

Refugees to Deportees: Tracing the Migration Journey from El Salvador to the U.S. and Back

At the age of five, Julio Cesar, a deported Salvadoran now in his mid-40s, distinctly remembers seeing a mutilated corpse lying in a street near his home. He recalls, “[T]here was a cadaver. He was bleeding from the bullet, he didn't have a nose, eyes. This - to a child of five years old? Really, it changes your life. This memory, it's terrible. It's terrible.” Within five years of this encounter, Julio Cesar’s mother fled from El Salvador to the United States and sent for him as soon as she was able. He arrived in California in 1989 at the age of 14 with legal papers. Twenty-five years later, weeks after being deported from the U.S., Julio Cesar recounted his story to me in a house built by remittances in his hometown of Tenancingo—a rural village that was heavily bombed during the 1980s and became a ghost town when dozens of residents were killed and survivors subsequently fled (see Omang 1985). In 2016, over smoothies at the San Salvador Metrocentro, Jose Roberto, an ex-gang member, undocumented immigrant, and activist—who had returned to El Salvador voluntarily in the 1990s after several run-ins with the Los Angeles Police Department—told me that he was seeking any and all options for asylum to leave El Salvador, a country that felt like “an immense prison” for him. Having been an active gang member who later spoke out publicly against violence and worked to keep at-risk youth out of gangs, he feared local death squads and current gang members, especially after multiple founding members of Homies Unidos El Salvador were killed. However, when he went to multiple embassies requesting asylum, he found that they were “total closed.” He added, “There aren’t opportunities for asylum or to migrate to another country. Salvadorans are totally screwed in that respect.” Within six months of our final interview, Jose Roberto died in a motorcycle crash, which friends and family argued may have been intentional, though police declined to investigate.

Julio Cesar and Jose Roberto's encounters with threatened and actual violence in El Salvador spanned multiple decades and were perpetrated by different players. In Julio Cesar's case, the Salvadoran military bombed his hometown, and army or guerrilla soldiers likely murdered the man he saw in his street. Conversely, in the years following the signing of the Salvadoran Peace Accords in 1992, Jose Roberto and his community were allegedly threatened and harassed by police officers, gangs, and assassins acting clandestinely (see also Fariña, Miller, and Cavallaro 2010). These two stories reveal how emigration from and deportation to El Salvador are enveloped in past and current patterns of violence. Missing from these vignettes, however, is the active role that United States political and economic practices have played in creating and perpetuating violence both in El Salvador and the Northern Triangle of Central America as well as in the U.S. (see LaFeber 1983; Menjívar 2000, 2006; Menjívar and Abrego 2012).

In this paper, I demonstrate how deported Salvadorans' experiences of removal and reintegration today are jointly shaped by past and present U.S. and Salvadoran policies that stigmatize and criminalize immigrants, gang-affiliated youth, and deportees, respectively. Using life histories with deported Salvadorans, published documents, observations, and previous literature, I further argue that mass deportations from the U.S. to El Salvador constitute a form of legal violence (Menjívar and Abrego 2012) directly responsible for producing new waves of internally displaced persons and asylum seekers—de facto second- and third-generation refugees who feel unwelcome, unsafe, and forced to flee as their parents and grandparents once did (see also Abrego 2017). After briefly disaggregating migration categories including voluntary migrant, asylum seeker, refugee, and internally displaced person, I outline key historical events which have contributed to current emigration and deportation patterns, including the Salvadoran

Civil War, dollarization and trade liberalization, and post-war waves of expulsions from the U.S. to Latin America. I then turn to the current socio-political context in El Salvador, paying particular attention to “mano dura” [iron fist] policies aimed at ending gang violence, the stigmatization of deportees in media and political rhetoric, and present migration causes and trends. I conclude by addressing two directions for future research and theory building: (1) the changing face and demographic characteristics of deportees; and (2) the shifting narratives around deportation, deportees, and criminality in light of the 2016 U.S. elections and increasingly exclusionary border policies.

Defining and Categorizing Migrants, Refugees, Asylees, and IDPs

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), refugees are forced to flee their country due to persecution, war, or violence (UNHCR 2018). Refugees have a well-founded fear of persecution based on one of five distinct social categories—race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership in a particular social group. Asylum seekers, also known as asylees, leave their home countries for similar reasons to refugees, but they differ in that asylees leave their country of origin and enter a nation before requesting asylum there, whereas refugees apply to be resettled in the home country or a transit country before entering the country of refuge (see Nawyn 2013). Internally displaced persons (IDPs), conversely, are those who flee their homes but do not cross international borders; they seek safety wherever they can find it in their country of origin, but, unlike refugees, they are not protected by international law and are ineligible for many types of aid, as they remain under the legal protection of their home government (UNHCR 2018). In sum, refugees, asylees, and IDPs are all involuntary migrants forced to leave their homes, but they differ in their legal categorization and eligibility for support and services, particularly at the international level.

In some cases, people fleeing violence and persecution are not legally recognized as refugees or granted asylum. In these instances, individuals are considered voluntary or economic migrants with no rights to international or state-sponsored protection or assistance. This has been the case among Guatemalan and Salvadoran migrants to the U.S. since the 1980s, with enduring and often devastating consequences for such migrants and their loved ones (see Coutin 2000; Menjívar 2006). One of the most notable effects of such legal non-recognition is that migrants from the Northern Triangle have relatively low rates of naturalization in the U.S. (Dziadula 2018), contributing to their often precarious migration status (Coutin 2003; Menjívar 2006). Using the 2008-2015 American Community Survey, for example, Eva Dziadula (2018) found that Salvadoran migrants naturalize at a rate of 31.5% and Guatemalans naturalize at a rate of 26.9%, compared with approximately 60% of survey respondents from other countries across Europe, Latin America, and Asia. Following Leisy Abrego (2017), Cynthia Gorman (2017), and Cecilia Menjívar (2006), I assert that U.S. immigration policies toward Salvadorans have intentionally and directly contributed to their continued marginalization on American soil. I further contend that post-war deportation waves render not only contemporary first-time migrants but also deportees de facto second and third wave refugees in all ways but legal categorization. In doing so, this paper problematizes notions of refugee homecoming and remigration, while also showing how receiving states can use expulsion to replicate and amplify the violence that created initial flows of forced migration.

Salvadoran-U.S. Relations, 1980 to 2001

During El Salvador's 12-year Civil War (1980-1992), the U.S. provided more than six billion dollars in financial support to the Salvadoran government and trained Salvadoran military personnel (Grandin 2006; see also LaFeber 1983). The war had devastating consequences for

Salvadorans, 75,000 of whom were killed; 9,000 of whom were disappeared; and over one million of whom were displaced, despite the nation's relatively small size and population (see Byrne 1996; Dyrness and Sepúlveda 2015). Correspondingly, Salvadorans increasingly began to flee to the U.S. and other countries, and high rates of migration continue today¹. Currently, as many as 20% of all Salvadorans reside outside of the nation's borders, and some scholars argue that the diasporic population is as high as 25 or even 30% (Cordova 2005; Baker-Cristales 2004). Before turning to the present context of expulsion from the U.S. and reception to El Salvador, I will address four historic factors that shape today's context of reception and reintegration for newly arriving deportees²: (1) the Salvadoran Civil War and U.S. influence; (2) Salvadoran emigration and U.S. political response; (3) post-war immigration policies spurring massive deportations from the U.S. in the 1990s; and (4) neoliberal reforms of the 1990s and 2000s.

Salvadoran Civil War, 1980-1992. Throughout the 1970s, tensions grew between the Salvadoran economic and military elite and grassroots activists, including students, labor organizers, and catechists. The early 1970s witnessed fraudulent elections, increasingly violent repression and intimidation of leftist organizers, and decreasing aid for social welfare and development programs (Menjívar 2000; Viterna 2013). Perhaps most significantly, activists and suspected communists began to be disappeared and publicly killed by soldiers or members of death squads, many of whom had been trained by U.S. military officers regionally or at the

¹ Salvadoran out-migration began in the early twentieth century, but the number of migrants exponentially increased during the 1970s (for a history of Salvadoran migration see Cordova 2005; Menjívar 2000).

² Arguably, the roots of U.S. action in El Salvador were planted in the 1920s and 1930s, when U.S. financiers began to control the Salvadoran railway system and the U.S. government solidified what would become its anti-communist approach in Latin America throughout the twentieth century—protecting capitalist leaders at seemingly any and all cost. A full historiography of twentieth-century U.S. intervention in El Salvador is beyond the scope of the present project (but see Gould and Lauria-Santiago 2008; LaFeber 1983).

School of the Americas in Fort Benning, Georgia (Gill 2004; LaFeber 1983). During this period, the U.S. also supported the military financially, providing weapons, aircrafts, and helicopters, with the ostensible aim of preventing a communist revolution—i.e. “another Cuba” (Rabe 2012). Within this context, leftists gradually considered the possibility of armed struggle, rather than peaceful protest (Almeida 2008). By 1980, five leftist groups had combined to become the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional [Farabundo Martí Liberation Front, or FMLN], the guerrilla army which would fight the Salvadoran military for the next 12 years and eventually become a political party of the same name. Partially in response to the formation of the FMLN, conservative economic elites formed the Alianza Republicana Nacionalista [Nationalist Republic Alliance, or ARENA] in 1981.

The Civil War officially began in 1980. Like the confrontations of the 1970s, the war was characterized by impunity, human rights violations, widespread terror, and the forced conscription of young men. Military units employed tactics including surveillance, interrogation, property destruction, abduction, torture, rape, assassination, and dismemberment, often against civilians (Coutin 2003). As noted, by 1992 more than 75,000 Salvadorans had been killed, and an additional one million had been displaced, either internally, to neighboring countries and refugee camps, or north to the U.S. (Byrne 1996; Cordova 2005). Moreover, wartime violence was distinctly gendered, raced, and classed; women were frequently the victims of sexual violence (Abrego 2017; Aron et al. 1991), young men were forcibly conscripted into the army, and campesinos were disproportionately targeted in mass murders (in Wood 2003: 9).

Meanwhile, the U.S. continued to play a central role in Salvadoran politics and military action, providing training, tactical expertise, and weapons to the Salvadoran army. By 1992, the U.S. government had spent more than six billion dollars—the equivalent of a million dollars a

day—to finance the military’s counterinsurgency campaigns, which included not only killing guerrillas but frequently civilians, including intellectual or religious leaders, as in the case of six Jesuit professors and their housekeeper and her daughter at the Universidad Centroamericana or the execution of Archbishop Oscar Romero (Grandin 2006). Yet, despite the military’s greater strength in numbers and weaponry, they were unable to soundly defeat the guerrillas. The war ended January 16, 1992, with the Chapultepec Peace Accords brokered by the United Nations.

The war, accompanied by a resultant economic crisis and political repression, led emigration to rise sharply in the 1970s and 1980s. From 1950 to 1990, the population of Salvadorans in the U.S. more than quintupled (Menjívar 2000: 54). However, despite well documented and highly publicized human rights violations in El Salvador, these migrants were rarely granted refugee status in the U.S. and were instead treated as “depoliticized labor migrants” (Menjívar 2006: 1009). In El Salvador as in Guatemala, the U.S. could not recognize emigrants as deserving asylum while simultaneously supporting their military regimes:

Central American immigrants indeed embody the contradictions of U.S. policies and politics in the Central American region...As with other refugee populations in the United States, these immigrants’ legal status has been shaped by the intersection of immigration and refugee policy with foreign policy. But unlike *de jure* refugees, *these de facto refugees have been trapped in a situation that reflects the dynamics of U.S. policy in Central America.* (Menjívar 2006: 1009, emphasis added; see also Coutin 2003)

Central American migrants were able to apply for asylum once they stepped onto U.S. soil, but during the 1980s less than three percent of Salvadoran and Guatemalan applicants³ had their

³ Like El Salvador, Guatemala experienced an extensive civil war, spanning from 1960 to 1996. Also similar to El Salvador, in Guatemala the U.S. supported military dictators accused of committing human rights atrocities such as the eradication of whole indigenous communities

applications approved (Menjívar 2006: 1010). In an analysis of two asylum cases from the 1980s involving Salvadoran asylum seekers in the U.S., Cynthia Gorman (2017) illustrates the intentionality behind U.S. consideration of Salvadoran emigrants; the government's legal interpretations of asylum and refugee categories were prominent sites of border control, which allowed the state to exert increased control over those whom it was required to protect, in spite of the previously determined UNHCR classifications. As such, Gorman argues that "legal definitions are not a static backdrop against which other forms of bordering work occurs. Rather they are dynamic sites that both respond to and produce socio-spatial relations, delineating the threshold of humanitarian categories and thus the meaning and consequences of cross border movement for specific groups" (2017: 44). Abrego (2017) adds that such definitional choices silence the traumas of Salvadoran asylum seekers, which have never been "legally confirmed" by the U.S., denying them a justification for their need to heal (2017: 76). Salvadorans' legal nonrecognition thus translated into invisible wounds, the absence of resettlement and integration support at the state level, and high rates of irregular or impermanent migration status.

U.S. Immigration Policies, 1980 to Present. However, Salvadoran and Guatemalan migrants and their allies actively challenged their precarious legal statuses, lobbying for refugee status and eventually securing temporary protected status (TPS) for those who entered the U.S. before September 19, 1990. From 1985 to 1990, Salvadorans and Guatemalan settlers along with a group of religious and refugee-service organizations also filed the *American Baptist Churches v. Thornburgh* lawsuit (known informally as ABC), which was settled in 1990 and provisioned additional migrants with the right to de novo asylum interviews under rules designed to ensure

(see Grandin 2004, 2011). For these reasons, Guatemalan and Salvadoran migrants faced comparable contexts of reception in the U.S. Conversely, emigrants fleeing supposedly communist governments (i.e. Cuba, Nicaragua, and Vietnam) more frequently encountered opportunities for legal migration and naturalization (Gonzalez 2011; Menjívar 2000).

credible fear hearings (see Coutin 2003: 17). ABC and TPS prevented their holders from being deported but did not foster full, permanent integration. People with ABC or TPS struggled to settle comfortably, as they were unable to travel freely, sponsor migrating kin, and remained ineligible for many government services, leaving them in a state of “legal limbo” or liminal legality, an “uncertain status—not fully documented or undocumented but often straddling both” (Menjívar 2006: 1001). Additionally, TPS had an uncertain future and was a confusing process; migrants sometimes chose not to renew their status because they were worried that they would be denied and subsequently deported⁴ (Menjívar 2006). U.S. policies toward El Salvador during the civil war therefore had a profound impact on migrants’ context of reception in the U.S., which shaped later migrant outcomes, such as naturalization and expulsion rates, network ties, and income (Kanstroom 2007; Menjívar 2000). Children of Salvadoran asylum seekers—de facto 1.5-generation and second-generation refugees—have been similarly shaped by U.S. migration and foreign policy (Coutin 2007; Zilberg 2007, 2011).

In the years following the 1992 Peace Accords, U.S. immigration policies increasingly disadvantaged precarious migrants—especially young, working-class men of color (see Golash-Boza 2015; Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2013). Beginning in the early 1990s, the U.S. state began expelling migrants at exponentially rising rates (see Figure 1). Figure 1 shows the number of individuals removed and returned⁵ from the U.S. beginning in 1930, illustrating that

⁴ TPS holders’ fears came to fruition in January 2018, when U.S. government officials in the Trump administration announced that TPS for Salvadorans will end in September 2019 (Jordan 2018). As of the development of this chapter, it is unclear what will happen to the approximately 200,000 Salvadorans slated to lose their status when the program expires. More research will be needed among those who lose TPS and subsequently fear or experience deportation.

⁵ The U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) disaggregates expulsions into removals and returns. Removals are formal deportations based on an order of removal. Removed individuals face administrative or criminal consequences for subsequent reentry into the U.S. Returns are the movement of noncitizens out of the United States without an order of removal and thus without

formal removals—deportations—jumped from approximately 30,000 in 1990 to 51,000 five years later, reaching 114,000 in 1997 and surpassing 200,000 in 2003 (DHS 2018). In 2014, when I began this project, more than 405,000 individuals were deported from the U.S. and, in 2016, when the bulk of the data was collected, 340,000 individuals were removed. Not only have the rates of deportations risen steeply since the 1990s, but they have also disproportionately targeted younger, poor and working-class Black and Brown men, prompting Tanya Golash-Boza and Pierette Hondagneu-Sotelo (2013) to label present patterns a “gendered racial removal program.” Golash-Boza argues that such deportations are part of the neoliberal cycle of global capitalism and that “mass deportation is a U.S. policy response designed to relocate surplus labor to the periphery and to keep labor in the United States compliant⁶” (2015: 5). As Table 1 shows, nationality is a primary indicator of one’s likelihood of being deported: markedly higher numbers of migrants from Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador are removed from the U.S. than individuals from any other country. In fact, from 2009 to 2016, migrants from these four nations made up over 90% of all deportees annually. Salvadorans are, on average, the fourth largest deportee pool (DHS 2018), again consisting primarily of younger, poor and working-class men (Hagan, Eschbach, and Rodriguez 2008).

[Figure 1 and Table 1 about here.]

additional consequences for reentry. As Figure 1 reveals, the state’s preference for removals and returns has shifted over time and with particular historical and socio-economic contexts. Currently, deportations (i.e. removals) are the state’s preferred method of expulsion.

⁶ The Salvadoran state, on the other hand, arguably treats post-war migration as a neoliberal export strategy, a “safety valve that regulates the Salvadoran economy, alleviating foreign exchange constraints and sopping up excess labor” (Gammage 2006: 80; but see Garni and Weyher 2013: 67 for a Marxist interpretation of how migrants “produce and ‘export’ themselves because of alienation, domestic uncertainty, and desperation”). Salvadoran migrants are thus trapped between two constrained capitalist economies, both characterized by large, expendable labor pools of working-class men.

The increasing numbers of deportations have closely correlated with U.S. policy changes, beginning with the Immigration Act of 1990, which expanded the definition of an aggravated felony to include previously minor offenses, increasing the pool of deportable migrants by criminalizing what had previously been considered misdemeanors (see Kanstroom 2007; Golash-Boza 2012). The definitional reach expanded further still in 1996 with the passage of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) and the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA), which extended the crimes that rendered one deportable to include several nonviolent offenses (Golash-Boza 2012), increased the grounds for deporting legal permanent residents and TPS holders, and instated mandatory detention for asylees while they waited for their case to be decided (Kanstroom 2007). IIRIRA also created the 287(g) program, which gave local police the authority to work with Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) to find and detain “criminal illegal aliens,” though the policy would not be widely used until after the September 11, 2001 attacks. Finally, IIRIRA’s policies were retroactive, so migrants who had previously committed an aggravated felony and completed their sentence were subject to deportation—even when their court-appointed attorney had advised that they plead guilty to avoid jail time, not telling them (in reality, probably not even knowing) that such clients could later be deported for such a plea. Many such criminal deportees, for example, told me vehemently that they never would have signed a plea agreement had they been aware that it could later catalyze their deportation.

Together, these laws increased extended border control and post-entry social control by focusing attention and resources on removing migrants from the interior of the U.S. rather than from along its borders. In practice, this resulted in a deportee pool increasingly pulled from long-term settlers to the U.S., including 1.5-generation migrants whose formative years were spent

chiefly in North America, rather than their countries of origin (see Coutin 2016). Daniel Kanstroom (2012) names this population of highly Americanized deportees a new “American diaspora,” comprised essentially of displaced U.S.-American noncitizens expelled from within their American homes, communities, cities, and states. Menjívar and Abrego (2012), moreover, assert that the effects of these draconian policies, which weave criminal law into immigration law, serve as legal violence in the lives of Central American immigrants by hindering their long-term incorporation prospects in U.S. society (see also Abrego and Menjívar 2011). Legal violence includes elements of structural, symbolic, and physical violence, but it is further sanctioned and legitimated through its embeddedness in legal practice, making it appear “normal” and “natural,” despite its contribution to the climate of insecurity, exclusion, and suffering among migrants and their families (Menjívar and Abrego 2012: 1387). As we shall see, legal violence follows deportees to El Salvador, where *mano dura* policies often impede their authentic reintegration and ability to exercise agency.

Deportations continued to climb sharply in the aftermath of September 11, 2001, with the Homeland Security Act of 2002, which restructured the Immigration and Naturalization Service and made the DHS responsible for immigration control and enforcement. Alongside the USA PATRIOT ACT of 2001 and the REAL ID Act of 2005, the Homeland Security Act greatly augmented the DHS budget, increased detentions and deportations, and spurred a record number of raids in community spaces, homes, and workplaces (Capps et al. 2007; Golash-Boza 2012)—once more targeting relatively settled migrants and often those employed in working-class environments where raids were most likely to occur. Moreover, the increased application of 287(g) and later the 2008 “Secure Communities” program, which aimed to identify arrested deportation-eligible noncitizens by running their fingerprints through the DHS database, further

blurred the boundaries between immigration and criminal law, increasing popular associations of migrants with criminals and terrorists and making immigrants even more vulnerable to the legal system (Menjívar and Abrego 2012: 1394-95). Together, these policies did exactly what Golash-Boza (2015) argues they were intended to do—remove Black and Brown working-class men who served as disposable labor in the neoliberal capitalist system. In the Salvadoran case, such policies were particularly invidious not only due to low rates of naturalization but also because legal nonrecognition produced a particularly hostile context of reception, characterized by limited institutionalized support and economic hardship (Menjívar 2000, 2006; see below).

A Neoliberal Turn: Privatization, Dollarization, and CAFTA. While immigration policies shaped Salvadorans' outcomes in the diaspora, conservative economic leaders from El Salvador and the U.S. pressed for neoliberal reforms, including trade liberalization, deregulation, and dollarization. These policies influenced migrants' context of exit and deportees' context of return, as they heightened the need for migrant remittances and produced economic instability, inflation, un- and underemployment, and meager wages (see Garni and Weyher 2013; Madrid 2009; Towers and Borzutzky 2004). Like immigration policies, those most marginalized by these economic changes were the poor and working class, who encountered economic violence at the instigation of—and while benefiting—the elite capitalist class (Garni and Weyher 2013).

Throughout the 1990s, El Salvador's ARENA-led government, aided by international bodies like the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, executed a rigid neoliberal economic model. For instance, the Salvadoran government began the voluntary and gradual dollarization of its economy in 1995 by eliminating all restrictions on financial operations in U.S. dollars. Formal dollarization followed in 2001, when the U.S. dollar took the place of the colón as El Salvador's official national currency amidst and in spite of widespread protests (see Garni

and Weyher 2013; Towers and Borzutzky 2004). El Salvador then became the first country to ratify and implement the Dominican Republic-Central American Free Trade Agreement (DR-CAFTA) in December 2004 and March 2006, respectively. Together, these reforms quickened the privatization of El Salvador's economy, and interests were sold to private players in the U.S., Asia, and Central and South America (Garni and Weyher 2013: 66).

Advocates of dollarization and DR-CAFTA—particularly ARENA leaders and their allies in the financial and manufacturing sectors—argued that such reforms would generate economic growth, lower interest rates, control inflation, and increase foreign direct investment. Scholars (Madrid 2009; Towers and Borzutzky 2004; see also Garni and Weyher 2013) revealed that the costs of both actions conclusively outweigh their benefits, however. Marcia Towers and Silvia Borzutzky (2004) showed that dollarization increased structural inequality, and Alisa Garni and L. Frank Weyher (2013) and my interviews corroborated that adopting the dollar made the *canasta básica* [basic food basket] more expensive for poor and working-class families while suppressing wages. DR-CAFTA had a similarly negative impact, with devastating effects on El Salvador's productive structure (Madrid 2009). Neoliberal reforms were especially damaging to agricultural families and communities, expanding the importation of previously local crops like rice and beans and thereby weakening national industry (Garni and Weyher 2013; Madrid 2009). In light of the growing need for U.S. dollars and poor employment prospects at home, Salvadorans continued to emigrate (Garni and Weyher 2013; Gammage 2006), and the interests of local elites and transnational actors—frequently based in the U.S.—continued to take precedence over the needs of local people. Thus, economic and political factors in the U.S. and El Salvador combined to produce extreme structural violence in the lives of Salvadoran migrants and their loved ones during both the Civil War and post-war periods. As the next section will

demonstrate, the structural violence that marked the 1990s was also embodied through threatened and actual violence, displacing thousands of Salvadorans and producing new waves of asylum seekers and de facto refugees. I will begin by linking past and present violence in El Salvador with a discussion of the roots of the current gang phenomenon, and then I will address the present political and socio-economic context, the world deportees enter and asylum seekers flee, highlighting *mano dura* policies; the marginalization of the deported population; and the state, economic, and grassroots projects implemented to foster their reentry and reincorporation.

The Context of Reception: El Salvador as a Deportee-Receiving State

Deported Violence? El Salvador's Postwar Context. During and after the Civil War, Salvadoran migrants and their dependents often settled in resource-poor U.S. cities and neighborhoods characterized by residential segregation, un- and underemployment, racialized policing, and gang violence. In fact, migration to cities like Los Angeles and San Francisco often resulted in downward assimilation for Salvadoran youth, as 1.5- and second-generation migrants joined a nonwhite native-born U.S.-American underclass rather than assimilate into white middle class communities (Portes and Zhou 1993; see also Coutin 2013). Many deported 1.5-generation migrants specifically referenced being bullied or experiencing discrimination for being “different” than others in the U.S., and they often were on their own while their parents worked long hours to offset the challenges they faced as precarious migrants. For some youths, gang affiliation was the answer, and they joined and later formed gangs, notably *Calle Dieciocho* [18th Street] and *Mara Salvatrucha* [MS or MS-13], in order to survive ethnic hostility and create a community or family where they felt they belonged (Zilberg 2011; see also Levenson 2013).

Following the 1992 Peace Accords and increasing exponentially after IIRIRA and AEDPA went into effect, the first waves of alleged gang members were deported to El Salvador

and the rest of the Northern Triangle⁷. When they first arrived, these deported youths were disoriented and isolated, having left their families and adopted home in the U.S. Some of them had few memories of El Salvador, and the memories that they did have were of a landscape now irrevocably transformed by the war. Many hoped to start over after their deportation, but discombobulation, alienation, and stigmatization prompted them to return to the gang lifestyle with which they were familiar—and which they subsequently popularized among nonmigrant Salvadorans (Wolf 2017), implementing clicas [gang chapters] that closely resembled the California gang style⁸ (Fariña, Miller, and Cavallaro 2010; Zilberg 2011).

Over the course of the 1990s and into the twenty-first century, these gangs grew in size, geographical reach, power, and impunity. Currently, there are more than 300 clicas and an estimated 60,000 active gang members in the country, with an approximate social support base of 500,000 (*El Diario de Hoy* 2015; International Crisis Group 2017: 8)—though these official estimates may be undercounted, as they reflect only individuals who have encountered law enforcement (Wolf 2017: 11). Rates of homicide, extortion, rape and sexual assault, and other violent crimes have risen alongside the evolution of Salvadoran gangs. For instance, the Policia Nacional Civil [National Civil Police, or PNC] registered 5,278 murders in 2016, comprising a homicide rate of 81.2 per 100,000; though this number was significantly lower than the 2015 rate—104 per 100,000—it still marked El Salvador as the most homicidal country in Latin

⁷ Of course, not all deportees in the 1990s were associated with gangs, but in this section I am referring primarily to those who identified as gang or ex-gang members.

⁸ While deported gang members helped hone gang culture and structure, however, they did not create the Central American gang “crisis” (Wolf 2017: 104-105). As Deborah Levenson notes in her discussion of the Guatemalan case, North American gang slogans, clothing styles, hand signals, and vocabulary had already reached Central America through popular media and immigration (2013: 42-43). Moreover, political instability, crumbling infrastructure, limited job prospects, and the widespread availability of weapons in the postwar period preceded the creation of contemporary Salvadoran gangs (see Hume 2007; Wolf 2017).

America (Gagne 2017). Youth and women are particularly vulnerable in El Salvador, which has the highest femicide rate in the world, at 8.9 homicides per 100,000 women in 2012 (Wilkinson 2015; Yagoub 2016). A 2015 UNHCR study with Mexican and Central American women refugees and asylum seekers further revealed that women from across the region are at risk for assaults, threats, disappearances, and domestic violence, in addition to femicide.

Of course, not all these crimes can or should be attributed to gangs. Violence is also perpetrated by state agents and individual actors, and there is evidence that some murders officially ascribed to gangs were committed by police or military (Valencia, Martínez, and Caravantes 2015; see also Martínez 2016). Similarly, while popular and political rhetoric sometimes suggests that the high homicide rates “just” reflect gang members killing other gang members, my research participants vehemently opposed this dismissive stance, pointing to specific examples of friends, colleagues, or acquaintances who were killed and then labeled gang members in the resultant news stories, ostensibly because they fit the part—tattooed, poor, wearing their hair and dressed in American styles, and discovered in marginalized neighborhoods. As discussed above, gang violence is additionally compounded by socio-cultural, economic, and political factors (Hume 2007), including the nation’s widespread availability of guns, high levels of un- and underemployment, structural problems, dollarization, a long history of violence, and authoritarian governance. Fariña, Miller, and Cavallaro further assert that the Salvadoran state’s weak institutions—particularly the limited formal spaces available to the political opposition as well as the judicial system, national police, and prison system—have fostered “conditions of violence, insecurity, and lawlessness that permeate public life,” which contribute to contemporary gang violence in El Salvador (2010: 12). In an analysis of El Salvador’s current media coverage of gangs, moreover, Sonja Wolf (2017) finds that media

outlets rely on the “imported gang theory” that gangs are an import from the U.S. through deportation. She counters, first, that Salvadoran gangs have existed since before the postwar deportations began and, second, that deported gang members who remained active in MS 13 or 18th Street after return often did so because the state neglected to create rehabilitation programs and social insertion opportunities. Wolf concludes that the imported gang theory lacks evidence and that Salvadoran street gangs are “a homegrown problem that emerges from socially marginalized communities and comprises largely local youth” (2017: 105). In sum, youths, gang members, and deportees have been unjustly assigned blame for a broad array of social problems that are more accurately rooted in political, economic, and military structures directed by Salvadoran elites and U.S. leaders. Such structures have translated into symbolic, physical, and legal violence in the lives of Salvadoran deportees through *mano dura* policies and the stigmatization of deported migrants in the media and political rhetoric—both of which increase deported Salvadorans’ fears of return, internal displacement, and even decisions to flee.

Mano Dura Policies, Stigmatization, and Legal Violence. In July 2003, then-president Francisco Flores launched *Plan Mano Dura*, under which gang members would be systematically arrested with the aim of restoring order in affected communities and lowering violent crime rates (see Hume 2007; Wolf 2017: 49-53). The plan included graffiti removal, street policing by joint police and military anti-gang squads, and massive area police sweeps to find and detain suspected gang members—all of which were widely publicized in the popular press, effectively framing *Mano Dura* as a successful policy through ample coverage of these “spectacular showdowns” (Wolf 2017: 50). These components were accompanied by *Ley Anti Maras*, a temporary anti-gang law that classified gang membership as a crime punishable by prison time for anyone over the age of 12. This legislation violated constitutional guarantees and

international human rights norms by lowering the age of legal responsibility to 13 and requiring no evidence at the time of the arrest, in practice allowing police to detain anyone they suspected of gang affiliation based on features like tattoos, language, or clothing—features also common among deported 1.5-generation migrants, who were disproportionately targeted through this and similar legislation (Coutin 2007; Zilberg 2011). The law was resisted by human rights defenders, opposition politicians, and judges, who released a majority of the detainees due to lack of evidence; it was eventually ruled unconstitutional, though this ruling came only a few days before it was set to expire. In 2004, when ARENA leader Antonio Saca became president, he enacted *Plan Súper Mano Dura*, which in many ways extended Mano Dura practices such as the arbitrary detention of suspected gang members based on their tattoos and other cosmetic features⁹. More recently, Mauricio Funes and Salvador Sánchez Cerén, the nation's first and second FMLN presidents, have developed anti-gang policies eerily aligned to the mano dura approach, once more leaving prevention and rehabilitation an afterthought.

Those in support of Mano Dura argued that the policy removed dangerous gang members from the streets, lowered the homicide rate, and increased tranquility in local communities. However, Wolf asserts that the program was “utterly ineffective” in securing convictions or controlling crime, noting that the homicide rate actually rose from 2003 to 2004, when the policy was implemented (2017: 51). *Plan Súper Mano Dura* was also a “resounding failure” at reducing crime, though like its predecessor, it remained popular due in part to extensive positive media coverage (Wolf 2017: 64). These findings are all the more significant considering that, when Mano Dura was first introduced, there had been no recent spike in gang violence and homicides

⁹ The *Súper Mano Dura* plan aimed to include prevention and rehabilitation programming for at-risk youth and ex-gang members, respectively, but these measures were feeble and poorly funded, resulting in few fundamental policy changes (see Wolf 2017: 53-64).

had been decreasing in recent years. Arguably, then, the policy was introduced to maintain ARENA's command of the Salvadoran state, rather than produce effective gang prevention, control, and the rehabilitation of former gang members (Wolf 2017). In the early twenty-first century, the FMLN was gaining momentum and threatening ARENA's long-standing political primacy, particularly in light of economic instability that made the FMLN especially appealing to voters. By cultivating the idea that street and gang violence was the nation's most pressing problem and pioneering an aggressive and highly publicized response, ARENA preserved its rule for an additional five years—at great cost to the Salvadoran public and working class male youths. Not only has the program contributed to the criminalization and stigmatization of such young men, but it also is unlikely to lead to any substantial reduction in gang violence and even undermines the nation's democracy (Hume 2007; Wolf 2017).

The *mano dura* approach generated profound legal violence in the lives of both active gang members and those suspected of having gang ties, such as poor and working class young men from marginalized neighborhoods and deportees whose body language, clothes, tattoos, and accents marked them as criminals (Coutin 2007; Fariña, Miller, and Cavallaro 2010; Hume 2007; Wolf 2016; Zilberg 2011). Alleged gang members continued to be stigmatized and maltreated if they lived in certain zones, demonized in the popular media and pursued by police, military, and political leaders—and, in the case of gang affiliated deportees, rival gangs (Maginot 2016; Zilberg 2011). At its most extreme, popular perceptions of gang violence and lawlessness encouraged extrajudicial killings of gang members, not only by anti-gang extermination squads but also civilians who took the law into their own hands, in one case “justifying their act [the lynching of three gang members] by claiming that Súper Mano Dura ‘did not work’” (Wolf 2017: 73; see also Fariña, Miller, and Cavallaro 2010; Maginot 2016). Today, these populations

continue to be socially profiled and subjected to stop-and-search practices that are often accompanied by beatings and other violence (Fariña, Miller, and Cavallaro 2010; Wolf 2017; Zilberg 2011). For instance, Carlos, a deported 1.5-generation migrant in his 30s, reported being “confused” for a gang member; he was picked up by police and military, questioned, beaten, and abandoned in a gang-controlled neighborhood. These actions constitute legal violence in the lives of return migrants and nonmigrants alike, as it is the law that permits, perpetuates, and even arguably encourages the scapegoating, policing, harassment, and unjust incarceration of assumed gang members. Such prejudice seeps into other aspects of deportees’ lives, as well, causing high rates of un- and underemployment¹⁰, as well as termination from jobs seemingly without cause. For example, deportees working in Salvadoran call centers report being easily hired but frequently fired, sometimes after only a week or two, due to a failed criminal background check or physical screening for tattoos and other markers of gang affiliation (Maginot 2016).

Beginning in 2017, moreover, such violence is likely to be compounded by Decreto 717 [Decree 717], passed by the Salvadoran Asamblea Legislativa [Legislative Assembly] in June 2017, which specifically targets deportees who are presumed gang members and requires them to register with local police stations, which will track their names and activities and limit their mobility (García 2017)—thus potentially increasing their risk of being found and attacked by rival gangs. More research will be needed to address the use and effects of Decreto 717 and increasing anti-gang sentiment on the lives of deportees and assumed gang members. In sum, anti-gang and anti-deportee legislation continues to yield harmful, at times fatal consequences in the lives of already marginalized populations such as deported 1.5-generation migrants and poor

¹⁰ Anti-deportee sentiment contributes to un- and underemployment not only in El Salvador but also throughout other Latin American and Caribbean deportee-receiving states, such as the Dominican Republic (Brotherton and Barrios 2011) and Jamaica (Golash-Boza 2014).

and working-class young men, making re/integration difficult and fostering a sense of terror, othering, and exclusion that often increases an urgency to remigrate.

Finding Support. Interviews with deported Salvadorans, voluntary return migrants, and immigration advocates revealed that state support for the returned migrant population was limited and difficult to access (see also Rietig and Villegas 2015). Recently returned deportees frequently were unaware of government programming available, and those who did know where to look were often disappointed with what they found. For example, when Santiago, a member of the executive board of the Red Nacional de Emprendedores Retornados [National Network of Returned Entrepreneurs, or RENACERES], visited his local representative of the Ministerio de Agricultura y Ganadería [Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock], the representative was unaware of any programs and resources for returned migrants, despite Santiago's knowledge that such provisions had been planned at the national level.

Moreover, most government support available during the research period was geared toward migrants' initial reception to El Salvador rather than their long-term reintegration (see Rietig and Villegas 2015: 7-9, 15). The Bienvenido a Casa [Welcome Home, or BAC] office, implemented by Catholic Relief Services (CRS) in 1998, is the oldest active reception program in the region, and it offers some connections to adult education, skills training, and employment and entrepreneurship support. However, while a handful of research participants took part in such programs, many more deportees, NGO workers, and activists described the BAC as merely providing lunch—"dos pupusas y una gaseosa" [two pupusas and a soda]—and a bus ride into San Salvador, where they would find themselves on their own. Newly arrived deportees with nowhere to go could stay in a state-sponsored dormitory for the night, but no long-term shelters or housing support were available during the research period. Leadership of the BAC was

transferred to the state in 2007, and the program has struggled to find consistent, sufficient funding since. Because deportees are fingerprinted, photographed, and interviewed by police as part of their initial reception at the BAC, the process can also feel tone-deaf and invasive, particularly when they are coming directly from the heart of the U.S. prison industrial complex.

When long-term reintegration programs are developed, such as the pilot project *Reinserción Económica y Psicosocial para Personas Retornadas* [Economic and Psychosocial Reintegration of Returned Persons], they reach only a small percentage of those who have been deported and they struggle to find the adequate funding needed to sustain themselves across multiple cohorts. The *Reinserción Económica y Psicosocial para Personas Retornadas* program, for example, was launched in January 2016 as a joint effort by the *Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores* [Ministry of Foreign Affairs, or RREE] and the *Comisión Nacional de la Micro y Pequeña Empresa* [National Commission of Micro- and Small Business, or CONAMYPE] to provide returned migrants with the tools they needed to start and run their own small businesses. Participants attended biweekly seminars on entrepreneurship and, upon completion of the program, were awarded seed funds to open or grow their own enterprise (see *La Prensa Gráfica* 2016). The pilot phase supported approximately 100 returnees around the country, most of whom had been formally removed from the U.S., and ran on a budget of 420 million U.S. dollars. Participants expressed gratitude for the program and enthusiasm for their endeavors, which ranged from taxi and shuttle services to small restaurants and even a photography studio and paper goods store. Finance challenges remained significant throughout the project period, however. Some participants traveled multiple hours by bus to attend the classes and, for those with no savings or limited means of their own, the bus fare and lunch costs could be prohibitive, leading to absences; for participants who already had jobs, missing work twice each week to

attend classes could result in lost earnings or even termination. Perhaps even more significantly, the seed funds were not guaranteed to all participants, and, at \$1,500, the seed money was not enough on its own to foster the creation of a successful new business.¹¹ As Victoria Rietig and Rodrigo Dominguez Villegas assert, such programs need better funding as well as long-term monitoring and evaluation to determine their strengths, weaknesses, and viability (2015: 15-17). A broader question for scholars and advocates is whether programs focused on micro- and small business are the best approach to authentic deportee re/integration. Businesses experience high turnover rates and frequently fail, particularly in the absence of financial support, expertise, and social networks, and this distinctly neoliberal solution is arguably unsustainable and insufficient for the waves of deported Salvadorans arriving with limited social and economic capital.

In the absence of widely accessible state-sponsored reintegration programs for deportees, NGOs, churches, and grassroots organizations have developed a variety of economic, social, cultural, and political projects to support newly arrived return migrants¹². Like the CONAMYPE and RREE entrepreneurial program described above, RENACERES, the Instituto Salvadoreño del Migrante [Salvadoran Institute for Migrants, or INSAMI], the U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (USCRI), and the Salvadoran Lutheran Synod have all planned or implemented micro-lending or giving programs that would support deported small business owners.

Furthermore, RENACERES and INSAMI, in conjunction with the Red Cross, in 2016 began

¹¹ For instance, one of the more successful business plans was a shuttle service in a small town outside of San Salvador. The business owner already owned a pick-up truck, was well-known and politically active in the community, and had family members in the U.S. who were willing to loan him funds to buy a second vehicle and expand his project. Conversely, a participant who started a tire repair shop in a rural zone along the highway had no money saved or social network upon which to draw; he was geographically constrained to a low-traffic area controlled by gangs, so he struggled to recruit and keep customers as well as support himself and his family.

¹² Transnational call centers have also played a large part in the reinsertion of deported 1.5-generation migrants in El Salvador and other nations (see Golash-Boza 2015; Goodfriend 2018). This reintegration trajectory will be explored in a later chapter of this dissertation.

developing a health clinic for return migrants arriving with mental or physical health needs, which opened in 2017. Homies Unidos El Salvador, created in the aftermath of the first massive deportations in the 1990s, reoriented gang-affiliated deportees to Salvadoran society by teaching them how to safely move around the city and providing social support, community, and protection from harassment and violence, in addition to the organization's formal programming. While Homies has been discontinued, an evangelical Christian organization with ties to a U.S. faith, Hungry Church, was created in 2016, with the aim of providing a spiritual home to people who did not feel welcome in other local churches (with the slogan "loving those whom others fear to love"). Many leaders and participants of Hungry are return migrants with a criminal record and markers of foreignness like tattoos, English fluency, and U.S. styles of dressing and doing their hair. Though not explicitly geared toward deportees, the church provides spiritual support and community to individuals who are often targets of violence, harassment, and stigmatization on the streets or in the pews—many of them deported. Notably, the organization offers transportation home from church services, an important resource for those who live in at-risk neighborhoods or who have been threatened with violence. Like state-sponsored programs, these organizations face funding challenges and frequently rely on U.S. donors. They reach relatively small numbers of deportees, also similar to state-led projects. Together, these ventures reveal the broad scale of the problem of deportee reception and re/integration, the diverse needs of the deported population, and the necessity of multi-faceted structural solutions that will best serve the most marginalized members of the returned migrant community. At the same time, these initiatives also demonstrate the number and variety of players who advocate for—and often are—involuntary return migrants and seek more effective, humane re/integration opportunities.

However, legal violence continues to frustrate the efforts of deportees and their allies. For instance, in April 2016, following the *mano durismo* of past administrations, El Salvador's Legislative Assembly passed a fresh set of harsh reforms aimed at street gangs that criminalized negotiation and dialogue with gangs, as well as explicitly classified gangs as terrorist organizations (see Tabory 2016). In the days and months following the reforms' almost unanimous affirmative vote, non-governmental organizations and charitable groups were unsure how the measures would affect their work: ex-gang members and peace workers wondered if they could be accused of "negotiating with terrorists" (i.e. gang members) when they aimed to bring people safely out of gangs, and immigration activists worried that they may face repercussions for providing support to returning migrants who were perceived as—or were actually—gang members (Maginot 2016). Leaders of Homies and RENACERES expressed fears that they would be unable to maintain or find new sources of financial support or even that they might be monitored by state agencies that could arrest them. This in some cases fomented mistrust between organizations and leaders, who fought to protect their respective populations not only from physical harm but also social stigma and prejudice—as well as conserve their already limited social and financial capital. Collaboration across groups was thus arguably hindered by the 2016 reforms. Significantly, moreover, leaders of both Homies and RENACERES have been killed by non-state actors like gangs or neighbors. In other words, advocating for deportees, especially 1.5-generation deported migrants with an assumed gang affiliation or criminal record, is inhibited by threatened and physical violence, compounded by economic insecurity, the nation's weak infrastructure, and legal violence.

Conclusion

Both historically and presently, the U.S.-American context of exit and Salvadoran context of reception have produced a hostile, often dangerous environment for deportees. Beginning in the late 1970s, unrest and civil war in El Salvador drove massive numbers of internal displacement and emigration, and American cold war policy prompted the U.S. to support the Salvadoran state and military while closing opportunities to most Salvadorans seeking asylum. As the war ended, increasingly harsh U.S. immigration policies led to new waves of deportations from the U.S. to Latin America and the Caribbean, while El Salvador's recent trauma, hollowed infrastructure, neoliberal economic approach, and postwar violence hindered deportees' chances of authentic re/integration.

As the nation's homicide rate continued to rise and young people began to be forcibly conscripted into gangs (UNHCR 2014), newly arriving deportees increasingly expressed fears of deportation and the fate that awaited them in El Salvador. Jose Roberto recalls that, in the late 1990s, "Some people [came] deported and [were] killed two, three hours after arriving. There [were] people waiting for them outside at the airport when they [got] here." More recently, a deported 1.5-generation migrant who had escaped El Salvador before he celebrated his first birthday, recalled that he, his friends, and his fiancée have cried together and mourned the loss of multiple friends that have been killed since he was returned to El Salvador five years ago. Partially because of these worries, most deportees express a desire to return to the U.S. or flee to new destinations, ranging from Costa Rica and Mexico to Italy or China (Maginot 2016), and many attempt to remigrate along ever riskier land-based routes¹³ (see Martínez 2016). Others remain in El Salvador but leave their family homes to escape detection and retaliation from

¹³ However, the decision to remigrate is multi-causal, often stemming not only from fears of violence but simultaneously from the desire for family reunification and economic need (Berger Cardoso et al. 2016; Hagan, Eschbach, and Rodriguez 2008; Maginot 2016; Molina 2014).

gangs, while another group takes the opposite approach, essentially putting themselves on house arrest and not leaving their homes for weeks or even months after their deportation (Maginot 2016). These deportees effectively become IDPs and de facto refugees like their parents and grandparents before them, forced to run due not only to violence from gangs, police, and military, but also structural, economic, and legal violence that makes resettlement appear difficult and even hopeless. As this chapter has shown, following the civil war cycle in which the U.S. and El Salvador jointly created IDPs, asylum seekers, and de facto refugees, today's *mano durismo* and trade liberalization in El Salvador coupled with racist, classist U.S. foreign policies and immigration and criminal laws have produced new generations of forced migrants looking for stability and survival—often directly shaped by their collective and individual migration histories.

Directions for Future Research. This dissertation will now turn to ways in which deported Salvadorans experience, interpret, and at times challenge the immigrant industrial complex in the U.S. and the socio-cultural, economic, and political context in El Salvador. However, future research should also attend to how these waves of migrants and deportees are changing demographically, as well as how such changes affect their reception and re/integration after deportation. For example, scholars and practitioners must consider how families and unaccompanied minors fare at the border and what happens to them if and when they are returned to the Northern Triangle. This research will be particularly important in light of shifting U.S. immigration policies and practices during the post-2016 election period, when the Salvadoran legislative branch and popular media regenerated images of deportees as dangerous criminals and gang members deserving of close control and discipline. These images contrast sharply with those of TPS-holders anxiously awaiting the possibility of deportation beginning in

September 2019 and seemingly undeserving of such a fate. How will these subgroups of migrants and deportees be treated by the Salvadoran and U.S. states, how will they and their allies respond, and what does this reveal about immigrant incorporation and legal violence? These questions merit continued theoretical and practical consideration beyond the scope and timeline of the present project.

Appendix I: Figures and Tables

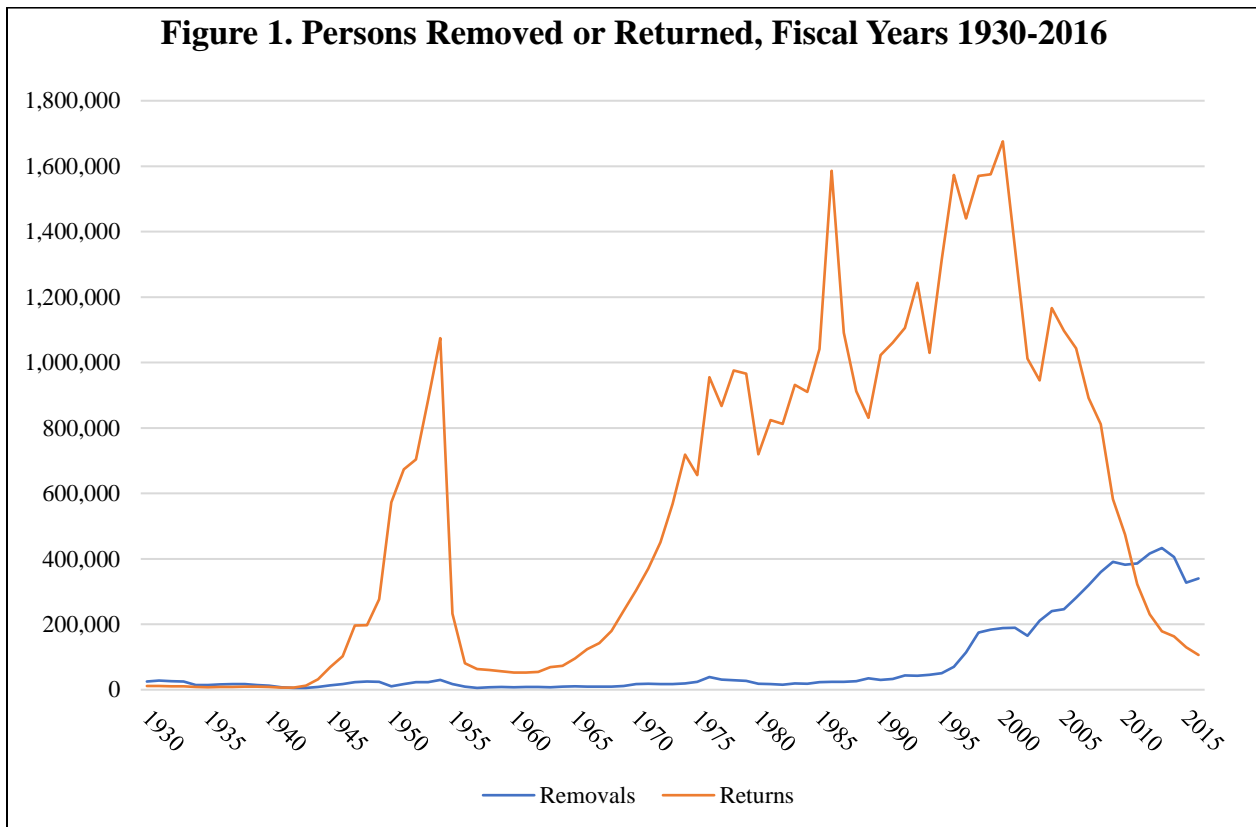


Figure compiled by author using the *2016 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics* (U.S. Department of Homeland Security [DHS] 2018).

Table 1. Persons Removed by Country of Origin, 2007-2016

<u>Country of Origin</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2008</u>	<u>2009</u>	<u>2010</u>	<u>2011</u>	<u>2012</u>	<u>2013</u>	<u>2014</u>	<u>2015</u>	<u>2016</u>
Mexico	208,996	247,263	276,537	272,486	286,731	301,255	308,828	266,165	235,087	245,306
Guatemala	25,898	27,527	29,641	29,709	30,343	38,899	46,948	54,247	33,398	33,729
Honduras	29,737	28,885	27,283	25,121	22,027	31,738	36,591	40,633	20,334	21,891
El Salvador	20,045	20,050	20,844	20,346	17,379	18,992	20,921	26,895	21,610	20,127
Colombia	2,993	2,590	2,714	2,402	1,899	1,591	1,440	1,348	1,571	2,052
Dominican Republic	2,990	3,232	3,576	3,371	2,892	2,866	2,297	2,066	1,897	1,949

Brazil	4,210	3,836	3,724	3,533	3,350	2,397	1,449	952	1,008	1,485
Ecuador	1,564	2,330	2,383	2,385	1,716	1,763	1,510	1,528	1,441	1,399
Jamaica	1,490	1,628	1,662	1,481	1,473	1,319	1,108	1,035	866	1,069
Nicaragua	2,307	2,257	2,172	1,903	1,502	1,400	1,346	1,296	922	872
China	864	877	966	1,060	1,025	1,039	788	659	701	729
Venezuela	482	412	499	391	308	270	199	165	204	701
Canada	1,263	1,302	1,325	1,339	1,290	965	799	704	645	688
India	832	932	1,046	959	723	577	415	438	527	688
Nigeria	435	435	424	369	360	303	349	452	583	598
Peru	1,208	1,275	1,282	1,108	982	772	645	691	518	581
Haiti	1,492	1,584	730	477	729	703	515	396	465	578
Philippines	697	689	747	747	695	480	355	318	215	261
Costa Rica	655	692	695	553	378	400	321	283	222	250
Poland	410	498	595	550	426	413	223	190	177	183
TOTAL	319,382	359,795	391,283	381,593	385,778	415,900	433,034	405,589	326,962	340,056

Table compiled by author using the *2016 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics* (U.S. Department of Homeland Security [DHS] 2018).

References

- Abrego, Leisy J. 2017. "On Silences: Salvadoran Refugees Then and Now." *Latino Studies* 15: 73-85.
- Abrego, Leisy J., and Cecilia Menjivar. 2011. "Immigrant Latina Mothers as Targets of Legal Violence." *International Journal of Sociology of the Family* 37(1): 9-26.
- Almeida, Paul D. 2008. *Waves of Protest: Popular Struggle in El Salvador, 1925-2005*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Aron, Adrienne, Shawn Corne, Anthea Fursland, and Barbara Zelwer. 1991. "The Gender-specific Terror of El Salvador and Guatemala: Post-traumatic Stress Disorder in Central American Refugee Women." *Women's Studies International Forum* 14(1/2): 37-47.
- Baker-Cristales, Beth. 2004. *Salvadoran Migration to Southern California: Redefining El Hermano Lejano*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida.
- Berger Cardoso, Jodi, Erin Randle Hamilton, Nestor Rodriguez, Karl Eschbach, and Jacqueline Hagan. 2016. "Deporting Fathers: Involuntary Transnational Families and Intent to Remigrate Among Salvadoran Deportees." *International Migration Review* 50(1): 197-230.

- Brotherton, David C. and Luis Barrios. 2011. *Banished to the Homeland: Dominican Deportees and Their Stories of Exile*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Byrne, Hugh. 1996. *El Salvador's Civil War: A Study of Revolution*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Capps, Randolph, Rosa Maria Castañeda, Ajay Chaudry, and Robert Santos. 2007. *Paying the Price: The Impact of Immigration Raids on America's Children*. Report for the Urban Institute for the National Council of La Raza. Retrieved April 29, 2014 (<http://www.urban.org/publications/411566.html>).
- Cordova, Carlos B. 2005. *The Salvadoran Americans*. Westport, CT, and London, UK: Greenwood Press.
- Coutin, Susan Bibler. 2003. *Legalizing Moves: Salvadoran Immigrants' Struggle for U.S. Residency*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Coutin, Susan Bibler. 2007. *Nations of Emigrants: Shifting Boundaries of Citizenship in El Salvador and the United States*. Ithaca, NY, and London, UK: Cornell University Press.
- Coutin, Susan Bibler. 2013. "Place and presence within Salvadoran deportees' narratives of removal." *Childhood* 20(3):323-336.
- Coutin, Susan Bibler. 2016. *Exiled Home: Salvadoran Transnational Youth in the Aftermath of Violence*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Dyrness, Andrea, and Enrique Sepúlveda, III. 2015. "Education and the Production of Diasporic Citizens in El Salvador." *Harvard Educational Review* 85(1):108-143.
- Dziadula, Eva. 2018. "Timing of Naturalization Among US Immigrants." *International Migration and Integration*. Published Online May 11. DOI: 10.1007/s12134-018-0573-1.

- El Diario de Hoy*. 2015. "Munguía Payés: Hay Más Pandilleros que Militares Activos." *El Diario de Hoy*, October 20. Retrieved June 20 (<https://www.elsalvador.com/noticias/nacional/164329/munguia-payes-hay-mas-pandilleros-que-militares-activos/>).
- Fariña, Laura Pedraza, Spring Miller, and James L. Cavallaro. 2010. *No Place to Hide: Gang, State, and Clandestine Violence in El Salvador*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Gagne, David. 2017. "InSight Crime's 2016 Homicide Round-up." *InSight Crime*, January 16. Retrieved February 1, 2017 (<https://www.insightcrime.org/news/analysis/insight-crime-2016-homicide-round-up/>).
- Gammage, Sarah. 2006. "Exporting People and Recruiting Remittances: A Development Strategy for El Salvador?" *Latin American Perspectives* 33(6): 75-100.
- García, Enrique. 2017. "PNC Usa Protocolo con Pandilleros Retornados." *El Mundo*, December 22. Retrieved December 30, 2017 (<http://elmundo.sv/pnc-usa-protocolo-con-pandilleros-retornados/>).
- Garni, Alisa, and L. Frank Weyher. 2013. "Dollars, 'Free Trade,' and Migration: The Combined Forces of Alienation in Postwar El Salvador." *Latin American Perspectives* 40(5): 62-77.
- Gill, Lesley. 2004. *The School of the Americas: Military Training and Political Violence in the Americas*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Golash-Boza, Tanya. 2012. *Immigrant Nation: Raids, Detentions, and Deportations in Post-9/11 America*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.
- Golash-Boza, Tanya. 2014. "Forced Transnationalism: Transnational coping strategies and gendered stigma among Jamaican deportees." *Global Networks* 14(1): 63-79.

- Golash-Boza, Tanya Maria. 2015. *Deported: Immigrant Policing, Disposable Labor, and Global Capitalism*. New York: New York University Press.
- Golash-Boza, Tanya, and Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo. 2013. "Latino Immigrant Men and the Deportation Crisis: A Gendered Racial Removal Program." *Latino Studies* 11(3): 271-292.
- Gonzalez, Juan. 2011. *Harvest of Empire: A History of Latinos in America*. New York, NY: Penguin Books.
- Goodfriend, Hilary. 2018. "'Where You From?' Deportación, Identidad, y Trabajo Reciclado en el Call Center Salvadoreño." *Latin American Research Review* 53(2): 303-317.
- Gorman, Cynthia S. 2017. "Redefining Refugees: Interpretive Control and the Bordering Work of Legal Categorization in U.S. Asylum Law." *Political Geography* 58: 36-45.
- Gould, Jeffrey L. and Aldo A. Lauria-Santiago. 2008. *To Rise in Darkness: Revolution, Repression, and Memory in El Salvador, 1920-1932*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Grandin, Greg. 2004. *The Last Colonial Massacre: Latin America in the Cold War*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Grandin, Greg. 2006. *Empire's Workshop: Latin America, the United States, and the Rise of the New Imperialism*. New York, NY: Owl Books.
- Grandin, Greg. 2011. *Who is Rigoberta Menchú?* Brooklyn, NY: Verso.
- Hagan, Jacqueline, Karl Eschbach, and Nestor Rodriguez. 2008. "U.S. Deportation Policy, Family Separation, and Circular Migration." *The International Migration Review* 42(1):64-88.

- Hume, Mo. 2007. "Mano Duro: El Salvador Responds to Gangs." *Development in Practice* 17(6):739-751.
- International Crisis Group. 2017. *El Salvador's Politics of Perpetual Violence*. International Crisis Group Latin America Report Number 64, December 17. Retrieved June 19, 2018 (<https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/064-el-salvador-s-politics-of-perpetual-violence.pdf>).
- Jordan, Miriam. 2018. "Trump Administration Says That Nearly 200,000 Salvadorans Must Leave." *New York Times*, January 8. Retrieved June 15, 2018 (<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/08/us/salvadorans-tps-end.html>).
- Kanstroom, Dan. 2007. *Deportation Nation: Outsiders in American History*. Cambridge, MA, and London, UK: Harvard University Press.
- Kanstroom, Daniel. 2012. *Aftermath: Deportation Law and the New American Diaspora*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- La Prensa Gráfica. 2016. "El Salvador Lanza Proyecto Piloto para Reinserción de Emigrantes Retornados." *La Prensa Gráfica*, January 8. Retrieved March 15, 2016 (<https://www.laprensagrafica.com/departamento15/El-Salvador-lanza-proyecto-piloto-para-reinsercion-de-emigrantes-retornados-20160108-0054.html>).
- LaFeber, Walter. 1983. *Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America*. New York, NY: Norton and Company.
- Levenson, Deborah T. 2013. *Adios, Niño: The Gangs of Guatemala City and the Politics of Death*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

- Madrid, Cori. 2009. "El Salvador and the Central American Free Trade Agreement: Consolidation of a Transnational Capitalist Class." *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology* 8(2-3): 189-210.
- Martínez, Óscar. 2016. *A History of Violence: Living and Dying in Central America*. London, UK, and Brooklyn, NY: Verso.
- Menjívar, Cecilia. 2000. *Fragmented Ties: Salvadoran Immigrant Networks in America*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Menjívar, Cecilia. 2006. "Liminal Legality: Salvadoran and Guatemalan Immigrants' Lives in the United States." *American Journal of Sociology* 111(4):999-1037.
- Menjívar, Cecilia, and Leisy Abrego. 2012. "Legal Violence: Immigration Law and the Lives of Central American Immigrants." *American Journal of Sociology* 117(5): 1380-1421.
- Molina, Paola. 2014. *Re-immigration After Deportation: Family, Gender, and the Decision to Make a Second Attempt to Enter the U.S.* El Paso, TX: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC.
- Moodie, Ellen. 2010. *El Salvador in the Aftermath of Peace: Crime, Uncertainty, and the Transition to Democracy*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Nawyn, Stephanie J. 2013. "Refugee Resettlement Policies and Pathways to Integration." Pp. 107-117 in *The Routledge International Handbook of Migration Studies*, edited by S. J. Gold and S. J. Nawyn. Oxfordshire, UK, and New York City: Routledge.
- Omang, Joanne. 1985. "Tale of Two Villages in El Salvador." *The Washington Post*, October 11. Retrieved June 14, 2018
https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1985/10/11/tale-of-two-villages-in-el-salvador/08a296ea-11ae-4693-b21d-4aad25ea2906/?utm_term=.41a46a9ba06c.

- Portes, Alejandro and Min Zhou. 1993. "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530:74-96.
- Rabe, Stephen G. 2012. *The Killing Zone: The United States Wages Cold War in Latin America*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Rietig, Victoria, and Rodrigo Dominguez Villegas. 2015. *Stopping the Revolving Door: Reception and Reintegration Services for Central American Deportees*. Migration Policy Institute, December. Retrieved May 3, 2016 (<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/stopping-revolving-door-reception-and-reintegration-services-central-american-deportees>).
- Tabory, Sam. 2016. "El Salvador Reforms Classify Gangs as Terrorists, Criminalize Negotiation." *InSight Crime*, April 25. Retrieved June 26, 2017 (<http://www.insightcrime.org/news-briefs/el-salvador-reforms-classify-gangs-terrorists-criminalize-negotiations>).
- Towers, Marcia, and Silvia Borzutzky. 2004. "The Socioeconomic Implications of Dollarization in El Salvador." *Latin American Politics and Society* 46(3): 29-54.
- UNHCR. 2014. *Children on the Run: Unaccompanied Children Leaving Central America and Mexico and the Need for International Protection*. UNHCR. Retrieved June 20, 2017 (<http://www.unhcr.org/56fc266f4.html>).
- UNHCR. 2015. *Women on the Run: First-hand Accounts of Refugees Fleeing El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Mexico*. UNHCR, October. Retrieved January 1, 2017 (<http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/publications/operations/5630f24c6/women-run.html>).
- UNHCR. 2018. "What is a Refugee?" *UNHCR Refugee Facts*. Retrieved June 15, 2018 (<https://www.unrefugees.org/refugee-facts/what-is-a-refugee/>).

- U.S. Department of Homeland Security [DHS]. 2018. *2016 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*. U.S. DHS, April 6. Retrieved June 16, 2018 (<https://www.dhs.gov/immigration-statistics/yearbook/2016>).
- Valencia, Roberto, Óscar Martínez, and Daniel Valencia Caravantes. 2015. "La Policía Masacró en la Finca San Blas." *El Faro*, July 22. Retrieved March 1, 2016 (<http://www.salanegra.elfaro.net/es/201507/cronicas/17205/La-Polic%C3%ADa-masacr%C3%B3-en-la-finca-San-Blas.htm>).
- Viterna, Jocelyn. 2013. *Women in War: The Micro-processes of Mobilization in El Salvador*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Wilkinson, Tracy. 2015. "After Broken Gang Truce, El Salvador Sees Deadliest Month in 10 Years." *LA Times*, April 18. Retrieved April 19, 2015 (<http://www.latimes.com/world/mexico-americas/la-fg-el-salvador-gangs-20150418-story.html#page=1>).
- Wolf, Sonja. 2017. *Mano Dura: The Politics of Gang Control in El Salvador*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Wood, Elisabeth J. 2003. *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Yagoub, Mimi. 2016. "Why Does Latin America Have the World's Highest Murder Rates?" *InSight Crime*, February 11. Retrieved April 1, 2016 (<https://www.insightcrime.org/news/analysis/why-does-latin-america-have-the-world-s-highest-female-murder-rates/>).
- Zilberg, Elana. 2007. "Gangster in guerilla face: A transnational mirror of production between the USA and El Salvador." *Anthropological Theory* 7(1):37–57.

Zilberg, Elana. 2011. *Space of Detention: The Making of a Transnational Gang Crisis between Los Angeles and San Salvador*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.