

A PROFILE OF THE MODERN SALVADORAN MIGRANT



December 2013

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Washington, DC
December 2013

UTEC

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to thank the authorities of the General Directorate of Immigrants and Foreigners (DGME) for their support and authorization to use their facilities and carry out a field study of the profile of the modern Salvadoran migrant. The field research was done at the facilities of the *Welcome Home* program, located at the International Airport of Comalapa and in La Chacra, in El Salvador.

We would also like to thank the coordinators of the *Welcome Home* program and the rest of the DGME staff for their work in these areas and for their patience when answering daily calls to confirm arrival times of flights and buses transporting repatriated migrants.

We would like to thank the officers of Immigration Control for allowing the repatriated migrants, who had recently completed fingerprinting and registration, to participate.

Special thanks goes to all of those men, women, boys, and girls who, despite fatigue, heat, and the severity of the journey, agreed to participate in the surveys. The information provided by them was instrumental to this study.

Finally, we thank the team of UTEC students, who spent hours under the sun, suffering from heat and thirst to be able to survey the participants.



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Universidad Tecnológica de El Salvador (UTEC) has partnered with the U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (USCRI) to conduct a study to build a profile of the modern Salvadoran migrant.

The report seeks to explore and analyze the roots of the migration phenomenon among Salvadoran adults and children from the perspective of the migrant. This report explores the migrant's concepts of identity, human rights, and modes of communication related to their decision to leave El Salvador. It does this by 1) determining the demographic, economic, and cultural characteristics of migrants from El Salvador, 2) striving to understand how these migrants access and perceive media information about immigration, and 3) studying how the migrants perceive their own self-worth as a human being.

The hope is that the information gathered in this study will help improve the situation of migrants by informing policy makers, govern-

ment officials, and civil society organizations about the issues and challenges from the migrant perspective. Additionally, the findings of the study aim to facilitate more effective communication regarding perceptions of migrants and the migration process.

The research team conducted surveys and interviews with over 800 migrants over the age of 18, and with 38 migrants aged 9-17, all of whom had attempted to migrate and had been recently repatriated to El Salvador. The underage migrants were given a separate questionnaire that included questions specifically directed to them and their unique situation. Participants were given a survey of semi open-ended questions on common themes about the migration process, including their reasons for and methods of migrating, their access to information about the migration process, and their opinions about media representation of migration, the risks and abuses they faced, and matters of culture and identity as a migrant.

ADULT MIGRANTS

Gender	<ul style="list-style-type: none">The adult migrant population is overwhelmingly male at 91 percent, with female migrants measuring just under 9 percent
Age	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Adult migrants are generally between the ages of 18 and 35, with almost 30 percent between 21 and 25 and a sharp decrease in the number of migrants above age 40
State of origin	<ul style="list-style-type: none">While migrants came from all 14 Salvadoran states, the largest percentage was from La Libertad and San Salvador, followed by San Miguel and Usulután
Education level	<ul style="list-style-type: none">The average education is at secondary school levels, with only about four percent of migrants with higher education

	MALE	FEMALE
Migration process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Men cited unemployment (41%) as the most influential factor in migration, followed by low wages (15%), lack of opportunity (12%), and family reunification (8%) Responses regarding use of a coyote were evenly split with 47 percent contracting a guide, 46 percent not contracting, and 7 percent unresponsive For the majority of male migrants (55%), it was their first migration attempt About 53 percent of men plan to stay in El Salvador 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women cited unemployment (61%) as the principal cause of migration, followed by low wages (8%), family reunification (7%), and lack of opportunities (6%) Responses regarding use of a coyote were split with 42 percent using a guide, 47 percent not, and 12 percent unresponsive It was the first migration attempt for over 70 percent of the female migrant population About 51 percent of women plan to attempt migration again
Employment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Over 60 percent of males were employed in some capacity when they chose to migrate The majority of those employed before migrating worked in agriculture or construction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Over 60 percent of women were not employed when they decided to migrate
Media sources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Just less than 60 percent of men had seen media reports about migration. Of these, over 80 percent reported TV as their main news source About 20 percent of male migrants simply felt better informed after seeing news reports, while 18 percent felt indifferent In general, migrants believed the media reports to be true 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Only 42 percent of women reported seeing news about migration. Of these, 73 percent reported TV as their main news source About 20 percent of female migrants felt afraid after seeing news reports, while others were largely indifferent In general, migrants believed the media reports to be true
Human rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 57 percent of men believe they lost their entitlement to human rights when they decided to migrate When asked if they believed their rights had been violated, responses were split evenly, suggesting that migrants are not fully aware of their rights Men surveyed said they were prepared to face all risks of migration, including exploitation, assault, kidnapping, and death 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 59 percent of women believed they lost their entitlement to human rights when they decided to migrate When asked if they believed their rights had been violated, responses were split evenly, suggesting that migrants are not fully aware of their rights Women surveyed said they were prepared to face all risks associated with migration, including assault, rape, and death Less than one out of four women used contraceptives in preparation for their journey
Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A majority of migrants have relatives and close friends already living in the U.S. and count on their support In preparation for migration, individuals first asked their mother for advice, followed by their father The majority of male migrants counted God as important for their journey The majority of migrants consider themselves peaceful rather than violent 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A majority of migrants have relatives and close friends already living in the U.S. and count on their support In preparation for migration, individuals first asked their mother for advice, followed by their father One hundred percent of female migrants counted God as important for their journey The majority of migrants consider themselves peaceful rather than violent

CHILD MIGRANTS

Gender	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 74 percent of the migrant children were male and 26 percent were female
Age	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The majority of children (79%) were 15 to 17 years old
State of origin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Children interviewed came from all states except Ahuachapán, but larger numbers came from Santa Ana, followed by La Paz and Usulután
Education level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 71 percent of children had a secondary school education
Migration process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Children cited family reunification as the main factor in their decision to migrate, followed by lack of opportunities and gang violence • Coyote use among children was 45 percent; for this group, the guide was generally contracted by a family member for the child • Of the children that showed an interest in reattempting migration, the majority would do so to continue their studies or for family reunification
Critical issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Children surveyed reported that the most critical issues facing El Salvador today are violence, lack of employment, and the current economy

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CNDH	National Human Rights Commission <i>Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos</i>
CONMIGRANTES	National Council for the Protection and Development of Migrants and their Family <i>Consejo Nacional para la protección y Desarrollo de la Persona Migrante y su Familia</i>
CONNA	National Council for Childhood and Adolescence <i>Consejo Nacional de la Niñez y la Adolescencia</i>
DGME	General Directorate of Immigrants and Foreigner <i>Director General de Migración y Extranjería</i>
ILO	International Labor Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
LEPINA	Special Law for the Protection of Children and Childhood <i>Ley Especial para la Protección de la Niñez y la Infancia</i>
MRREE	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of El Salvador <i>Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de El Salvador</i>
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
USCRI	U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants
UTEC	Technological University of El Salvador <i>Universidad Tecnológica de El Salvador</i>

INTRODUCTION

According to the numbers presented in the 2009 Human Development Report, it was estimated that, at that time, there were 214 million migrants in the world (the numbers updated by the UN indicate that it is now 215 million) (World Bank, 2013). This means that 3.1% of the world's population lives outside its country of origin. The same report points out that the majority of these international migrants move between countries of the same development category. Approximately 60% of migrants move between developing countries (south-south migration) or between developed countries (north-north migration).

For the last three decades of the 20th century, El Salvador has been considered a country of migration; its territory deals with international migration of its own citizens, south-south migration of mainly Nicaraguan, Guatemalan, and Honduran citizens, and migration of individuals from Asia and Africa traveling to the United States. According to data presented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of El Salvador (MRREE) in the 2012 document "Opportunities and Challenges of International Migration: The Case of El Salvador", there are approximately 2.8 million Salvadorans living abroad; of those migrants, 90% are located in the United States. MRREE estimates that during 2012, approximately 150 Salvadoran people began the journey to the United States every day, meaning that approximately 55 thousand people attempted the journey per year. However, according to figures provided by the General Directorate of Immigrants and Foreigners (DGME), 25,845 Salvadorans were deported that same year.

In this context, the Universidad Tecnológica de El Salvador (UTEC), in partnership with the U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants¹ (USCRI), has researched and developed a Profile of the Modern Salvadoran Migrant.

The report seeks to explore and analyze the roots of the migration phenomenon among Salvadoran adults and children from the perspective of the migrant. This report explores the migrant's concepts of identity, human rights, and modes of communication relating to their decision to leave El Salvador. It does this by 1) determining the demographic, economic and cultural characteristics of migrants from El Salvador; 2) striving to understand how these migrants access and perceive media information about immigration, and 3) studying how the migrants perceive their own self-worth as human beings.

The hope is that the information gathered in this study will help improve the situation of migrants by informing policy makers, government officials, and civil society organizations about the issues and challenges from the migrant perspective. Additionally, the findings of the study aim to facilitate more effective communication regarding perceptions of migrants and the migration process.

BACKGROUND

At the end of the 20th century and early 21st century, El Salvador was characterized as a country of emigration of its own citizens, a receiving country of mainly Nicaraguan, Honduran, and Guatemalan migrants, and as a transit country for migrants coming from South America, Asia, and Africa (UNDP, 2005). About 35 percent of Salvadoran citizens reside outside the country's national borders (UNDP, 2011). Data from the International Organization for Migration (IOM) established that El Salvador's net rate of migration from 2010 to 2013 was -7.3 per every 1,000 (IOM, 2012). These high levels of international migration date back to the armed conflict from 1980 to 1992, which caused many Salvadorans to migrate. The migratory flow was expected to decrease when the war ended; however, the statistics showed otherwise. Migration continued even during periods of economic growth. Still,

¹USCRI is a non-governmental organization created in 1911. Its mission is to protect the rights and address the needs of persons in forced or voluntary migration worldwide by advancing fair and humane public policy, facilitating and providing direct professional services, and promoting the full participation of migrants in community life. Its core activities include refugee resettlement, aid to trafficking victims, and support for unaccompanied migrant children through legal proceedings and case management.



A planning taskforce from USCRI-UTEC meets at Universidad Tecnológica's campus in San Salvador, El Salvador.

Photo credit: USCRI

the fluctuations in GDP, ranging from a high of 7.5 percent increases to lows of -3.1 (see Figure 1), show the overall economic instability and internal problems in El Salvador that acted as constant push-factors for migrants, or factors that persuade migrants to leave their country of origin (Gaborit, Zetino-Duarte, Brioso, & Portillo, 2012). This data suggests that, despite public policies to address these issues, many Salvadorans have not been able to achieve their economic and social aspirations, and therefore immigrate to new locations where they perceive their opportunities to be more promising. According to official estimates from the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the vast majority of Salvadorans living outside the country reside in the United States (UNDP, 2008). The MRREE estimates that there are 2,950,126 Salvadoran migrants in the world, of which 2,587,767 are found in the United States (MRREE/UNDP, 2011). Data from the Pew Hispanic Center (2013), suggests that in the near

future the Salvadoran population in the U.S. could surpass the Cuban population to become the third largest Hispanic group in the country.

The causes, or push and pull factors (Durand, Massey and Malone, 2009), that have led to Salvadoran international migration are diverse and have varied over time. In the 80's and early 90's, most migrants of Salvadoran nationality left the country due to the violent conflict and in order to take advantage of programs in countries such as Sweden, Canada, and the United States to assist war victims. Once immigrant networks were established in the destination countries, migration in these areas continued, through the help of close relatives, friends, and neighbors, often by those seeking family reunification.

During this period, thousands of Salvadoran people migrated to the United States, and managed to legalize their immigration status following a series of opportunities offered by the U.S. government. Through the Immigration Reform and Control Act, approved in 1986 by President Ronald Reagan, approximately 140,000 Salvadoran refugees were legalized (Cartagena, s/f).

Public policies implemented by different government administrations in El Salvador have not been effective in minimizing the levels of poverty. According to data from the 2011 Multi-purpose Household Survey by the Ministry of Economy, 40.6% of households in El Salvador live in poverty. Rural areas are the most affected by extreme poverty, where income is not sufficient to purchase the basic necessities. Other evidence of the lack of effectiveness of public policies is an unemployment rate of 6.8% and underemployment rate of 33% (DIGESTYC, 2011). All of the aforementioned factors contribute to El Salvador's position as one of the Central American countries with the largest number of emigrants.

EL SALVADOR'S GDP

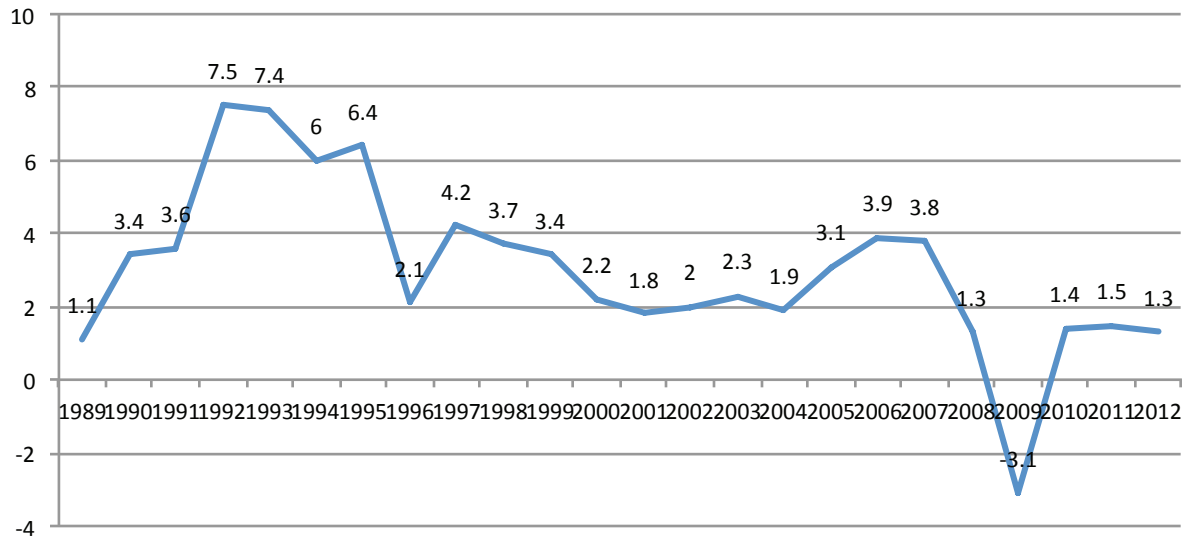


Figure 1. GDP growth in El Salvador. Years 1989-2012

Note: Elaboration from data of the Central Bank of Reserve (2013), Ministry of Finance (2012).

The majority of Salvadoran migrants are between the ages of 15 and 35, and generally the youngest and strongest of the workforce. This means that although El Salvador, like many other Latin American countries, is undergoing a demographic transition (ECLAC, 2008) the country is suffering a loss of human capital (Ramos, 2007). The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) defines demographic transition as:

... [A] gradual increase of the absolute and relative growth of the working age population and a smaller number of dependents (those under 15 and over 65 years of age), in theory generating favorable conditions to improve the living conditions of households (UNFPA 2010).

This organization also corroborates the aforementioned data from the IOM, stating that due to international migration, El Salvador has a negative annual balance of around 6 to 7 percent of the natural population growth rate.

CURRENT CONTEXT

In a study of the profile of Salvadorans in the United States carried out by Brown and Patten (2013) six out of ten Salvadorans in the United States were born abroad; this compares to 36 percent of Latinos and 13 percent of the total U.S. population that are foreign born. About two-thirds of immigrants from El Salvador (64%) arrived in 1990 or later. Approximately three out of every ten Salvadoran immigrants are U.S. citizens. According to the Migration Policy Institute (MPI, 2010) there were around 340,000 legal Salvadoran residents in the U.S. in 2008.

According to authors Anguiano and Cardoso (2012), Salvadorans have consolidated a wide social network and count among their main values trust, reciprocity, friendship, and solidarity, allowing for the self-perpetuation of migration. The authors categorize these networks into three different types: kinship, friendship, and community. Of these, kinship is considered the strongest network, where relatives finance the trip for the

migrant. These networks have made it easier for thousands of Salvadorans to migrate not only to the United States, but also to the many other countries with pre-established Salvadoran communities. However, even with established networks, children seeking family reunification are often exposed to the many risks of the migration journey.

To date, the majority of Salvadoran migrants travel through the transit countries of Guatemala and Mexico and into the United States without proper documentation. This particular type of undocumented travel has come to be known as irregular migration. The IOM describes irregular migrants and irregular migration as follows:

Irregular migrants are people who migrate ignoring sending, transit, or receiving country migration standards and regulations. There is no definition that is universally accepted and sufficiently clear regarding irregular migration. From the point of view of the countries of destination, it means that entry, residence or work is illegal, meaning that the immigrant does not have the necessary authorization or the documents required by the immigration authorities to enter, reside or work in a given country. From the point of view of expeller countries, the irregularity is observed in cases in which the person crosses an international border without a valid passport or travel documents or does not comply with the administrative requirements for leaving the country. (IOM, 2007: p. 40).

Currently, a phenomenon of social violence has emerged, spreading to the high levels of crime enacted by gangs and presumably leading to increased migration. The Fourth Report of the State of the Region (2010) noted that the Central American isthmus has become one of the most violent territories in Latin America and one of the most unsafe areas in the world, with increasingly strong, diversified, and threatening organized crime groups. To reach the United States, Salvadoran migrants must cross the Guatemalan and Mexican territories on a path

commonly referred to as the Migrant's Route². The risks of traveling the Migrant's Route are constantly increasing. Not only do migrants face the dangers of losing a limb, drowning, or being attacked by a wild animal when boarding and traveling on the northbound train known as "La Bestia"³, but they also must deal with other threats of assault, extortion, kidnapping, or rape.

Kidnappings along the migrant route are systematic and widespread, and could happen to any migrant in transit, regardless of age, sex, or nationality (*Belén Posada del migrante y otros, 2010*). These actions are carried out by corrupt members of different security forces in transit countries, organized crime groups like Los Zetas and the Gulf Cartel, or gangs. In recent years, a new form of exploitation and assault has emerged in which members of organized crime rings demand payment both to board "La Bestia" and to cross the border between Mexico and the United States. Father Alejandro Solalinde, Regent of the refuge "Hermanos en el Camino" (Ixtepec, Oaxaca), indicated that these extortionists use spies, mainly women, who move among the migrants and inquire about family ties and future movements of people who would use the freight train bound for the United States (Mendoza A., 2013). These situations of physical abuse and extortion are only getting worse as the demographics of the migrant population shift toward more vulnerable individuals. In contrast to data from the 1980s when most Salvadoran migrants were men, today's data shows that the number of women, adolescents, and child migrants is on the rise. IOM data shows that for the year 2010, 30 percent of migrants were under the age of 15 (IOM, 2012). Furthermore, according to Ceriani Cernadas

² Migrant's Route follows the railroads beginning in Tapachula, Chiapas or Tenosique, Tabasco, and crosses municipalities of Arriaga and Ixtepec in the state of Oaxaca, Coatzacoalcos and the village of Medias Aguas in Sayula, Tierra Blanca and Orizaba in the state of Veracruz, Lechería in the municipality of Tultitlán, Apizaco in Tlaxcala, Celaya and Escobedo in Guanajuato, San Luis Potosí, and the bordering municipalities of Nuevo Laredo, Reynosa and Matamoros in Tamaulipas, and Piedras Negras (*Belén Posada del Migrante, 2010*)

³"La Bestia", or The Beast is the name popularly given to the freight trains boarded by migrants to travel north through Mexico.

(2012), most children and adolescent migrants travel alone.

According to data generated by USCRI for 2009, the country of origin of the children and adolescents who arrived to the United States was as follows: 35% from Guatemala, 27% from El Salvador, and 25% from Honduras. Children and adolescents, like adults, migrate for different reasons. Ceriani Cernadas (2012) explains that family reunification at the final destination, the pursuit of educational and labor opportunities, or the urge to escape from situations of abuse, family abandonment, or social or institutional violence, are among the major determinants of migration. Some Salvadoran children and adolescents who manage to reach their destination have been cared for by social services of USCRI. According to data from this organization, between January 2011 and November 2012, there were 84 cases of child migrants who were victims of some sort of trauma or abuse. Out of the 84 cases, 35 were due to trauma from organized crime (USCRI, 2013).

According to the IOM, the following persons are considered minors and unaccompanied minors:

Minor: A person, in accordance with the legislation of the country concerned, who is not of legal age. That person, in general, cannot therefore exercise his or her civil and political rights.

Unaccompanied minors: persons who are not of legal age and who do not travel accompanied by a parent, a guardian or any other adult who, by law or custom, is responsible for them. Unaccompanied minors raise special situations for immigration officials, since the rules on arrests and other practices used for adult foreigners may not be appropriate for minors.

Due to the increase in the migration flow of women, children, and adolescents, who are considered vulnerable groups, governments, NGOs, and international organizations have implement-

ed various protection programs for these vulnerable groups. The governments of the region have also proposed initiatives to facilitate processes of repatriation under an effort signed in 2006 as the “Memorandum of Understanding Between the Governments of the United States of Mexico, the Republic of El Salvador, the Republic of Guatemala, the Republic of Honduras, and the Republic of Nicaragua for the Dignified, Orderly, Fast, and Safe Repatriation of Central American National Migrants by Land”. As a result of this memorandum, deportation of all migrants in the Mexican territory has become more flexible and efficient. In preparation for deportation, migrants are gathered in Tapachula, Chiapas at the station Siglo XXI. Migrants remain there for a maximum of three days while waiting for necessary travel documents and authorization to complete their return journey.

Given this understanding of the current context of social norms, dangers, and legal processes, it is necessary to explore the issue from the migrant perspective. In this way, it is important to discuss the concepts of identity, human rights, and media in order to fully define the profile of Salvadoran migrants.

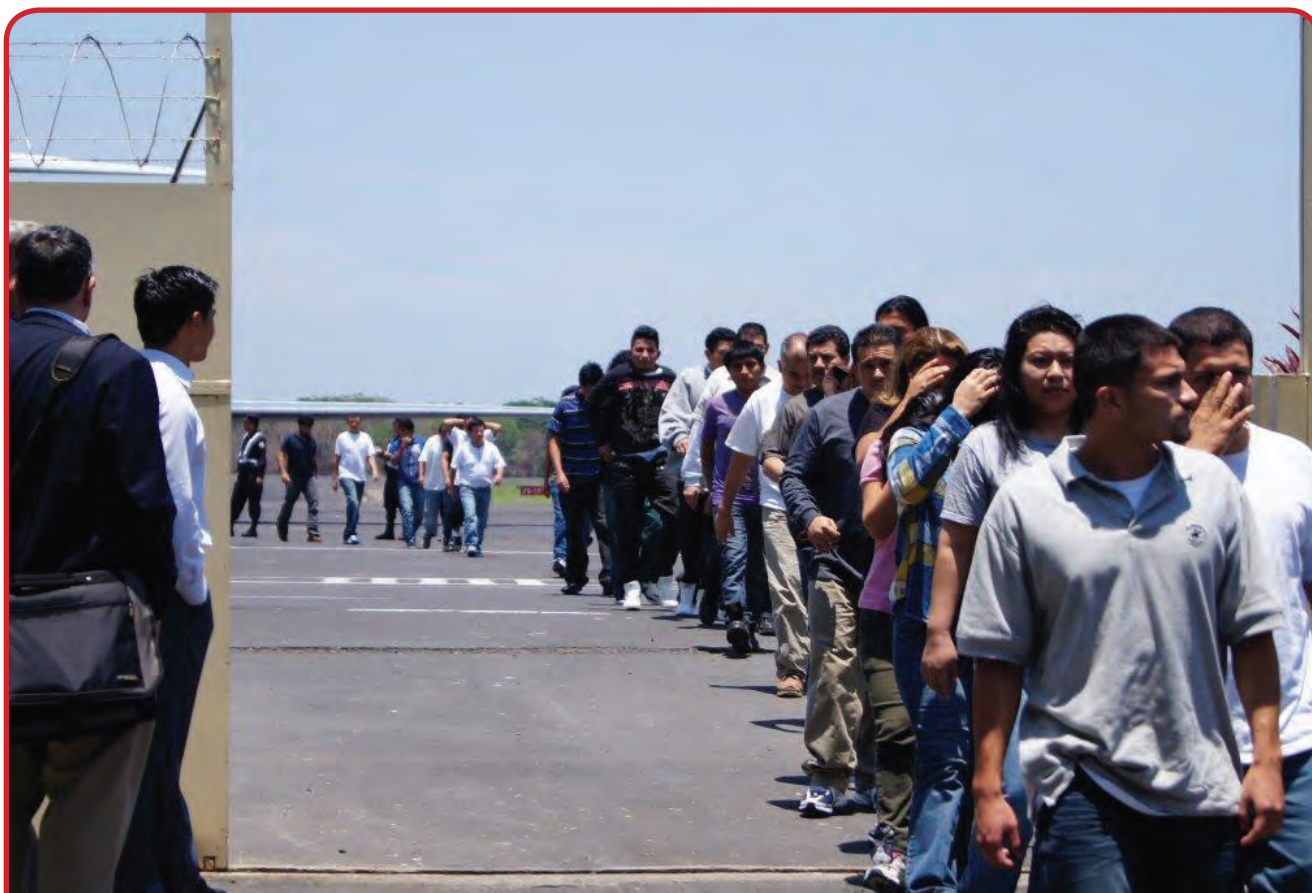
MIGRATION AND IDENTITY

Migration is a phenomenon that has become, and will remain, a part of everyday life. It can be discussed from many different points of view, from ideological, political, economic, ethnic, or social perspectives, and it yields many different opinions. Yet, none can deny that it is a phenomenon that can have a strong effect on societal and individual cultures and identities. (Conejo, 2006). Culture is not homogeneous across societies, nor is it static or unchangeable. There may be some practices or cultural characteristics that are more persistent or stable, but there will also be other elements that are always evolving. Some cultural practices reinforce themselves and become stronger with time, while others are not as wide spread or are limited to a particular context and thus, fade away over time. (Giménez, 2008).

Throughout history, human beings have always been a mobile population, choosing to migrate for any number of reasons, be they economic, political, religious, climatic, or out of simple curiosity (Almazan, 2007). As societies move, they bring their culture with them. Each society brings its own identity into interactions with other societies, sharing information and trading possessions. Thus, what began as an individual or societal identity grows into various layers of national, regional, and even continental characteristics.

Migration, especially since the second half of the last century, is a universal phenomenon, with migration flows increasing every year. Internal migration and international migration are both factors of great importance in the construction of identities, as they have a defining societal impact that marks the historical evolution of cul-

tures. According to Amando de Miguel (2000) “foreign immigration becomes a problem from the moment that it becomes socially visible.” According to Castañeda (2009), the current global situation in regard to security, hunger, and social welfare has brought the issue onto the world stage, no longer seeming an exotic or invisible phenomenon. The new issues created by population movements have resulted in many changes for both the migrants and their host communities that ultimately have a strong effect on cultural identities. Countries like the United States that have more experience in the reception of large numbers of immigrants have identified some social phenomena related to immigration. For example, acculturation processes, decreasing assimilation, or segmented assimilation into the host countries are some of the main challenges receiving countries must address.



“According to figures provided by the General Directorate of Immigrants and Foreigners (DGME), 25,845 Salvadorans were deported in 2012.” Photo credit: USCRI

According to Fabregat (2001), as currently understood, the dynamics of migration are very simple. It boils down to the expression of a desire to live a better life and to better satisfy individual needs, mainly material, followed by social, aesthetic, and spiritual, usually defined by western cultural values. Those who migrate to the west from developing countries want to benefit from the strong western economies, but at the same time, they want to maintain the cultural ideals of their home country. For Flower (2008), this results in a paradox, where economic and cultural values come into conflict. He asserts that, just as the market economy bears the western stamp, the cultural practices that follow are also western. In this way, by pursuing western economic goals, migrants will also ultimately conform to other western cultural practices. Herein lies a disconnect in the interpretation of ideas and cultures between the migrant populations and the host countries. While migrant groups strive to respect and protect their cultural identity, host communities operate within their own cultural constructs and value highly the idea of migrant integration and assimilation. What host countries can offer, namely employment, is only accessible from an economic perspective, that is, as having market value. It is more difficult to navigate the cultural aspects and potential conflicts that inherently follow.

According to Rodriguez-Ortiz (2009), the emotional attachment to national identity has contradictory connotations for the migrant. On one hand, migrants are proud to belong to their nationality when they are away from it; they may even express feelings of melancholy, constantly longing for their home country. On the other hand, however, migrants no longer share their families' way of life, nor do the families understand migrants' new adopted behaviors when they return to visit. The migrants may be so accustomed to society in the United States that even if they still speak Spanish and follow certain customs, it is hard to adapt to the society of origin. In this sense, identities are shaped and changed by particular socio-historical processes in which different groups give symbolic meanings

to items, clothing, or customs and together form a collective identity. Migrants with more foreign influences generally find it easier to adapt to new cultural environments. In some cases, they may even grow to prefer aspects of the new environment over those of their community of origin. (Conejo, 2006). For example, many young migrants no longer like to listen to traditional music, but rather opt for newer more popular songs. They also tend to play this music very loudly to assert their strength and so others can easily identify them. (Flower, 2008)

According to Castañeda (2009), migrants are increasingly less community oriented. They no longer get together with their neighbors or even with members of the same family. Migrants become estranged from their communities and no longer feel part of the group, perhaps because they no longer work together on daily tasks or because they believe they are from a different social class. The migrant's quest to fulfill various needs and the subsequent adaptation to a new social environment demands an exploration of how migration can respond to these needs and of how the migration process can be evaluated using human rights as the point of reference.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND MIGRATION

During the processes of migration and return, migrants of both genders experience constant violations of their rights even though there are various international instruments including declarations and covenants that proclaim and recognize universal human rights. In addition to the recognition of universal human rights, the international community has also created several instruments outlining specific provisions for the rights of migrants (Procurator for the Defense of Human Rights from El Salvador, 2008). In line with the international community, El Salvador and other key transit and destination countries (Guatemala, Mexico, United States) have signed and ratified many instruments for the protection of the rights of migrants (see Table I, Annex I). These instru-



“The constant violation of economic, social, and cultural rights suffered by a particular sector of Salvadorans, makes this population increasingly more vulnerable to human trafficking.”

Photo credit: USCRI

ments, under article 144 of the Constitution, are part of the laws of the Republic of El Salvador, and in the event of discrepancy between national legislation and a treaty regarding immigration issues, the treaty will prevail, in accordance with the principle of prevalence established by the jurisprudence of the Constitutional Division (Sentencia, 2000).

Article 367-A of the Penal Code states that:

...[A]nyone who by himself or by means of another or other people, in violation of the law, tries to enter or introduce foreigners to

the national territory, host, transport, or guide them for the purpose of evading immigration controls of the country or other countries; or host, transport; or guide nationals for the purpose of evading immigration controls of the country or other countries will be penalized with imprisonment from four to eight years.

The same penalty is set for people who, with false or fraudulent documentation, make or attempt to make Salvadorans or citizens of any other nationality leave the country and for those who use authentic documentation of another person. The penalty is aggravated by two-thirds if, due to illegal trafficking of persons, victims suffer other violations such as detention, exploitation, or abuse, or if they die from these abuses or negligence.

Also, in 2010 a new law was passed entitled Special Law for the Protection of Children and Childhood (LEPINA). Its purpose, as described in Article I is:

“To guarantee the exercise and enjoyment of rights and facilitate the fulfillment of the duties for all children and adolescents in El Salvador, contained in this Law, regardless of their nationality, for which purpose a National System of Protection of Children and Adolescents is created with the participation of the family, the state, and society, based in the Constitution and international treaties on human rights in force in El Salvador, especially in the Convention on the Rights of the Child.”

With the implementation of LEPINA, the National Council for Childhood and Adolescence (CONNA) and the National Policy for Children and Adolescents were also created. Furthermore, Title II: Protection of Rights, Chapter I: Personal Integrity and Freedom, establishes both the right to personal integrity of children and adolescents and specific provisions such as the protection against trafficking of children and adolescents (Art. 41) and against illicit transfer and retention (Art. 43), and the regulation of conditions under which minors are allowed to travel outside the country. In addition, Article 41 establishes the obligation of the State to develop ac-

tions and measures that would allow for the care and protection of children and adolescents and the development of international cooperation plans for their repatriation, within the framework of public policies for children and adolescents.

Since 2011, El Salvador has had in place the “Special Law for the Protection and Development of Salvadoran Migrants and their Families”, which aims to protect Salvadoran migrants and their families, both inside and outside the country. The National Council for the Protection and Development of Migrants and their Family (CONMIGRANTES) was created based on this law, which features inter-ministerial representation and that of state entities that work with migrants and their families. Other entities represented in CONMIGRANTES include small and medium enterprises, the non-profit sector, and academia.

However, despite the existence and recognition of these international instruments and secondary legislation, the human rights of migrants continue to be violated. In response to this, Gaborit, Zetino-Duarte, Brioso, & Portillo (2012) call for an analysis of the phenomenon of migration that goes beyond legal regulation, and that addresses the intersection between human rights and migration. For this sort of analysis, it is important to consider the vulnerability of migrants during their journey or repatriation and the processes of integration in the country of destination or reintegration in the country of origin. (Procuraduría para la Defensa de los Derechos Humanos de El Salvador, 2008).

The migrant’s human rights may be violated even before they begin their migration process. Situations such as economic inequality, lack of employment opportunities, increasing insecurity, little access to education or health services, absence or restriction of channels of expression or political participation, and discrimination, among others, represent serious violations to human rights (Comisión Económica para América Latina, 2002; Mesa Permanente sobre Derechos de los Migrantes & Federación Internacional de Derechos Humanos, s.f.; PDDH, 2002) and act as strong

push factors for migration.

For example, studies on the profile of Salvadorans abroad reflect that lack of access to education can be a push factor for migration. In the case of the United States, in 2011, 55 percent of immigrants over 25 years old and from El Salvador had not completed high school. This percentage was the second highest observed among groups of Central American immigrants, surpassed only by those from Guatemala where over 58 percent had not completed high school (Cervantes González, 2013).

The highest concentration of Salvadorans that have migrated to other countries in Central America is in Honduras and Guatemala, countries characterized by low levels of education. Nearly 70 percent of Salvadorans residing in Honduras have less than four years of education and of those living in Guatemala, almost 43 percent have low levels of education and only about 42 percent have completed secondary education. In addition, two-thirds of the Salvadoran population living in Panama and Nicaragua have low levels of education, while those in Belize have low to medium levels (Comisión Económica para América Latina, 2002).

Studies (IOM, 2008) (Save the Children, s.f.) (Ceriani Cernadas, 2013) indicate that the constant violation of economic, social, and cultural rights suffered by a particular sector of the Salvadoran population makes this population increasingly more vulnerable to human trafficking. A study conducted in Central America and the Dominican Republic indicated that children are more vulnerable to becoming victims of human trafficking if they have an unstable home life, low education levels, low self-esteem, psychological disorders, or a history of abuse or abandonment. Adults are also vulnerable to trafficking, especially in cases of low education, unemployment, or employment in the informal sector. (See table 2) (Save the Children, s.f.)

Although many Salvadorans migrate to escape human rights violations in the country, these abuses continue during the immigration process.

Migrants must overcome several risks during their journey through Guatemala and Mexico. For example, migrants are often victims of corruption, exploitation, assaults, kidnappings, abuse, abandonment, injuries suffered falling from “La Bestia”, and even death (Gaborit, Zetino-Duarte, Brioso, & Portillo, 2012; Mesa Permanente sobre Derechos de los Migrantes & Federación Internacional de Derechos Humanos; Procuraduría para la Defensa de los Derechos Humanos de El Salvador, 2002). The risk increases for women and girls, as they are especially vulnerable to sexual violence or to becoming victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation or forced labor. In a study conducted with young deportees, women said that scenes of sexual violence along the Migrant’s Route are multiple, and abuses can occur anytime and anywhere (Gaborit, Zetino-Duarte, Brioso, & Portillo, 2012, pg. 139).

Human rights violations of migrants are sometimes perpetuated because of harsh immigration policies in transit and receiving countries. Enforcement of these strict policies can lead to detention and deportation in degrading conditions, or discrimination and abuse by the police or immigration authorities (Procuraduría para la Defensa de los Derechos Humanos de El Salvador, 2002). While countries have the authority to regulate the movement of people across their borders and determine who to admit or expel, this authority should always be carried out with full respect for the migrants’ fundamental human rights (UNFPA-PDDH, 2012). Often, these countries do not consistently apply their internal laws or multilateral and legal instruments for the protection of migrants, and tend to favor impunity for the crimes to which migrants fall victim during their journey (Gaborit, Zetino-Duarte, Brioso, & Portillo, 2012).

A study conducted at the Mexican border showed that although migrants are able to bring individual complaints of abuse to the National Human Rights Commission (CNDH), the CNDH has received very few, possibly due to prohibitive reporting requirements. Individuals filing complaints must remain on site for days or weeks

in order to ratify the complaint and receive a response from CNDH. Migrant complaints that CNDH does receive generally refer to cruel or degrading treatment, arbitrary arrests, illegal searches, or abuses of authority by municipal and state officials. (Paris Pombo, 2010) The study also revealed that in places like Mexicali, police will wait between warehouses and attack large groups of repatriated migrants, stealing their money and other belongings. There are also frequent reports in places like Nuevo Laredo and Reynosa, Tamaulipas of migrant kidnappings, beatings, and attacks, not only by criminal groups, but also by police officers and Mexican officials (Paris Pombo, 2010). In this way, addressing the invisibility of the rights and the systematic abuse of migrants is a very delicate issue as the abuse occurs under the complicity of officials from transit, sending, and receiving countries. (Gaborit, Zetino-Duarte, Brioso, & Portillo, 2012, p. 36).

Similarly, if migrants are deported, violations of their human rights occur during the return journey. First, deported migrants are often perceived as failures and even criminals, despite the fact that only 19 percent of deportees from the United States have a criminal record (Mesa Permanente sobre Derechos de los Migrantes & Federación Internacional de Derechos Humanos, s.f). Also, upon their return, the deportees must face debts contracted to make the trip, as well as other unresolved factors that led them to first attempt the journey. They have no jobs and few prospects; they return to their communities frustrated and downtrodden (Gaborit, Zetino-Duarte, Brioso, & Portillo, 2012; Paris Pombo, 2010). These negative experiences throughout the migration process directly affect migrants’ perceptions as an individual deserving of human rights.

Even before migrating, these individuals have dealt with many challenges. Throughout the migration process, the migrants “will carry the social exclusion they have experienced” in their home country which adversely affects their expectation of respect for their human rights (Gaborit, Zetino-Duarte, Brioso, & Portillo, 2012, p. 116). Upon leaving El Salvador without proper travel

documentation, the identity and stigma associated with being illegal leads migrants to believe that they are not entitled to respect for their human rights in both the transit and the destination countries. The same happens if the migrant is detained or is facing deportation proceedings; the migrant understands respectful treatment as a kind gesture from an authority figure rather than a matter of respect for their rights (Gaborit, Zetino-Duarte, Brioso, & Portillo, 2012). Similarly, the study showed that migrants believe they do not possess several different rights, including the right to food or dignified treatment. There was also only infrequent reference to the rights to life and physical integrity, health, legal assistance, equality before the law, decent work, or collective rights. Furthermore, those people who had some concept of their rights were willing to abdicate from them in order to reach their destination alive.

The fact that migrants believe they do not deserve rights might be another reason only a few complaints are filed to the CNDH to report human rights violations of migrants. Migrants may also avoid approaching authority figures to report abuses, fearing that they will be arrested and deported. In addition, the migrants' belief that they do not have rights, and therefore are not entitled to protection from state authorities, leads migrants to become part of underground activities and makes them more vulnerable to criminal groups (Gaborit, Zetino-Duarte, Brioso, & Portillo, 2012).

MIGRATION AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING

The risk of human trafficking is one of the many dangers that migrants encounter during their journey. Especially vulnerable are women and girls. According to the U.S. Report on Human Trafficking, El Salvador, along with Colombia and the United States, is one of the countries showing an increase in the number of underage trafficking victims reported between the years 2007 and 2011. There are Salvadoran victims sent abroad for purposes of sexual and labor exploitation,

mainly to countries such as Guatemala, Mexico, Belize, and the United States. (Ceriani Cernadas, 2013).

Factors such as the strong desire to reach the U.S. regardless of the risks, the lack of valid immigration documents, and the general ignorance of the consequences of trafficking make it easy for traffickers to exploit the migrants. Victims are often recruited in El Salvador and enticed with offers of employment. During the journey the traffickers take away their documents, threaten to turn them over to immigration authorities, or threaten to harm their family members. In the majority of cases, human trafficking is carried out in central parks and on main roads of cities near the southern border of Mexico, where there are many "enganchadores," or individuals that entice and deceive migrants, bringing them to bars in the area to work as prostitutes. In addition to recruitment through deception, traffickers kidnap some victims, especially in the case of children and adolescents. In fact, one out of every two persons offering sexual services in the nightclubs along the Mexican border is currently a minor. (Ceriani Cernadas, 2013).

Coyotes planning to traffic their charges often offer to guide young people for a price well below the usual rate as a means of luring them away from their families and increasing their vulnerability to labor or sexual exploitation. Although women are more vulnerable to trafficking, men are not exempt from falling victim to this crime. There have been reported cases of young men who were victims of sexual trade, when the coyote guiding them sold them into sexual exploitation. Also, young people have described the danger of being used as mules to traffic drugs across the border or to bribe immigration authorities. (Gaborit, Zetino-Duarte, Brioso, & Portillo, 2012).

The Salvadoran Government has made an effort to respond to the problem of human trafficking, and has penalized traffickers in El Salvador since 2003. Article 367-B, of the Criminal Code prohibits all forms of human trafficking and dictates



Deported Salvadorans deplane at Comalapa International Airport in El Salvador.
Photo credit: USCRI

prison terms of four to eight years. In 2011, 76 potential cases of human trafficking were reported, 15 cases were prosecuted, and 9 traffickers were convicted for human trafficking for purposes of sexual exploitation, with sentences ranging from four to nine years in prison (United States of America, 2012). Convicted traffickers are mostly nationals of the country in which they are apprehended (97%), and sometimes they are involved in organized crime rings (United Nations, 2012; United States of America, 2012). In contrast to other regions of the world, in Central America the percentage of women accused of human trafficking (52%) is greater than the percentage of men accused of the same crime (48%) (United Nations, 2012).

With this knowledge of the many different human rights abuses, risks of human trafficking, and many other dangers that migrants face along the Migrant's Route, and the understanding of the many reasons to migrate despite this, it is important to examine the role of the media in forming perceptions about the migrant and migration process.

MEDIA AND MIGRATION

Academic studies by Fountcuberta (1999 and 2000), Santamaria (2003), and Gomis (1991), among others, have established that the media is an integral part of society. Without media, the dissemination of information would be impossible, and today's approach to many social issues would be unthinkable. A specialist in visual communication, Merlo (2002), indicates that there is a strong relationship between societal norms and the media, in which society models its values and behaviors after patterns that are presented through the media and perceived as natural. This media reach is highly effective as messages are generally customized to target particular groups, using socio-cultural cues to which each group can relate. (Merlo, 2002) The media, whether electronic, written, radio, or audiovisual, should adhere to certain technical requirements established by practitioners and scholars of the subject. These standards are to ensure accurate transmission of the message. McLuhan (1969) said "the media is

the message” (McLuhan, 1969 p. 36) suggesting that the media selected to transmit a particular message affects how the message is received. The use of a particular media is able to extend the common reach of society, but also could limit the impact of the message depending on its delivery.

The issues of immigration have been present in the Salvadoran media since the 1970s. According to UNDP (2005), the media has had a significant influence on the public’s image of migrants. It presents the immigration issue in three main ways: the positive and successful stories, the dangers and tragedy of irregular and undocumented migration, and the affirmation of Salvadoran pride that migrants maintain in the countries of destination.

Information about migration issues is most generally reported through news media rather than other media sources such as awareness campaigns. This means that it is generally presented in a detached and impartial manner. Most journalists prefer government sources to collect facts; very few reach out to migrants to gain their perspective. The majority of the news also relates to sensational and negative stories of death, deportation, and detention, or of migration legislation. Even this news is given very little attention and low visibility. (Calles, 2008).

According to Fontcuberta (2000), the media has three basic functions: to inform, to interpret, and to entertain. The end goal of the media should be to educate the audience about the realities of the situation in such a way that they will become active and informed participants in society. Gomis (1991) argues that journalism interprets social reality so that people can understand it, adapt to it, and modify it. First, journalism is descriptive; it transmits pure information to give an account of what happened. This transmission should be entirely rooted in reality without falsifying or exaggerating the facts. Second, journalism must clarify the account it provided, to position the news within the social context and to provide an analysis of the events. It is important to present the news in this way such that the general

population is able to use it to develop their own perceptions and opinions about certain issues.

Migration has become an integral part of the social dynamics in El Salvador. Thus, the way in which the media presents the issue has a significant impact on the population. Not only does it inform the Salvadoran population, it also has an effect on the cultural, social, political, and economic environments of the country. A deeper study of media’s representation of migration could lend a better understanding of how consumers of the media view the issue.

The IOM (2011) has stated that in today’s society, where globalization has led to a record-setting spike in human mobility, there needs to be a transformation in the way that the immigration issue is communicated, especially by the media. This shift in discourse should take into account the diversity created by migration and should propose solutions to the challenges that arise from that diversity that would serve national, regional, and international interests. In order to achieve this, it is important to generate open and transparent public and political debates about the role of states and cultural interactions. According to the IOM, using various media outlets to communicate these messages carries three risks: the recurrence of politicized and sectarian debates, the perpetuation of migrant stereotypes and using migrants as scapegoats for problems, and the chance that pro-migrant forces will weaken without active participation of migrant communities.

In its annual report, the IOM affirms that public perceptions of migrants are not formed in isolation. Rather, these perceptions are formed in response to socio-economic and demographic factors such as age, education, employment sector, and political affiliation of those who consume media on the issue. In addition, external factors such as economic crises, times of political unrest triggering sudden migration, or concerns of national security, can create doubts about the value of migration, further influencing public opinion. In order to effectively communicate the issues of

FOCAL AREAS	INDICATORS
Socio-demographic profile	Sex Age Marital status Department, municipality and locality Studies completed
Method of deportation	Air Land
Incidental factors in the migration process	Local social conditions Employment situation Type of work
Incidental factors during migration	Hiring guides (coyotes) Number of migration attempts
Media	News about migration Types of media Views on the news Certainty of the news on migration
Human rights	Human right empowerment Knowledge of human rights Risks associated with the loss of human rights Human trafficking Violation of their rights during the trip
Culture and migration	Salvadoran identity Family groups and social networks Religion Primary figure of counseling and advice Use of cellphone Reasons to leave Reasons to stay

migration, all these factors must be taken into account. The IOM has also noted that one of the most significant challenges to achieving a rational debate on migration is preventing migration and migrants from becoming a “catch-all” issue to blame for other political, social, or economic fears of increasingly globalized societies. (IOM, 2011).

The way in which information on migration is managed affects not only the perceptions of the societies of origin and destination, but also the perception and behavior of migrant populations.

METHODOLOGY

The research was descriptive in nature and intended to address several cross-cutting aspects of the migrant situation and the individual and social characteristics that are influenced throughout the migration process.

The method used was a survey of semi-open questions (Hernandez, Fernandez and Baptista, 2006), to collect general information about common themes of migration in the areas of human rights, cultural identity, and migration process. A slightly modified questionnaire was used to interview the children that included some additional

questions not found in the adult survey.

The scope of the study included migrant adults and children. According to data from the DGME, there were 31,822 registered deported migrants in 2012. The sample size for adults (18 years and older) was calculated given this total population and a desired statistical confidence level of 98 percent and margin of error of 4 percent, resulting in a sample of 824 migrants. Due to lower numbers of available minor participants, ages 9 to 17, a sample of 38 was used for this age group.

Of the 38 child participants, 28 were boys and 10 were girls. Almost 80 percent of them were between the ages of 15 and 17. The majority of these children had at least some secondary education. The children originated from almost all of the 14 states in El Salvador.

Of the 824 adults participants, over 90 percent, or 753 individuals, were male, while 71 were female. The largest percentage of migrants was between the ages of 21 and 25, with over 75 percent of the sample group under age 35. Over 60 percent of adults had completed secondary or mid-level education, but only about 8 percent had achieved some form of higher education. The majority of migrants, 55 percent, were single, and about 40 percent were married or with a partner. Participants were represented fairly evenly across all 14 states. For more detailed information on the socio-demographic data, see Table 3 for children and Table 4 for adults in Annex I.

Surveys were conducted on weekdays at official deportation facilities, taking advantage of the time deported migrants spent waiting to be registered and processed. The research team requested permission from DGME (see Annex 3) to administer the surveys and was authorized to enter the facilities. The interviewers provided an introduction to the participants to explain the purpose of the study and to offer them the option of completing the survey in writing or orally. The data was processed and analyzed using the statistical software SPSS.

RESULTS FROM THE EMPIRICAL STUDY⁴

For each of the survey responses, a descriptive analysis was completed and is presented in Annex I in table form. Separate tables are presented for adults and children, and the adult responses are further disaggregated by gender.

First, respondents were asked a series of questions related to their migration process. They were asked about their situation prior to migrating, their reasons for migrating, ways they protected themselves during the process, whether they used a guide, and if they planned to migrate again. In addition, children were asked if they were accompanied or traveling alone and were asked to list the things they would like to see changed in El Salvador and the reasons that would compel them to attempt migration again.

When participants decided to migrate, almost 64 percent of men were employed in some capacity, while only 39 percent of women were employed. Of those employed, nearly 60 different occupations were reported in agriculture, construction, and a variety of services provisions. The largest percentages were found in agriculture and construction, largely as farmers (15%), day laborers (3%), livestock care (1%), stonemasons (7%), mechanics (2%), welding (1%), and carpentry (1%). Another three percent worked as salesmen, vendors, or shopkeepers, and still another two percent worked in security. The remaining professions reported were each less than one percent of the total, showing the diversity of the migrant population.

Unemployment was cited as the most significant cause of migration as reported by 61 percent of women and 41 percent of men. Women reported low wages (9%), family reunification (7%), and lack of opportunities (6%) as other main push-factors, while men reported the same factors at

⁴ For complete survey responses, see corresponding data tables in Annex I.



Returning migrants are processed by the Salvadoran government.
Photo credit: USCRI

15 percent, 8 percent, and 12 percent, respectively. Threats of crime and gang violence also ranked for both genders with a combined percentage of eight percent for women and seven percent for men. Children reported similar reasons but with differing priorities than the adults. Forty-seven percent of children noted family reunification as the most important factor in their decision to migrate, while 18 percent noted lack of opportunity, and eight percent noted gang violence. In addition, in an open-ended question asking children what they would like to change in El Salvador, responses largely expressed desires for change regarding opportunities and violence. In total, 42 percent of responses were related to increased opportunities, and 37 percent of responses related to desires for decreased violence.

When migrating, 47 percent of the child participants were unaccompanied. Of the 53 percent traveling with some relative, 65 percent, or 34 percent of the total children, were traveling with a sibling or cousin. It is not known whether the

siblings or cousins were also minors or were over 18 years old. Participants were asked a series of questions related to the use of a coyote or guide during the migration process. Responses are fairly evenly split between those who hired a guide and those who did not. Women showed a very slight tendency to travel without a guide, 47 percent did not hire, while 42 percent did. Men were split even more equally where 47 percent did hire a guide and 46 percent did not. Children were also asked if they used a guide and, if so, who contracted the coyotes on their behalf. About 55 percent of children did not hire a guide. Of the 42 percent that did report using a guide, 24 percent said that a family member hired the guide for them. Only one child contracted a guide for himself. The other respondents either did not know or did not specify who hired the guide. The average cost to hire a guide was almost 2,300USD. This average is more representative of the male migrant population as they are represented in such higher number than the female migrant population. The average cost of contracting

a guide for female migrants was slightly lower at just under 2,200USD. In order to pay for the guide, most migrants, about 25 percent for both male and female populations received help from family members already residing in the U.S. The next most cited method, 9 percent for women and 11 percent for men, was taking out a loan to pay the fees. Of the total population, about 10 percent of women and about 20 percent of men were abandoned by their guides. It was more infrequent that guides confiscated the migrant's personal identification papers. Only one percent of women and six percent of men reported this.

Migrants were also asked question regarding precautions and other measures they took in preparation and throughout the migration process. The majority of migrants did not travel with a cellphone. Only 27 percent of women and 34 percent of men said they carried a cellphone with them. Migrants took precautions with any money they were carrying and hid it in a variety of locations. The most popular hiding places were shoes and pants waistband for 34 percent and 23 percent of women and 21 percent and 23 percent of men, respectively. Another 20 percent of men did not specify where they concealed their money, while about 20 percent of women noted that they hid money in private body parts. Women were also asked if they chose to use contraceptives during their journey. Of the 71 female participants in the survey, only 16, or 23 percent reportedly used some form of contraceptives. Of these, 15 women opted for injections, and only one used the contraceptive pill. Eight women did not respond to this question.

A large percentage of the migrants had attempted migration before, some more than four times. While it was the first migration attempt for 72 percent of women and 55 percent of men, 14 percent of women and 34 percent of men had attempted migration two to four times, and 14 percent of women and 9 percent of men had migrated more than four times.

Next, the research team sought to understand how migrants consumed and understood news

about migration. Participants were asked how they received information about migration, whether the news was more positive or negative in nature, how this information made them feel, and if they perceived the messages to be truthful. A majority of women (55%) reported having no knowledge of immigration from the news. Conversely, almost 58 percent of men responded that they had seen news about migration. Of women and men who did have some exposure to immigration news, an overwhelming majority received their news via the television, at 31 percent and 48 percent of the total female and male population, respectively. When questioned about feelings generated by news of immigration, the largest number of migrants either did not respond or stated that they had no feelings toward it. Although it is not expressly stated, these numbers could be attributed to those same migrants that reported having no knowledge of migration in the news. Other responses included 9 percent of females and 19 percent of males that simply felt more informed on the topic, and 20 percent of females and 13 percent of males that felt fear. Upon reflection after their own migration experience, about 35 percent of female migrants and 46 percent of male migrants believe the news reports about migration are accurate, while 25 percent and 28 percent of females and males, respectively, believe that the news does not reflect reality. The remaining percentage did not respond to the question.

In addition to news sources, some migrants also reported hearing accounts of migration from other migrants. A larger percentage of migrants, 23 percent for females and 32 percent for males, said that these accounts were both positive and negative. However, 23 percent of female respondents and 21 percent of male respondents said accounts were predominately negative, while 16 percent of females and 29 percent of males thought the accounts they heard were more positive. This distribution shows how varied a migrant's experience can be. Another 23 percent of females and 12 percent of males had not heard other migrants' accounts of the immigration process. It is unknown if these individuals also

reported not having seen news or other media about migration. Migrant participants in the study were asked a series of questions regarding their human rights in an effort to ascertain whether they understood themselves as entitled to respect for their human rights, if they understood all the risks associated with migration, and if they believed that their rights had been violated while migrating. There is a tendency for migrants to believe that human rights are something that can be lost, especially at the time of migrating, with 59 percent of women and 57 percent of men stating that they surrendered their rights when they chose to migrate. In addition, when considering the many risks of migrating, a majority of both female and male migrants, 57 and 61 percent respectively, replied that they were willing to face all the risks. The groups were fairly divided when asked if they believed their rights had been violated during migration. Of the women, 48 percent said their rights had been violated, and 52 percent said they had not. Of the men, the slight opposite was true, with 51 percent claiming human rights violations and 45 percent not.

The final series of questions was in relation to the migrant's identity. The questions inquired about their own cultural identity, their personal character, if they had family or friends in the U.S., who they viewed as their main confidant, and their religion or faith. All of the women and 96 percent of the men stated that they consider themselves Salvadoran. They also overwhelmingly identified themselves as having a peaceful rather than a violent character; 97 percent of women and 93 percent of men identified as such. Over 90 percent of both male and female migrants reported having some relatives living in the U.S. Of these, the largest numbers were of siblings followed by aunts and uncles. Likewise, a majority of migrants, 62 percent of women and 75 percent of men have close friends who also live in the U.S. When seeking advice, 54 percent of women and 35 percent of men first went to their mother. Following the mother, the father was the next most cited confidant with 20 and 28 percent for women and men, respectively. The majority of the surveyed population belongs to

two major religious groups in the country, the Catholic religion (62 percent of women and 49 percent of men) and other Evangelical Christians (25 percent of women and 37 percent of men). Moreover, regardless of religious affiliation, all women considered God as an important part of their journey and 95 percent of men believed the same. Finally, migrants were asked if they planned to attempt to migrate again or to remain in El Salvador. Responses were split almost evenly with men showing a slight tendency to remain in El Salvador (53%) and women showing a slight tendency toward the opposite, to migrate again (51%). Children were asked a different version of this question seeking to understand what reasons would cause them to migrate again. Most often children cited a desire to continue their studies (34%), followed by family reunification (21%), and to help their family (11%).

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Creating a profile of the modern Salvadoran migrant is a complex matter for several reasons. Official statistics are not readily available or easily calculated because many migrants travel without documentation. Statistics are estimated based on national census measures and document requests from Salvadoran embassies and consulates. However, especially regarding census data, migrants may not provide their information for fear of deportation. Moreover, there is mistrust and wariness among the local populations who believe responding to interview questions may place migrant family members at risk.

While there are numerous national and international studies on the Salvadoran migration phenomenon, the vast majority of them focus on economic aspects such as the receipt of remittances, productive investment of remittances, and other migrant economic successes. In addition, most studies are smaller in scope, doing focused research on just one community, and results cannot be used to make generalizations about the larger migrant community of El Salvador. Additionally, it is difficult to carry out nationally based research about international migrant

populations. Studies are frequently based on survey responses from relatives, friends, and neighbors rather than from the direct perspective of the migrant. Finally, a significant limitation is always the sufficient availability of funds to complete these time-consuming and costly studies.

Notwithstanding these challenges, the demographic data collected in all studies about migration can be used to track general trends and characteristics of the migrant population and can reveal changes in the migrant profile over time. The 2005 UNDP Human Development Report for El Salvador studied migration patterns in El Salvador from the early 20th century through 2005 and identified four stages. From the data for each stage several inferences can be made about the evolution of the migrant profile. Those who migrated from the late 1970s through the early 1990s were individuals in areas of the country most affected by the civil war, mainly men in rural areas. However, in his work “El Salvador 1989: the Remittances Sent by Salvadorans in the United States – Social and Economic Consequences” (Ruiz E., 2010), Segundo Montes counters that migrants came from all 14 states in the country. After the armed conflict, international migration continued, and migrants continued to come from all the Salvadoran states.

The field work carried out for this research shows that the above trend continues and migrants still originate from all 14 states without exception. The states that have the largest number of adult migrants, according to this study, are La Libertad and San Salvador with 12 percent and 11 percent respectively. According to the Multi-purpose Household Survey (EHPM, 2012) these are also the two states with the largest populations, which could be one factor causing them to have the largest emigration numbers. The states that rank third and fourth in number of migrants are San Miguel and Usulután, both at almost 11 percent. Both of these states also fall in the top five states according to population.

Results show that motivations to migrate are varied, generally related to employment and

economic opportunities, violence and crime, and family reunification. Ultimately, migration can be considered a multi-causal phenomenon. However, there seems to be some conflict in the responses regarding employment. Although a large percentage of migrants cited unemployment as their main reason for migrating, a large percentage of both men and women were employed in some capacity before migration. Information from UNDP (2008) may explain this discrepancy, indicating that while the majority of migrants were working, the real problem of the Salvadoran workforce is underemployment. In 2006, seven percent of the Salvadoran workforce was unemployed and another 43 percent was underemployed. UNDP also disaggregates employment rates by age, indicating that the age group of 15 to 24 years has an underemployment rate of 50 percent. Furthermore, when considering decent work⁴ as defined by the International Labor Organization (ILO) (2006), numbers show that it is a privilege enjoyed by less than 20 percent of the population. The next most cited reason for migration was low salary. When reviewing the salary table approved by the National Council of Minimum Wages in El Salvador in comparison to the average minimum wage in the United States, the U.S. salary opportunities are much more attractive. For example, in El Salvador, the monthly wage is 105.00USD for work in agriculture, 187.50USD for textiles, 219.30USD for industries, and 224.10USD for trade and services (tusalario, 2013). On the other hand, the federal minimum wage in the U.S., established in 2009, is 7.25USD per hour, which could amount to 1160.00USD per month for full time workers (Foro Univisión, s/f). In sum, migrants choose to travel to the U.S. to seek better opportunities and higher wages, as well as due to unemployment.

Child migrants responded that family reunification was their main reason for migrating. The second most frequent response was due to lack

⁵ Decent work: according to the ILO (2006), is a job that offers fair remuneration and social protection to the worker and his family, good conditions and safety in the workplace, opportunities for personal development and social recognition, and equal treatment for men and women.



Repatriated unaccompanied migrant children arrive at the Migration Center in El Salvador
Photo credit: USCRI

of opportunity in El Salvador, in agreement with UNDP data mentioned above regarding youth underemployment. Seeking family reunification is likely the principle reason for children to migrate as there is a large sector of the child population that has one or both parents or close relatives living in the United States. These children have a different picture of the Salvadoran reality. They grow up with the intention to migrate once they turn fifteen, if not before (Ramos 2007), as soon as their parents have enough money to pay for a coyote or a close relative to accompany the child on the trip to the United States. Results also show that over 50 percent of migrants are single, suggesting possible weak ties to the country and little incentive to send remittances. Furthermore, although almost all migrants consider themselves Salvadoran, a very high percentage of them reported having family or close friends in the U.S. In addition, as many migrants are undocumented, there is a high risk of deportation. However, if deported, many simply attempt migration again, which could also be

incentivized by a lack of strong ties to El Salvador.

Migrants between the ages of 18 and 35 make up over 75 percent of the total population surveyed. This population is young, capable to work and reproduce, and less likely to fall ill. The growth of this age group is considered a demographic bonus, or part of the demographic transition that would theoretically be of significant benefit to El Salvador's potential for economic growth. UNFPA indicated that in 2010, El Salvador had a demographic bonus of 63 percent. However, the question remains as to whether El Salvador can generate enough new jobs for all the youth expected to enter the labor market over the next five years. El Salvador runs the serious risk of losing its demographic bonus to migration if it cannot find ways to create more opportunities for this sector of the population. In addition, over 60 percent of adult migrants and over 70 percent of child migrants reported having finished at least secondary school, or at least eight years of schooling in a country where the average Sal-

vadoran spends 6.4 years in school. Therefore, El Salvador is not only losing its younger population, but also its most educated population.

The Salvadoran news media plays the important role of middle man between society and the state, especially with regard to information about migration. According to UNDP (2005) the most common topics in Salvadoran journalism reference stories of economic successes of Salvadoran migrants, of sending remittances, of the dangers of the Migrant's Route, and of Salvadoran pride and cultural celebrations. However, almost 40 percent of migrants reported that they had not seen any news about migration. The percentage of uninformed women was greater, at 55 percent. This could be due to cultural norms of El Salvador, where women often remain at home caring for the household, while men spent more time outside in the community where there is wider circulation and access to information. Most Salvadoran migrants inform themselves by watching television more than any other source, including radio, newspapers, and the internet. When asked how the news about migration made them feel, the majority of migrants stated that they felt nothing or were indifferent toward the news. These respondents include those who reported that they had not seen any news on the subject. The next most frequent responses were feeling informed and feeling afraid. If Fontcuberta's (2000) three purposes of media communications, to inform, interpret, and entertain apply, these results suggest that the news media in El Salvador is not fulfilling its purpose, at least when reporting about migration issues. The news is not reaching a large percentage of the migrant population and is not generating constructive sentiments in those that are exposed to it. A majority of migrants did report hearing some comments about migration, largely from other migrants. The nature of these comments was both positive and negative. A high percentage of migrants said they believed the news they heard about migration was accurate. However, there was also a significant number of non-respondents to this question, suggesting that they were either uninformed or unsure of the validity of the information they received about

migration. To these ends, the IOM (2011) has called for a shift in the discourse on migration in an effort to improve the way the issue is communicated. One aim of this shift is to provide better quality information with a wider reach so that people can make informed decisions when deciding to migrate or not. The IOM has also encouraged this shift in discourse to change the perceptions of migrants and about migrants and migration.

Migrants' human rights are also a matter of concern with regard to the international discourse about migration. Results of the study suggest that migrants are not well versed in their human rights, and, as a vulnerable population, especially in the cases of women and children, are at risk for many human rights abuses. The results of this study are similar to those from the study done by Gaborit, Zetino-Duarte, Brioso, & Portillo (2012). In both studies, a majority of migrants believe that they lose their rights when traveling. This is further exemplified in the migrants' responses about risks they are willing to take and abuses they would endure during migration. The majority of both male and female migrants were willing to face all these possible risks, including assault, rape, exploitation, kidnapping, and death. Similarly, multiple studies have shown that migrants suffer human rights abuses throughout the migration process and deportation (Gaborit, Zetino-Duarte, Brioso, & Portillo, 2012; Mesa Permanente sobre Derechos de los Migrantes & Federación Internacional de Derechos Humanos; Procuraduría para la Defensa de los Derechos Humanos de El Salvador, 2002). This study also reflects the violation of migrants' human rights. However, the responses are split nearly in half for those answering that their rights had been violated and for those that say their rights were not violated. This divided response, in combination with the responses concerning the validity of their human rights show that migrants lack a complete understanding of their rights. Gaborit, Zetino-Duarte, Brioso, & Portillo (2012) suggest that migrants carry with them the social exclusion they have endured pre-migration, during migration, and post-migration, which directly impacts how they view themselves as deserving of human rights.

The study found that among the population surveyed, migrants strongly identify as Salvadorans. They identify as such because they were born in El Salvador and their family lives there or comes from there. This emotional closeness to the family could be a strong factor in the preservation of a Salvadoran national identity even after migration. The study also indicates that family advice is highly regarded at the time of migration, especially from mothers and secondly from fathers. Interestingly, priests or pastors only figured minimally in the role of confidant even though almost all migrants, regardless of religious group, consid-

ered God to be important throughout the migration process. This suggests the possibility that the importance of God is not necessarily linked to the importance of church affiliation. Finally, Gimenez (2008) asserts that migrants with more peaceful personalities are able to better take on a non-confrontational attitude to facilitate the process of integration into the host society. When surveyed about their behavior, the vast majority of migrants in this study answered that they considered themselves peaceful, and thus in a better position to prepare for the integration process.

PROFILE OF MODERN SALVADORAN MIGRANTS

Based on the survey results, the profile of the modern Salvadoran migrant is as follows:

INDICATORS	SUMMARY RESPONSE
Gender	Migrants are mainly male.
Age	The migrant population is mainly between 18 and 35 years of age.
Educational Level	The educational level of migrants is mainly secondary and mid-level education, but there is a slight percentage of migrants with higher education.
State Residence	Migrants are mainly from the states of San Salvador and La Libertad in the central area, and San Miguel, Usulután and La Unión in the western area.
Marital Status	Migrants are mainly single.
Reason for Migrating	Unemployment is the most cited reason, followed by low salary, lack of opportunities, and family reunification.
Work Situation	Migrant women are mostly unemployed, while migrant men for the most part have a job before migrating.
Type of Job	The main jobs migrants had prior to travel were in agriculture and construction.

INDICATORS	SUMMARY RESPONSE
Knowledge on news about migration	Migrant women are not very informed about news on migration. Men reported being more informed.
Means of information	Men and women migrants are mainly informed by watching television. Radio and newspaper appear to be less used.
Feelings from the news on migration	The Salvadoran migrant usually does not feel anything when watching the news.
Perception about the truthfulness of the news	Migrants mainly consider that the way migration is portrayed in the news is truthful.
Perception of the validity of human rights	The Salvadoran migrant considers that their rights are lost when traveling.
Dangers at the time of travel	The migrant is willing to face all the dangers that migration implies.
Perception about the violation of rights	The Salvadoran migrant is not fully aware of the violation of their rights.
Relatives in the United States	Salvadoran migrants have the support of relatives, principally brothers and sisters, to get to the United States.
Friends in the United States	Salvadoran migrants have close friends in the United States.
Main Advisor	Migrants' main source of advice at the time of travel is their mother, followed by their father who, although not the main person, is still important.
Type of behavior	The Salvadoran migrant is considered a peaceful person.
Use of contraceptives	Most Salvadoran migrant women did not use contraceptives when migrating.
Intention of staying	The majority of migrant men choose to stay after being repatriated, while the majority of migrant women plan to migrate again.

ANNEXES

Annex 1: Data Tables

Table 1. International Human Rights instruments relating to the protection of the rights of migrants

International instrument	Articles relating to the rights of the migrants	Date of signature and ratification by El Salvador	Date of signature and ratification by Guatemala	Date of signature and ratification by México	Date of signature and ratification by the United States
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights	Arts. 2, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13.	Signed 09/21/1967 Ratification 11/30/1979	Added 05/05/1992	Added 03/23/1981	Signed 10/05/1977 Ratification 06/08/1992
International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights	Arts. 2, 6, 7.	Signed 09/21/1967 Ratification 11/30/1979	Signed 09/24/2009 Has not been ratified.	Not signed or added	Not signed or added
Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women	Arts. 5, 6.	Signed 11/14/1980 Ratification 08/19/1981	Signed 06/08/1981 Ratification 08/12/1982	Signed 07/17/1980 Ratification 03/23/1981	Signed 07/17/1980 Has not been ratified
Convention on Children's Rights	Arts. 10, 11, 21, 22, 34, 35.	Signed 01/26/1990 Ratification 07/10/1990	Signed 01/26/1990 Ratification 06/06/1990	Signed 01/26/1990 Ratification 09/21/1990	Signed 02/16/1995 Has not been ratified
International Convention for the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and their Families	Entire article	Signed 09/13/2002 Ratification 03/14/2003	Signed 09/07/2000 Ratification 03/14/2003	Signed 05/22/1991 Ratification 03/08/1999	Not signed or added

Supplementary Protocol to the Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime against the Trafficking of Migrants by land, sea and air	Entire article	Signed 08/15/2002 Ratification 03/18/2004	Added 04/01/2004	Signed 12/13/2000 Ratification 03/04/2003	Signed 12/13/2000 Ratification 11/03/2005
Supplementary Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Human Trafficking, especially women and children	Entire article	Signed 08/15/2002 Ratification 03/18/2004	Added 04/01/2004	Signed 12/13/2000 Ratification 03/04/2003	Signed 12/13/2000 Ratification 11/03/2005

Source: Database by country:

<http://treaties.un.org/Pages/Treaties.aspx?id=4&subid=A&lang=en>

Table 2. Actors and factors present before the occurrence of the crime of human trafficking in Salvadoran victims

Actor/Factor	Description
Potential victim	Under 18 years of age, female, premature sexual intercourse (due to lack of sexual and reproductive education), demonstrates ignorance of their rights which have been violated by members of the family or community, dropping out of school early (before the end of primary or middle education)
Family	Single parent, existence of violence in the community, with counterproductive parenting practices, precarious family cohesion and low levels of emotional bonding, poor communication and trust, large families but unstable structures, belief that children and adolescents are property and not subjects who have rights, mothers and fathers who do not assume responsibility for the economic wellbeing and academic education of their children, history of alcoholism, families deprived of freedom. These families usually live in negative situations and lack basic needs, which becomes cyclical.
Community	Indifference to the problem, lack of complaint and reporting culture, weak social network, lack of sensitivity towards issues such as sexual exploitation (assumed as normal).

Economic system	Victims live in social and economic exclusion, which is reflected in unemployment or underemployment. It is an environment with low access to education and health services that promotes the low education of its population, overcrowded housing that leads to unsanitary living conditions.
Cultural and value system	These victims grow up in a cultural system where machismo, the objectification of the female body, and the idea that women can be sacrificed at any time for the welfare of the family predominate. There is also the acceptance and belief that the person is doomed to live that way, as their ancestors did.
Institutional response	Absence of systematic campaigns of Information-Education-Communication (IEC) that provide timely and specific data to prevent human trafficking. The distrust of the system operators could be influencing the under-reporting of known cases. Judicial proceedings re-victimize trafficked persons.

Source: (Save the Children, s.f., pg. 25)

Table 3. Socio-demographic characteristic of child participants

	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Gender</i>		
Male	28	73.7%
Female	10	26.3%
<i>Age</i>		
9 years old	1	2.6%
10 to 14 years old	7	18.4%
15 to 17 years old	30	78.9%
<i>School level</i>		
None	1	2.6%
Primary	6	15.8%
Secondary	27	71.1%
Middle	2	10.5%
<i>Marital status</i>		
Single	36	94.7%
With partner	2	5.3%
<i>State of origin</i>		
Santa Ana	7	18.4%
Sonsonate	3	7.9%
La Libertad	1	2.6%
Chalatenango	1	2.6%
Cuscatlán	1	2.6%
San Salvador	3	7.9%
La Paz	5	13.2%
Cabañas	3	7.9%
San Vicente	1	2.6%

Usulután	5	13.2%
San Miguel	3	7.9%
Morazán	3	7.9%
La Unión	2	5.3%
Ahuachapán	0	0.0%

Table 4. Socio-demographic characteristic of adult participants

	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Gender</i>		
Male	753	91.4%
Female	71	8.6%
<i>Age</i>		
18-20	133	16.1%
21-25	227	27.5%
26-30	132	16.0%
31-35	136	16.5%
36-40	83	10.1%
41-45	44	5.3%
46-50	20	2.4%
51-55	9	1.1%
56-60	0	0.0%
60 or more	6	0.7%
<i>School level</i>		
None	51	6.2%
Primary	172	20.9%
Secondary	257	31.2%
Middle	261	31.7%
Higher	25	3.8%
Technical	31	3.8%
Other	16	1.9%
<i>Deportation method</i>		
Air	627	45.2%
Land	192	54.8%
<i>State of residence</i>		
San Salvador	93	11.3%
La Libertad	96	11.7%
Cuscatlán	25	3.0%
Santa Ana	72	8.7%
Ahuachapán	38	4.6%
Sonsonate	40	4.9%
Chalatenango	65	7.9%
San Vicente	46	5.6%
La Paz	33	4.0%
Usulután	87	10.6%

San Miguel	89	10.8%
Cabañas	42	5.1%
Morazán	22	2.7%
La Unión	71	8.6%
<i>Marital status</i>		
Single	457	55.5%
Married	171	20.8%
With partner	159	19.3%
Divorced	9	1.1%
Separated	14	1.7%
Widowed	4	0.5%
No response	10	1.2%

Table 5. Causes prompting migration

	Female		Male	
	Number	%	Number	%
No response	0	0.0%	12	1.6%
Unemployment	43	60.6%	307	41.0%
Low salary	6	8.5%	113	15.1%
Lack of opportunities	4	5.6%	89	11.9%
Extortions	0	0.0%	23	3.1%
Crime	3	4.2%	30	4.0%
Threats from gangs	3	4.2%	23	3.1%
Family reunification	5	7.0%	63	8.4%
Debts	0	0.0%	24	3.2%
My friends are there	0	0.0%	7	0.9%
Other	7	9.9%	58	7.7%

Table 6. The main cause to migrate for girls, boys and adolescents

	Number	%
Threats from gangs	3	7.9%
Gangs wanted to recruit you	1	2.6%
Lack of opportunities	7	18.4%
Be reunited with the family	18	47.4%
No response	9	23.7%

Table 7. Was working at the time of migration

		Female		Male	
		Number	%	Number	%
Were you working when you decided to migrate?	Yes	28	39.4%	442	63.8%
	No	43	60.6%	301	34.8%
	No response	0	0.0%	10	1.4%

Table 8. Children accompanied by a relative

			Number	%
Were you with a partner or a family member when you migrated?	Yes	Relative		
		Sister	2	5.3%
		Sisters	1	2.6%
		Brother	1	2.6%
		Brother and cousin	1	2.6%
		Cousin's child	1	2.6%
		Mom and brother	1	2.6%
		Dad	2	5.3%
		Partner	1	2.6%
		Cousin	4	10.5%
		Cousin and brother	1	2.6%
		Uncle	4	10.5%
		Uncle and brother	1	2.6%
No		18	47.4%	

Table 9. Guide services (coyote) to migrate

		Female		Male	
		Number	%	Number	%
Did you hire a guide (coyote)?	Yes	30	42.3%	348	46.6%
	No	33	46.5%	344	46.1%
	No response	8	12.2%	94	7.3%

Table 10. Children who hired a guide (coyote)

			Number	%
Did you hire a guide (coyote)?	Yes	Who?		
		Did not specify	4	10.5%
		I did	1	2.6%
		Family	3	7.9%
		Brothers	2	5.3%
		Mom	4	10.5%
		Does not know	2	5.3%
		No	21	55.3%
No Response	1	2.6%		

Table 11. Method of payment for guide/coyote

		Female		Male	
		Number	%	Number	%
How did you pay the guide?	Did not hire one	33	46.5%	344	46.1%
	Mortgaged the house	2	2.8%	32	4.3%
	Sold a few animals	2	2.8%	14	1.9%
	Sold land	1	1.4%	14	1.9%
	Family in the U.S. helped	18	25.4%	197	26.5%
	Made a loan	6	8.5%	84	11.3%
	Other	2	2.8%	37	5.0%

Table 12. Average cost for guides

	Average	Number
Female	\$2,176.06	30
Male	\$2,310.10	348
Total average	\$2,298.37	378
No response	\$0.00	31

Table 13. Abandonment of the guide

		Female		Male	
		Number	%	Number	%
Did the guide abandon you?	Did not use guide	33	46.5%	344	46.1%
	Yes	7	9.9%	153	19.6%
	No	23	32.4%	248	33.4%
	No response	8	11.2%	8	0.9%

Table 14. Guide took personal identity documents or not

		Female		Male	
		Number	%	Number	%
Did the guide take your personal identification documents?	No response	23	32.4%	246	33.2%
	Yes	1	1.4%	41	5.5%
	No	31	43.7%	355	47.9%

Table 15. Remigration

		Female		Male	
		Number	%	Number	%
Is it your first time migrating?	Yes	51	71.8%	408	54.5%
	No	19	26.8%	313	41.8%
	No response	1	1.4%	24	3.3%

Table 16. Number of attempted migrations

		Female		Male	
		Number	%	Number	%
How many times have you tried to migrate?	Once	51	53.5%	408	54.5%
	Twice	9	18.3%	197	19.5%
	3 times	1	7.0%	52	11.1%
	4 times	0	0.0%	15	3.4%
	More than 4 times	10	21.1%	49	9.4%
	No response	0	0.0%	1	0.1%

Table 17. Knowledge about migration news

		Female		Male	
		Number	%	Number	%
Have you seen news on migration in the media?	Yes	30	42.3%	427	57.5%
	No	39	54.9%	290	39.1%
	No response	1	1.4%	21	2.9%

Table 18. Media through which you saw the news

		Female		Male	
		Number	%	Number	%
Through which media?	Have not seen	39	54.9%	290	39.1%
	Radio	4	5.6%	39	5.4%
	Newspaper	0	0.0%	25	3.4%
	TV	22	31.0%	347	47.8%
	Internet	2	2.8%	10	1.4%
	Social media	0	0.0%	10	1.4%

Table 19. Feelings toward the news

		Female		Male	
		Number	%	Number	%
What did you feel when you saw, heard, or read the news?	Nothing	22	31.0%	220	30.2%
	I was being informed	6	8.5%	137	18.8%
	I was scared	14	19.7%	92	12.6%
	I thought they were true	4	5.6%	76	10.4%
	I was indifferent	8	11.3%	131	18.0%
	No response	17	23.9%	71	9.8%

Table 20. Comments heard about migration

			Female		Male		
			Number	%	Number	%	
Did you hear any comments?	Yes	Type	Other	0	0.0%	3	0.7%
			Positive	7	16.3%	118	28.5%
			Negative	16	22.5%	85	20.5%
			Both	16	22.5%	175	32.3%
			Neither positive nor negative	4	9.3%	24	5.8%
		No response	0	0.0%	3	0.7%	
	No			16	22.5%	196	11.5%

Table 21. Perception of the level of certainty of the migration news

		Female		Male	
		Number	%	Number	%
Certainty	Yes	25	35.2%	342	46.3%
	No	18	25.4%	209	28.3%
	No response	28	39.4%	188	25.4%

Table 22. Perception of the validity of personal human rights at the time of migration

		Female		Male	
		Number	%	Number	%
Do you think that human rights are lost when it comes to migrating?	Yes	42	59.2%	422	57.0%
	No	27	38.0%	267	36.1%
	No response	2	2.8%	51	6.8%

Table 23. Risks you are willing to take

	Female		Male		
	Number	%	Number	%	
What risks are you willing to take?	Other	1	1.5%	4	0.6%
	Assault	3	4.5%	86	13.1%
	Rape	1	1.5%	1	0.2%
	Forced work	0	0.0%	7	1.1%
	Kidnapping	0	0.0%	50	7.6%
	Death	4	6.0%	55	8.4%
	None	20	29.9%	48	7.3%
	All	38	56.7%	399	60.8%
	No response	0	0.0%	3	0.5%

Table 24. Perception of violation of their human rights

		Female		Male	
		Number	%	Number	%
Do you believe that your human rights were violated?	Yes	34	47.9%	375	50.5%
	No	37	52.1%	345	45.1%
	No response	0	0.0%	33	4.4%

Table 25. Considers himself/herself Salvadoran

		Female		Male	
		Number	%	Number	%
Do you consider yourself Salvadoran?	Yes	71	100.0%	710	95.7%
	No	0	0.0%	12	1.6%
	No response	0	0.0%	17	2.3%

Table 26. Has relatives in the United States

		Female		Male		
		Number	%	Number	%	
Do you have relatives in the United States?	Yes Who?	Dad	7	10.9%	65	9.9%
		Mom	4	6.3%	55	8.4%
		Both	3	4.7%	59	9.0%
		Siblings	22	34.4%	250	38.1%
		Aunts/Uncles	17	26.6%	122	18.6%
		Cousins	1	1.6%	46	7.0%
		No response	10	15.6%	46	7.0%
	No	4	6.3%	54	7.1%	

Table 27. Close friends in the United States

		Female		Male	
		Number	%	Number	%
Do you have close friends in the United States?	Yes	44	62.0%	555	74.5%
	No	25	35.2%	166	22.3%
	No response	2	2.8%	8	1.1%

Table 28. Person from whom you get advice

		Female		Male	
		Number	%	Number	%
Who do you go to for advice?	Dad	14	19.7%	209	28.2%
	Mom	38	53.5%	261	35.3%
	Siblings	6	8.5%	80	10.8%
	Friends	5	7.0%	58	7.8%
	Priest or pastor	2	2.8%	31	4.2%
	Others	4	5.6%	41	5.5%
	No response	0	0.0%	55	7.4%

Table 29. Religious group affiliation

		Female		Male	
		Number	%	Number	%
What religious group do you belong to?	Catholic	44	62.0%	363	48.9%
	Evangelic	18	25.4%	274	36.9%
	Other	4	5.6%	59	8.0%
	No response	5	5.3%	23	3.1%

Table 30. Importance of God for your trip

		Female		Male	
		Number	%	Number	%
Do you consider God to be important for your journey?	Yes	71	100.0%	711	95.4%
	No	0	0.0%	9	1.2%
	No response	0	0.0%	18	2.4%

Table 31. Type of person you consider yourself

		Female		Male	
		Number	%	Number	%
What type of person do you consider yourself?	Violent	1	1.4%	16	2.2%
	Peaceful	69	97.2%	687	92.8%
	No response	1	1.4%	29	4.0%

Table 32. Use of contraceptives for your trip

		Female	
		Number	%
Did you use contraceptives during your trip?	Yes	16	22.5%
	No	47	66.2%
	No response	8	11.3%

Table 33. Type of contraceptives used

		Female	
		Number	%
What type of contraceptives did you use?	Did not use	47	66.2%
	Pills	1	1.4%
	Injections	15	21.1%
	No response	8	11.3%

Table 34. Way to hide money

		Female		Male	
		Number	%	Number	%
How did you hide the money you were carrying?	Private parts	14	19.7%	65	8.8%
	Pants' waistband	16	22.5%	172	23.4%
	Belt	0	0.0%	38	5.2%
	Socks	2	2.8%	84	11.4%
	Shoes	24	33.8%	153	20.8%
	Other place	7	9.9%	145	19.7%
	No response	8	10.3%	74	10.1%

Table 35. Possession of a cell phone when traveling

		Female		Male	
		Number	%	Number	%
Were you carrying a cell phone during your journey?	Yes	19	26.8%	251	33.8%
	No	51	71.8%	465	62.7%
	No response	1	1.4%	25	3.3%

Table 36. Intention to stay in the country

		Female		Male	
		Number	%	Number	%
Are you going to stay in the country?	Yes	33	47.1%	390	52.9%
	No	36	51.4%	314	42.6%
	No response	1	1.4%	33	4.5%

Table 37. Things that children/adolescents would like to change in the country

		Number	%
What would you like most to change about the country?	Violence	5	13.1%
	Anything	5	13.1%
	More work	4	10.5%
	No response; not sure	4	10.5%
	Economy	3	7.9%
	Crime	2	5.3%
	Poverty	2	5.3%
	Everything	2	5.3%
	Have agreements to go to USA	1	2.6%
	Increase salary	1	2.6%
	Method of study	1	2.6%
	Anything	1	2.6%
	More work, no crime	1	2.6%
	All the violence, end the gangs	1	2.6%
	Make gangs disappear	1	2.6%
	Prosperity, work	1	2.6%
	Implement programs for youth	1	2.6%
	A lot of crime and the economy	1	2.6%
	More security and opportunities for youth	1	2.6%

Table 38. Reasons for children/adolescents to go back

		Number	%
For what reasons would you migrate again?	Continue studying	13	34.4%
	Family reunification	8	21.1%
	Help my family	4	10.5%
	Because it is difficult to get a job in the country	2	5.3%
	Improve economic condition	2	5.3%
	Be back again	2	5.3%
	Not sure	1	2.6%
	I don't know	1	2.6%
	To visit and work	1	2.6%
	Because I have to pay rent	1	2.6%
	Because I want money	1	2.6%
	Work	1	2.6%
	Study and work	1	2.6%

Table 39. Education levels by age

	Studies													
	None		Primary		Secondary		High School		Technical		University		Other	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
18 - 20	7	5.3%	28	21.1%	47	35.3%	49	36.8%	0	0.0%	1	0.8%	1	0.8%
21 - 25	15	6.6%	31	13.7%	70	30.8%	84	37.0%	12	5.3%	11	4.8%	4	1.8%
26 - 30	8	6.1%	33	25.0%	31	23.5%	41	31.1%	5	3.8%	5	3.8%	9	6.8%
31 - 35	9	6.6%	39	28.7%	48	35.3%	24	17.6%	10	7.4%	4	2.9%	2	1.5%
36 - 40	8	9.6%	17	20.5%	24	28.9%	29	34.9%	2	2.4%	2	2.4%	1	1.2%
Age 41 - 45	7	15.9%	11	25.0%	12	27.3%	13	29.5%	0	0.0%	1	2.3%	0	0.0%
46 - 50	1	5.0%	5	25.0%	7	35.0%	5	25.0%	1	5.0%	1	5.0%	0	0.0%
51 - 55	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	44.4%	5	55.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
56 - 60	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
60 and above	0	0.0%	1	16.7%	3	50.0%	2	33.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
No response	2	5.9%	8	23.5%	11	32.4%	9	26.5%	1	2.9%	0	0.0%	3	8.8%

Table 40. Types of work reported by the deportees

Sector	Type of work	Number	%
Field work	Farmer	122	14.8%
	Day laborer	27	3.3%
	Livestock Keeper	11	1.3%
	Fisherman	9	1.1%
	Cane cutter	6	0.7%
	Responsible for stable	1	0.1%
	Rodeo	1	0.1%
Commerce	Vendor	18	2.2%
	Shop keeper	9	1.1%
	Marketer	2	0.2%
	Greengrocer	2	0.2%
	Peddler	1	0.1%
	Drug dealer	1	0.1%
Construction	Stonework	54	6.6%
	Construction	30	3.6%
	Mechanical	16	1.9%
	Carpenter	8	1.0%
	Stonework assistant	5	0.6%
	Operator of machinery	2	0.2%
	Welder	10	1.2%
Sand truck operator	1	0.1%	
Profession	Baker	6	0.7%
	Craftsman	5	0.6%
	Painter	5	0.6%
	Cook	3	0.4%
	Shoemaker	3	0.4%
	Bus ticket collector	4	0.5%
	Bar tender	2	0.2%
	Stylist	2	0.2%
	Gardener	2	0.2%
	Butcher	1	0.1%
	Taxi driver	1	0.1%
	Seamstress	2	0.2%
	Locksmith	1	0.1%
	Miller	1	0.1%
	Football player	1	0.1%
	Pupusa maker	1	0.1%
	Florist	1	0.1%
Lumberjack	1	0.1%	
Plumber	1	0.1%	

	Customer service	6	0.7%
	Delivery man	5	0.6%
	In dining room	5	0.6%
	Security	12	1.5%
	Ordinance	7	0.8%
Services	Carwash	1	0.1%
	Packing	1	0.1%
	Supermarket (Assistant)	3	0.4%
	PC repair	1	0.1%
	Telecommunications	1	0.1%
	Cybercafé administrator	4	0.5%
	Gas station	1	0.1%
	Waiter	1	0.1%
	Pharmacy	1	0.1%
	Other	Military	1
Beggar		1	0.1%
Legal firm		1	0.1%
Shop dependent		1	0.1%
NGO		1	0.1%

Annex 2. States and municipalities of origin of migrants

	Department	Municipality
1	Ahuachapán	Jujutla
		Ahuachapán
		San Fco. Menéndez
		Atiquizaya
		Guaymango
		Turín
2	Santa Ana	Santa Ana
		El Congo
		Metapán
		Coatepeque
		El Porvenir
		Texistepeque
		Chalchuapa
		Santa Rosa Guachipilín
		Masahuat
		San Sebastián Salitrillo
3	Sonsonate	Sonsonate
		Izalco
		San Antonio del Monte
		Nahuizalco
		Nahuilingo
		San Julián
		Cuisnahuat
		Acajutla
		Sonzacate
4	La Libertad	Santa Tecla
		Puerto La Libertad
		San Juan Opico
		Ciudad Arce
		Quezaltepeque
		San José Villanueva
		Chiltiupán
		Talnique
		Jicalapa
		San Pablo Tacachico
		Teotepeque
		Tamanique
Zaragoza		

5	Chalatenango	Chalatenango
		Tejutla
		San Antonio de La Cruz
		San Francisco Lempa
		Citalá
		Agua Caliente
		La Palma
		Dulce Nombre de María
		Ojos de Agua
		San Ignacio
		Comalapa
		El Paraíso
		Concepción Quezaltepeque
		Nueva Concepción
		La Reina
6	Cuscatlán	Cojutepeque
		Suchitoto
		Candelaria
		Monte San Juan
		San Rafael Cedros
		Tenancingo
		San Pedro Perulapán
7	San Salvador	Nejapa
		Soyapango
		Aguilares
		Mejicanos
		Ilopango
		San Marcos
		Cuscatancingo
		Apopa
		Ayutuxtepeque
		Panchimalco
		San Martín
		Guazapa
Tonacatepeque		
	La Paz	Zacatecoluca
		San Luis Talpa
		Santiago Nonualco
		San Pedro Masahuat
		Tapalhuaca
9	Cabañas	Sensuntepeque
		Jutiapa

		Ilobasco
		Guacotecti
		Victoria
		Dolores
10	San Vicente	Verapaz
		San Cayetano Istepeque
		Tecoluca
		San Esteban Catarina
		San Lorenzo
		Apastepeque
		San Sebastián
11	Usulután	Usulután
		Nueva Granada
		Ereguayquín
		Jucuapa
		Berlín
		Jucuarán
		Puerto El Triunfo
		Santiago de María
		San Francisco Javier
		Mercedes Umaña
		Jiquilisco
		Concepción Batres
		Santa Elena
		Estanzuelas
		Ozatlán
12	San Miguel	San Miguel
		Nueva Guadalupe
		Chinameca
		Chapeltique
		Ciudad Barrios
		Lolotique
		San Jorge
		Carolina
		Moncagua
		El Tránsito
		San Luis La Reina
		Sesori
		Chirilagua
13	Morazán	San Francisco Gotera
		Sociage
		Yamabal

		San Isidro
		Meanguera
		Guatajiagua
		Jocoro
		Sensembra
		Jocoaitique
		Corinto
14	La Unión	La Unión
		Santa Rosa de Lima
		Anamorós
		Conchagua
		Concepción de Oriente
		Polorós
		San Alejo
		Lislique
		El Carmen
		Pasaquina
		Isla Meanguera del Golfo

Annex 3. Letter of request to the General Directorate of Immigrants and Foreigners

*Universidad Tecnológica
de El Salvador*



San Salvador, May 30, 2013

**Eva del Carmen Ramos Barrera,
General Sub-director of Immigration and Aliens**

Dear Ms. Ramos Barrera,

The staff of the Directorate of Researchers of the Technological University of El Salvador wishes you success in all your endeavors.

The reason for this letter is to complete the necessary information for Ms. Elsa Ramos and her team to be part of the program "Welcome Home" and enter the Center of Integral Care for immigrants. (CAIM)

The field work will start as soon as you authorize it; the first stage shall be the validation of the surveys and once these are validated, we will continue with the aforementioned field work. The number of surveys is a total of 3 thousand for both researches.

The work team is made up by the following people, all who are member of UTEC.

Names and last names	Identification Number
Rosa Vania Chicas Molina	01984529-7
Edwin Roberto Hernández Vásquez	02819486-5
Gerson Bernabé Herrera González	04554609-1
Rodrigo Antonio Colorado Hernández	03528743-1
Carlos Jonathan Cañas Cornejo	04858891-1

Agradeciendo de antemano su colaboración, quedo a la espera de su respuesta.

Atentamente,

Thank you for your collaboration. We will be waiting for your response.

Cordially,

UNIVERSIDAD TECNOLÓGICA DE EL SALVADOR
Tel. 2275-8857 y 2275 8960



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