: FLACSO.

[18] In deed, studies on the international migratory process in Honduras are quite lacking as can be observed in the bibliographical Appendix II. The *Organización de Desarrollo Étnica Comunitaria*, ODECO in Honduras is reported to have recently completed a study on migration to the U.S. of the Garifuna population from this country. Another study was based on Belizean Garifuna migration to Los Angeles (Miller Matthei and Smith, 1998). This study includes references to other investigations related to migration of the Belizean population.

region, and can be a particularly important resource for young men formerly involved in gang activities in the U.S. and their home communities (Vasquez, 2001). Likewise, committees for the veneration of the Black Jesus of Equipulas in Guatemala can be found in various parts of the U.S. In fact the patron saint celebrations held simultaneously in Salvadoran, Honduran, Guatemalan and Nicaraguan migrant communities and their hometowns are based on religious transnational practices, although their nature has certainly changed over the years, especially among the migrant population.[19]

Territorial networks are also found in transnational migration. In addition to national links, local territorial exchanges are also of great importance. This has already been insinuated in the preceding pages as migrants from specific sending towns relocate to quite concrete cities and even neighborhoods in their new country of residence. However, many times kinship, ethnic and religious networks are housed within these specific territorial links. One pertinent example of this is CIGALE, the *Comité Independiente Garifuna Guatemalteco, Livingsteno Estadounidense* (the Independent Garifuna Guatemalan Livingstonian United States Committee), in the New York City area. The name of this committee combines the ethnic as well as territorial elements of the members, most of who are all from the same family. Originally from Livingston, Guatemala, most are now naturalized or native born U.S. citizens. The territorial relationship is not just one based on a common nationality (Guatemalan and United States) but also rooted in the locale as well as the ethnic identity of the participants as members of the Garifuna diaspora. Their efforts are directed specifically at supporting a hospital in Livingston and meeting some of the health needs of residents in their hometown. The same can be true of many other hometown associations in the region, which combine multiple forms of transnational relationships that are closely articulated within specific territories. This is particularly relevant in terms of the issues related to local development as the various community (kinship, ethnic, religious, etc.) links can be channeled via specific territorial relationships. Thus the religious links among the migrants of San Miguel Acatán in Guatemala serve to build bonds that can lead to initiatives that promote the improvement of life in the home territory.

These are certainly not the only types of "communities" in the region that are forming transnational links through migration. Entrepreneurial as well as internet communities via international migration have also been emerging.[20] However, as related to the issues of local development, clearly communities housed within a common territory, be these rooted in kinship, gender, ethnic or religious ties as well, are the most relevant.

Fields of Action: Analysis concerning the fields of action (economic, socio-cultural and political) of these various transnational community networks has been explored in varying degrees in the region. As mentioned in the introduction, far more is understood about Salvadoran and Guatemalan as compared to Nicaraguan migration, and very little has been analyzed in the case of Honduras[21].

[19] Please see the discussion below concerning patron saint celebrations and hometown associations.

[20] Various studies on this have been carried out particularly regarding business development and migration, most notably in El Salvador. See for example, Andrade-Eekhoff, 1999; CONAMYPE, 2002; Landolt, 2001; Lungo and Andrade-Eekhoff, 1999; and López and Selligson, 1991.

[21] Please see the bibliographical compilation in Appendix I for a listing of publications and studies found in the region on Central American international migration.

Among the countries, clearly economic exchanges are the ones that have dominated to date, focusing primarily upon family remittances and their use. Multiple studies focused exclusively on households with remittances have concluded that the bulk of these funds are used primarily for "consumption" as opposed to "productive investment" (Fundación InterAmericana, 2001; CENITEC, 1992; 1994; FUSADES, 1994; 1996). However, others using comparative methodologies between households with remittances and households without remittances have advanced quite different conclusions. In the first place, comparatively speaking the expense structure between these households is similar. Thus, households with remittances tend to spend the same percentage of their income on consumption, as do those households without remittances. Differences however emerge when analyzing other factors. For example, various studies have pointed to improved educational indicators among children (reduced educational deficits or higher proportions of funds dedicated to education), as well as more income directed towards health care, and increased levels of assets (homes, land, household goods such as refrigerators, etc.) among those households with remittances. Additionally, family remittances appear to function in some cases as an elderly pension fund and are associated with lower poverty rates (Andrade-Eekhoff, 2002; CONGCOOP, 2002). Others have noted the multiplier effects of these funds within the local and national economy (Taylor, Zabin and Eekhoff 1999; Taylor, 2001). As a caveat to this discussion, in recent years emphasis has been placed on the costs of transferring these funds and how to lower these in order to benefit migrants and their families (Orozco, 2000a; 2002).

But in the last few years other topics have emerged as related to economic transnationalism. A great deal of interest has been generated around what have come to be called "collective remittances", or those funds gathered through the efforts of co-national migrants and sent back to the home country or town to support collective, as opposed to individual family, activities (Andrade-Eekhoff, 1997; CEPAL 1999a-f; 2000a-b[22]; Orozco, 2000b). While certainly not a new phenomenon among migrants in general, among Central Americans these efforts have emerged in varying degrees over the last decade or so. They tend to be used to support charitable activities (old age homes, Christmas toys for low income children, repatriation of bodies for burial, etc.), human development initiatives (scholarships, health care programs, sports, etc.), or infrastructure (roads, water, electrification, schools and health clinics).

Aside from family and collective remittances, business transfers have also emerged as a potent new force in transnational migration flows. Topics here have incorporated the use of family remittances for businesses initiatives (CONAMYPE, 2002; López and Selligson, 1991), return migrants and business development (Lungo and Andrade-Eekhoff, 1999), and transnational entrepreneurs (Landolt, 2001; Portes, Guarnizo and Heller, 2002). Here, practically all the studies found in this topic relate to Salvadoran migration.

A common topic among these three types of economic transnational flows has to do with productivity. Goldring (2003) presents an excellent summary of the nature of each of these types of transfers. The fundamental essence of family remittances is one of providing an income that is used to support the overall family economy and well being of the members; collective

[22] Each of the national studies commissioned by CEPAL and produced between 1999 and 2000 focused more specifically on collective actors rather than family remittances.

remittances generally provide a clearly collective and social benefit; the goal of business transfers is more directed towards making a profit. However, many programs and policy initiatives seek to redirect each of these sources of economic migrant transfers into "productive" activities, generally defined as business ventures seeking to generate employment. This raises various concerns as related to family remittances and micro-enterprise development. Given that the vast majority of micro-enterprises are subsistence level self-employment mechanisms, with little entrepreneurial potential[23], channeling remittances in this direction makes little sense from a productivity point of view. Many of the self-employed would in fact prefer wage labor but are unable to find this sort of employment. Additionally, it is important to recognize that households with access to these funds are less likely to face poverty, especially extreme poverty, and are more likely to make greater "investments" in human capital, as well as have increased access to other assets.

In the case of collective remittances and productive initiatives, efforts are only beginning to be explored in the region on the potential of using these funds as start up capital for entrepreneurial activities. It needs to be recognized that the organizing structure and decision-making process of many hometown associations are quite different from that of a business initiative. Much needs to be discussed relating to ownership schemes, managerial aspects (who hires, fires, and supervises employees, etc.), the potential distribution of profits, and so on in order to guarantee that these initiatives have a minimal chance of overcoming the many potential disputes and differences that can arise in the process.

Clearly, the most direct link between economic flows and productivity can be found in entrepreneurial initiatives based on migrant know how or contacts, transnational business enterprises and/or the "nostalgic market". The few programs that have sought to foment economic activities linking the diaspora to the home country have been important stepping-stones in this direction but require longer term commitments. This will be discussed further in the final section on government policies.

One further point should be made regarding the issue of productivity and these various economic flows. It needs to be recognized that these initiatives are embedded in the broader macro economic situation of each country in which greater or lesser levels of productivity and economic stability are important contributing factors. Local and national economic development and productivity are not simply a matter of ensuring increased levels of access to financial capital, facilitated by the massive influx of migrant remittances. Attempting to change the fundamental nature of each of these flows for something that they are not necessarily set up to do will probably not lead to greater productivity- especially as defined in terms of business initiatives that generate employment. Thus, rather than change the fundamental nature of these activities, it is important to understand their current role and impact, and establish mechanisms and programs that can improve their functioning within their respective logic.

[23] See in particular Juan Diego Trejos Solórzano, (2001) "La microempresa en América Central: Una mirada desde el mercado de trabajo", Report prepared for PROMICRO/OIT, San José, as web as the study carried out by FLACSO El Salvador (2003) for CONAMYPE on the "Evolución del Sector Microempresarial Salvadoreño 1999 - 2001".

While economic transfers in transnational migration have dominated the analysis in the region, there is certainly much more going on that this sort of more tangible exchanges. Socio-cultural flows are also important in this process. Various aspects of these have already been mentioned as they relate to changes within the family and households involved in migratory processes and transnational exchanges. However, relatively little is understood about the more intimate dynamics of transnational family relationships and their breadth and depth within Central American society. Probably the most in depth study to date on implications for family life in a transnational setting is that of Popkin (1998). Long distance control of the behavior of spouses and children can take on peculiar forms when negotiated transnationally. The role of in-laws in controlling the wives of migrants has already been mentioned, but similar evidence can be found in the case of courtship.[24] According to one interviewee, a young woman became engaged to her fiancé in Houston (whom she knew prior to his migrating) after being proposed to on the phone. The young man also called his future in-laws, thus involving them in ensuring that his bride-to-be behaved as befitting a soon to be married woman, even though a date for the marriage had yet to be set. The young woman's social activities changed significantly and rather than go out, she spends her weekends waiting for phone calls that may or may not come. At the same time, rather than money, he sends goods that will equip their future home, items such as a blender, television, etc. In another interview, it was mentioned that non-migrant wives feel a great deal of stress when their migrant husbands come back, either permanently or to visit. Undoubtedly life in a different culture and environment changes one, and some of the women mentioned that they felt unable to cook the different foods that their husbands requested. This brings up issues more deeply rooted in the role of the members of the household and changing expectations and how these are negotiated transnationally.

Evidence of other issues has come up through some of the interviews carried out in the course of this study. For example, transnational courtship and migrants selecting mates in using third parties to arrange a marriage. Two interviews stand out. In one, Guatemalan men, particularly indigenous, in the U.S. were considered to prefer women from their hometown, and would even travel back to the homeland to find a bride, since migrant women were not acceptable mates, presumably for their exposure to and relative acceptance of other cultures and ideas concerning family life and roles. In another interview, the woman migrant joined her mate after their respective mothers arranged for the marriage through letters between New York and the hometown. When asked about this seemingly arranged marriage, both spouses considered this perfectly acceptable since, even though the man and woman had never met, the families knew each other, kept in regular contact and knew there were common cultural bonds.

Spouses are not the only members of the household impacted by transnational migration and differing types of social flows. Generational issues also emerge. Popkin (1998) focuses on issues related to conflicts that emerge for young people. Menjivar (2000) discusses some of the issues related to the elderly, in particular the devaluation of their knowledge and experiences in receiving areas. The tensions that young people as well as the elderly feel as they negotiate identities that combine issues that cut across class, national origin, and ethnicity in transnational contexts make for complex dynamics among families. Clearly more systematic analysis of the multiple changes taking place in families and households that are territorially dispersed needs to

[24] The statistical significance of these processes is unclear. But they are mentioned here due to the importance they offer as examples of changes taking place.

be carried out in order to develop policies that address the issues at hand in both the sending as well as receiving areas.

In addition to the changes in the structure and role of the family in Central America, other social issues related to education and health care have emerged as well but again relatively little is known about these exchanges. Several studies on the impact of migration in the sending areas of El Salvador have noted that international labor migration, and specifically the reception of remittances is associated with improved educational access for children who are able to continue their studies and work hard to finish at least high school. These findings consider that this association points to an investment in human capital. Several interviewees pointed to a relative lack of interest among some young people who simply continue their studies while waiting for their parents to send for them in the U.S. Much more has been analyzed in the receiving areas, and will be discussed in more detail in the section on youth and migration.

In regards to health care issues, we were unable to find any specific studies related to migration and health care from the sending countries of the region.[25] Interviews revealed several concerns. In the first place, health concerns emerge in border areas as places where much movement of people takes place combining with other transnational activities such as drug trafficking and prostitution. The consumption of drugs and alcohol is an increasing concern in border towns, noting in particular the problems that have emerged in places like Tecun Uman in Guatemala. Prostitution was also mentioned as a problem, and women migrants who are unable to continue their journey may resort to this as a way to earn money and thus continue with their trip. Doctors without Borders began a medical and legal program in April 2001 in the border area of San Marcos department to assist undocumented people migrating north through Guatemala from Central and South America.[26] Additionally, concerns regarding possible increases in sexually transmitted diseases as well as other illnesses take on even greater dimensions when potentially linked to transnational migration. Interviews in the region mentioned concerns related to the transmission of tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS. For example, in one highland village in Guatemala a migrant man returned to the town when he became very ill, and eventually died. Community workers were concerned that he may have died from AIDS and possibly had infected his wife. However, these worries were based on supposition and no one really knows what he died from, and the extent that tuberculosis or HIV/AIDS transmission is linked to transnational migration is not known.

Other interviews carried out for previous research projects mentioned that sometime migrants returned home upon becoming ill, preferring to die at home rather than in a strange land. However, the illnesses were not so severe and pointed rather to a lack of knowledge regarding how to access health care in the country of reception. This is further complicated by the general political environment in receiving areas where migrants are perceived as generating large expenses for local public health services. Additional health concerns in sending areas emerge with the return home of would be migrants who are unsuccessful in their journey and suffer

[25] One informant mentioned that Doctors without Borders had been involved in health studies in various border towns, but we have not been able to obtain these studies. Additionally, local health facilities may have more information, but again, this is not in published format available publicly.
[26] Based on information from the web page of Doctors without Borders:
http://www.doctorswithoutborders.org/publications/ar/i2001/guatemala.shtml

permanent physical impairment during their trip, like in the cases of mutilation due to falling off moving trains. Other potential issues have to do with health risks related to different types of labor insertion through migration. For example, with more and more Central Americans working in jobs in meat packing and poultry processing, the type of labor injuries incurred could lead to serious or permanent health problems, including the inability to work in the future. Migrants that are unable to find employment may return to their homeland, thus transferring these and other health issues to areas that already face overwhelming health service problems. Again, very little is known about whether or not these concerns present potential or actual development issues in the sending areas and the implications for policy measures that take into account the transnationalization of health and educational issues.

Other types of socio-cultural flows include representations and reproductions of life between those that are here and there. Patron Saint celebrations among hometown members in the U.S. tend to be spaces for celebrating a common link and are generally a way of raising funds for projects sponsored by a Hometown Association (HTA). While these activities are based on the religious cultural life of the Catholic Church, generally there is relatively little religious life linked with some of these celebrations in the U.S. although there certainly are exceptions. For example, the patron saint celebration of San Miguel Acatán, Huehuetengango that takes places in Los Angeles is an interesting mix of Q'anjobal, Catholic and U.S. identities and expressions of faith and celebration. An informant in Nicaragua considers that the patron saint celebrations in Managua are changing to attract Nicaraguan "tourists" to come visit from out side the country, and are becoming more cultural events than religious ones. The hometown queens elected in some of the patron saint festivities celebrated in Los Angeles sometimes also participate in the local elections in their home country. For example, the queen elected by the San Salvador Patron Saint Committee in Los Angeles competes for the crown in San Salvador. In some cases, this may be the first trip to the "home" country for some of these young women, many of whom may not speak Spanish very fluently.

New spaces of cultural expression are emerging linked to this transnational life. Local newspapers share information and activities in multiple places incorporating aspects of life in the migrant's new place of residence as well as the hometown. For example, there are probably hundreds of small local "newspapers" in Los Angeles printed by migrants from places like Chalchupa in western El Salvador that link them together with their hometown. The major newspapers of El Salvador and Guatemala have special web links for the migrant population; *La Prensa Grafica* of El Salvador even initiated a section called "*Departmento 15*"[27] dedicated to issues related to the large migrant population. This has also included special supplements on U.S. immigration laws and benefits distributed in the U.S., as well as regular printing and distribution of this daily paper in key cities with large Salvadoran populations. Radio stations also serve as spaces for transnational cultural exchanges and some have established mechanisms for sending messages of greeting between San Miguel in El Salvador and New York for example.

Other informal artistic exchanges can be found in the reproduction of daily life through amateur videos and photos, which often also serve as documentation of the activities carried out between

[27] El Salvador has 14 provinces or departments. The 15th department is in allusion to the population living outside the national borders.

different places. More formal cultural exchanges include the establishment of a Cultural House (*Casa de la Cultura*) in Los Angeles under the auspices of CONCULTURA, the Salvadoran national government authority responsible for cultural activities. The Garifuna population holds festivals in New York and Los Angeles incorporating dance troupes, traditional food, music and other reproductions of Garifuna cultural life. Dignitaries and local politicians in the U.S. as well as from Honduras, Guatemala or Belize have participated in some of these events. This also holds true for the celebrations of Central American independence on September 15th in various cities across the U.S., which are organized through local national (like the *Comité de Festejos Salvadoreños*) and regional committees (*Comité de Festejos Centroamericanos*) as well as the respective consulates of each country including not only Salvadorans, Guatemalans, Nicaraguans and Hondurans but also Costa Ricans and Belizeans.

While socio-cultural transnational flows clearly incorporate a diverse set of processes and reproductions, political transnational flows bring up other sets of issues. The implications in terms of citizenship and political participation and representation as related to transnational migration have not been analyzed within the region. This however does not mean that flows of a political nature do not take place.

First of all, political parties and movements in Central America have accumulated over two decades of experience of organizing among the diaspora. Members of the Salvadoran, Guatemalan and Nicaraguan diaspora, in differing degrees and for different purposes, learned how the U.S. political system worked and put it to work for their issues and needs during the 1980s in particular. This involved organizing not only co-nationals but also involving U.S. citizens in broad networks of solidarity pressuring the U.S. government as well as their own for changes in policy, especially during the various armed conflicts in those countries. Congressional representatives and financial supporters of the Republican and Democratic parties were lobbied to support the causes of the particular group. These in turn lobbied various U.S. administrations for changes in U.S. policy in the region or to apply pressure on political forces in the home country. More recently, several Salvadoran political parties have even gone so far as to change their statutes of membership in order to allow for affiliation and participation outside the national borders. Concretely, in internal elections, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) allowed for members living outside the country to participate in the party convention via internet, registering their vote on-line. The National Republican Alliance (ARENA) swore in the first group of members in Los Angeles at the end of 2002. Based on interest expressed by the Honduran diaspora, the country established a mechanism for voting in the most recent Presidential elections in 17 cities in the U.S. Expecting hundreds of thousands of voters, the initiative was a total failure with only about 4,000 Hondurans participating. In addition to these formal political expressions, members of the diaspora express their concern over multiple issues taking place within the homeland. For example, Nicaraguans in Costa Rica have pressured their government in the efforts to prosecute former President Arnoldo Alemán on corruption charges. Ironically, as Mayor of Managua, Alemán in fact was one of the first politicians to cultivate political support from the diaspora, notably among those located in Miami. Likewise, Salvadoran medical professionals that have been involved in a polarized struggle with the government concerning privatization of health services have been meeting with U.S. government officials in Washington as well as members of the Salvadoran migrant

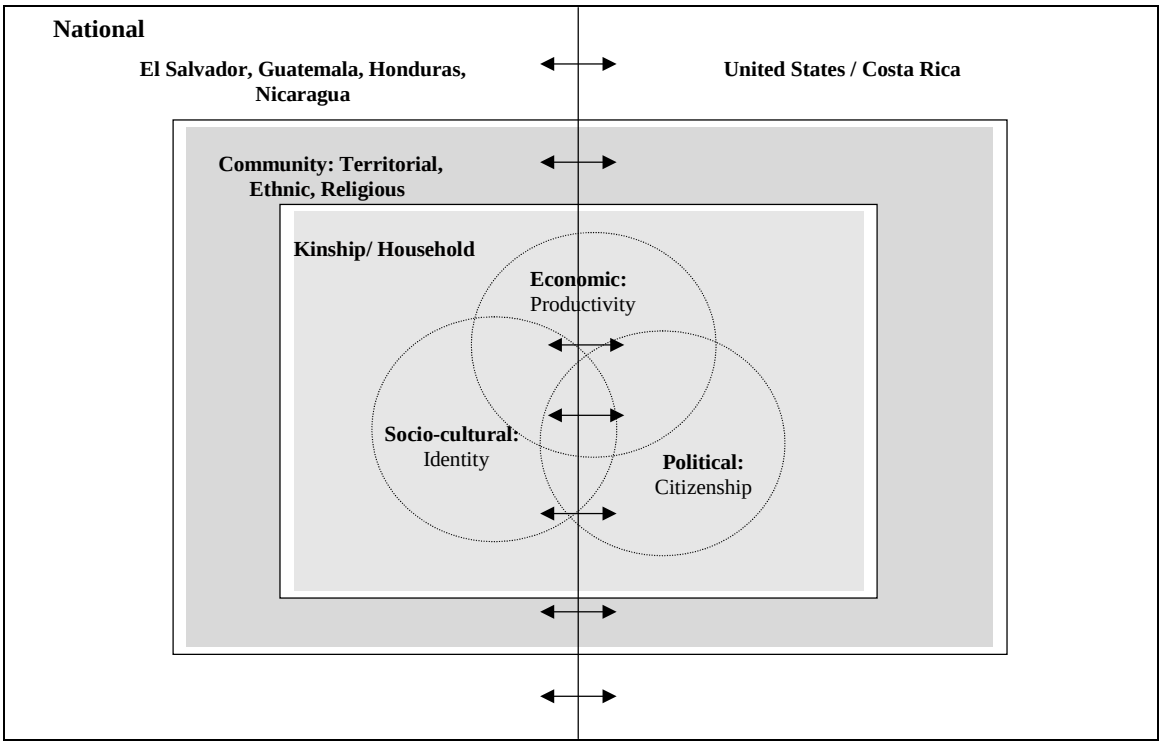
community in the U.S. to exercise pressure back home.[28] The pressure includes the publication as a paid add in El Salvador of a letter to that country's President expressing concerns about health policy and signed by various Salvadoran Hometown Associations in Los Angeles.[29] Additionally, Salvadorans who hold political offices in the U.S. are looked to as models for leadership in El Salvador, as well as potential bridges for representing the needs of migrants and intervening in issues in the home country[30].

These more visible forms of partisan political expressions reflect the manner in which these types of activities are now transcending national borders. Yet there are other types of political flows linked to migration taking place in the region. For example, the legal rights that are acquired through dual citizenship arrangements, already mentioned in the first section. However, it may very well be the underlying processes of understanding and appropriating rights acquired by living in one society, and subsequently projecting these back on the other, that involve the most relevant dynamics of political transnationalism. Concretely there are unexplored examples of migrants who make demands or project their understanding of rights on their places of origin. For example, members of the hometown association of CIGALE in New York visit the mayor of Livingston, simply to find out what is happening in their place of origin. These visits generally take place during annual vacations home, and are a way in which these U.S. citizens express their membership and participation in a political space in which they do not reside but remain very connected and active. When questioned further about the nature and reason of these visits, one member stated that "if it concerns Livingston, it concerns us." The nature and implications of these exchanges, as in the case of socio-cultural flows, are relatively unknown in the region, but it is quite clear that multiple types of political flows are taking place.

Summary: These multiple communities and fields of action can be summarized in the following diagram. In the first place, the arrows depict the exchange of flows in both directions and not just from the receiving areas to the sending areas or vice versa. Also represented are the various levels or types of communities that are part of relationships that develop through transnational migratory processes as identified in Central America. Many of these communities are embedded in each other or at least overlap, thus reinforcing these relationships. For example, with greater degrees of coincidence between territorial, ethnic, religious and kinship transnational flows, it is be expected that these flows will be broader and deeper. In other words, family members may be involved in transnational economic, social and political exchanges among themselves and transcending borders. But to the degree that these family members are also located in specific territories, along with the flows of other like family members, the density of transnational exchanges increases. When these are combined with flows between members of the same ethnic group, not only the density but also the diversity of exchanges may increase.

[28] Washington Post, Thursday, March 13, 2003.
[29] Paid add, El Diario de Hoy, San Salvador, Friday, March 14, 2003, page 42.
[30] For example, a Californian Senator whose parents are Salvadoran was asked by the Medical Association of El Salvador to serve as a mediator in the conflict between the Salvadoran government and medical professionals. She expressed interest but the Salvadoran government was against the idea.

Diagram 1. Types of communities and transnational flows linked to international labor migration in Central America



Additionally, the diagram points to several key topics related to the various fields of action, each of which have been alluded to in the preceding pages. Thus, in the area of economic flows, the topic of productivity has been identified. As mentioned above, it is important to understand the nature of the various economic flows in order to access their impact and the best way to leverage these economic flows for local development. In terms of socio-cultural flows, the issue of identity emerges as a relevant topic for further exploration. The way in which socio-cultural flows transform the identities of individuals, families and other groups can lead to new understandings of these processes and the opportunities and risks they present. The final category of political flows emphasizes the topic of citizenship, especially in terms of the appropriation of rights. In this regard, the critical issue points to understanding the manner in which transnational political flows and the appropriation of rights impact the role individuals play in the place where they reside as well as the space they identify as home. This in turn can lead to new ways in which democratization and participation, particularly in local territories evolves. We will return to this point in the final section when we review the responses by Central American governments (national as well as local) to transnationalization through migration.

Thus, considering the interest in local development in the region, a territorial analysis of not only the fields of action is important in order to understand the potential of international migration on local development, but also the types of communities involved and the multiple exchanges taking place.

V. The Actors that Make Transnational Community Networks Function in Central America

With all this movement taking place transnationally and linked to international migration, there has also been a corresponding emergence of new actors. These actors are the agents that set in motion the various flows that make transnational communities function in Central America. Within the region, actors vary, particularly collective actors. This section will provide an overview of the different agents observed so far.

Given that family ties form the foundation of transnational flows in Central American migration, the mechanisms and actors that permit for a somewhat fluid communication between households located in different nations are also those that support much of the other types of transnational flows. This starts with travel networks that rely on coyotes, travel agencies, and legal services[31] among other agents.

Once in the U.S., a vast network of different types of communications networks allows migrants to transfer economic, social and political remittances. These activities have grown throughout the region, spurring in fact new economic activities. Regular communication between family members takes place via public mail services, private couriers, telephone services[32] and even internet in some cases. In one community study carried out in El Salvador, it was considered that local telephone offices have become new centers of socialization given that so many people in the town congregated regularly in these spaces in order to talk with family members in the U.S. The changes were so pronounced that it was posited that the telephone company was in a certain way replacing the church as a center for socialization in the locale (Garcia, 1996). In each of the four countries studied, various private courier services have emerged to facilitate communication, and the sending of goods and money. These are the Central American equivalents of DHL or Federal Express and command an important percentage of the courier market among migrants and their families (see Orozco 2000a, 2001 and 2002).

At the same time, thousands of individuals travel regularly back and forth between specific sending and receiving towns and cities earning a living through this informal courier market. Using formal transportation systems, in particular air travel, these community couriers carry letters, money, clothing and other goods from family in the receiving areas to those in the sending towns. And from the sending towns they travel northward with letters, medicines, food

[31] In El Salvador, several legal service organizations have formed to offer advise on U.S. immigration laws in that country. Some of these are linked to non-profit legal service organizations in the U.S. while others are part of private legal offices. In recent months, one of the Salvadoran universities has begun to offer a specialized mini-course in U.S. immigration law in conjunctions with a U.S based legal office.

[32] In fact it is considered that international migration has been a key impetus for telecommunications expansion and investment in the region, particularly in El Salvador. Households that have migrants and/or remittances are much more likely to have phone service, particularly cellular phones (Andrade-Eekhoff, 2002), and cell phone coverage in El Salvador increased at a rate three times faster than any of the other Central American countries between 1995 and 1999 (FLACSO and UCR, 2002 **Centroamérica en cifras** 1980-2000, San José: FLACSO, UCR. Table 1.7.2.2).

and even children[33]. These community couriers or *encomenderos* carry out activities that go far beyond simply delivering goods and money between people separated by national boundaries. They share valuable information about how grandma is holding up, whether or not the son got his work permit, and other important messages of family well-being. These *encomenderos* rely upon the fact that they have a U.S visa or other legal means for travel as well as an important network of social links between towns and cities located in different countries. They form a backbone in the transnationalization of everyday lives in Central America. In El Salvador, thousands of individuals earn a living in this manner and have even formed an association (*Asociación Nacional de Gestores de Encomiendas y Cultura*- ANGEC, National Association of Couriers and Cultural) with approximately 5,000 members and offices in the eastern part of the country as well as the Salvadoran airport. The association has intervened on behalf of their members with the Salvadoran government regarding problems with customs as well as concerns regarding the cancellation of U.S. visas, which enable them to carry out their job. Similar relationships exist between Nicaragua and Costa Rica. For example, a Nicaraguan *encomendera* awaits clients in a park in San José, Costa Rica on certain days of the week. She then travels to the homes of these migrants in southern Nicaragua delivering money, packets and news between families dispersed territorially.

Central American financial institutions have also established a network of services to capitalize upon the transfer of family remittances. The cost of these transfers is a topic that the IADB and the InterAmerican Dialogue have begun to address in an effort to open up the market in benefit of migrants and their family members (IADB 2001; Orozco 2000a; 2001; 2002). Actors include not only transnational firms like Western Union but also banks from the region that have opened up offices for transfer of funds in the U.S. as well as credit unions. Similar processes are facilitated between Costa Rica and Nicaragua. The recent experience of the Federation of Credit Unions in El Salvador (FEDECACES) sheds light on some of the potential for channeling remittances through alternative financial institutions. After nearly ten years of attempts to capture a meaningful share of remittance transfers, FEDECACES finally joined with Vigo and Rapid Money, two remittance agencies in order to expand existing remittance services. As a result, FEDECACES increased the number of transactions from 754 in the year 2000 to 52,946 in 2002. In 2000, FEDECACES transferred a total of $175,000 in remittances; in 2002 this jumped to a phenomenal $22,023,000! They are using these processes to promote affiliation of family members in El Salvador with the credit unions, with the corresponding benefits relating to savings and access to loans.

The role of the media has already been mentioned in facilitating transnational ties. As mentioned this includes radio, print, internet and televised formats. These mediums are particularly important not only for sharing news but also for transmitting opinions and values concerning current events. This takes place not only among the migrant population but also between migrants and the home country, in which letters of opinion are printed in newspapers in the home country. Many of these letters express concerns about the political, social and economic system making comparisons to life in the host country.

[33] In one interview several years ago, it was revealed that a child accompanied a courier who had arranged all the pertinent paperwork (quite probably in a fraudulent manner) in order to reunite the child with the parents living in the U.S.

In various contexts, the church (both Protestant and Catholic) play an important role in articulating transnational relationships (Vasquez, 2001). Within the region, a coalition of organizations takes part in a Migration Forum (*Foro de Migrantes*) in which Catholic Relief Services (CRS) plays a vital role in El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala and Nicaragua. The Episcopal Church in El Salvador is host to a program providing legal advise on U.S. immigration law and procedures. The Catholic seminary in San Vicente, El Salvador has established an exchange program with various archdioceses in the U.S. in which priests from El Salvador serve in parishes in need of a Spanish-speaking priest in Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky, among others. And many priests and pastors play an important role in cultivating links between the hometown and the diaspora. This may include occasional travel to visit members of the diaspora concentrated in various communities, and while there also engage in pastoral duties. The priest of Santa Eulalia in Huehuetenango is an important actor having helped to organize migrants from Santa Eulalia living in Los Angeles who support various church related projects in their hometown, one of the most notable of which has been a hospital and health insurance program (Popkin, 1999).

Other transnational actors include cultural organizations primarily based in the receiving area. Dance troupes from the Garifuna community, marimba bands among the Guatemalan diaspora, cumbia and salsa musical groups, as well as painters and other artists gather together in an effort to build links between the respective migrant community and the place of origin. There are also cultural groups, particular musical groups, from the home country that occasionally go on tour through the various migrant settlements.

In addition to cultural organizations, among the migrant community there are multiple service and humanitarian groups that have emerged over the years providing legal and social services to the migrant community as well as forging links with like institutions in the home countries. Most notably among these are the ones founded by the Salvadoran community in the 1980s (CARECEN, El Rescate, Centro Presente, etc.). But organizations like Casa Guatemala in Chicago, Casa Nicaragua in Los Angeles, and Hondurans Against Aids in New York all work not only among the migrant community on differing local issues but also forge networks across borders. Human rights, legalization and HIV/AIDS are issues that transcend the local agendas of these organizations in order to also address problems back in the respective country.

In addition to these, probably one of the most significant new actors in transnational relationships among the Central American countries are Home Town Associations (HTAs). These organizations are voluntary associations with a broad community based membership. Generally they are oriented toward providing a space for gathering among the migrant community, usually bringing together people from the same place of origin to celebrate different events and happenings that would be celebrated in the hometown as well as to support specific initiatives in the place of origin. These initiatives can be broadly categorized into three groups: humanitarian or charity (emergency responses to disasters, donations for retirement homes or orphanages, toys for poor children at Christmas time, repatriation of cadavers, etc.); social or human development (educational scholarships, health programs; sports teams, etc.) and infrastructure (building clinics, schools, roads, electrification and water projects, etc.). Some of the HTAs work with specific individuals or institutions in their hometown such as the priest, the cultural center or school; others collaborate through a pre-existing committee such as a local

community development organization; and others form their own committee which works almost exclusively with the HTA. Some HTAs began as initiatives of migrants interested in giving back to their home community in a more collective manner; others responded to specific requests from members of the home community. Over time these efforts have become more consolidated and many of these grassroots organizations have been able to obtain non-profit status in the U.S. (Andrade-Eekhoff, 1997; Orozco, 2000b; Popkin, forthcoming)

There are several key differences that appear among these grassroots organizations between the different countries of Central America. In general the types of efforts among Honduran and Nicaraguan migrants appear to be less linked to specific territorial communities and are more likely to be broader based efforts based on a common national origin. Additionally, the sheer number of HTAs between the Guatemalan and particularly Salvadoran population speaks to the importance of these groups for these two countries. There are estimates of 60 Guatemalan HTAs in Los Angeles, and only 5 Honduran organizations in the same area. The Salvadoran government estimates that over there are over 250 Salvadoran organizations outside the country, mostly located in Los Angeles. Between the various Guatemalan and Salvadoran HTAs, there are also initiatives to support each other. For example, the *Asociación de Fraternidades Guatemaltecas* (AFG) is made up of 19 Guatemalan HTAs. *Comunidades Unidades para el Desarrollo de El Salvador* (COMUNIDADES) is a coalition effort of over 20 Salvadoran HTAs in the Los Angeles area. Smaller coalition efforts among Salvadoran groups include coordination and collaboration among various HTAs in Los Angeles working in conjunction with local communities in the department of Chalatenango. Several broader transnational efforts linking HTAs together include a forum between Central American and Mexican groups in Los Angeles in order to share experiences and learn from each other. At the same time, a congress of Salvadoran HTAs is being planned for April and another in September, 2003 in the first attempt to bring together representatives from all of these voluntary grassroots groups to discuss relevant issues pertaining to their initiatives among their base as well as in their communities of origin.

Not all of these actors are new: financial institutions and the church certainly existed prior to the tremendous increase in international migration and the transnationalization of family and community relationships. However, there have been fundamental changes in some of their activities that respond directly to transnational migratory processes. More significant though are the new actors that are emerging and serve as a vital underpinning for different types of transnational communities. Of particular importance are territorially based couriers and HTAs. Their individual as well as collective efforts are fundamental for the construction and maintaining of kinship, ethnic, religious and territorial communities in transnational spaces.

VI. Youth and Transnational Communities in Migration

Much discussion and debate in the region takes place around the issues linking youth to migration. Central American migration involves a large number of youth in multiple ways. Many of the migrants are young adults. Other young people desire to be migrants; some are children who try to live in cultures that sometimes transmit contradictory values, behavioral norms, and expectations; and others feel abandoned by fathers and mothers that hope to offer them a better future. Very little of the more public debate is informed by concrete research on the topic. Many of the studies carried out to date on Central American migration incorporate some issues facing youth into the broader analysis, and we have found several studies that focus specifically on youth and migration (Abrego, n.d.; Arriola, 1997; 1999; Vasquez, 2001; Zilberg, 1997; 1999). This section will explore some of the topics regarding young people and transnational migration.

While data regarding migrant profiles in the region is relatively scarce, several studies point to flows dominated by men and women that are between the ages of 18 and 25 (Funkhouser, 1997; Andrade-Eekhoff, 2001; Baumeister, 2001). Additional evidence from El Salvador points to the majority of migrants being single men and women without children at the time of migration (Andrade-Eekhoff, 2001). Thus, this issues that most directly affect migrants are also those that impact youth in migration.

However, youth are also impacted in other ways. The lives of young people linked to migration in the sending areas manifest various sets of problems and dynamics faced by young people in receiving areas, and the transnational bonds are used in different ways. For the purposes of this summary, the analysis of studies carried out has been divided into issues facing youth in the home country and those in the receiving country.

In terms of youth in the sending areas that maintain some sort of relationship with family members living outside the country, several specific studies have been carried out in the region. According to Arriola (1997;1999) in a study on Chuj and Kanjobal youth of Guatemala, one of the most serious problems facing young people is that of absentee parents, bringing about family disintegration. The author considers that in these situations daughters and sons of migrants adopt rebellious behaviours; the lack of discipline results in low school performance and may also lead to delinquency and the rise of gang activity. At the same time, in another rural community in Eastern El Salvador, Mahler (1999) found in discussions with young people that considerations for any possibility for progress in their future were intimately linked with international labor migration, even if it were only for a brief period in order to accumulate savings for investment in the home area. She summarizes that migration may have become a way of life for young people in rural communities of El Salvador, in less than a generation.

However, in probably one of the more in-depth anthropological studies carried out on youth and migration in sending areas, a much more nuanced situation was found by Zilberg (1999). In her study on young people in an eastern municipality of El Salvador, Zilberg analyzes the various discourses and perceptions linked to migration and youth with actual situations found in the community. “Remittances, so the popular discourses go, have not only ‘made [Salvadoran youth]

lazy,' but have caused them to 'become complacent' and to 'go about unoccupied.' The trope '*se han vuelto haraganes*' is closely related to another discourse, that of '*delincuencia*' (delinquency) and a litany of verbs, not simply of inaction but negative actions or '*maldad*' (no good, or misdeeds). Children of migrants tend to '*vacilar*,' '*vagar*,' (wonder about aimlessly up to no good), '*tomar*,' (drink) '*endrogar*,' (take drugs) and '*andar en la calle*' (hang–out in the streets). They have experienced a '*perdida de valores*' (a loss of values), and with this new level of '*libertinaje*' (licentiousness or lack of moral restraint) have become overly '*rebelde*' (rebellious)" (Zilberg, under consideration). The idea that permeates society as related to youth and migration is clearly negative.

However, Zilberg found a much more complex situation. Using case studies to reveal the multiple levels of heterogeneity, she summaries these results in various typologies of youth linked to migration in sending communities. "Los Dejados" (those left behind) are young people who have been separated from their parents for more than a decade, and include four separate outlooks on migration: *el aspirante* (s/he who aspires to migrate), *el abandonado* (s/he who is or feels abandoned by his/her parents), *el enraizado* (s/he who remains strongly rooted within El Salvador), and *el aspirante frustrado* (s/he whose attempt to emigrate remains unrequited). The second broad group, "los migrantes" refers to those who have lived in the U.S. but are now back in their hometown for diverse reasons. The three subgroups include: *el migrante* (s/he who travels back and forth to the US to work temporarily), *el retornado* (s/he who has or imagines s/he has returned permanently), and *el deportado* (s/he who is forcibly returned to the US through deportation) (Zilberg, under consideration). These seven classifications clearly show that the international migration process and its impacts on youth in the places of origin are far more complex than the initial discourses. Thus, while there may be some young people who are rebellious in the face of absentee parents, many continue their education, hope to find employment locally, or engage in transnational travel back and forth.

Clearly the migratory process involves difficult adaptations for young people in transnational spaces, for example in the case of a teenager asking for permission to go to a party or buy a dress from a father or mother that lives more than 4,000 kilometers away. At the same time, families are finding and creating new processes of adaptation in these situations; these processes often cause friction among family members. This suggests a change in family arrangements, in which young people assume greater responsibilities at an earlier age; characterizing this simply as disintegration with negative impacts on youth limits the possibilities for understanding a far more dynamic and heterogeneous situation

With respect to young Central Americans in the receiving country, specifically in the United States, there is also a heterogeneous situation. Some of these young people are recent migrants; others make up the one and a half (born in their parent's country of origin but raised in the U.S.) or second generation (U.S. born children of migrants). These young people tend to have few points of direct reference with their parent's countries of origin. But at the same time they are part of a growing diversity of Latino minority groups confronting subtle and direct prejudices and discrimination. Like those young people left at home, those of the second generation also assume certain responsibilities traditionally linked to adult life, such as serving as interpreters not only of language but also culture with their parents (Menjivar, 2000). And since many Central

Americans live in poor violent urban communities, young people growing up in these spaces face tremendous challenges.

Arriola (1997; 1999) considers that that the U.S. school system serves as a main door for U.S. socialization and acculturation for Guatemalan indigenous youth. In fact, this is true for all "migrant"[34] youth. However, many of these students encounter a very difficult environment unimaginable to their parents. In a study carried out by Abrego (n.d.), a further barrier has been erected in which young people see their hopes further frustrated due to their legal status. She found that young people faced similar difficulties with living conditions, poverty, violence and discrimination, but those that were born in the U.S. had greater opportunities simply due to their legal status as opposed to those who were not. U.S. citizens. Although they share the same way of life, opportunities were unevenly distributed.

Abrego contends that migrant youth need two things to have a real opportunity to improve the quality of their lives: economic resources and legal documents. Those without these essential resources are destined for the U. S. underclass. The second and third generations are structurally disadvantaged through not only the labor market but also residential segregation living in poor working-class inner city neighborhoods "where several factors make it more difficult to pursue higher education and upward mobility" (Abrego, n.d.).

In this context, the relationship between sending and reception countries is much more diffuse in which the young people see themselves as different from others around them while at the same time relating to the memories of their parent's home country which has little to do with their own reality. On the other hand, Zilberg (under consideration) considers that the role of reception and expulsion is reversed for those young people who lose their legal status or are undocumented despite having grown up in the U.S. and are deported from the U.S to their home country.

While this group of Central American migrant youth in the U.S. seeks to develop their identities amidst these multifaceted dynamics, there is great concern in the home countries that many second generation Central Americans are not connected to their cultural roots and heritage. Studies concerning second generation transnational expressions are only beginning to emerge,[35] and so far none of them include Central Americans. There is some evidence of various types of links. First of all, several of those interviewed in the course of this study are clearly vibrant representatives of second generation migrants that are concerned about forging links with their home countries and towns while building community in the U.S.[36] Hometown queens elected in the U.S. to represent their family's place of origin are generally part of this group of migrant young people. Sports teams, musical groups, and other forms of cultural exchange are also important mechanisms for young people to forge identities in transnationalized spaces. This is

[34] The use of "migrant" in this context seeks to include in a more generic manor the issues and problems faced by both second as well as one and a half generation migrant youth.

[35] Levitt and Waters (2002) have compiled the only studies that we have found to date that begin to explore second generation transnational expressions.

[36] Leicy Abrego (who carried out the study cited in this text); Edgar Villeda, Tomas Zuñiga, and Nilson Gamboa are all one and half generation migrants who are involved in various types of transnational linkages. Interviews and contacts with each of them emerged not as a result of specifically seeking out one and a half or second generation migrants, but rather based on their actual involvement with organizations that were identified in the course of this study.

further facilitated through technological changes, especially as young people are those more likely to feel at ease with e-mail and internet communication, regardless of their country of origin. However, the actual volume and relative importance of these ties are not known.

Despite the fact that international labor migration resolves many of the day-to-day subsistence needs for many Central Americans, and may indeed be guaranteeing higher levels of educational attainment, there are other collateral effects on young people, and ways in which transnational migration networks do not always generate socially perceived positive results. One such manifestation has to do with the growth of youth gangs in Central American transnational flows.

The cities and small towns throughout the Central American region are beginning to display growing evidence of big city problems from the U.S. Local leaders in Belize City, San Pedro Soloma in Guatemala, Santa Elena in El Salvador, and Ocotepeque in Honduras express concern over the formation of youth "gangs"[37] that appear to be linked to similar phenomenon in the inner cities of Los Angeles and New York. Symbolic expressions of this can be found in the graffiti found on walls in the neighborhoods of Pico Union and South Central Los Angeles as well as towns and neighborhoods through out the Central American region. The Mara Salvatrucha and 18th Street Gang as well as the Crips and Bloods are well known youth gangs in Los Angeles. But transnational expressions of these gangs are at the very least reproduced throughout the Central American region. Garifuna parents in South Central Los Angeles express their concern over the dangers faced by their youth related to the traditional African-American gangs in this neighborhood, and leaders back home are concerned with the appearance of the Crips and Bloods and their violent rivalry in Belize (Miller Mathei and Smith, 1998).[38] Likewise, MS and 18th Street gangs appear throughout all the countries of Central America.[39]

However, what is far from clear is the level of real transnational exchange that exists between young people who participate in these gang activities in different places.[40] Some authorities point to U.S. deportations of young people that have been members of a gang in Los Angeles as evidence of ties between gang activities in the region and the U.S. In one of the most in depth studies in El Salvador on youth gangs in San Salvador, the influence of these U.S. gangs with Central American members can be found through the leadership of the gangs, some of whom are deportees.[41] In fact the early roots of Mexican gang activity in the U.S. is clearly linked to

[37] Although local leaders express concern about the formation of youth gangs, some of the manifestations are necessarily gang related but rather concerns about rebelliousness among youth, generally associated with migration.

[38] We do not know if there are manifestations of the Crips and Bloods in Garifuna communities in Guatemala or Honduras.

[39] Multiple national studies exist on youth and specifically gang violence in the region. For an overview of some of the more salient issues throughout Latin America and the Caribbean, see Dennis Rodgers (1999) "Youth Gangs and Violence in Latin America and the Caribbean: A Literature Survey" LCR Sustainable Development Working Paper No. 4, Urban Peace Program Series, World Bank: Washington D.C. available on line at http://wbln0018.worldbank.org/lac/lacinfoclient.nsf/d29684951174975c85256735007fef12/1e051e74b34f8253852567ed0060dde7/$FILE/Paper-4.doc.

[40] There is relatively little research that has been done on the true transnational nature of gang activity in the region. A notable exception is the work being carried out by Elana Zilberg who is currently conducting a study on the transnational links between migration and violence with particular emphasis on youth. See also the paper prepared by Manuel Vasquez (2001) on the evangelical church and gangs among Salvadoran youth.

[41] See Smutt, M and L. Miranda (1998) **El fenómeno de las pandillas en El Salvador** San Salvador: FLACSO, UNICEF, in particular the section on "La influencia estadounidense". This study provides a short historical

migration, and in deed membership in particularly the 18th Street gang in Los Angeles is clearly multinational with Mexican, Salvadoran, Guatemalan, Nicaraguan as well as Asian youth participating. Smutt and Miranda (1998) point out that processes of exclusion in the home country led to migration; but migrants encounter situations of exclusion in the receiving country. Some Central American migrant youth incorporate into these gangs in the U.S. as a way to feel included. Their subsequent deportation presents them with another process of exclusion, in which gang activities and membership are reproduced in the home country. Given the broad Central American membership of these gangs, the ensuing imitation in the home country should not be surprising.

Deportation, however, is only one manifestation of these transnational migratory links. Arturo Echeverría from *Casa Alianza* in Guatemala considers that young people in Central American gangs are using the same ways to communicate with each others (such as body signals, idioms and language modifications) similar to those in gangs in the US. He considers that there are possibilities to create transnational bonds in these spheres, and that potentially transnational networks may be forming linked to other criminally organized structures like drug and gun trafficking. Smutt and Miranda found that "communication and some sort of dependency in decision making" exists between MS and 18th Street members in the U.S and El Salvador. However, Rodgers (1999) points out, there are vast differences among gangs throughout Latin America, their forms of organization and levels of violence. But no information exists relating to the scope and frequency of transnational exchanges among the various gangs in the region that share the same name. Are the flows sporadic or more systematic? As in the case of household transnational relationships, do these include economic flows as well or are they only socio-cultural links? And are there transnational decision making processing, and if so, what sorts of decisions involve transnational flows versus local or national, and how are these exercised? The questions at hand have to do with the breadth and depth of economic, socio-cultural and political transnational flows connecting youth that participate in gang social formations and the related implications for policy intervention and prevention on a transnational stage.

---

overview of the early roots of gang activity in Los Angeles and its transnational links at the beginning of the twentieth century through Mexican migration and Chicanos.

VII. Government Responses in Central America to Migrant Transnationalism

This final section briefly analyzes the way in which Central America governments have responded to the challenges presented by transnationalization through migration. These responses have included not only the central government but also local authorities. This is particularly important, as local governments have gained increasing protagonism given state decentralization processes.

In general, the level of institutionalization in the responses of the Central American governments to the transnationalization of their countries through international migration offers a comparative understanding of the way these processes are viewed. And certainly the current responses have evolved over the years. In general, it can be stated that the Salvadoran government as compared to the other government in the region, both central as well as local, has a more much institutionalized response to international labor migration, although this is a relatively new situation. And clearly the reactions of the Honduran government are probably the least institutionalized, comparatively speaking. A general indicator of the awareness and interest relating to the issues of migration is simply the difficultly encountered in identifying governmental representatives in Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua to interview with regards to differing forms of response to international labor migration. This however does not mean that governmental efforts to link migrant nationals living in the U.S. and Costa Rica do not exist.

One indicator of the emphasis and direction of these efforts can be gleaned from an analysis of the central government ministry that is attempting to spearhead these relationships. Migration issues have generally been understood as a function of the Ministry of the Interior or Governance (*Interior* or *Gobernación*), depending on the country. Thus, those outside of the borders of the country are linked to this Ministry essentially through a process of legal documentation, which includes the extension of passports and overseeing the legal status of non-nationals within the boundaries of the respective country. In other words, policies are national in orientation and are generally regulatory in nature. This does not mean that transnational migratory relationships are limited to this Ministry but it is indicative of the emphasis of these responses.

However, the policy tools used are different when migrants are engaged through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Relaciones Exteriores*). In each of the countries, the respective Central American consulates located in U.S. cities with large concentration of nationals have carried out changes impacting their role and relationship with the citizens of their countries residing outside their national borders. For example, each of the Central American consulates participate in some way in organizing the Central American independence day parades in Los Angeles and New York. Some work closely with migrant organizations from their respective country. Certain services to the migrant population have been increased and prioritized, even developing innovative mechanisms to attend those nationals that live farther away from the consular office. The Guatemalan consulate in New York for example, has established mobile consular services in various regions of the U.S.. They announce these services to the population mainly through

church networks[42] as well as identified migrant community leaders in the respective area. The Salvadoran government is following this example and rather than open new consular offices in other U.S. cities, current consular offices are being charged with providing mobile temporary services. Some of these services have even involved a somewhat contradictory role between the government, the migrant population and the U.S. government. This is precisely the case where the Salvadoran and Guatemalan governments have advocated on behalf of Salvadoran and Guatemalan asylum seekers in the U.S., to the extent that Salvadoran consulates at one point even provided legal assistance in the preparation of political asylum applications. This highly unusual role has meant essentially that the Salvadoran government assisted those that contended they feared persecution by their government or that their government was incapable of protecting them from persecution (Popkin, forthcoming; Mahler, 1998; Landolt, Autler and Baires, 1999). Thus, through a transformation of foreign policy tools and resources, migrants are seen as part of foreign policy relationships.

Other Ministries that have engaged their migrant populations in various initiatives seeking to build stronger ties include the Ministries of Agriculture and Economics in Guatemala and the Ministry of Economics in El Salvador. In these examples, the Guatemalan and Salvadoran governments have sought to engage their migrant populations as potential investors for productive projects in the home country. In the case of Guatemala this included coordination with the Association of Exporters of Non-Traditional Products (AGEXPRONT), the Rural Bank of Guatemala (BANRURAL) and the Guatemalan Chamber of Industrial Manufacturers. Potential productive initiatives and proposals were development and investors sought among specific migrant communities in the U.S. and in home communities (Popkin, forthcoming). In El Salvador, the government sought to encourage Salvadoran migrants to become business partners in investment schemes through the Competitiveness Program of the Ministry of the Economy. Based on the concept of clusters[43], a migrant "duster" was created, principally with interested Salvadoran business people living in the New York area. However, in each of these initiatives, for all practical purposes concrete and lasting ventures have encountered multiple problems leading to their relative abandonment.

It is only in the case of Nicaragua that the link between migration as a labor issue has been made. In late 2002, representatives of the Ministry of Labor in Costa Rica were engaged in a series of meetings with the Ministry of Labor of Nicaragua to discuss migration issues essentially as an aspect related to the labor supply and demand between the two countries. Despite the clear link of migration as a labor issue between the United States and the rest of Central America, on a government level there has been no acknowledgement of this. In February 2003, the North American Integration and Development (NAID) Center of UCLA was invited by CEPAL to brief the Central American government representatives involved in free trade negotiations with the United States. This briefing centered on the issue of international labor migration as the critical

[42] The Guatemalan Consul in New York has identified specific Catholic parishes with which outreach efforts are coordinated. In some cases, the church even facilitates the use of space in order for the consulate to provide documentation services to the Guatemalan population in the area. These initiatives are carried out on weekends.

[43] A cluster, as defined by Professor Michael E. Porter of Harvard University, is a geographic concentration of competing and cooperating companies, suppliers, service providers, and associated institutions. Porter's consulting company, the Monitor Group, was hired by the Salvadoran government to help development a national competitiveness strategy. Various clusters were identified (coffee, textile production, tourism among others) and included migrants.

issue to be discussed in the free trade negotiations in the context of integration. In the opinion of Dr. Hinojosa, Director of the NAID Center, some of the representatives from the Central American governments, specifically those that in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs such as the Ambassadors to the U.S., understood the connections between labor, migration, commercial integration and free trade. However, for the representatives of the Ministry of Economics (those more intimately involved in the negotiation process), the relevance of the point of migration as part of a free trade issue and commercial integration was not fully embraced. It is therefore doubtful that a Central American Free Trade Agreement with the United States will include the issue of migration, although given the link between supply and demand of labor markets between these countries, it is certainly an issue of integration.

The manner in which the respective governments conceive of the issues of international migration and develop policies and programs through the various Ministries is only one part of the issue. As already mentioned, the level of institutionalization is perhaps an even more critical point. This is clear in the case of Honduras. As previously mentioned, the government of Honduras, responding to specific requests by Hondurans living in the U.S. who expressed their desire to be able to vote in elections in their country of origin, established such a mechanism. There were high expectations of the number of Honduras who would register and eventually vote in Presidential elections. Voting sites were established in 17 cities in the U.S.; in the end only about 4,000 Honduran residents in the U.S. ended up voting and the initiative has been considered a failure. However, little previous efforts to forge ties between the Honduran government and the diaspora in the U.S. have existed and there has been relatively little work of articulating the political rights of the migrant community that is atomized, and has thin organizational formations in the home country.

Many efforts by the respective governments on behalf of the migrant population have been sporadic and considered utilitarian by the migrants themselves. In the early 1990s, Salvadoran government officials lobbied Washington in the weeks prior to the expiration of a specific program of migratory benefits for the Salvadoran community. Extension of benefits were seen as a major victory for migrants, obtained due to the government intervention. However, many Salvadoran migrant leaders had already been hard at work for over a decade in coalition with U.S. based legal rights organizations, educating congressional members and the respective U.S. administrations. In their mind, the different benefits and extensions obtained were the fruit not of short term lobbying efforts by the Salvadoran government, but rather long term political organizing. Salvadoran migrant leaders have seen these government efforts as utilitarian and interested only in guaranteeing a continued flow of remittances to the country and not truly seeking to support the issues and needs of the Salvadoran diaspora. In one document, leaders in Los Angeles expressed the view that their home county saw them simply as money machines (*maquinitas de dinero*).[44]

[44] Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo, 1999 Capitulo XVI, "Los Salvadoreños y salvadoreñas en el exterior" **Temas claves para el Plan de Nación: Consulta Especializada**, San Salvador: CND. The round tables in Los Angeles, Washington DC., and Costa Rica were one of the first efforts to reach out to the Salvadoran population and incorporate their views and proposals for development of their home country. These individual round tables identified a series of interesting proposals and initiatives. In particular the transfer of migrant know-how, contacts, and expertise was one of the initiatives suggested.

This leads to the observation that the manner in which Central American governments have developed policies and programs depends upon the level of awareness of specific political leaders who are able to understand the strategic issues emerging from transnational migration. Guatemala demonstrates this point. During the previous administration (1996- 1999) of the Party for National Advancement (PAN) efforts were made to develop programs and policies to integrate migrant home town associations, specifically through the *Asociación de Fraternidades Guatemaltecas* (AFG). With the new administration under President Portillo, this shifted dramatically, to the point that the position of Guatemalan consul in Los Angeles was vacant for over 6 months. To make matters worse, once designated the new consul was changed after less than four months of service. As a result, the members of the Guatemalan diaspora are frustrated with the relative lack of importance their efforts appear to have with the Portillo Administration. Each change in government official involves an enormous effort at rebuilding trust and re-establishing a common history from which to work, under the best of scenarios. More often major initiatives are abandoned.[45] Similar sentiments were expressed among members of the Honduran diaspora who saw all their efforts to educate Honduran officials in Washington about migrant issues dissipate when a new consular officer was assigned. Thus despite initiatives to forge links with the migrant community in the U.S., these efforts have not been a part of longer term policies that transcend the political time frame of elected officials and governments. As a result, migrant leaders continue to see many of these efforts as a utilitarian means to garner political and economic support from migrants rather than developing longer-term policies that support the issues and agenda of the migrant community.

Despite this however, in the last four years a major shift has taken place in El Salvador both in terms of quantitative as well as qualitative policy initiatives by the government in response to migrant transnational relationships. After consulting with the Mexican government and designers of the *Programa de Atención a la Comunidad Méxicana en el Exterior* (PACME), the Salvadoran government implemented a similar program through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The *Dirección General de Atención a la Comunidad en el Exterior* (DGACE)[46], initiated in January 2000, with the purpose of strengthening relationships with the Salvadoran community in other parts of the world, is the most elaborated governmental program to date in the region. The mission of the DGACE is to coordinate, facilitate, promote and support initiatives oriented to effectively link Salvadorans living throughout the world as partners for development in El Salvador. It carries out this mission through three programmatic areas: 1) Economic Ties and Integration; 2) Community and local development ties and integration; and 3) Cultural and Educational Ties and Integration. Through the participation of the Vice President of El Salvador, the DGACE works in conjunction with other national government entities including the Ministry of Education, Economy, Health and Agriculture as well as the Social Investment Fund for Local Development (FISDL), the National Council for Culture and Arts (CONCULTURA) and the National Institute of Sports (INDES). The idea of coordinating among the various governmental entities involves not only carrying out initiatives that benefit the migrant population directly or involve migrants in various national activities, but also to consider the impact of different policies within the migrant community. The importance of this sort of awareness was terribly evident when the government enacted legislation to create one national identity card. The DUI

[45] Popkin (forthcoming) provides a detailed description of the program *Chapines Sin Fronteras* (Guatemalans without Borders) that has faltered greatly because of a lack of continuity between administrations.
[46] See internet links in Appendix III for the web address of this program.

(*documento único de identidad*) replaces municipally issued *cedulas* as well as the electoral registration card (*carnet electoral*). However, the process for obtaining the DUI is only possible in El Salvador, leaving the thousands that live outside the borders without a valid Salvadoran identity document for the many different transactions that they continue to conduct in the country. Similar problems occurred when the Ministry of the Interior changed passport formats and required that all passports be produced through one system in El Salvador. Because the system did not take into account the role consulates played in producing passports, a near crisis was created when the new passport format went into effect. The DGACE has worked with the various entities to take into consideration the migrant population. In the case of passports, the required information is sent from the respective consulate to El Salvador to be prepared. In emergency cases, a temporary single use document is issued so that the migrant may travel. With respect to the DUI, discussions have begun concerning appropriate mechanisms for extending this document in certain places in the United States. Thus the role of the DGACE is to ensure that these sorts of problems are contemplated and resolved *before* policies are implemented in order to create adequate mechanisms that respond to the fact that an estimated 20% of the population lives in the US.

Additionally, the DGACE participates, along with the International Organization on Migration (IOM), Salvadoran migration authorities, the church, academic institutions and Salvadoran NGOs in the supervision and coordination of the *Programa Bienvenido a Casa* (Welcome Home Program), a reception and orientation program for Salvadoran deportees. This novel reception program was initiated in 1998 as a collaborative effort between Intergovernmental, governmental and non-governmental entities to attend to the emergency needs of Salvadorans that return the country in "conditions of vulnerability".[47] Run by Salvadoran NGOs, the program offers information and initial orientation upon arrival at the Salvadoran international airport, emergency shelter, emergency medial assistance and psychological counseling, support in obtaining identity documents, support in obtaining educational equivalency. The U.S. government provided initial funding for this program, but the Salvadoran government now covers the budget needs of the activities. This pilot project has served as a model that is being implemented in other counties, including Honduras.

Furthermore, the DGACE helps promote the program "United in Solidarity", a two for one program coordinated through the FISDL in El Salvador to leverage collective migrant remittances for various local development projects. Though mechanisms of public bidding and shared funding, HTAs can obtain complementary funding for projects in their places of origin.[48] To date, funding for this has come primarily from loan funds through the InterAmerican Development Bank (IADB). The design is based on the Mexican three for one program. This program has generated much enthusiasm as a mechanism to link HTAs with local development initiatives through the local and central government authorities. The eleven projects supported so far include the building and expansion of schools, paving roads, and rehabilitating recreational parks. Several HTA projects that had begun but were unable to be completed due to lack of complementary funding have also been supported. An evaluation of this new initiative is

[47] Per Catholic Relief Services (CRS), this is the characterization and definition of the population served. See the web page, http://www.pais.org.sv/.
[48] More information on the program "*Unidos por la solidaridad*" can be found at http://www.fisdl.gob.sv/.

necessary to ensure that its success can be guaranteed in the long run, as well as to assess and address the problems invariably encountered in any new initiative that involves multiple actors.

As can be seen with the FISDL program, efforts to forge ties with the migrant population are not the exclusive domain of the national government authorities. Although even more sporadic and less coordinated, local governments have sought out or been engaged by the migrant community. Arnoldo Aleman, as mayor of Managua, looked to Nicaraguans in Miami for support; the former mayor of Tegucigalpa established ties with the Honduran diaspora in New Orleans. The mayor of El Sauce in southern Nicaragua has been a key actor in articulating programs and initiatives with members of the municipality that live and work in Costa Rica. Despite these examples though, the initiatives with local authorities depend greatly upon the personal leadership style and interest of the elected official. Additionally, some migrant groups find it easier to work with central government authorities rather than local ones; while this may appear contradictory, it must be remembered that many of the individuals involved in these local initiatives share common histories in which trust may have been eroded. At the same time, some local authorities may feel threatened by migrant efforts, and therefore seek ways to block or thwart their initiatives. This is especially true when issues of transparency and accountability are brought up, questioning the use of funds channeled through the local government, or when local authorities are perceived as obtaining personal political or economic benefits. And many HTAs distance themselves from volatile and conflictive political initiatives, which generally means avoiding relationships not only with political parties but also with local elected officials who obtain their positions through partisan electoral processes.

Again, of the four countries, the local governmental ties with migrants are the most developed in El Salvador. There are multiple ways in which this takes place, but the efforts are highly individualistic. While COMURES, the Salvadoran Mayors Association, recognises the importance of migrants and their organizations, this entity has no clear idea of what sorts of initiatives the mayors are actually involved in nor are they able to provide broader support to their members concerning these issues. Rather, various individual mayors and several NGOs have a better idea of what each other are up to when it comes to articulating local governments with their diaspora. Examples of links include co-sponsorship of infrastructure projects, networking between migrants and other local actors, establishing opportunities for migrants to invest in private-public partnerships, identifying members of the city council who will specifically represent the interests of the migrant community in the hometown, and so on. One mayor arranged for a contingent of the city council to visit members of the diaspora in Los Angeles requesting that they establish a HTA. The migrants agreed on the condition that they not work directly with the local government. The mayor subsequently facilitated ties with the cultural center in the locale.

These local territorial links are even more relevant when considering the emphasis upon state decentralization in the region where local authorities are gaining more responsibilities in the task to promote the livelihoods and well being of their inhabitants. [49] The discussion of leveraging migration for local development in a transnational context clearly goes far beyond the so-called productive use of remittances. Looking at migration through its impact only in economic terms

[49] See Córdova Macias, 1997; García González, 2001 and Córdova Macias and Seligson, 2001 for an analysis of these processes in the region.

and reduced to the transfers and use of family income implies ignoring a wide variety of ways in which transnational migration impacts a specific locale. By analyzing transnational migration (based on diverse types of exchanges), the types of communities that build these links, and the impact with the local socio-productive fabric, new avenues can be opened up for promoting policies and programs to leverage migration for development.

Clearly the task of local development becomes more complex as the territory is transnationalized. Faced with limited resources, migrants and their associations serve as potentially important partners in local development initiatives coordinated through the local government. And while migrants living in another country can certainly become partners in this process, the processes and implications are not well understood. Migrants can and do channel their funds and knowledge back into the home community in an effort to improve individual family living conditions as well as engage in collective projects, and business efforts. Collective funding of infrastructure projects is an important example of this. But, again this is one of the more visible initiatives that can be observed. The less tangible political and socio-cultural flows are also important, and here the issues become more complex.

We have seen in the preceding pages how the transnationalization of specific locales involves multiple types of communities (kin, ethnic, neighborhood, religious, etc.). To the degree that these communities are housed within a common political-administrative district, specifically the municipality, the web of transnational relationships becomes much thicker and the relationship with the local government should presumably be more important. The multiple types of transnational flows (economic, socio-cultural, and political) influence the locale in a wide variety of ways. Most of the focus has been on household economics and family remittances. But this is clearly only on one aspect of local development, and the challenge facing local governments whose territories are becoming transnationalized through international labor migration presents them with a panoply of opportunities as well as challenges.

If viewed from the perspective of local governance, understood as the relationship between the residents of a particular locale (the citizens or the governed), the municipality or city council (the government) and the individuals that implement local policies (those that govern), transnationalized communities introduce new factors that have not been clearly articulated much less understood. Local governance encounters new challenges when the members of the community that engage in the issues of the locale are residents and maybe even citizens of another country. The U.S. citizens of the Guatemalan Garifuna community in New York are expressly interested in the state of affairs in Livingston and actively seek out the mayor. They make their voices heard not through voting, but by some level of transnational political participation. But are their voices louder or more important than those that reside in Livingston on a permanent basis? Or do non-migrant family members voice their concerns through migrants? Are the members of the Los Angeles based HTA from San Antonio Pajonales in Santa Ana able to ensure more transparency and accountability from the local government than other residents involved in local community organizations? Or are those involved obtaining other individual clientelistic benefits? How can these forms of political participation build greater appropriation of rights and responsibilities among non-migrants? How are processes of local exclusion (based on gender, generation, ethnicity, etc.) altered in transnational contexts in which men and women, of different generations, from different ethnic groups, have more or less access

to migration? How do new transnational actors affect the dynamics of local development through their facilitation of economic, social and political exchanges? Are they in deed displacing other community actors, such as the church, or simply providing another layer of community articulation? And how can and should local leaders face the challenges of local problems that emerge from global interaction? Are health risks, and more concretely those emerging through engagement in vulnerable labor markets like meat packing, transferred to the locale through transnational flows? And how can and should local authorities and community leaders respond to problems perceived to be associated with migration, young people and potential gang activities?

These are the multiplicity of challenges that peripheral territories are confronting through the globalization of their labor markets brought about by transnational migration. In addition to decentralization, local governments in Central America also face new forces that open doors of opportunities as well as risks. Beginning a process of understanding the dynamic interplay between opportunities and risks in local territories engaged in transnational migratory flows should be a fundamental part of the future research agenda in the region.

Appendix I. Interviews Carried Out

Manuel Orozco, Director de Proyectos para Centroamérica, Inter-American Dialogue, Washington D.C., telephone interview, 16 October 2002

Manuel Ortega Hegg, Director, CASC, UCA Managua, Nicaragua, 16 October 2002; 5 December 2002.

Maureen Zamora, Directora, Foro Nacional para las Migraciones en Honduras, FONAMIH, Tegucigalpa, Honduras, 11 November 2002

Rosa Montenegro, Catedrática, Universidad Católica, Tegucigalpa, Honduras, 11 November 2002

Guido Eguigure, CDA, Tegucigalpa, Honduras, 12 November 2002

Melba Zúñiga, Directora, Unidad de Servicios de Apoyo para Fomentar la Participación de la Mujer, UNISA, Tegucigalpa, Honduras, 12 November 2002

Hermana Shirley Guerra, Pastoral de la Movilidad Humana, Tegucigalpa, Honduras, 12 November 2002

Gema Suyapa Maldonado, Foro Nacional para las Migraciones en Honduras, FONAMIH, Tegucigalpa, Honduras, 12 November 2002

Sally O'Neill, Representante, TROCAIRE, Tegucigalpa, Honduras, 13 November 2002

Divina Alvarenga, Asociación ANDAR, Tegucigalpa, Honduras, 13 November 2002

Juan Jacobo Dardon, Investigador, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales: Sede Guatemala, Cuidad de Guatemala, Guatemala, 20 November 2002

Maribel Carrera Guerra, Oxfam Gran Bretaña, Cuidad de Guatemala, Guatemala, 20 November 2002

Carlos López, Director, Casa del Migrante, Cuidad de Guatemala, Guatemala, 20 November 2002

Lucrecia Oliva, Coordinación de ONG y Cooperativas, CONGCOOP, Cuidad de Guatemala, Guatemala, 20 November 2002

Padre Mauro, Pastoral Movilidad Humana, Cuidad de Guatemala, Guatemala, 21 November 2002

Arturo Echeverría, Casa Alianza, Cuidad de Guatemala, Guatemala, 21 November 2002

Roberto Barrios, Instituto de Investigación de la Escuela de Historia de la USAC, DIGI, Cuidad de Guatemala, Guatemala, 21 November 2002

Margarita Alfaro. Encargada de Cooperación y Relaciones Internacionales. Corporación de Municipalidades de la República de El Salvador (COMURES). San Salvador, El Salvador, 15 November 2002

Mario Roger Hernández. Director, Dirección General de Atención a la Comunidad en el Exterior, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Gobierno de El Salvador. San Salvador, El Salvador. 18 November 2002

Lorena Argueta. Directora. Sistema de Asesoría y Capacitación para el Desarrollo Local (SACDEL). San Salvador, El Salvador. 18 November 2002

.

Ernesto Nostas, Fondo de Inversión Social para el Desarrollo Local (FISDL), San Salvador, El Salvador, 25 November 2002

Martha Cranshaw, Investigadora de FLACSO Sede Costa Rica, Managua, Nicaragua, 5 December 2002

Abelardo Morales, Investigador, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales: Sede Costa Rica. San José Costa Rica, 17 December 2002

Jorge Estrada Silva, CARITAS, y Presidente del Foro de Migrantes, Managua, Nicaragua, 6 December 2002

Milagros Barahona, Consultara, Organización Internacional del Trabajo (OIT), Managua, Nicaragua, 6 December 2002

Julio Luna, Jorge Leyva, y Magdalena Gutiérrez, Grupo de Apoyo a Nicaragua, Los Angeles, California, EE.UU. 2 February 2003

Tomás Zúñiga, Garinagu Empowerment Movement (GEM), Los Angeles, California, EE.UU. 2 February 2003

Juan Barillas, Rosa Posada, Reyna Molina, Otilia Escobar, Victor Molina, Asociación de Fraternidades Guatemaltecas (AFG), Los Angeles, California, EE.UU. 2 February 2003

Jaime Peñate, Comunidades Unificadas de Ayuda Directa A El Salvador (COMUNIDADES), Los Angeles, California, EE.UU. 3 de febrero de 2003

Salvador Sanabria, El Rescate, Los Angeles, California, EE.UU. 3 de febrero de 2003

Edgar Villeda, Los Angeles, California, EE.UU. 3 February 2003

Gaspar Rivera-Salgado, Facultad de Sociología, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California, EE.UU. 3 February 2003

Héctor Menéndez, Asociación Migueleña Siglo XXI y Comité de Festejos Salvadoreños, Los Angeles, California, EE.UU. 3 February 2003

Leonicio Velásquez, Jorge Pérez, Hondureños Unidos de Los Angeles (HULA) Los Angeles, California, EE.UU. 3 February 2003

Rosa Maria Merida de Mora, Cónsul General de Guatemala, New York, New York, 6 February 2003

Victor Flores, Nilson Gamboa, Nidia Augustine, Clara Flores, Gisela Gamboa, Vilma Ramírez, Ricardo Gamboa, Lidia Martínez, Comité Independiente Garifuna Guatemalteco Livingsteno Estadounidense (CIGALE), New York, New York, 6 February 2003

Dr. Waldaba Stewart, Southern Diaspora Resource and Research Center, New York, New York, 8 February 2003

Dr. Raul Hinojosa, North American Integration and Development Center (NAID), University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), San Salvador, El Salvador, 11 February 2003

Appendix II. Relevant Bibliography

General Theoretical References

Abrego, L (n.d.) "Almost American: Life and Educational Experiences of Undocumented Latino Youth" Masters Thesis, Department of Sociology, UCLA.

Basch, L., N. Glick Schiller, and C. Szanton Blanc. (1994) **Nations Unbound.** New York: Gordon and Breach.

Brauw A., J.E. Taylor and S. Rozelle (2000) "Migration and Incomes in Source Communities: A New Economics of Migration: Perpectives from China". Available on line at: http://www.reap.ucdavis.edu/working.htm.

Crouch, L. (2001) "Remesas, ahorros y desarrollo: algunas lecciones de otros países" Unpublished paper. San Salvador, El Salvador.

Desipio, L. (2000**)** **"**Sending money home… for now: remittances and immigrant adaptation in the United Sates". Working paper. Interamerican Dialogue and The Tomás Rivera Policy Institute, Washington D.C. available on line at: http://www.iadialog.org/publications/default.asp

Faist, T. "Transnationalization in International Migration: Implications for the study of Citizenship and Culture" Available on line at: http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.nk/working.papers.htm

Eiss, P. and Pedersen D. (2002) "Introduction: Values of value". **Cultural Anthropology**, 17 (3), 283-290.

Fletcher, P. and J. Margold, "Transnational Communities. Remittances and Development in Mexico". **Rural Mexico Research Review.** Available on line at: http://www.reap.ucdavis.edu/vol_one.html (2002, October 23)

Glick Schiller, N., L.G. Basch and C. Blanc Szanton (comps) (1992) **Towards a transnational perspective on migration**. New York: New York Academy of Sciences.

Goldring L., (2003) "Re-thinking Remittances: Social and Political Dimensions of individual and Collective Remittances." York University and the Centre for Research on Latin America and the Caribbean, CERLAC Working Paper Series, February. Available on line at: http://www.yorku.ca/cerlac/ABSTRACTS.htm#Goldring

Guarnizo, L. (2000) "Notes on transnationalism" Paper presented at the Conferences "Transnational Migration: Comparative Theory and Research Perspectives, ESRC Transnational Communities Programme, Oxford, UK, June.

Guarnizo, L and M. P. Smith (1998) "The locations of transnationalism" in M.P. Smith and L. Guarnizo **Transnationalism from Below**, Comparative Urban and Community Research, Vol. 6., Transaction Publishers: New Brunswick and London.

Guzmán, B., (2001) "The Hispanic Population: Census 2000 Brief, C2KBR/01-3, United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

IADB, (2001) "Remittances to Latin America and the Caribbean: Comparative Statistics" Multilateral Investment Fund (FOMIN) of the Inter-American Development Bank, Washington D.C.: IADB. Available on line: http://www.iadb.org/mif/eng/conferences/pdf/Comparativeremittan2.pdf

Itzigsohn J., C. Dore Cabral, E. Hernandez Medina and O. Vasquez (1999) "Mapping Dominican transnationalism: Narrow and broad transnational practices" **Ethnic and Racial Studies**, 22 (2), 316-39.

Itzigsohn, J., and C. Dore-Cabral, (2000) Competing Identities? Race, Ethnicity and Panethnicity Among Dominicans in the Unite States. **Social Forum** Vol.15, No 2

Lindsay Lowel, B. and R. De la Garza, (2000) "The Developmental Role of Remittances in U.S. Latino Communities and in Latin American Countries". Working paper. Inter- American Dialogue and The Tomás Rivera Policy Institute. available on line at: http://www.iadialog.org/publications/default.asp

Levitt, P and M. Waters (eds) (2002) **The changing face of home: The transnational lives of the second generation**. Russell Sage Foundation: New York.

Levitt, P. (2001a) **The Transnational Villagers**. University of California Press: Berkeley, Los Angeles, London.

Levitt, P. (2001b) "Transnational migration: taking stock and future directions" **Global Networks: A Journal of Transnational Affairs**, Special Issue on New Research and Theory on Immigrant Transnationalism, 1(3), 195-216.

Mahler, S. (1995) **American Dreaming.** Princeton University Press: Pennsylvania

Mahler, S. (2000) "Migration and Transnational Issues. Recent Trends and Prospects for 2020, CA2020: Working Paper, No.4, Available on line at: http://www.rrz.unihamburg.de/IIK/za2020/mahler.pdf.

Miller Matthei, L and D. Smith (1998) "Belizean 'Boyz 'n the 'Hood'? Garifuna Labor Migration and Transnational Identity" in Smith and Guarnizo (eds).

Nyberg Sorensen, N., N. Van Hear, and P. Engberg- Pedersen, (2002) "The migration- Development Nexus: Evidence and Policy Options". [on line document]. http:// www.iom.int/documents/publications/en/mvs_8_2002.pdf (2002, October 21)

Orozco, M. (2000a) "Remittances and markets: new players and practices". Working Paper, Inter- American Dialogue and The Tomás Rivera Policy Institute. Washington D. C. available on line at: http://www.iadialog.org/publications/default.asp

Orozco, M. (2000b) "Latino Hometown associations as agents of development in Latin America". Working paper. Inter- American Dialogue and The Tomás Rivera Policy Institute. Washington D.C. available on line at: http://www.iadialog.org/publications/default.asp

Orozco, M. (2001) "Globalization and Migration: The Impact of Family Remittances in Latin America"**.** Unpublished paper.

Orozco, M. (2002) "Attracting Remittances: Practices to reduce costs and enable a money transfer environment". Report of The Multilateral Investment Fund of the Inter-American Bank Washington D. C.

Pessar, P. R. (1999) "Engendering Migration Studies: The case of New Immigrants in the United States". **American Behavioral Scientist**, 42 (4), 577-600.

Portes, A and G. Rumbaut (2001) **Legacies: The story of the Immigrant Second Generation** University of California Press: Berkeley

Portes, A., L. Guarnizo and P. Landolt (1999) "Introduction: Pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field" **Ethnic and Racial Studies**, Special Issue Transnational Communities, 22 (2), p. 217-237.

Portes, A. (2001) "Introduction: The debates and significance of immigrant transnationalism". **Global Networks: A journal of transnational affairs**, 1 (3), 181-194.

Portes, A. and P. Fernández-Kelly (2002) "Subversions and compliance in transnational communities: Implications for social justice" in Eckstein, S.E. and R. P. Wickham-

Crowley (comps.) **Struggles for Social Rights in Latin America**. Routledge: New York and London.

Portes, A., L.E. Guarnizo, and W. Haller (2002) "Transnational entrepreneurs: An alternative form of immigrant economic adaptation" **American Sociological Review**, Vol 67 (April: 278-298).

Rico, F. (1999) "La situación de las mujeres niños y niñas migrantes: una visión regional alternativa desde la perspectiva de las organizaciones no gubernamentales**"** Unpublished paper.

Sassen, S. (2000) "Territory and Territoriality in the Global Economy". **International Sociology**, 15 (2), 372-393.

Sassen, S. (1998) **Globalization and its discontents.** The New Press. New York.

Smith, M. P. (2001) **Transnational Urbanism**. Blackwell Publishers Inc. Oxford.

Schiller, N. and G. Fouron (2001). **Georges work up laughing**. Duke University Press.

Smith, M. and L. Guarnizo (1998) **Transnationalism from below**. Transaction Publishers. New Brunswick, EE. UU and London, UK. Vol.6.

Taylor, J. E. (2000) "Do government programs 'crowd in' remittances?". Working paper. Inter - American Dialogue and The Tomás Rivera Policy Institute. Washington D.C. available on line at: http://www.iadialog.org/publications/default.asp

Taylor , J. E., P.L. Fletcher, "The New Labor Economics of Migration: A Critical Review. Remittances and Development in Mexico". **Rural Mexico Research Review.** [on line document] http://www.reap.ucdavis.edu/vol_two.html (2002, October 23)

Taylor, E. (1997) "International - migrant remittances, savings, and development in migrant-sending area". Paper presented at the Conference International Migration at Century's End. California, May.

Vertovec, S. (2001) "Transnational social formations: Towards conceptual cross-fertilization" paper presented at the conference "Transnational Migration: Comparative Perspectives". Princeton University, June - July. Available on line at: http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/working_papers.htm

Central American References

Casafranco, M. V. (2001) **Las Migraciones y los Desplazamientos Forzados.** Fundación Arias Para la Paz y el Progreso Humano. San José, Costa Rica.

CEPAL (2000a) "Uso productivo de las remesas en Centroamérica: Estudio Regional" CEPAL: México, LC/MEX/L.420. available on line at: http://www.eclac.cl/cgi-bin/getProd.asp?xml=/publicaciones/xml/8/9538/P9538.xml&xsl=/mexico/tpl/p9f.xsl

CEPAL (1999a) "Uso productivo de las remesas en Centroamérica: Informes de seminarios" CEPAL: México, LC/MEX/L.417 (SEM:101/3).

CEPAL (1999b) "Las remesas de los migrantes: experiencias de la CEPAL en Centroamérica (una nota informativa)"

CEPAL (1999c) "Informe de la reunión regional de expertos sobre el uso productivo de las remesas familiares comunitarias en Centroamérica". CEPAL México.

Córdova, R. (1997) **Políticas y propuestas de descentralización en Centroamérica**, San Salvador: FLACSO.

Córdova, R. and M. Seligson (2001) **Cultura política, gobierno local y descentralización, Vol. I, América Central**, San Salvador: FLACSO.

Corona, V. "La importancia de las remesas en el desarrollo regional". in **Remesas y desarrollo.** Unpublished paper.

Del Cid, R.(1992): Migración interna e internacional en Centroamérica, in R. Casillas (ed) **Los procesos migratorios centroamericanos y sus efectos regionales**, México: FLACSO.

Fundación Interamericana (2001) "Enfoques Para aumentar el Valor Productivo de las Remesas. Estudio de caso de la fundación en sistemas de transferencia de alternativas y vinculación de las comunidades en envían y reciben remesas". Collection of papers presented at the World Bank Conference, March.

García González, D. (2001) **La cuestión municipal en Centroamérica: un desafío para la consolidación democrática y la modernización del estado**. Costa Rica: Fundación DEMUCA.

Hamilton, N. and N. Chinchilla (1995) "Central Americans in California: Transnational Communities, Economies and Cultures". Monograph Series of The Center for Multiethnic and Transnational Studies, (1). Los Angeles: University of Southern California.

Hamilton, N. and N. Chincilla (2001) **Seeking Community in a Global City: Guatemalans and Salvadoreans in Los Angele**s. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Leal, G. (2002) **Investigation on the trafficking, sex tourism, pornography and prostitution of children en Central America and Mexico.** Audrey Hepburn, ECPAT, Casa Alianza Internacional. San José, Costa Rica.

López, D., E. Popkin and E. Teller (1999) "Central Americans: at the bottom, struggling to get ahead" in Waldinger R. and Bozorgmehr M. **Ethnic Los Angeles.** New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

OIM, GESO (2000) "Mujeres, niños y niñas migrantes: situación actual y desafíos para la región"**.** Seminar/Workshop: Mujeres, niñas y niños migrantes San Salvador. El Salvador.

Pérez Sáinz, J.P., K. Andrade-Eekhoff, M. Carrera Guerra, and E. Olivares Ferreto (2001) **Globalización y comunidades en Centroamérica**, San José, and San Salvador: FLACSO.

Popkin, E (forthcoming) "Transnational Migration and Development in Post-War Peripheral States: An Examination of Guatemalan and Salvadoran State Linkages With Their Migrant Populations in Los Angeles" **Current Sociology**

Popkin E. and K. Andrade-Eekhoff (2000) 'The Construction of Household Labor Market Strategies in Central American Transnational Migrant Communities" presented at the Conference "Globalization and Labor in Latin America, Following a Decade of Adjustment", SSRC/FLACSO - Sede Costa Rica, San José, Costa Rica, July.

Robinson, W. (1998) "(Mal) Development in Central America: Globalization and Social Change". **Development and Change**, 29, 467-497.

Robinson W. (2001) "Transnational processes, development studies and changing social hierarchies in the world system: a Central American case study". **Third World Quarterly**, 22 (4), 529-563.

Rosenblum, M. R. (under consideration) "Moving Beyond the Policy of No Policy: Emigration from Mexico and Central America". in **Journal of Latin America Politics and Society.**

The Tomás Rivera Policy Institute and The NALEO Educational Fund (1997) "Constructing the Los Angeles area Latino mosaic: a demographic portrait of Guatemalans and Salvadorans in Los Angeles" Claremont, Austin, Los Angeles.

The Tomás Rivera Policy Institute and The NALEO Educational Fund (1997) "Diversifying the Los Angeles Area Latino mosaic: Salvadoran and Guatemalan leaders' assessments of community public policy needs" Claremont, Austin, Los Angeles.

Nicaraguan References

Baumeister, E (2001) "Nicaragua: migraciones externas" C uadernos de CONPES, CONPES: Managua, Nicaragua, on line document http://www.conpes.org.ni/migracio.pdf.

Barahona, M. (n.d.) "Estudio de hogares de Mujeres Nicaragüenses Emigrantes en Costa Rica" Report prepared for OIT, GENPROM: Managua, Nicaragua.

CEPAL (1999d) "Nicaragua: uso productivo de las remesas familiares." LC/MEX/L.414. CEPAL: México.

González Fabre, R. (1999) "Migraciones irregulares en las Américas" unpublished paper, Managua.

Morales, A. and C. Castro. (2002) **Redes Transfronterizas. Sociedad, empleo y migración entre Nicaragua y Costa Rica.** San José: FLACSO Sede Costa Rica.

Morales, A. and M. Cranshaw (1997) **Regionalismo emergente: redes de la sociedad civil e integración en Centroamérica**. San José: FLACSO Sede Costa Rica.

Morales Gamboa, A. (2000) "El territorio local y la aldea global: La emigración transnacional desde El Sauce" en **Encuentros Inciertos: Globalización y territorios locales en Centroamérica**, San José: FLACSO Sede Costa Rica.

Morales Gamboa, A. (coord.) (1999) **Amnistía Migratoria en Costa Rica.** San José: FLACSO Sede Costa Rica, and OIM.

Morales Gamboa, A. (1997) **La Ruta del cuajipal: Frontera y sociedad entre Nicaragua y Costa Rica**, San José: FLACSO Sede Costa Rica.

Morales Ortega, N. and D. Zepeda Gaitán (2000) "Migración Nicaragüense a Costa Rica: Impacto Territorial y respuestas locales". Institutional Reports Fundación Arias Hábitat and CIID: San José.

OIM (1997) "Migraciones internas en Nicaragua: Evidencias a partir del censo de población de 1995", Managua: OIM, INEC, UMFPA.

Salazar, M. (2001) "Panorámica de la inmigración Nicaragüense en Costa Rica" unpublished paper.

Honduran References

CEPAL (1999e) "Impacto socioeconómico de las remesas: perspectiva global para una orientación productiva de las remesas en Honduras" LC/MEX/L.403. CEPAL: México. Available on line at: http://www.eclac.cl/cgi-bin/getProd.asp?xml=/publicaciones/xml/0/9540/P9540.xml&xsl=/mexico/tpl/p9f.xsl

FONAMIH (2001) "Diagnóstico nacional sobre procedimientos de interpretación, detención, deportación y recepción de migrantes en Honduras" FONAMIH: Honduras.

Hondurans Against Aids (2000) "Planteamiento a todas las organizaciones y la Comunidad Garifuna en New York, sobre la problemática del VIH/SIDA en las Comunidades Garifunas en Honduras y Centro América" New York, 2/23/00, Available on line http://www.garinet.com/enlace022400.html (viewed 2003, February 28).

Puertas, R. (2002) "Remesas para el Desarrollo" [on line document]. http://portal.rds.org.hn/dowload.phh?id=110 (viewed 2002, October 21).

Zamora, M. (2002) **Situación migratoria en Hondura. Año 2002.** Foro Nacional para las Migraciones en Honduras. Secretaría Técnica. Honduras.

Guatemalan References

Arriola, L (1999) "Un acercamiento al impacto de la migración a Estados Unidos en la identidad de niños y adolescentes chuj y kanjobal" **Revista Estudios Interétnicos**, Año 7, No. 11, IDEI-Universidad de San Carlos, Guatemala

Arriola, L. (1997). **Interacción entre migración internacional e identidad. Aproximación al caso de niños y adolescentes chuj y kanjobales**. PRONICE-REDD BARNA, Guatemala

Asociación para el Avance de las Ciencias Sociales en Guatemala (1991) "Vamonós a la capital" Estudio sobre la emigración rural reciente en Guatemala. Cuadernos de Investigación, 7., Guatemala.

Burns, A. (1993) **Maya in exile. Guatemalans in Florida.** Philadelphia:Temple University Press.

Casa Alianza.(2002) "Niños, niñas migrantes. Con visa al sufrimiento." **Voces del silencio**. Mayo**,** No 3. Guatemala.

CEPAL (2000b) "Remesas colectivas en Guatemala. Vínculos de solidaridad entre emigrantes y comunidades de origen". LC/MEX/L.419. CEPAL: México.

CONGCOOP (2002). **Bienvenidos a Soloma. Bienvenidos B'ay Tz'ulum'a. Welcome to Soloma. Un acercamiento a la migración hacia los Estados Unidos de América.** CONGCOOP, Guatemala.

Coordinación de ONG y Cooperativas. (1997) "El impacto de las migraciones de guatemaltecos al exterior, reflexiones y datos iniciales". Guatemala. CONGGOOP, Guatemala

Coordinación de ONG y Cooperativas. (1990) "Camino a la dignificación de los trabajadores migrantes. Convención internacional sobre la protección de los derechos de todos los trabajadores migratorios y sus familiares". CONGCOOP, Guatemala.

Garzon Díaz, Valia, (2002) "Philanthropy and the Guatemalan Diaspora in the United States" Draft document prepared through the International Fellows Program, Center for the Study of Philanthropy, City University of New York, On line document: http://www.cof.org/conferences/fc2002/Handouts/Tuesday_9_24/DiasporaPhilanthropyLinkingCommunityFoundationstotheWorldRBuchannan1.doc, (20 January 2003).

Gellert, G, I. S. Palma, and A. Vasquez (1997) "El caso de Guatemala: transformaciones sociopolíticas a causas de las migraciones hacia Estados Unidos en comunidades seleccionadas del altiplano occidental" Informe FLACSO: Guatemala.

Guatemaltecos en Estados Unidos. Reportaje especial de Prensa Libre. [on line document]. http://www.prensalibre.com/especiales/ME/chapines/default.htm (2002, November 11).

Fink, L. and A. Dunn (2000) "The Mayan of Morganton: Exploring Working Identity within the Global Marketplace" in Loucky and Moors (eds.).

Hagan, J (1994) **Deciding to be legal. A Mayan Community in Houston.** Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Kobrak, P (2001) "Las relaciones interétnicas en Aguacatán, Huehuetenango." Research report CIRMA: Guatemala.

Loucky, J and Moors, M. (eds) (2000) **The Maya diaspora. Guatemalan roots, new American lives.** Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

MENAMIG (2001) **Diagnóstico nacional sobre procedimientos de interpretación, detención, deportación y recepción de migrantes en Guatemala.** Guatemala.

Organización Internacional para la Migración (2002a) **Explosión sexual comercial de niñas, niños y adolescentes en Guatemala.** Cuaderno de trabajo sobre Migración No 8. Guatemala.

Organización Internacional para la Migración (2002b) **Encuesta sobre emigración internacional de guatemaltecos. Primera fase.** Cuaderno de trabajo sobre Migración No 12. Guatemala.

Organización Internacional para la Migración (2002c) **Estudia sobre la crisis de la caficultura y su efecto en el empelo en Guatemala. Fase 2.** Cuaderno de trabajo sobre Migración No 9. Guatemala.

Organización Internacional para la Migración (2002d) **Acuerdos del grupo binacional Guatemala- México sobre asuntos migratorio.** Cuaderno de trabajo sobre Migración No 10. Guatemala.

Organización Internacional para la Migración (2002e) **Programa Nacional de Fondos Comunitarios para Guatemala: Inversiones conjuntas entre vecinos y migrantes.** Cuaderno de trabajo sobre Migración No 11. Guatemala.

Organización Internacional para la Migración (2002f) **Encuesta sobre emigración internacional de guatemaltecos. Primera fase. Resultados estadísticos.** Cuaderno de trabajo sobre Migración No 12. Guatemala.

Organización Internacional para la Migración (2002g) **Encuesta sobre emigración internacional de guatemaltecos. Primera fase. El empleo.** Cuaderno de trabajo sobre Migración No 13. Guatemala.

Popkin, E. (1998). "In Search of the Quetzal: Guatemalan Mayan Transnational Migration and Ethnic Identity Formation." Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of California-Los Angeles.

Popkin, E. (1999) "Guatemalan Mayan migration to Los Angeles: Constructing transnational linkages in the context of the settlement process" **Ethnic and Racial Studies**, Special Issue Transnational Communities, 22 (2).

Procurador de los Derechos Humanos (1999) **Ley de migración. Reglamento de a ley de migración. Modificaciones al reglamento de la le de migración.** Guatemala.

Rivera, M. (s.f.) "Los trabajadores migrantes centroamericanos en Guatemala"**.** AVANSCO, CAM. Documento inédito. Guatemala.

Salgado de Snyder, N. and M. Díaz Pérez (1999) "La salud mental de las mujeres de áreas rurales con alta tradición migratoria a Estados Unidos" en Rosas, E. (coord.) **Hogar, Pobreza y Bienestar en México** ITESO, Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Occidente: Guadalajara, México.

Salvadoran References

Andrade Eekhoff, K. (2002) "Mitos y Realidades: un análisis de la migración internacional de las zonas rurales de El Salvador" Research report for Proyecto BASIS, FUSADES: San Salvador.

Andrade-Eekhoff, K. (2001) "Migración y capital social en El Salvador: Reflexiones con respecto al estado de la nación" Report prepared for the Informe de Desarrollo Humano en El Salvador 2001 del Programa de Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo, El Salvador

Andrade-Eekhoff, K. (1999) "El Intercambio Transnacional de Conocimientos: Posibilidades a través de la Migración Salvadoreña", Report prepared for the Círculo de Aprendizaje sobre Migración, Conectándonos al Futuro de El Salvador, Abril., on line document: http://www.conectando.org.sv/Estrategia/EstudioMigracion.htm

Andrade-Eekhoff, K. (1997) "Asociaciones Salvadoreñas en Los Angeles y las posibilidades de desarrollo en El Salvador" in Lungo, M. (coord.) **Migración y Desarrollo Internacional, Tomo II** San Salvador: FUNDE.

Autler, L. (1997) "Una potencial alianza para el desarrollo: Remesas y movimiento cooperativo en El Salvador" in Lungo, M. (cood.) **Migración Internacional y Desarrollo**, Tomo I, San Salvador: FUNDE.

Bibler, S. (2000) **Legalizing moves. Salvadoran immigrants' struggle for U.S residency.** Chicago; The University of Michigan Press.

CEPAL (1999f) "El Salvador: uso productivo de las remesas". LC/MEX/L.415. CEPAL: México.

CENITEC, (1992) "Migración y Remesas: Una Evaluación de su impacto en la Economía salvadoreña" **Política Económica**, Vol. I, No 11, Feb-March, CENITEC.

CENITEC (1994) "Implicaciones económicas y sociales de las remesas familiares" **Apuntes de CENITEC** No. 6.

CONAMYPE, (2002) "Análisis económico del efecto de las remesas familiares en las microempresas". CONAMYPE, USAID, Ministerio de Economía: El Salvador.

Dirección General de Atención a la Comunidad en el Exterior. (s.f.) "Hacia una estrategia de integración y vinculación con las comunidades salvadoreñas en el exterior para el siglo XXI". Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Gobierno de El Salvador. San Salvador.

Funkhouser, E. (1992) "Mass Emigration, Remittances and Economic Adjustment: The Case of El Salvador in the 1980s." in Freeman, R. and G. Borjas. (eds.) **Immigration and the Workforce: Economic Consequences for the U.S. and Source Agents** Chicago: University of Chicago.

FUNDE. 2000. **Migración e integración en El Salvador: realidades y respuestas.** Fundación Arias para la Paz y el Progreso Humano, CNUAH- Hábitat. San José, Costa Rica.

FUSADES, (1996) **"**Uso productivo de las remesas familiares en El Salvador", Documento de trabajo No 42, Fundación Salvadoreña para el Desarrollo Económico y Social: El Salvador

FUSADES (1993) "Las Remesas familiares y sus implicaciones económicas y sociales" **Martes Económico** No. 35, Septiembre, FUSADES: El Salvador.

Kandel, S. (2002) "Migraciones, medio ambiente y pobreza rural en El S alvador" **Documento de Trabajo**, PRISMA, El Salvador.

Kandel, S. (1997) "Desarrollo de la Banca Comunitaria: Un Modelo Bi-Nacional de Desarrollo Local para El Salvador." in Lungo, M. (ed.) **Migración Internacional y Desarrollo,** Tomo I, San Salvador: FUNDE.

García, J. J. (1996) "Remesas Familiares y Relaciones Sociales Locales: El Caso de San Isidro" **Aportes** No. 1, FLACSO-Programa El Salvador: El Salvador.

Instituto de Investigaciones Universidad Centroamericana José Simeón Cañas (1985) **Desplazados y Refugiados San Salvador**. UCA: El Salvador.

Landolt, P. (2001) "Salvadoran economic transnationalism: embedded strategies for household maintenance, immigrant incorporation and entrepreneurial expansion" **Global Networks: A Journal of Transnational Affairs**, Special Issue on New Research and Theory on Immigrant Transnationalism, 1(3) , 217-242.

Landolt, P., L. Autler and S. Baires (1999) "From hermano lejano to hermano mayor: the dialectics of Salvadoran transnationalism" **Ethnic and Racial Studies**, 22(2).

López, J. and M. Selligson. (1991) "Small Business Development in El Salvador: The Impact of Remittances" Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development, Working Papers, No. 44.

Lungo, M. (1997) (ed.) **Migración Internacional y Desarrollo** Tomo I and II, San Salvador: FUNDE

Lungo, M. and Kandel S. (eds.) (1999) **Transformando El Salvador: migración, Sociedad y Cultura.** San Salvador: FUNDE.

Lungo, M., and K. Andrade-Eekhoff (1999) "Migraciones y microempresas en ciudades principales de El Salvador" in Lungo and Kandel.

Malher, S. (1995) **American Dreaming. Immigrant life on the margins.** Princeton University Press.

Mahler, S. (1999) "Engendering transnational migration: A Case study of Salvadorans" **American Behavioral Scientist,** 42(4): 690-719.

Menjívar, C. (2000) **Fragmented Ties. Salvadoran Immigrant Networks in America**, Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Montes, S. (1987) **El Salvador 1987: Salvadoreños refugiados en los Estados Unidos.** Instituto de Investigaciones e Instituto de Derechos Humanos de la Universidad Centroamericana José Simeón Cañas. San Salvador.

Montes, S. (1989) **Las remesa que envían los salvadoreños de Estado Unidos. Consecuencia Social y económica.** UCA Editores. San Salvador.

Moreno, M. E. (2001) **Migración y desarrollo local en El Salvador: Caso Tecoluca.** San Salvador: FUNDE.

Pedersen, D. (2002) "The storm we call dollars: Determining values and belief in El Salvador and the United States". **Cultural Anthropology**, 17 (3), 431-459.

Salcedo, D. (2002) "Documento Base del Grupo de Trabajo sobre Remesas Comunitarias y Desarrollo Local de El Salvador" Report prepared for the Sistema de Asesoría y Capacitación para el Desarrollo Local (SACDEL), San Salvador, El Salvador.

Taylor, E, C. Zabin and K. Eekhoff (1999) "Migration and Rural Development in El Salvador: A Micro Economywide Perspective" **The North America Journal of Economics and Finance**, 10:91-114.

Taylor, E. (2001), "Microeconomics of Globalization: Evidence from México, China, El Salvador, and the Gapapagos Islands" Report to the regional Office for Latin America

and the Caribbean of the World Bank [on line document]. http://www.reap.ucdavis.edu/wworkking.htm (2002, October 18).

Ulloa, R. (1996) "La remesa familiar del exterior: dependencia o desarrollo para El Salvador" **Realidad** UCA: San Salvador, El Salvador, Vol. 50.

Ulloa, R. E. (1998) "De indocumentados a residentes: los salvadoreños en Estados Unidos". **Colección Aportes,** No. 7. San Salvador: FLACSO.

Universidad Libre de Ámsterdam. Oficina Regional Centroamericana (1998) "Migración y desarrollo empresarial. Programa de activación económica a través de cooperativas de ahorro y crédito en El Salvador." San José, Costa Rica.

Vásquez, M. (2001) "Saving Souls Transnationally: Pentecostalism and Gangs in El Salvador and the United States" Papers from the Lived Theology and Community Building Workgroup meetings, Meeting IV, Charlottesville, VA, October 12-14, 2001 available on line, http://livedtheology.org/pdfs/Mvasquez.pdf. Downloaded March 12, 2003.

Zilber, E (under consideration) "'It's Made Them Lazy': Salvadoran Youth, Immigrant Remittances and Labour Identities" under consideration **Development and Change**.

Zilberg, E. (1997) "La reubicación de la cultura en la migración internacional salvadoreña" in Lungo, M. (ed.) **Migración y Desarrollo Internacional, Tomo II** San Salvador: FUNDE.

Zilberg, E. and M. Lungo (1999) "¿Se han vuelto haraganes? Jóvenes salvadoreños, migración e identidades laborales" in Lungo and Kandel (eds.)

Appendix III: Useful web pages

Institution	Internet Address
Center on Rural Economies of the Americas and Pacific Rim, UC Davis	http://www.reap.ucdavis.edu
Migration Dialogue, UC Davis	http://migration.ucdavis.edu/
Transnational Communities Programme, Economic and Social Research Council, Oxford University	http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/
Center for Migration and Development, Princeton University	http://cmd.princeton.edu/
Inter-American Dialogue	http://www.iadialog.org/
Migration Theme, Project Central America 2020	http://ca2020.fiu.edu/Themes/Sarah_Mahler.html
Remittances as a development tool, Multilateral Investment Fund (MIF), Interamerican Development Bank (IADB)	http://www.iadb.org/mif/website/static/es/remit1.asp?C=6
International Organization for Migration/ Organización International de Migración	http://www.iom.int/
On line document, Uso productivo de la remesas familiares y comunitarias en Centroamérica, Comisión Económica para América Latina (CEPAL)	http://www.eclac.cl/cgi-bin/getProd.asp?xml=/publicaciones/xml/8/9538/P9538.xml&xsl=/mexico/tpl/p9f.xsl&base=/tpl/imprimir.xsl http://www.eclac.cl/analisis/TES5.htm#9 (lista de publicaciones de la CEPAL donde se encuentra los estudios sobre remesas en Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador y Nicaragua, además del estudio regional y los informes de expertos)
Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, FLACSO: Sede Costa Rica (On line publications and list of publications that include work on migration)	http://www.flacso.or.cr/
Migración y Remesas, Portal de Red de Desarrollo Sostenible, Honduras	http://portal.rds.org.hn/categoria.php?mlSid=35
Departamento 15 de La Prensa Gráfica, El Salvador	http://www.laprensagrafica.com/dpt15/default.asp
El Diario de Hoy, El Salvador	http://www.elsalvador.com
Guatemaltecos en EE.UU., Reportaje	http://www.prensalibre.com/especiales/ME/chapines/d

Institution	Internet Address
Especial, La Prensa Libre, Guatemala	efault.htm
Central American Resource Center, CARECEN Los Angeles	http://www.carecen-la.org/
El Rescate, Los Angeles	http://www.elrescate.org
El Piche, Hometown Association from El Salvador	http://www.elpiche.com/
Comité Independiente Garifuna Guatemalteco, Livingsteno Estadounidense, Hometown Association.	http://www.ci-gale.com/pages/1/index.htm
Red Casas del Migrante Scalabrini	http://www.migrante.com.mx/
Sin Fronteras	http://www.sinfronteras.org.mx/index.html
Departamento 15, El Punto de Enlace para Los Salvadoreños Alrededor del Mundo	http://www.departamento15.com/
PAIS: Programa de Atención a los Inmigrantes Salvadoreños, Bienvenido a Casa	http://www.pais.org.sv/
Dirección General de Atención a la Comunidad en el Exterior, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Gobierno de El Salvador	http://www.rree.gob.sv/ http://www.comunidades.gob.sv/
Fondo de Inversión Social para el Desarrollo Local, FISDL, Gobierno de El Salvador (con información sobre programas de co-inversión entre gobierno y HTAs)	http://www.fisdl.gob.sv/
Consulado General de Guatemala en Los Angeles,	http://www.guatemala-consulate.org/

Appendix IV. Data Tables Based on U.S. Census Information for Central Americans

Table 1. Number of Guatemalans in U.S. (top ten states in 2000)

	2000		*1990*	
State	***Census***	***Mumford***	**State**	***Census***
California	143,500	258,407	159,177	162,740
New York	29,074	42,543	21,995	22,775
Florida	28,650	41,576	13,558	13,997
Illinois	19,790	29,847	16,017	16,379
Texas	18,539	37,189	11,724	12,112
New Jersey	16,992	24,631	7,473	7,753
Massachusetts	11,437	17,003	6,953	7,263
Georgia	10,718	14,931	1,136	1,330
Virginia	10,000	15,681	4,482	4,631
Rhode Island	8,949	12,488	4,083	4,462

Source: Mumford Institute database.

Table 2. Number of Nicaraguans in U.S. (top ten states in 2000)

	2000		*1990*	
State	***Census***	***Mumford***	***Census***	***Mumford***
Florida	79,559	116,647	79,056	80,618
California	51,336	94,343	74,119	76,876
New York	8,033	11,840	11,011	11,337
Texas	7,487	16,271	7,911	8,243
New Jersey	4,384	6,401	4,226	4,359
Maryland	3,440	5,645	4,019	4,136
Virginia	3,191	5,131	3,471	3,579
Louisiana	2,804	6,141	4,935	7,302
Nevada	1,583	2,801	1,194	1,233
Illinois	1,500	2,331	1,424	1,463

Source: Mumford Institute database.

Table 3. Number of Hondurans in U.S. (top ten states in 2000)

	2000		*1990*	
State	***Census***	***Mumford***	***Census***	***Mumford***
Florida	41,229	61,684	23,900	24,707
New York	35,135	51,929	26,169	27,081
California	30,372	55,614	30,284	31,053
Texas	24,179	47,647	10,622	11,038
New Jersey	15,431	22,013	8,045	8,267
Louisiana	8,792	19,981	10,414	15,629
North Carolina	8,321	11,647	551	669
Virginia	7,819	12,336	1,692	1,771
Illinois	5,992	9,137	3,354	3,453
Georgia	5,158	7,470	1,020	1,215

Source: Mumford Institute database.

Table 4. Number of Salvadorans in U.S. (top ten states in 2000)

	2000		*1990*	
State	***Census***	***Mumford***	***Census***	***Mumford***
California	272,999	493,994	338,769	346,809
Texas	79,204	146,654	58,128	59,832
New York	72,713	105,639	47,350	48,956
Virginia	43,653	68,998	23,537	24,193
Maryland	34,433	55,453	19,122	19,637
New Jersey	25,230	36,091	16,817	17,303
Florida	20,701	30,748	12,400	12,832
Massachusetts	15,900	23,707	9,428	9,799
DC	11,741	18,969	10,513	11,392
Nevada	9,386	16,131	3,285	3,395

Source: Mumford Institute database.

Table 5. Annual Growth Rate of Central American Migrantes, by State and Nationality

(percentages)

State	*Mumford Institute Calculations 1990-2000*				*Census Calculations 1990-2000*			
	Guatemalans	***Nicaraguans***	***Hondurans***	***Salvadorans***	***Guatemalans***	***Nicaraguans***	***Hondurans***	***Salvadorans***
California	6	2	8	4	-1	-3	0	-2
Texas	21	10	33	15	6	-1	13	4
New York	9	0	9	12	3	-3	3	5
Virginia	24	4	60	19	12	-1	36	9
Maryland	19	4	20	18	9	-1	9	8
New Jersey	22	5	17	11	13	0	9	5
Florida	20	4	15	14	11	0	7	7
Massachusetts	13	4	11	14	6	0	5	7
DC	6	-2	22	7	1	-5	12	1
Nevada	54	13	53	38	28	3	27	19
North Carolina	138	13	164	88	122	10	141	77
Georgia	102	15	51	45	84	10	41	34
Illinois	8	6	16	7	2	1	8	1
Washington	89	11	52	31	46	2	24	13
Arizona	47	17	32	26	18	2	9	7
Arkansas	65	5	27	198	54	0	16	142
Colorado	75	37	100	94	28	10	43	42
Utah	26	14	23	27	23	9	20	23
Oregon	42	8	21	37	20	-1	7	16
Connecticut	41	13	38	16	29	7	26	10
Minnesota	66	17	52	71	41	8	31	45
Pennsylvania	39	9	26	20	19	1	11	8
Indiana	80	49	88	151	48	27	54	92
Kansas	45	7	44	76	21	-1	21	37
Nebraska	1624	22	74	124	1035	11	42	72
Tennessee	128	4	40	177	138	2	34	158
Ohio	25	16	26	29	10	4	10	12
Iowa	79	19	32	61	54	8	15	34

State	*Mumford Institute Calculations 1990-2000*				*Census Calculations 1990-2000*			
	Guatemalans	***Nicaraguans***	***Hondurans***	***Salvadorans***	***Guatemalans***	***Nicaraguans***	***Hondurans***	***Salvadorans***
Rhode Island	18	0	20	7	12	-2	14	3
Michigan	83	16	30	30	46	4	12	13
Louisiana	3	-2	3	2	-1	-4	-2	-2
Missouri	65	3	39	42	42	-2	25	25
Wisconsin	50	16	66	25	25	6	35	10
Kentucky	107	10	25	53	66	3	20	43
South Carolina	85	5	34	49	71	2	30	34
Oklahoma	70	14	24	13	42	4	10	3
New Mexico	35	19	135	41	0	-3	23	1
Alabama	156	3	16	79	154	0	10	70
Alaska	14	-3	22	18	5	-5	11	16
Idaho	32	-1	21	25	16	-5	7	10
New Hampshire	12	3	-2	22	8	1	-4	17
Delaware	265	19	36	20	237	11	27	13
Hawaii	22	4	0	33	6	0	-3	13
Maine	2	-2	24	31	-1	-2	14	20
Mississippi	31	15	13	26	17	9	7	19
South Dakota	551	-	23	138	308	-	5	78
West Virginia	80	-4	-1	0	47	-5	-3	-3
Vermont	5	11	0	430	2	8	-2	245
Montana	1	3	-1	6	-4	-4	-5	-4
Wyoming	317	41	17	17	130	2	1	1
North Dakota	8	250	-5	2	-3	90	-8	-6

Source: calculated using Mumford Institute database.

Table 6. Number of Guatemalan in U.S. Cities (top ten in 2000)

Name	*2000*		*1999*	
	Census	*Mumford Institute*	*Census*	*Mumford Institute*
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	69,417	125,146	90,423	92,868
New York, NY	15,410	22,404	15,911	16,454
Chicago, IL	13,983	20,256	13,180	13,269
Providence-Fall River-Warwick, RI	7,615	10,473	3,661	3,904
Houston, TX	7,296	12,561	4,495	4,609
Boston, MA-NH	5,062	7,403	3,349	3,489
Orange County, CA	3,683	6,331	4,049	4,102
Stamford-Norwalk, CT	3,375	4,723	545	566
San Francisco, CA	3,196	5,362	3,652	3,820
Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV	3,178	5,041	2,334	2,448

Source: Mumford Institute database.

Table 7. Annual Growth Rate 1990-2000 of Guatemalans in U.S. Cities (top 15) (Percentages)

Name	Census	*Mumford Institute*
Grand Rapids-Muskegon-Holland, MI	733	1030
Indianapolis, IN	412	479
Gadsden, AL	362	424
Lincoln, NE	328	663
Fort Pierce-Port St. Lucie, FL	246	364
Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	210	238
Reading, PA	192	282
Nashville, TN	171	180
Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	141	123
Lexington, KY	133	181
Richmond-Petersburg, VA MS	132	184
New Haven-Meriden, CT	112	161
Bremerton, WA	110	141
Tacoma, WA	96	155
Fort Collins-Loveland, CO	95	237

Source: calculated using Mumford Institute database.

Table 8. Number of Nicaraguans in U.S. Cities (top ten in 2000)

Name	*2000*		*1990*	
	Census	*Mumford Institute*	*Census*	*Mumford Institute*
Miami, FL	21,448	31,223	30,150	30,994
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	9,585	17,388	18,393	18,942
New York, NY	6,473	9,393	9,365	9,637
San Francisco, CA	5,459	9,166	10,900	11,341
Houston, TX	2,218	3,887	2,179	2,249
San Jose, CA	1,998	3,635	3,526	3,631
Philadelphia, PA-NJ	1,151	1,779	1,004	1,004
Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV	1,105	1,783	1,902	1,998
Chicago, IL	870	1,276	875	881
Oakland, CA	836	1,427	1,083	1,094

Source: Mumford Institute database.

Table 9. Annual Growth Rate 1990-2000 of Nicaraguans in U.S. Cities (top 15) (Percentages)

Name	Census	*Mumford Institute*
Orlando, FL	298	450
Fayetteville-Springdale-Rodgers, AR	138	173
Danbury, CT	138	127
Santa Cruz-Watsonville, CA	110	153
Nashville, TN	73	66
Syracuse, NY	55	95
Fort Pierce-Port St. Lucie, FL	47	73
Jacksonville, NC	45	62
Jacksonville, FL	44	72
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC	43	50
Omaha, NE-IA	42	49
Yolo, CA	39	74
Oklahoma City, OK	36	74
Chico-Paradise, CA	34	57
Indianapolis, IN	34	52

Source: calculated using Mumford Institute database.

Table 10. Number of Hondurans in U.S. Cities (top ten in 2000)

Name	*2000*		*1990*	
	Census	*Mumford Institute*	*Census*	*Mumford Institute*
New York, NY	25,648	37,504	22,178	22,978
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	13,801	25,133	16,264	16,726
Miami, FL	13,180	19,357	8,965	9,277
Houston, TX	10,764	18,791	4,675	4,818
Chicago, IL	3,247	4,753	2,206	2,222
Dallas, TX	3,141	5,082	905	935
Jersey City, NJ	2,399	3,509	1,539	1,578
Boston, MA-NH	2,039	3,120	1,843	1,966
New Orleans, LA	1,995	4,038	3,546	4,572
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC	1,711	2,348	119	129

Source: Mumford Institute database.

Table 11. Annual Growth Rate 1990-2000 of Hondurans in U.S. Cities (top 15) (Percentages)

Name	Census	*Mumford Institute*
Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	674	629
Tulsa, OK	497	843
Atlantic-Cape May, NJ	490	756
Memphis, TN-AR-MS	310	144
Indianapolis, IN	284	308
Greensboro--Winston-Salem, NC	224	257
Green Bay, WI	181	214
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC	134	172
Nashville, TN	130	127
Omaha, NE-IA	107	173
Asheville, NC	105	102
Richmond-Petersburg, VA MS	100	59
Atlanta, GA	93	121
Lincoln, NE	90	210
Springfield, MA	84	140

Source: calculated using Mumford Institute database.

Table 12. Number of Salvadorans in U.S. Cities (top ten in 2000)

Name	*2000*		*1990*	
	Census	*Mumford Institute*	*Census*	*Mumford Institute*
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	132,043	239,113	192,496	197,546
Houston, TX	37,249	64,420	32,716	33,583
New York, NY	24,630	35,551	24,088	24,887
Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV	19,689	31,453	17,861	18,560
Dallas, TX	13,797	22,642	7,718	7,902
San Francisco, CA	10,655	17,765	17,979	18,667
Boston, MA-NH	6,285	9,197	4,030	4,199
Orange County, CA	6,273	10,654	6,377	6,471
San Jose, CA	3,894	7,111	4,817	4,957
Chicago, IL	3,780	5,561	4,127	4,163

Source: Mumford Institute database.

Table 12. Annual Growth Rate 1990-2000 of Salvadorans in U.S. Cities (top 15) (Percentages)

Name	Census	*Mumford Institute*
Fayetteville-Springdale-Rodgers, AR	610	737
Memphis, TN-AR-MS	460	123
Reading, PA	334	482
Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	303	308
Nashville, TN	277	350
Indianapolis, IN	166	227
Greensboro--Winston-Salem, NC	138	162
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC	138	165
Elkhart-Goshen, IN	132	178
Omaha, NE-IA	130	193
Fort Smith, AR-OK	123	187
Asheville, NC	117	110
Clarksville-Hopkinsville, TN-KY	103	180
Killeen-Temple, TX	81	190
Nashua, NH	79	75

Source: calculated using Mumford Institute database.