

**“Tracing Contributions: Salvadoran Women in the Diaspora and
the 2014 Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN)
Presidential Campaign”**

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Table of Contents

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| I. Abstract | 3 |
| II. Introduction | 4 |
| III. Literature Review | 9 |
| IV. Methodology | 17 |
| V. Findings | 22 |
| VI. Analysis | 39 |
| VII. Conclusion | 50 |
| VIII. Bibliography | 53 |
| IX. Appendix | 54 |

I. Abstract

In 2013, Salvadorans constitutional right to cast their votes in the 2014 presidential elections from anywhere in the world, was recognized by the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE). During this presidential race, the leftist political party the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) launched an electoral campaign in ten cities in North America to organize and encourage the vote of Salvadorans in the region. Salvadoran women of diverse ages and backgrounds mobilized in support of the campaign throughout the United States. The purpose of this study is to understand how Salvadoran women in the Diaspora mobilized to support the 2014 FMLN presidential campaign. This study emphasizes the experiences of nine Salvadoran women who were active during the campaign in Los Angeles, Santa Cruz and San Francisco, California. In addition, interviews with institutional representatives from the TSE and FMLN illustrate the historical significance of the elections to El Salvador's democratic process. This study will reveal Salvadoran women's contributions and experiences within the campaign, as well as their relationship to the new Salvadoran left. It also reveals the implications their participation had for women's political mobilization from the exterior and the extent to which it is a feminist issue.

Keywords:

El Salvador, Diaspora, political mobilization, gender, feminism, transnationalism,

“Me estremecieron mujeres que la historia anoto entre laureles y otras desconocidas gigantes que no hay libro que las aguante.”

“I was impacted by women that history wrote in the margins and other unknown giants that books could never hold.”

~Silvio Rodriguez

II. Introduction

“National Dialogue” San Francisco, California

On February 17, 2013, I was invited by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) to attend an event in San Francisco called “National Dialogue: Constructing an El Salvador we want.”¹ The keynote speaker, Oscar Ortiz, then vice presidential nominee for the Salvadoran Leftist party, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), addressed a large room of Salvadorans concerning nation, culture, citizenship and social change. The event sought to inform Salvadorans about the national projects that had been successfully implemented by the first FMLN administration after 2009. He declared that the 2014 elections would be pivotal in the continuation of these programs in El Salvador. The event also sought to inform the Salvadoran community about the new Vote from Abroad Law that was approved by the Legislative Assembly in early January 2013; guaranteeing Salvadorans right to vote in presidential elections from anywhere in the world.²

At the beginning of the event, Oscar Ortiz thanked everyone who helped make the talk possible. He also took a moment to thank the youth present and applauded their campaign called “I am also Salvadoran”. This campaign was created and led by Salvadoran youth from San Francisco, Santa Cruz and Los Angeles.

¹ My translation: “Dialogos de pais por El Salvador que queremos”

² My translation: “Ley Especial para el Ejercicio del Voto desde el Exterior en las Elecciones Presidenciales.

² My translation: “Ley Especial para el Ejercicio del Voto desde el Exterior en las Elecciones Presidenciales.

Because I attended with the CISPES chapter from the University of California Santa Cruz, I ended up sitting next to several Salvadoran students and youth. Suddenly, Oscar Ortiz asked the Salvadoran Student Union (USEU) and CISPES to stand up.³ I was caught off guard when all the youth around me stood up. In this moment of confusion, I stood up also. As the room applauded, I felt a bit foolish standing there, because I wasn't really part of these groups, at least not yet. Fearing that people would notice my dumb mistake, I stood with the youth until we were asked to sit again.

During the talk, Oscar Ortiz stressed that the FMLN strongly believed in the enfranchisement of Salvadorans in the exterior and their status as citizens of El Salvador. He stated that all compatriots should be considered citizens not because of remittances, or their ability to invest capital in El Salvador, but because they were citizens in the eyes of the Salvadoran constitution. It was a matter of democracy, not remittances. Here is where I learned for the first time that the Salvadoran constitution recognizes people born to at least one Salvadoran parent; no matter where in the world that person is born, as a Salvadoran citizen.

His discussion on democratization did not end there, he also stated that the party sought to empower and incorporate women in political spaces. I was stunned by the way in which he stressed issues of women's equality, gender and machismo in El Salvador. He clearly stated, that El Salvador was a very machista country, a fact that did not come as a surprise to many of us in the audience. He followed this statement by clarifying that the FMLN was interested in ending violence against women as well as ending the machista culture. One of the examples he provided for this vision was the creation of programs like Women's City (Cuidad Mujer) which is a program that guarantees the fundamental rights of Salvadoran women to have access to sexual and reproductive health, receive immediate emergency attention in cases of violence, and gain

³ My translation: Unión Salvadoreña de Estudiantes Universitarios (USEU)

economic empowerment by strengthening their legal rights.⁴ He stated that machismo in El Salvador was slowly being eradicated, and that gender equality in various sectors of society was being implemented.

I left the event surprised and confused. I had a series of questions: If the FMLN was in fact seeking to incorporate women in decision making processes in El Salvador, how was it also incorporating women in the exterior? Were they also being taken into account? Why were Salvadoran youth present at this event? Why was I, a young Salvadoran woman born in the United States interested in being recognized as a Salvadoran citizen? What did it mean? These questions echoed in my head.

Introduction to Study

During the 1980's, Salvadoran women and men were internationally displaced by a civil war funded by the United States; many migrated north seeking political asylum and economic opportunity. Upon their arrival to the United States, the alienation of thousands of Salvadorans, sustained by attitudes of xenophobia, created conditions in which they had to create a self-containing system of social and economic support. As consequence, the Central American peace, solidarity and sanctuary movements emerged to provide refuge to Salvadorans and challenge U.S. foreign policy towards El Salvador. Today, Salvadorans are the third largest population of "Hispanic" origin in the United States.⁵ Of the 3.2 million Salvadorans living outside of El Salvador, 90 percent reside in the United States, specifically in California.⁶

⁴ Ciudad Mujer: Web site:

http://www.ciudadmujer.gob.sv/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=175&Itemid=84

⁵ Pew Research Center, "Statistical Profile: Hispanics of Salvadoran Origin in the United States, 2011" Pew Hispanic Center-Hispanic Trends, June 19, 2013 <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/06/19/hispanics-of-salvadoran-origin-in-the-united-states-2011/> (accessed February 2, 2015).

⁶ Milton R. Machuca, "In Search of Salvadorans In The U.S.: Contextualizing The Ethnographic Record," *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development*, Vol. 39, No. 1/2. (2010) : 6.

Since their arrival in the United States, Salvadorans have joined progressive organizations supporting social justice and political movements in the U.S. and El Salvador. Salvadoran women were present in these movements and offered more than refugee testimonies; they contributed militant leadership in political movements in the U.S. However, their contributions remain poorly explored in academic accounts.

In 2013, the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE) in El Salvador, recognized the enfranchisement of Salvadorans living abroad, and for the first time in the country's history, Salvadorans living in the exterior were able to vote in the 2014 presidential elections. During this election the leftist political party, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), launched an electoral campaign in North America to attract votes and mobilize Salvadorans in California, Texas, New York, Washington D.C. and many other regions where a significant presence of Salvadorans exists. Electoral results released by the TSE post elections revealed that Salvadorans able to vote from the diaspora, predominantly voted for the FMLN.

Here, I use the elections as a case study **to understand how and why Salvadoran women in the Diaspora mobilized to support the 2014 FMLN presidential campaign.** I hypothesize that, beyond garnering votes, the presidential campaign provided a unique opportunity for Salvadoran women of diverse ages and backgrounds to politically mobilize. This research question also reveals the experiences of Salvadoran women in the campaign, the contributions they made, and what implications their participation had for feminism and women's political mobilization in the exterior.

I conducted two field studies in order to answer this research question. In the summer of 2014 I travelled to El Salvador and conducted one-hour, semi-structured interviews with Salvadoran institutional representatives from the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE) and the

FMLN. Through these interviews I hoped to better understand how the TSE and the party outreached to the Salvadoran community in the exterior concerning the Vote from the Exterior Law and the FMLN presidential campaign. I was also interested in knowing whether these institutions outreached directly to women in the exterior to encourage their vote.

Beyond electoral politics this study emphasizes the narratives of Salvadoran women who were active during the presidential campaign by complicating how we come to understand women's political mobilization. During the second field study, I carried out two-hour, in-depth life history interviews with nine Salvadoran women who were active in the regions of Los Angeles, Santa Cruz and San Francisco. The purpose of conducting life history interviews with Salvadoran women was to learn more about their biography, history of migration, previous activism, mobilization during and after the campaign, their political and feminist ideologies, as well as their hopes and frustrations related to the FMLN and El Salvador. The experiences revealed here illustrate the relationship between the FMLN and Salvadoran women in the Diaspora, women's contributions during the campaign, the effect of their participation on women's political mobilization in the exterior, and their commitment to advancing democracy in El Salvador.

I also use a wide variety of primary sources including laws, legal documents, party manifestos, historical documents, videos, speeches, electoral results and online sources to understand the significance of the presidential elections in El Salvador to Salvadorans in the exterior.

III. Literature Review

Salvadoran Diasporic enfranchisement during the 2014 Salvadoran presidential campaign opened up spaces in which the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) could initiate a transnational electoral campaign. Through this campaign Salvadoran women were able to participate in community organizing around issues of enfranchisement and Salvadoran identity.

Literature on Salvadoran women's political mobilization in the Diaspora continues to lack a comprehensive gendered analysis. Data on the number of women who participated in this campaign or cast their votes remains minimal. Due to the absence of such information, I will use literature on Salvadoran women's political organizing in relation to the left in El Salvador to further a discussion on the characteristics of Salvadoran women's political organizing more broadly.

Locality is critical to this analysis; women's organizing in El Salvador has had the opportunity to become institutionalized and garner a collective identity especially around Salvadoran feminism. Little is known about whether women in the Diaspora have managed to collectively organize in the same ways as women in El Salvador. It is reasonable to conclude that the extent of institutional influence around Salvadoran women's rights in the Diaspora has not been as strong.

Salvadoran women have historically organized within the left around issues of disenfranchisement, economic, social and political inequality. Patricia Hipsher states that El Salvador's feminist movement has been shaped by leftist revolutionary struggles against

dictatorships throughout the 20th century.⁷ Literature on Salvadoran feminist organizing in El Salvador emphasizes a breach between women's organizations and the Salvadoran left beginning after the 1992 Peace Accords. Jocelyn Viterna and Kathleen M. Fallon argue that an incomplete democratic transition after the civil war resulted in little institutional change around women's political and social empowerment.⁸ Specifically, the left's overwhelming attention on economic inequality over gendered inequality created division between feminists in the left.

Kelley Ready on the other hand, argues that Salvadoran women's organizations have isolated themselves from the left to gain legitimacy in order to further women's rights through a leftist and right wing women's coalition.⁹ Mary Garcia Castro claims that feminist independence from the left has been repeated in various Latin American countries as a result of the neoliberal institutionalization of feminism.¹⁰

This narrative is important to a discussion on the FMLN's transnational organizing as it can provide a perspective on the Salvadoran left and the dangers of considering it a solely counter hegemonic project. As the party seeks to incorporate the Diaspora and improve Salvadoran democracy, we must ask ourselves what it can offer Salvadoran women in the Diaspora. Most importantly, I seek to understand what kind of spaces is available for Salvadoran women to mobilize through a leftist ideology abroad and how this relationship differs from Salvadoran feminism.

⁷ Patricia Hipsher, "Right- and Left-Wing Women in Post-Revolutionary El Salvador: Feminist Autonomy and Cross-Political Alliance Building for Gender Equality," in *Radical Women in Latin America: Left and Right*, ed. González and Kampwirth (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001).

⁸ Viterna and Fallon, "Democratization, Women's Movements, and Gender-Equitable States: A Framework for Comparison," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 73, No. 4 (Aug., 2008).

⁹ Kelley Ready, "A Feminist Reconstruction of Parenthood Within Neoliberal Constraints: La Asociación de Madres Demandantes in El Salvador," *Radical Women in Latin America-Left and Right*, ed. González and Kampwirth (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001).

¹⁰ Mary Garcia Castro, "Engendering Powers in Neoliberal Times in Latin America: Reflections from the Left on Feminisms and Feminisms," *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 28, No. 6, Power, Policy and Neoliberalism (2001).

Salvadoran Women's Political Mobilization in El Salvador and the Salvadoran Left

Salvadoran women's organizations have historically organized within the left. After the signing of the Peace Accords women's participation in guerilla warfare came to a long awaited stop.¹¹ Though women's participation in warfare is often discussed as the beginning of women's empowerment, the reality is that this participation did not improve women's political, economic, or social conditions post war.

According to Viterna and Fallon, democratization did not lead to significant changes in women's status or representation within the state. The economic and political structures that were contested through out the war largely remained intact after.¹² Though Salvadoran women were active during the civil war they did not organize around issues particular to their status as women in Salvadoran society. Instead they organized around issues of class, political and labor inequality. Similarly, Salvadoran women in the Diaspora during the civil war organized to end U.S. economic and political intervention in El Salvador.

Viterna and Fallon argue that it was not until women leaders of the FMLN were exiled that women began to realize gender discrimination within the party. This analysis appears problematic as it relegates "feminism" as outside, and never something that arose from a particular set of circumstances within Salvadoran women's understanding of social conditions. Relegating Salvadoran women's mobilization as illegitimate because of an absence of a clear gendered drive at a certain point further erases a long history of Salvadoran feminism.

In "Right and Left-wing women in Post-Revolutionary El Salvador," Patricia Hipsher argues that El Salvador's feminist movement has been shaped by women's historical role in the

¹¹ Viterna & Fallon, "Democratization, Women's Movements, and Gender-Equitable States," 679.

¹² Viterna & Fallon, "Democratization, Women's Movements, and Gender-Equitable States," 679.

leftist revolutionary struggle against right-wing dictatorships.¹³ In a post war El Salvador says Hipsher, women's organizations sought autonomy in order to build coalitions between women in the left and right wing parties so as to further the chances of women's progress within Salvadoran society. While leftist women's organizations continued to work alongside the left, clear alliance between the two became a liability for the progression of women's rights-movement after the war.¹⁴ As a result of this strategic division, women's organizations in the left and right have been able to form lasting unions with the goal of furthering women's rights on both sides of the political spectrum. Limitations on this coalition have resulted in the inability to come to a common consensus on topics such as class inequality, sexuality and morality.¹⁵

An example of the results of such a coalition can be seen through the passage of the first child support decree in El Salvador. Support for the Non-Arrears Bill a law that requires political candidates to prove that they are up to date with their child support before running for public office came from all political spectrums.¹⁶ According to Kelley Ready, this law was passed and received approval from right because it did not challenge neoliberal economic policies by requiring the state to provide for Salvadoran mothers.¹⁷ Additionally it challenged gender relations by utilizing state institutions. While this approach to women's empowerment by Salvadoran women's groups such as Las Dignas addresses has empowered mothers to make claims on the state and men, it has ultimately not challenged the structure on which these inequalities rest.

¹³ Hipsher, "Right- and Left-Wing Women in Post-Revolutionary El Salvador," 133.

¹⁴ Hipsher, "Right- and Left-Wing Women in Post-Revolutionary El Salvador," 133.

¹⁵ Hipsher, "Right- and Left-Wing Women in Post-Revolutionary El Salvador," 134.

¹⁶ Ready, "A Feminist Reconstruction of Parenthood Within Neoliberal Constraints," 183.

¹⁷ Ready, "A Feminist Reconstruction of Parenthood Within Neoliberal Constraints," 185.

Mary Garcia Castro in “Engendering Powers in Neoliberal Times in Latin America” critiques this type of feminism as a form of institutionalized neoliberal feminism. These feminisms become dependent on international agencies and enter into alliances with governments and agencies that support neoliberalism.¹⁸ She states that in the search for “immediate rights” feminist organizations have abandoned their once “radical” approach into a tamed feminism.

Castro recalls a socialist feminism that was community based and played a significant role in challenging dictatorship through out Latin America.¹⁹ A feminism that was critical in reshaping the left and helping a “new left” arise. While Castro critiques the institutionalization of Latin American feminism she is also disappointed in the lefts lack of commitment towards feminism as a possible liberating force. She stresses the fact that feminist and the left cannot improve women’s conditions without coalition building. As she states, “women cannot struggle to secure their rights when their energies have to be diverted into the fight to survive and to keep their jobs.”²⁰

Paradoxically says Castro, while women have been gaining rights as a result of the institutionalization of feminism, women continue to rank among the most poor and unemployed.²¹ A leftist approach to feminism says Castro can improve both sides as it might further stress the importance of valuing humans over specific identities such as race and gender. Feminism must be integrated in a larger discussion of ending oppression and not an individualistic approach to women’s legal rights.²²

¹⁸ Castro, “Engendering Powers in Neoliberal Times in Latin America,” 17.

¹⁹ Castro, “Engendering Powers in Neoliberal Times in Latin America,” 18.

²⁰ Castro, “Engendering Powers in Neoliberal Times in Latin America,” 21.

²¹ Castro, “Engendering Powers in Neoliberal Times in Latin America,” 22.

²² Castro, “Engendering Powers in Neoliberal Times in Latin America,” 32.

Castro's critique around the need to form the long lost coalitions between the left and feminism appear integral to the improvement of not only women's social and economic status, but also the improvement of all people in Latin America. Her argument enters a discussion around the dichotomization of the left that can be further discussed through Perla, Mojica and Bibler's article "From Guerillas to Government: The Continued Relevance of the Central American Left." Here it is argued that the dichotomization of the left has created a misconception about current leftist mobilization. The institutionalization of the FMLN from a guerilla force to political party has allowed it to influence important changes in social structures.²³ Specifically it has managed to pass laws on violence against women with bipartisan support.²⁴ The institutionalization of the FMLN is a step that is necessary to achieve a socialist future. Though the party is currently not attempting to make an automatic social structural shift, it is using its institutional influence to provide support for Salvadoran citizens in a neoliberal age.

Similarly, Salvadoran women's organizations have shifted their approach from guerilla warfare to institutional change. Though Castro demands an abandonment of feminist institutionalism to a more community based feminism in the search for structural change, the reality is that the Salvadoran left and Salvadoran feminist organizations have developed a new approach towards liberalization. Literature on Salvadoran feminist and left divisions appear clear cut, in reality both continue to work closely together to achieve empowerment for women and the poor.

²³ Perla, Mojica, and Bibler, "From Guerillas to Government: The Continued Relevance of the Central American Left," in *The New Latin America Left*, ed. Webber and Carr (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2013).

²⁴ Perla, Mojica, and Bibler, "From Guerillas to Government," 341.

2014 FMLN Presidential Campaign

Salvadorans in the Diaspora for the first time cast their votes for the Salvadoran presidential elections on February 5th and March 9th, 2014. A decree passed on January 24, 2013 allowed Salvadorans to exert their vote from abroad. This allowed the FMLN to launch an intense electoral campaign in North America. Specifically in the United States the campaign created new spaces for Salvadoran women to organize around suffrage and Salvadoran identity.

Despite bureaucratic barriers blocking many from participating in the 2014 elections, a total of 1,909 votes successfully made it into the total electoral count in the first round of the elections.²⁵ In round two a total of 2,262 votes from the Diaspora were included in the final vote count.²⁶

Ballots cast by the Diaspora overwhelmingly voted FMLN during both electoral rounds. Unfortunately, data on the number of women who cast their votes for the FMLN are not available. More broadly, the Supreme Electoral Tribunal recorded that in the first round 60.61% (1,157) of ballots from the Diaspora, voted FMLN. Adding to a total 48.93% (1,315,768) of votes cast nationally in favor of the FMLN.²⁷

On March 9th 2014 the National Republican Alliance (ARENA) and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) again competed for the presidency. In this second round the

²⁵ Supreme Electoral Tribunal (Tribunal Supremo Electoral-TSE). “*Escrutinio Final 2014: Primera Eleccion Presidencial 2014-Res. En El Exterior 5 de Febrero 2014*” http://www.tse.gob.sv/2014/escrutiniofinal_1ray2davuelta/pres1/dep15.html (accessed May 10, 2014).

²⁶ Supreme Electoral Tribunal (Tribunal Supremo Electoral-TSE). “*Escrutinio Final 2014: Primera Eleccion Presidencial 2014-Res. En El Exterior 13 de Marzo 2014*” http://www.tse.gob.sv/2014/escrutiniofinal_1ray2davuelta/pres2/dep15.html (accessed May 10, 2014).

²⁷ See information on election results for all parties in the first and second round in the Findings section under “*Figure 1-Elections Results Data: Elections in the Republic of El Salvador 2014.*”

FMLN again obtained the majority of votes from the Diaspora. A total 63.41% (1,408) of votes from the Diaspora were cast in favor of the FMLN while ARENA received a mere 36.59% (854) of votes from the Diaspora.

The 2014 elections were historic in that they broke a tradition of the disenfranchisement of Salvadorans around the world. The FMLN's intense campaigning in the Diaspora allowed it to gain a majority of votes from abroad. It is clear that not all parties competed for the Diasporic vote similarly.

The settlement of Salvadorans in the United States opened up new windows for the movement of transnational capital and political influence. While international relations scholar William I. Robinson argues that transnational solidarity movements can serve as counter hegemonic projects the dangers and possibilities of transnational political movements must be thought about critically.²⁸ Chinchilla and Hamilton question the role of Salvadoran transnational networks as solely counter hegemonic spaces. It is true that transnational organizations such as CISPES and Homies Unidos influence legal structures and foreign policy on behalf of immigrant communities. But at the same transnational solidarity groups can reinforce hegemonic projects.

On February 2013, I attended a conference titled "National Dialogue" (Dialogo de Pais) in which (now FMLN vice-president) Oscar Ortiz discussed the need to form alliances between Salvadorans in El Salvador and the United States that would go beyond remittances. In this talk he stated that the FMLN was dedicated to empowering women and ending machismo in El Salvador. There was no discussion on the need for Salvadoran women's empowerment in the

²⁸ William I. Robinson, "Global Capitalism: The New Transnationalism and the Folly of Conventional Thinking"

Diaspora. Considering that women in the Diaspora form part of a vulnerable population that has been denied citizenship and rights in the United States and El Salvador a union between the FMLN and the Diaspora must take their particular circumstances seriously.

Though the FMLN has advocated for women's representation within its political party and set various quotas for women's integration, it has largely failed to meet these goals in El Salvador. Women's representation is still low within governmental positions, and there has been slow legislative change on behalf of women's reproductive rights. What benefits might a union between Salvadoran women in the Diaspora and the FMLN have to offer in terms of women's empowerment when it has not managed to make structural changes around women's oppression in El Salvador.

IV. Methodology

“What I am talking about, then, is figuring out how to write a politics of solidarity or identification from such admittedly compromised locations, which is different from trying to speak *for* a movement or even *from* a political movement...Our work is to do our intellectual labor alongside the intellectual labor of political movements.”

~Laura Briggs in *Activism and Epistemologies: Problems for Transnationalisms*

On July 1, 2014, I interned with the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) in San Salvador, El Salvador. My responsibilities during the internship varied from regular office duties such as updating media lists and contact information to conducting research on U.S. funding of right wing Salvadoran civil organizations through programs such as USAID.

The opportunity to intern in El Salvador came only a few months after the historical elections of professor and former FMLN guerilla leader Salvador Sánchez Cerén. The political landscape in the country was still heated from the 2014 presidential elections. At the time, the parties were preparing for the March 2015 elections and announcing their candidates for

positions in municipalities, congress and the Central American parliament. One of my primary duties while in the country, was to become acquainted with the political landscape; or as it is called in El Salvador, the “coyuntura politica.” For this, I was required to read news from right wing, central, neutral and leftist newspapers on a daily basis. I was also required to attend events and meetings with governmental and legislative representatives. All this allowed me to quickly understand the political discourses, projects and programs promoted by various political groups as well as corruption through out the country.

I began conducting my interviews in El Salvador in September. By this time I had become well acquainted with the city of San Salvador and its questionable transportation systems. I had even made a few trips to visit my family in Zacatecoluca, La Paz on public transportation. My own Salvadoran complexity allowed me a local camouflage that many of the white-female solidarity activists I was working with could not have. Traveling in this way was a big deal for a foreigner like myself because of the predominant fear of gangs and violence on public transportation. My supervisor in CISPES was able to put me in contact with the various representatives I interviewed and when it came to meeting with them, I knew fairly well how to get to and from the offices of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE) and the FMLN.

Upon my return to California, I had a better idea about what I was looking for in this study. My research in El Salvador convinced me that voting was not the only form of political mobilization that Salvadoran women engaged in during the presidential elections and campaign. Then I set out to understand how exactly women participated. Between December and February, I conducted interviews with Salvadoran women who were active in Los Angeles, Santa Cruz and San Francisco. In this second field study I sought to answer the research question: how and why did Salvadoran women residing in the exterior of El Salvador mobilize to support the 2014

Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) presidential campaign. I also used a variety of primary sources including legal documents, party manifestos, historical documents, videos, speeches, and online sources to understand the significance of the participation of women during the campaign from the exterior.

Field Study #1

On June 2014, I was accepted to intern with the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) in San Salvador, El Salvador. My internship began on July 1st and extended until September 23rd. The internship provided me with the opportunity to get in contact with institutional representatives that I might otherwise not had access to. The organizations legitimacy in the country also gave my project legitimacy, making it easier for me to seek out key interviews.

This was the second time I visited the country. I went to El Salvador for the first time with my mother in 2006; she was returning to the country for the first time since her immigration in the early 1980s. The internship was different from my first visit, because I was able to live in the city, learn more about Salvadoran culture and be in close proximity to governmental institutions. In September 2014 I interviewed four Salvadoran institutional representatives: three representatives from the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE) and one from the FMLN International Relations Secretariat.

I conducted one-hour semi-structured interviews. I wanted to know how measures that were taken at the institutional level on the Vote from the Exterior Law and the electoral campaign affected women's political participation from the exterior. I also asked questions about

democracy, and new opportunities and challenges for women's political participation outside of El Salvador. All the interviews were conducted in Spanish.²⁹

From the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE) I interviewed three TSE representatives. The first person I interviewed was the Magistrate of the TSE, Silvia Cartagena. Then I interviewed Engineer Jaime Edgardo Juarez, Director for Strengthening Democratic Institutions. The final interview with the TSE was with Eugenio Chicas Martínez, who was the Presidential Magistrate of the TSE between 2009 and 2014. For the FMLN, I interviewed Blanca Flor Bonilla who is Assistant Secretary of the International Relations Commission for the party.

A. *Field Study #2*

This study emphasizes the experiences of nine Salvadoran women who were politically active during the 2014 Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) presidential campaign between January 2013 and March 2015, in the cities of Los Angeles, Santa Cruz, and San Francisco, California. I conducted these interviews between December 26, 2014 and February 27, 2015. These were two-hour, open-ended, life history interviews conducted with women a various ages.

Through these interviews, I sought to answer the research question, how and why did Salvadoran women in the Diaspora mobilize to support the 2014 FMLN presidential campaign. These interviews also revealed the contributions Salvadoran women made to the FMLN presidential campaign, the significance of their participation to women's political mobilization in the exterior, and the extent to which it was a feminist issue.

In my interview with Assistant Secretary for the FMLN International Relations Committee Blanca Flor Bonilla, she describes ten Campaign Committees (Comandos de

²⁹ Field Study #1 Interview questions available in Appendix.

Campaña).³⁰ These committees were established by the FMLN in early 2013 throughout ten cities in the United States to organize around the presidential campaign and inform Salvadorans residing in the exterior about the new Vote from the Exterior Law. These committees were in Boston, New Jersey, New York, Virginia, Washington, Maryland, Chicago, Dallas, Los Angeles and San Francisco/Santa Cruz. The Santa Cruz committee was the last to be established and was attached to the San Francisco committee though both functioned independently from the other.

I interviewed women from the cities of San Francisco, Santa Cruz, and Los Angeles for several reasons. First, Salvadorans have been migrating and settling permanently in these cities since the 1980s during the Salvadoran civil war. Second, these cities have historically been focal points for Salvadoran and Central American political mobilization. Third, old and new FMLN militants organize clandestinely in these cities through party base committees. Lastly, two of the ten Campaign Committees (CC) were established in these cities. Santa Cruz was a sub-committee of the larger committee of San Francisco but worked independently enough to be considered autonomous to a certain extent.

My proximity and networks within these cities facilitated my use of a snowball sample method to locate women who were key participants during the 2014 FMLN presidential campaign. To my surprise I had met many of them informally in my own participation of the campaign and activism within the Salvadoran community.

I also shared flyers in Spanish and English to announce my investigation within the Salvadoran community of Santa Cruz, online and through acquaintances. This last method proved less successful because I was not able to get in contact with many women from the San

³⁰ Interview with Assistant Secretary of the FMLN International Relations Committee, Blanca Flor Bonilla, September 19, 2014. See Appendix for interview transcript.

Francisco regions, a location where I had the least amount of connections.³¹ More than half of the interviews were conducted in English. Though the interview subjects spoke primarily English, some also switch between Spanish and English when responding to my questions.

For my second field study, I had reason to believe that the political nature of my study could put my interview subjects in danger of being discriminated on the basis of political affiliation, and/or political ideology. I tried to reduce this risk by maintaining their identity completely confidential in all documents, transcripts and audio pertaining to their participation by assigning pseudonyms. All interview subjects were required to sign a consent form that declared that their participation would remain confidential within legal limits, and that the audio recordings I collected from the interview would be transcribed and purged of all identifying information.³² Lastly, the first field study with Salvadoran institutional representatives did not require this extent of confidentiality because the people I was interviewing were political personas and qualified for exemption under the human subjects protocol; I use their real names in this study.³³

V. Findings:

In this study, I wanted to understand **how and why Salvadoran women residing in the exterior of El Salvador mobilized to support the 2014 Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) presidential campaign**. Considering that it was the first time Salvadorans in the exterior could vote from abroad, I thought it was important to investigate how Salvadoran governmental institutions promoted and mobilized for the 2014 presidential elections in the exterior of El Salvador. I conducted my first field study in San Salvador, El Salvador.

³¹ Example of flyers in Spanish and English are provided in the Appendix.

³² See Appendix for documents related to Human Subjects Research (IRB) approval for both field studies as well as a list of interview subjects by their randomized numerical code number.

There, I interviewed three representatives from the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE): Silvia Cartagena- Magistrate of the TSE, Jaime Edgardo Juarez-Director for Strengthening Democratic Institutions and Eugenio Chicas Martínez-President of the TSE between 2009 and 2014. In the FMLN I interviewed Blanca Flor Bonilla who is part of the International Relations Secretariat. *The results of these interviews provided new insights into the 2014 elections, Salvadoran Diasporic suffrage, gender, and the FMLN's Campaign Committees.*

When I returned from El Salvador, I had a more nuanced understanding of my project and its various facets. This first study influenced the way I constructed my second field study. Between December and late February, I interviewed nine Salvadoran women who were politically active during the 2014 presidential campaign in Los Angeles, Santa Cruz and San Francisco, California. I did not specifically seek out women who had voted during the 2014 elections. As my first field study revealed, Salvadorans in the diaspora had a difficult time registering and casting their vote. Broadening my scope to political activism “during” the campaign in my second field study, allowed me to envision women’s political mobilization beyond electoral politics. As a result, I moved away from electoral data as a way of defining women’s role’s in the campaign and pursued a methodology that emphasized women’s own unique experiences on why and how they mobilized. Despite this, I did not completely throw out voting as a form of mobilization; few of the women I interviewed were able to cast their votes during the elections.

Field Study #1 Salvadoran Institutional Representatives:

Vote from Abroad Law

In 2010, the Legislative Assembly in El Salvador approved a new Vote from Abroad Law. Talks about the law began soon after the 1992 Peace Accords that ended the ten-year Civil

War in El Salvador. The drafting of the new law began in early 2003, when a special committee called the *Commission for Salvadorans in the Exterior* began developing a law that would recognize the political rights of Salvadorans citizens residing outside the country.³⁴ In 2009, the Mauricio Funes administration and the FMLN placed the passing of this law on their presidential platform, their plan of action for the following five years.³⁵ The Legislative Assembly passed the Vote from Abroad Law on January 24, 2013, only months away from the 2014 presidential elections.³⁶

I interviewed Eugenio Chicas Martínez concerning the role that the TSE had in promoting the 2013 Vote from Abroad Law. Between 2009 and 2014, Eugenio Chicas was the President of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE); he played a crucial role in implementing new laws that would fortify the democratic process in the country. Among these laws were the Residential Vote, Law for Political Parties, a new electoral code, and the Vote from Abroad Law. Eugenio Chicas was also in charge of incrementing the level of participation of youth and women in the election process. The Law for Political Parties was created and pushed forth by the FMLN and was specifically aimed at incrementing the level of participation of women within political parties; demanding that at least 35% of candidates, be women. As an attack on the democratic development of the country, the Supreme Court of El Salvador ousted Eugenio

³⁴ Interview with Blanca Flor Bonilla, FMLN International Relations Secretariat. September 19, 2014. Blanca Flor Bonilla formed part of this commission in early 2003.

³⁵ Interview with Silvia Cartagena, Magistrate of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal. September 19, 2014. “El proceso del Voto desde el Exterior comenzó un poquito después de los firmados de los acuerdos de paz. Llevo varios años el proceso, retrocedíamos, avanzábamos y finalmente en la campaña presidencial del 2009, tanto el FMLN y el licenciado Mauricio Funes lo incorporan en su plataforma. Y por eso de inmediato cuando Funes toma posesión comienza todo el proceso para su aprobación. El ejecutivo, el comisiono un personal específico para encabezar todo el esfuerzo...El proceso del Voto desde el Exterior comenzó un poquito después de los firmados de los acuerdos de paz. Llevo varios años el proceso, retrocedíamos, avanzábamos y finalmente en la campaña presidencial del 2009, tanto el FMLN y el licenciado Mauricio Funes lo incorporan en su plataforma. Y por eso de inmediato cuando Funes toma posesión comienza todo el proceso para su aprobación. El ejecutivo, elcomisiono un personal específico para encabezar todo el esfuerzo...”

³⁶ Ley Especial para el Ejercicio del Voto Desde el Exterior. Assamblea Legislativa, San Salvador, El Salvador. 24 de Enero del 2013.

Chicas from the TSE and declared that it was unconstitutional to elect him as president of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal for his affiliation with the leftist political party, the FMLN.³⁷ At the time of the interview, Chicas was no longer the president of the TSE; but his role in implementing and carrying out the Vote from Abroad Law remained significant to my study.

Implementing the Vote from Abroad Law in the exterior was a hard and arduous process. In my interview with Magistrate of the TSE, Silvia Cartagena, I learned that the TSE had counted with little time to implement the new law. The president of El Salvador pushed the law through the Legislative Assembly, but by the time the Assembly was done reviewing and approving it, they were only a few months left until the official closing of voter registrations. By law, voter registrations are required to close one year previous to each election. Some argued, says Cartagena that the voter registration deadline should have been extended for voters in the exterior; but she along with others, were against this extension because it would open the door to speculation around electoral fraud. The electoral system in El Salvador she says is based on “political mistrust” and as a result, institutions such as the TSE must be careful.³⁸

The approval of the Vote from Abroad Law only months before the registration deadline resulted in low voter registrations, among other things. With such limited time and resources it became difficult to promote and register Salvadorans around the world. Instead, regions with the largest populations of Salvadorans, such as the United States and Canada were targeted. Yet,

³⁷ CISPES, *Supreme Court Ousts President of Supreme Electoral Tribunal*, <http://www.cispes.org/blog/supreme-court-ousts-president-supreme-electoral-tribunal/> (Accessed Mar. 20, 2015)

³⁸ Interview with Silvia Cartagena. Sept. 9, 2014. “...los tiempos también fueron muy limitados porque, entre que el Ejecutivo manda su proyecto del voto desde el exterior al Parlamento, y mientras el Parlamento lo discute los tiempos de ley que aplica el tribunal se fueron reduciendo. Y por ley, un año antes de cada elección se cierra el registro electoral. Entonces cuando la Asamblea termina de aprobar el decreto ya quedaba semanas...entonces eso fue bien limitado y en el tribunal algunos discretos porque había quienes sostenían que se debía abrir un prologa especial para el exterior, y otros-yo entre ellas, no estuve de acuerdo porque el tema de registro electoral es un elemento muy bien sensible de todo el registro electoral. Podría prestarse ha subjetividades en el sentido de que estábamos alterando el pararon. Verdad, entonces tuvimos una plática muy franca con el Parlamento, ni el Parlamento autoriza y varios en el Tribunal tampoco compartíamos de abrir los.”

implementing and informing the Salvadoran community in North America about the process of registering to vote and voting was complex. According to Cartagena, each state has laws prohibiting foreign governments from advertising through media and as a result the tribunal was forced to inform the public via online resources, consulates and civil organizations.³⁹

The 2014 elections from the exterior became a pilot test for the implementation of Diasporic suffrage. The tribunal relied heavily on Salvadoran consulates in the U.S. and Canada to promote the elections, voter registration, and distribute official Salvadoran Identity Cards (DUI). Unfortunately, these institutions were not in the condition to carry out such complex electoral tasks.⁴⁰ The implementation of the Vote from Abroad Law was dependent on the department of Foreign Relations and consulates, not on the TSE as it should be.

Eugenio Chicas explained the four-step process required to officially register to vote for the elections: First, citizens had to have a Salvadoran Identity Card (DUI), second the card had to be current-that is not expired, third, voters had to provide a current residential address in the exterior. After registering to vote, the last condition was that the vote be cast through a mail in ballot system.⁴¹ According to Cartagena, this process proved problematic because many undocumented Salvadorans in the United States did not want to provide up to date residences because they feared being tracked down by U.S. immigration officials. In addition, some people were more interested in updating their DUI's than actually registering to vote.

The nationality of Salvadorans born in the exterior is guaranteed by the Constitution of the Republic of El Salvador.⁴² Salvadorans born in the exterior also benefited from the new Vote

³⁹ Interview with Engineer Jaime Edgardo Juarez, Director for Strengthening Democratic Institutions. September 9, 2014.

⁴⁰ Interview with Silvia Cartagena. Sept. 9, 2014.

⁴¹ Interview with Eugenio Chicas Martínez. Sept. 9, 2014.

⁴² Constitución de la República de El Salvador. Título IV, Art. 90, número 1. " Art. 90.-Son salvadoreños por nacimiento: 2. Los hijos de padre o madre salvadoreños, nacidos en el extranjero."

from Abroad Law. In order to register, they had an additional step to complete before they could receive their DUI; they had to prove their nationality.⁴³ They could do this by providing certain documents, including the passports of both their mother and father that showed that at least one of their parents was a Salvadoran national. Unfortunately, some people did not have access to those documents, which made it difficult for Salvadorans born outside of El Salvador to register to vote for the 2014 presidential elections.

Visions for Democracy: Salvadoran women in the Diaspora

The 2014 presidential elections were historic; for the first time citizens residing in the exterior were able to cast their votes through a sophisticated mail in ballot system. Of the 10, 337 people that registered to vote from the exterior, 10,327 were residing in the United States and Canada.⁴⁴ In addition, the Vote from Abroad Law recognized the nationality and suffrage of Salvadoran's born in the exterior.

The leftist political party, the FMLN successfully implemented across the board and developed the Political Party Law, which requires that all political parties elect at the minimum 35% of women for candidacies in governmental positions. As representatives from the TSE

⁴³ Interview with Silvia Cartagena. Sept. 9, 2014. “Interviewer: También supe que para los salvadoreños nacidos halla en los Estados Unidos y en otras partes se les hizo difícil entregar algunos de los documentos que se necesitaban para empadronarse. Como por ejemplo, necesitaban los dos pasaportes de la mamá y papá, y alguna gente no tenía acceso a todos esos documentos. Silvia: Sí, es que nosotros, nuestro sistema electoral está basado sobre las desconfianzas políticas. El tribunal supremo inclusive es producto de los Acuerdos de Paz. Aquí hubo guerra para crear un tribunal porque nadie creía en elecciones. Entonces la construcción del registro electoral es un tema que todas las fuerzas políticas le ponen mucha atención. La emisión de documentos del DUI para votar es un tema muy sensible. Y a ha habido, desde años hay fuertes denuncias de que ha habido un uso indebido e ilegal del uso de los documentos. Aquí hasta el terrorista Posada Carriles obtuvo documento salvadoreño para votar. Entonces no se puede dar, tan fácilmente este documento. Tiene que ver otros que lo soporten, que demuestren que fidedigno, que esta vivo, que no es para narcotráfico, que se va usar. Entonces todo eso limite pero más que todo es por los tiempos, digamos-jurídicos del que contaba el tribunal para crear el padrón desde el exterior. Si el parlamento hubiera aprobado seis meses antes el decreto hubiésemos tenido mas chance. Pero fue bien limitado.”

⁴⁴ Centro de Intercambio y Solidaridad (CIS), *Informe Final 2014: Decima Mision Internacional de Observadores Electorales, Elecciones Presidenciales 2 de Febrero y 9 de Marzo de 2014*, 15-17.

declared during our interviews, increasing the political representation and civic participation of women in national politics is critical to the development of democracy.

During the elections, Salvadoran women were among the most politically and civically engaged. According to Eugenio Chicas, 53 percent of the people who voted in the 2014 elections were women. While this percent encompasses votes of women in El Salvador and in the exterior, it can also be miss leading because it does not reveal the exact percentage of women that voted strictly from the diaspora. Data released by the TSE post elections revealed that women in the exterior voted in less numbers than men, where as in El Salvador it was the opposite.⁴⁵

Considering the policies implemented by the TSE that aimed at increasing the vote of women in El Salvador, I was interested in knowing if these types of initiatives were also implemented in the Diaspora. Silvia Cartagena Magistrate of the TSE responded very frankly that there were no specific attempts aimed at encouraging women's votes from abroad. In fact, the Vote from Abroad Law and the presidential elections were poorly promoted in the exterior in general because of time and resource restrictions. The 2014 vote from the exterior initiative ended up being a pilot attempt at developing Diasporic suffrage. In this way, the TSE did not aim at garnering the votes of women in any gender specific way, instead it aimed at launching the law as an initial step. Though initiatives were not taken to increase women's votes from the exterior, the TSE remains hopeful that the Salvadoran government will continue to work in developing a system that adequately addresses the political rights of Salvadorans in the exterior.

Silvia Cartagena, who at the time of the interview was Magistrate of the TSE, was the first woman to hold the position of Vice-President of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE). Previous to that position, Cartagena had also formed part of the Legislative Assembly and its Commission on International Relations and Salvadorans in the Exterior. According to Silvia

⁴⁵ See appendix for data released by the TSE.

Cartagena, the topic of Diasporic suffrage should not be discussed in terms of remittances; instead it should be addressed as a human right. She states that one main challenge around Diasporic suffrage is increasing the participation of the diaspora and women. This will be a challenge for the Legislature and its International Relations body, which must begin to create new legislation that will insure transparency in the voting process. This might also imply changing the function of El Salvador's consulates abroad so that they can go beyond providing passports and begin addressing the human rights of citizens in the exterior such as the right to vote in national elections.⁴⁶ In the same line, Eugenio Chicas Martínez adds, that the participation of women in national elections from the diaspora would ensure the political representation and interests of more than half the Salvadoran population. Salvadoran women he says, are heads of households, they are up and coming business entrepreneurs, students, and are at the center of Salvadoran families. National politics directly affect these women's interest and as a result the TSE must make every effort to concretize programs directed toward increasing women's participation and representation at the social, economic, political and national levels.⁴⁷

Though the TSE did not make any specialized actions to encourage women's vote in the exterior, it did work to fortify bonds with civil organizations from the exterior that also served to disperse information about the vote. Jaime Edgardo Juarez who is the Director for Strengthening Democratic Institutions in the TSE was in charge of maintaining communications with various sectors of civil society including civil organizations, non-profit organizations and immigrant

⁴⁶ Interview with Silvia Cartagena. Sept. 9, 2014. "Yo creo que el enfoque debe tratarse el tema de la Diáspora, es a partir de los derechos humanos y no del punto de la remesa. Allí tenemos dos enfoques bien enfrentados. El desafío para el tribunal es asegurar que haya una mayor participación de la Diáspora y de las mujeres que son parte de la Diáspora. Ahora, esto implica para relaciones exteriores y para el parlamento en crear una legislación más que de mayor facilidad, que asegure transparencia y de proceso, pero que también de una mayor facilidad para todas las compatriotas que están en todas partes del mundo. Esto pasa por cambiar inclusive el concepto del servicio consular. Que se queda muy emitiendo pasaportes y no atendiendo los servicios muy humanos de los compatriotas. Es un reto para todo el estado y para la sociedad. Es fundamental."

⁴⁷ Interview with Eugenio Chicas Martínez. Sept. 9, 2014.

rights groups from abroad. Many of the organizations the tribunal worked with, he observed; were led by women activist from the exterior. The tribunal needs to develop a policy towards increasing the participation of women in the electoral process in the exterior. So far, the Diaspora is only allowed a “passive vote,” meaning that they are only electing representatives in El Salvador. When they are given an “active vote” it means that they are not only electing officials but also have representatives of the diaspora within electoral processes and national assemblies.

48

The new Vote from Abroad Law was a step towards recognizing the political rights of Salvadorans living abroad. While Salvadorans were not able to register in large numbers due to limiting beaucratic and social factors, the tribunal hopes to improve its outreach to women and the diaspora in general. The 2019 presidential elections are a fast approaching opportunity to implement and improve these changes. In the future, the TSE also hopes that Salvadorans in the exterior will not just cast “passive votes” but will elect representatives to push their interests in the Legislative Assembly and other governing bodies.

FMLN Campaign Committees

The 2014 presidential elections and the passing of the new Vote from Abroad Law provided Salvadorans in the United States with the opportunity to participate in electoral politics. Discussions around the enfranchisement of Salvadoran refugees in the exterior began shortly

⁴⁸ Interview with Jaime Edgardo Juarez. Sept. 9, 2014. “Lamentablemente, hoy por hoy para los salvadoreños en el exterior solo existe el voto pasivo, como se le llama “la facultad del voto activo” no si el voto pasivo, es así, todavía no se eligen representantes de salvadoreños en las estructuras que se construyan en los procesos electorales. Al menos que esa persona venga al país y desde aya se instale acá para participar en los procesos electorales como candidato. Pero deben de residir acá, residiendo allá, no excité por hoy mecanismo. A futuro tendrán que buscarse alternativas para ello y con ello mismo generar políticas orientadas directamente para la participación de las mujeres.”

after the 1992 peace accords.⁴⁹ In 2009, the leftist political party incorporated the enfranchisement of Salvadorans in the exterior into their presidential agenda.⁵⁰ By early 2013, the new law had been passed in the Legislative Assembly and the FMLN saw an opportunity to organize supporters abroad.

The party launched a last minute electoral campaign and registration drive in North America. Secretary of International Relations, Blanca Flor Bonilla was responsible for contacting the party's already existing base and organizing new supporters in the U.S. and Canada. What resulted were ten Campaign Committees across the United States in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Dallas, Houston, Chicago, Washington D.C., Virginia, New York, New Jersey and Boston.⁵¹ An additional Campaign Committee was established in Santa Cruz, California as an extension of the San Francisco committee. Lastly, a Campaign Committee was established in Toronto, Canada.⁵²

Each Campaign Committee (CC) distributed information concerning the Vote from Abroad Law and the importance of voting to local Salvadoran communities and allied organizations. They also shared information concerning the leftist's party political platforms and their most successful social policies implemented post 2009. At times the committees were organized within already existing FMLN organizations. Such is the case in Los Angeles, where

⁴⁹ Interview with Silvia Cartagena. Sept. 9, 2014. "El proceso del Voto desde el Exterior comenzó un poquito después de los firmados de los acuerdos de paz. Llevo varios años el proceso, retrocedemos, avanzábamos y finalmente en la campaña presidencial del 2009, tanto el FMLN y el licenciado Mauricio Funes lo incorporan en su plataforma. Y por eso de inmediato cuando Funes toma posesión comienza todo el proceso para su aprobación. El ejecutivo, el comisiono un personal específico para encabezar todo el esfuerzo..."

⁵⁰ My translations: "Comandos de Campaña."

⁵¹ Interview with Blanca Flor Bonilla. Sept. 9, 2014.

"Interviewer: ¿Y sabe a dónde estaban los comandos de campana?"

Blanca:...estuvieron en Los Ángeles, San Francisco, Santa Cruz- uno chiquito, ya por ultimo, pero lo incorporamos a San Francisco. Ósea que en California hubo dos. De allí en el sur del este, hubo en Dallas, Houston, en esas dos ciudades tomando en cuenta el volumen de Salvadoreños. Hubo en Chicago uno. Estuvo en Maryland, Washington, Virginia, Nueva York, Nueva Jersey y en Boston. Esos fueron los lugares donde hubo comandos de campana."

⁵² The Campaign Committee in Toronto, Canada was the only committee established outside the ten committees in the United States. It is not investigated in this study. Further research is needed.

the FMLN committee also doubled as an elections committee. Other times, the Campaign Committees resulted in the founding of new party committees, where in Santa Cruz the 2014 electoral campaign resulted in the founding of the first committee in the city.

The FMLN Presidential and Vice-presidential nominees and other representatives were invited to some of these cities to give talks regarding the party's plans for a new government. According to Blanca Flor, previous to the campaign the party had already traveled to over 48 cities around the world and asked Salvadorans what they demanded from the new government. These concerns, critiques and recommendations were incorporated into the FMLN's political platforms for the 2014 elections.⁵³

Field Study #2 Salvadoran women in the Diaspora:

In this study, I hypothesized that, beyond garnering votes, the 2014 FMLN presidential campaign and Vote from Abroad Law provided a unique opportunity for Salvadoran women of diverse ages and backgrounds to politically mobilize in the exterior. In addition, the Campaign Committees incorporated the leadership of various women in FMLN bases and allied organizations. *For this study, I use three designated campaign regions, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Santa Cruz, to understand how and why Salvadoran women mobilized to support the 2014 FMLN presidential campaign.*

There were additional reasons why I selected Los Angeles, San Francisco and Santa Cruz as my regions of study. Foremost, Los Angeles and San Francisco are cities with a long history of Central American sociopolitical mobilization. The sheer numbers of Central and Salvadoran migrants residing in the region has been significant since the early 1980s. Logistically, these two sites and the city of Santa Cruz were locations in which I had the most connections and

⁵³ Interview with Blanca Flor Bonilla. Sept. 9, 2014. "Con ellos se fue a las 10 ciudades hacer la consulta para hacer el programa. Y a nivel del mundo fuimos a 48 ciudades en el mundo a preguntarles a los salvadoreños y salvadoreñas que ellos estaban proponiendo para este gobierno."

proximity too. At the time of this study, I was studying in the University of California Santa Cruz and all three cities were accessible to me on a student budget.

Between December and March 2015, I conducted nine life-history interviews with Salvadoran women who were politically active during the 2014 FMLN presidential campaign in these three locations. All interviews lasted between 1-2 hours and were conducted in Spanish and English depending on the persons preferred language. At times, the interviews were conducted in both languages.

Interview questions addressed the subject's biographical history; which included their history of migration, heritage, residence, education, employment and trade, family structures and daily tasks. The questions also emphasized the interviewee's history of mobilization and politicization *previous to* the FMLN campaign, *during* the campaign, and *after* the campaign. The final part of the study asked questions regarding the interviewee's ideological identifications on political mobilization, feminist ideals, and their experiences as women in spaces of political mobilization within the Salvadoran left. Because I was inquiring about political affiliations and activism with a foreign political party, potential risks of participating in this study included being discriminated against on the basis of political affiliation, or political ideology. As a precautionary measure and for the purposes of protecting my interview subjects, I will maintain their identity confidential throughout this study by using pseudonyms.⁵⁴

Introduction to Interview Subjects:⁵⁵

Los Angeles

Norma, Nidia, and Marta were politically active in the city of Los Angeles. **Norma** is 24 years old and she is a second generation Salvadoran in the United States. Along with several

⁵⁴ See Appendix for IRB Human Subjects approval and details.

⁵⁵ Please note that the following are simplified biographies of the nine Salvadoran women interviewed in this study. They, their histories, and their experiences stem beyond the organizing they did during the 2014 elections. For the purposes of this study, I only share information related to their heritage, education, employment, parental life, and activism in Salvadoran organizations and allies. To read more about their histories please refer to transcripts of interviews.

USEU founders she helped create the first chapter at UCLA and her activism in this student organization led her to become active in the *FMLN Youth (JFMLN)*. She received her B.A. in History and in 2014 received her Masters. In early 2013, she formed part of the *FMLN Campaign Committee* of Los Angeles where she helped organize for the 2014 presidential elections. While finishing up her Masters degree in New York City, she became active in the *FMLN Campaign Committee-NYC* until mid 2014 when she returned to Los Angeles. As she prepares to attend graduate school, Norma continues to organize with the *JFMLN* around issues of social justice and political activism.

Nidia was born and raised in West Los Angeles. At 34, she works in public health and lives in Culver City. Like Norma, she is also a second generation Salvadoran in the United States. She too helped found the first *USEU* UCLA chapter and today is integral to the *JFMLN* Los Angeles. Both these organizations have served her as spaces for political and social consciousness. She along with the *JFMLN* helped organize various informational drives surrounding the 2014 presidential elections in El Salvador, Vote from Abroad Law, and the *FMLN* presidential platforms.

In 1989 near the end of the civil war, **Marta** left El Salvador with her mother. She arrived in Los Angeles at the age nine, making her part of the 1.5-generation. She studied Political Science at CSU Long Beach, and became the first Salvadoran coordinator of (CISPES) in Los Angeles. She was soon provided with an opportunity to work with the Salvadoran American National Association (SANA); through which she was exposed to other Salvadoran organizers and the *FMLN* party. In 2013, Blanca Flor Bonilla selected Marta to be a leader of the *FMLN* Campaign Committee in Los Angeles, the city with the most Salvadorans across the

nation. She was the youngest coordinator and the first 1.5-generation to take the role. Her responsibility was to unify and mobilize party militants and affiliates in the region.

San Francisco

Susana was born in the province of Mexicanos in the 1950s and was raised in Cuscatansigo. Because of El Salvador's political situation her family had been persecuted by the Salvadoran military; her first husband was killed at the age of 22, and she was a political prisoner in 1980. She was a literature teacher and she recalls that many of her students were killed or disappeared during that time. Susana immigrated to the U.S. in 1981 and then again in 1983. As a 1st generation Salvadoran in the U.S., Susana longed to find a community in the bay area where she eventually settled. She soon found that community in the mission and she remarried a fellow organizer who was a U.S. citizen. Susana continued her education in San Francisco eventually receiving her AA, B.A. and Masters. Susana worked as a teacher in the SF school district for 20 years and continues to work as a community college teacher. Susana and her husband are CISPES contributors and organizers. Previous to the elections they participated in various events aimed at informing the community about the elections, bringing consciousness to youth about the importance of social change policies in El Salvador and the Vote from Abroad Law. They also supported the party in various ways, most notably through their belief in the FMLN's vision for social, economic and political change.

Santa Cruz:

Blanca is a second generation Salvadoran in the United States she was born and raised in Los Angeles. Her parents first migrated from El Salvador in the early 1980s. Her mother was originally born in Guatemala, but spent the majority of her life in El Salvador. Today, Blanca is

22 years old and is a recent graduate of the University of California Santa Cruz where she finished a combined major in Sociology and Latin American and Latino Studies. Both her parents have always been open about their experiences in El Salvador and at a young age, Blanca became acquainted with the FMLN party in Los Angeles and first joined the *FMLN Youth (JFMLN)* in her early teens. In her freshman year at UCSC, she began organizing with the Salvadoran Student Union (USEU) and by mid 2013 was active within the new Salvadoran Committee of Santa Cruz, which also doubled as an FMLN base committee. Previous to the elections, she participated in various events related to the Vote from Abroad Law, the “I am also Salvadoran” campaign and helped organize consulate visits in Santa Cruz. After she graduated, she returned to Los Angeles and has re-incorporated herself to the JFMLN there.

Prudencia is also a second generation Salvadoran born in Los Angeles. She is 26 years of age and graduated from UCSC in 2011. While at the university she organized with USEU and after graduation she primarily worked with CISPES. In early 2013, she became involved with the Salvadoran Committee of Santa Cruz and the party to help organize community events to inform about the elections and new voting rights. During the 2014 presidential elections, she participated and helped organize an international electoral watch with CISPES. Upon her return, she entered her Masters program in education and counseling and is pursuing a career as a student resource director.

Ana Maria was born in El Salvador and immigrated to the U.S. in 1999; becoming a first generation Salvadoran in the U.S. Today, she is 42 years of age, married, and with three children. She and her husband are active within the Salvadoran Committee of Santa Cruz. In mid 2013, they began organizing and volunteering with the Salvadoran consulate in order to inform the Salvadoran community of Santa Cruz about the new Vote from Abroad law, the FMLN

presidential platforms, and informational events. The committee went door to door to find and organize Salvadorans in Santa Cruz. They also volunteered their time to help other Salvadorans in the area make appointments at the consulate, apply for the DUI and register to vote. Today, Ana Maria is still active in the committee though she feels that her participation continues to be limited due to her responsibilities as a mother. During the day when her students are at school, she attends English courses because she soon hopes to be able to apply for citizenship in the United States.

Claudia is 19 years of age and she is the youngest of the nine interview subjects. She immigrated to San Francisco in 1995, at the age of 13. As a child, Claudia experienced familial instability related to separation, gang activity, aggression, drug use and at times neglect. As a young teen, she became involved with an MS13 gang in San Francisco. Her involvement resulted from a need to be part of a community and to feel like she belonged. Her participation, and her families role in gangs has not led her to think badly of gang members, on the contrary, she stresses the importance of recognizing these people as deserving of respect and human rights. Her high school counselors advised her to apply to universities, and she was eventually accepted into the University of California Santa Cruz. She is now a junior and is majoring in intensive psychology. Claudia, is more than just a student, she is also a young poet and student organizer within the Salvadoran Student Union (USEU). During the 2014 presidential elections Claudia attended the February and March elections watch organized by the Salvadoran community of Santa Cruz. Her activism during the elections was restricted to the university and USEU; where students had open talks regarding the FMLN, the 2014 elections and USEU's relationship to it all. Post elections, Claudia has continued to organize with USEU and has grown closer to the

Salvadoran Committee of Santa Cruz. She is not a party member, but recognizes the importance of understanding the roots of the FMLN and El Salvador's history overall.

Olga is a 1st generation Salvadoran in the United States. She originally migrated from El Salvador in the early 1980's with the rest of her family. Her family members had been involved in the resistance movement and she had a brother who was part of the guerillas. As the military closed in on their activities her family decided to leave the country. They were refugees in Mexico for 3 years before making their way to Santa Cruz in 1983. In the U.S. Olga and her family continued to organize and send resources to the "muchachos" or "the boys".⁵⁶ She and her family immediately joined the FMLN base committees; but the group abandoned their activities because they were intercepted by the CIA. In August of 2013, Olga reincorporated herself into the Salvadoran Committee of Santa Cruz. She attended and collaborated in various events through the end of the elections. The death and illness of several close family members led her to de mobilize from the party after the elections. But she expresses that she plans to help whenever she can.

⁵⁶ "Los Muchachos" was a term typically used to refer to the men who had incorporated themselves into the Salvadoran guerilla forces.

VI. Analysis

“I also welcome the women, who have actively participated in our search for a better country. If we seek a Quality Life for all, this project must have a feminine profile. For this reason, women’s rights are a priority of our new government.” ~Salvador Sánchez Cerén September 1, 2013 ⁵⁷

In this study, I sought to understand **how and why Salvadoran women in the Diaspora mobilized to support the 2014 Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) presidential campaign**. I hypothesized, that the campaign offered a unique opportunity for Salvadoran women of diverse ages and backgrounds to mobilize in support of the party. The interviews revealed that Salvadoran women mobilized with the party at varying levels. These different levels of participation are reflected through a conceptual image called, “La Cebolla.” ⁵⁸ Claudia, one of my interview subjects, explained the concept as a visual tool used by the Salvadoran committees and other local organizers to define the roles of the organizations militants, affiliates, and sympathizers. Through the “Cebolla” framework, I realized that Salvadoran women mobilized in support of the party depending on the organization they were part of, and the extent of the organizations affiliation to the party. Women also mobilized as independent actors; a participation that was determined on the women’s political ideology and militancy in the party.

In trying to understand how Salvadoran women mobilized, these interviews reveal the roles and contributions women believe they made to the campaign and elections. Ultimately, this study revealed that the nine Salvadoran women I interviewed mobilized because they had a sense of conviction to contribute to social change in El Salvador via the party. They believed that it was their historical and social responsibility to organize Salvadorans in order to bring social

⁵⁷ Salvador Sánchez Cerén speech, *El Salvador Adelante: Programa de gobierno para profundizar los cambios*. San Salvador, September 1, 2013. Translation my own: “Saludo también a las mujeres, que han participado activamente de nuestra búsqueda por un país mejor. Si buscamos el Buen Vivir, éste debe tener un rostro femenino. Por esta razón los derechos de las mujeres son una prioridad en nuestro gobierno.”

⁵⁸ See Appendix: VI. ANALYSIS for image.

change to El Salvador. Simultaneously, they believed it was their historical duty as Salvadorans residing in the exterior to empower Salvadoran communities in San Francisco, Santa Cruz, and Los Angeles. Their leadership and contributions during the campaign opened new doors for women, and youth activism in the Salvadoran left from the Diaspora.

“La Cebolla”

Throughout the interviews I conducted, I learned that not all of the women I spoke with related or organized with the party in the same way. The scale of participation ranged from party militant, allies to sympathizer. Each category relied on the extent of the subject’s political views and the spaces they organized from. These categories were also not static because the women moved in and out of the different roles depending on their abilities to attend and contribute to the movement.

The categories and levels of affiliation were originally developed by the FMLN; the roles and responsibilities of **militants** are described in the *FMLN Party Statutes, Title III, Article 7*. It reads,

“Party members are those who, without distinction of sex, religion, race, economic status, social or culture, accept the FMLN program, principles, statutes, and make an active effort to struggle for their implementation, they contribute an economic quota and meet the procedures of affiliation established by the party Regulations. Their participation in the party will remain voluntary.”⁵⁹

I first learned about the different levels of party affiliation in my interview with Norma. She is part of the party in Los Angeles and organized as part of the FMLN Youth (JFMLN) during the campaign. She explained that the party has a system through which it differentiates between those who are committed to its mission and those who are external from the party,

⁵⁹ *FMLN Party Statutes in Title III, Article 7*. “Son miembros del partido las personas sin distinción de sexo, religión, raza, condición económica, social y cultural, que acepten su programa, carta de principios, estatutos, se esfuercen y luchen activamente porque se cumplan, aporten su cuota económica y cumplan con el procedimiento de afiliación establecido en el Reglamento. Su permanencia en el partido será voluntaria.” (3)

“So there’s different types of [militants], there’s [militants], [affiliates], [and sympathizers]. [Militants] are the ones that you really are committed to the party, right? You understand its vision and its goal, and will do everything in your capacity to make sure that the party grows. [Affiliates] are the ones that go in and out, sympathize with the party but are not [part of the party]. [Sympathizers] are the ones that sympathize with the party’s vision [and] idea...”⁶⁰

The party’s base in Los Angeles, Santa Cruz and San Francisco is made up of militants and affiliates. Sympathizers also attend meetings but as individuals or organizations, they exist outside or in proximity to the party and its ideals. Logistically, militants are also expected to take oaths and contribute a voluntary economic sums to the party. Prudencia, a militant of the party during the 2014 campaign in Santa Cruz, California recalls being sworn in,

“I just remember him coming up to me and he was like, “Are you ready to be fully committed? Fully commit yourself to the cause? I was like, “How can you even question my involvement in all this, of course I’m ready”...So, we go to the first meeting and there are about four of us...and they were talking about the [committee’s] ideas and then some guy, the guy from Oakland...he was like, “Are you ready to take the oath?” I’m just like sitting there like, “I just came to learn more about what you guys were going to do. I didn’t know I was going to get sworn in-that fast. I was like, “sure.” So he made me take this oath that was like, “Do you promise to defend the FMLN flag for as long as you live? Do you promise to defend its mission?” And I was like, “Yes, yes,” completely terrified and I didn’t know what I was getting into. All I knew was, okay this is awesome, I’ve never been involved in any presidential campaign, and this is a first of its kind.”⁶¹

The oath taken by Prudencia was meant to officially integrate her into the FMLN committee of Santa Cruz. After the elections, Prudencia left Santa Cruz to pursue a Masters degree and has not continued to organize with the FMLN committee. Though she is a militant of the party in political terms, she is currently not an active militant because she is not attending the meetings regularly nor contributing to the monthly quota. This illustrates the ease in which militants move in and out of their roles as party members and can fall within the three scales freely.

Not all of the women I interviewed identified as militants. In my interview with Ana Maria, who is part of the FMLN Committee of Santa Cruz, she explained that her inability to

⁶⁰ Interview with Norma. December 27, 2014.

⁶¹ Interview with Prudencia. January 21, 2015.

take on roles and responsibilities in the committee were due to her parenting responsibilities which ultimately made her a party sympathizer, not a militant. But when asked to identify her level of ideological affiliation she confirms that she is a militant of the party because she believes in the party's vision.

“Well, how would I tell you, maybe as a militant, I am not. In reality, I am a sympathizer because the militant is my husband. Yes, I always support, we attend meetings, and I am in the committee. But, like I was telling you, there are different levels because sometimes I can't because of my children. Sometimes I can't attend the meetings or an event, or take on a certain role...so I am only a sympathizer, and am there with my husband helping in what I can...

Interviewer: And ideologically?

Ana Maria: Well, yes, ideologically yes. I know that they [the party] are doing what they can. In reality, the struggle is for social equality and well, it would be good if the changes continued and the government continued...”⁶²

Here, motherhood plays a critical role in defining Ana Maria's status as a militant of the party.

While politically she identifies as a militant, logistically she does not identify as militant.

Similarly, Olga who is also part of the FMLN Committee of Santa Cruz believes that her role in the party during the 2014 elections was limited. Late in 2013, Olga's mother passed away from a heart attack. That tragedy and her responsibilities at home limited her activism in the committee.

She recalls,

“We had various events, sometimes I cannot participate because I have to care for my brother who is handicap at home. In the moment, sometimes I tell them that when I can, and I want to continue participating, I will try to...”⁶³

⁶² Interview with Ana Maria. February 5, 2015. My translation. ““Ana Maria: Pues, no le dijera, como tal vez militante, militante no soy. Sino soy como, simpatizante porque él militante, militante es mi esposo por lo mismo. Si, yo siempre lo apoyo, y vamos a las juntas, yo estoy en el comite. Pero como le digo es diferentes escalas que hay. Porque a veces yo no puedo por mis hijos. no puedo asistir a las juntas o un algún evento agarrarme un cargo...asi que nada mas soy simpatizante que estoy con mi esposo ayudando en lo que pueda...”

Interviewer: Y ideologicamente?

Ana Maria: Pues si, ideológicamente , pues si, yo se que estan haciendo lo mejor que pueden y que en realidad la lucha es por la igualdad social. Y pues, seria bueno de que los cambios continuen y que el gobierno continue...”

⁶³ Interview with Olga. March 27, 2015. “Olga: Tuvimos varios eventos, a veces no puedo participar a todos porque, todavía tengo a mi hermano también en la casa, y él es pues discapacitado y tengo que estar pendiente con el. Y en el momento, yo les digo cuando puedo, y quiero seguir aportando, voy a tartar de hacerlo...”

In our interview, Olga revealed that since her arrival in the U.S. in the early 1980s she has been a party militant and helped organize drives to provide resources for guerilleros in El Salvador during the Civil War. Though ideologically she is a party militant, she was not able to exert the roles and responsibilities of militants as she had in the past. As a result, she participated in the party campaign the only way she could, by attending the events or providing a place to host committee meetings.

In another example, Susana who is a long time CISPES contributor and organizer in San Francisco, states that her role within CISPES requires her to remain neutral,

“Interviewer: So, do you organize with the FMLN?

Susana: With CISPES...well...we go to El Salvador...the thing is that we don't want CISPES to be seen as close to the party...we can work with the party, but the thing is that there are forces in El Salvador that critique [CISPES] very strongly and they say that as CISPES we cannot be partisan...but you know its the same circle...”⁶⁴

As an organization, CISPES remains sympathetic to the FMLN's vision for social changes. Yet this does not mean that its organizers cannot be militants of the FMLN party; it means that when representing CISPES the organizers are required to uphold political neutrality. In a similar example, Prudencia who was an organizer with CISPES during the 2014 elections also formed part of the FMLN committee in Santa Cruz as a party militant.

Using the frameworks of militants, sympathizers and affiliates can help us understand the relationship between Salvadoran women in the Diaspora and the Salvadoran left. Claudia who is an USEU youth organizer, describes the relationship between the three roles as something that

⁶⁴ Interview with Susana. February 21, 2015. “Interviewer: Entonces usted se organiza con el FMLN? Susana: Con CISPES...si bueno...Nosotros llegamos al Salvador...Es que lo que pasa es que no queremos que realmente se relacione [CISPES]...se puede trabajar con el, pero la cosa es que tenemos fuerzas desde El Salvador que nos critican muy duro y dicen que como CISPES no podemos ser [partidarios]...pero usted sabe que es el mismo círculo...”

looks like a “cebolla” (“onion”)... “La Cebolla” kind of a thing. So it [has] the layers, like this is core members [at the center], allies [next], [then] sympathizers [in the external layer]...”⁶⁵

In trying to understand the relationship between Salvadoran women and the Salvadoran left, I use the framework already employed by the party and the women I interviewed. “La Cebolla” helps us understand how the nine women I spoke to mobilized in support of the FMLN 2014 presidential campaign. For the purposes of this study, I understand militants to be, those women who supported and accepted the party’s ideological and political platforms and fulfilled the militant requirements mandated by the party, such as taking an oath and providing a quota. In doing, so they also mobilized within party factions to inform the community about the new Vote from Abroad Law, recruit new members and spread information concerning the party’s presidential platforms. Affiliates are those women who individually or through a collective organized outside of the party but held strong ties to the FMLN. The last, the sympathizers, are those women or collectives that sympathized with the party’s vision and helped organize with the party during certain events related to enfranchisement, elections and informational drives but did not take oaths, contribute quotas, or mobilized to promote the party.

I admit that there are a few problems with this framework as not all of the women interviewed self-identified within these categories. These levels of affiliation are also not static; women moved through them depending on their personal capabilities (as illustrated in the cases of Ana Maria and Olga). Though not all my interview subjects formed part of the FMLN base committees or the Campaign Committees, to a certain extent, many of them expressed some kind of support for the party’s candidacy for presidency and promises for social change.

⁶⁵ Interview with Claudia. March 11, 2015. In the interview, Claudia used her hands to illustrate the onion. I have recreated the design in the Appendix section. See VI. ANALYSIS.

Tracing Contributions

Salvadoran women in the Diaspora whether militants, affiliates or sympathizers of the party contributed their activism, their time, their networks and their leadership to the 2014 FMLN presidential campaign. The new Vote from Abroad Law sought to enfranchise and incorporate Salvadorans in the exterior into national politics. While, Salvadorans experienced tremendous difficulty in registering to vote, they found creative and unique ways to contribute to social change in El Salvador. Salvadoran women were not only present during the 2014 presidential campaign in the diaspora. Through their varying roles, the nine Salvadoran women I interviewed in this study were actively making contributions to the campaign. Many of them were politically engaged and were conscious actors of this engagement.

Between early 2013 and March 2014, Norma, Nidia, and Marta were active militants of the FMLN party in Los Angeles. Norma and Nidia formed part of the FMLN Youth (JFMLN) and were in charge of mobilizing youth. According to Norma, the JFMLN contributed to the campaign by coming up with creative ways to outreach to Salvadorans who were not already sympathizers with the party.

“Um, our Juventud, organized a lot more clandestinely. We participated in the [“I am also Salvadoran Campaign”]... I don’t know if you know this, the main organizers were [FMLN Youth] members up north. They started the campaign. Not all of them were, but some of them were... We organized two drives that summer, the [voter registration] and the big one was, because TPS was also happening... It was led by the [“I am also Salvadoran Campaign”] but the organizations who were pushing it were USEU and the [FMLN Youth} that even though a lot of never said that we were [FMLN Youth] we just did it like that. But it was strategically, because we wanted more folks to vote regardless of who they were voting for, register in that way.

The FMLN Youth in Los Angeles were initially in charge of mobilizing the youth for the party. While Norma says that the Youth failed in this sense, they did succeed in incorporating young Salvadorans into voter registration drives, potentially increasing number of people who could cast a vote for the FMLN. In addition, Marta offered leadership and dedication to the task

assigned through the FMLN Campaign Committee in Los Angeles in which she became among the few 1.5 generation Salvadorans to lead the campaign.

In San Francisco, Susana a first generation Salvadoran migrant, contributed to the campaign through her work with CISPES. As a solidarity activist and international electoral observer, she was able to make sure that the 2014 elections in El Salvador remained free and fare. This organization also made sure that the U.S. government and congress remained neutral and accepting of the new Salvadoran government no matter who won. Though Susana was not a party militant, she was able to contribute to the 2014 presidential campaign through an allied organization which creates a solidarity base in the United States that can put pressure on the U.S. government from the inside, to adopt or discontinue foreign policies that go against the sovereignty of Salvadoran people and their democratically elected governments.

In the city of Santa Cruz, Ana Maria volunteered her time and labor in order to mobilize the community. As a wife and mother of three, Ana Maria was not always able to attend the FMLN Salvadoran Committee Meetings. But when she was able to, she helped the committee by cooking at various events. Though she says that her participation was limited because of her motherly responsibilities, her ability to stay at home and take care of her children permitted her husband to go out into the community and organize. When she could Ana Maria also volunteered with her husband to help community members call the San Francisco Consulate to make appointments, ask questions and fill out forms.

Implications for Salvadoran Feminism and Women's Political Mobilizing from the Exterior

Salvadoran women's political mobilization during the 2014 FMLN presidential campaign opened new doors for women, and youth activism in leftist political spaces in the Diaspora. The nine Salvadoran women I interviewed assumed leadership roles as mothers, solidarity activist,

youth, student organizers and community organizers. While the extent to which they were allied to the party varied across the board, almost all of the women I interviewed believed that the FMLN was taking El Salvador in a unique direction by implementing social policies that benefit the Salvadoran people. In creating opportunities for Salvadoran women to enter positions of political influence in El Salvador and recruiting women and youth as leaders in the Diaspora illustrated that the FMLN in its larger vision seeks to create a better democracy.

While much of Salvadoran culture continues to be machista and women in El Salvador continue to be exposed to discrimination and violence, the women who were militants or affiliates of the party believed that the FMLN's does have "feminist vision" in the grander scale. Unfortunately, that vision of equality is not always reflected in the spaces of community organizing. Nidia and Norma from the FMLN Youth faction in Los Angeles continue to make an effort to challenge machismo, gendered discrimination in FMLN base committees. As part of the FMLN Youth, they also attempt to integrate a Marxist feminist framework that will not only look at Salvadoran economic inequality as the root of all evil, but also the intersections with gender and sexuality.

Marta an FMLN militant in Los Angeles believes that the party has opened the doors for women to take leadership positions not only in the community but also in the party.

"If a party opens the door to [women] and [youth], and we are not sitting there, whose fault is it, theirs or ours? If the party or any organization opens a chair, most of time it's not because they wanted to, most of the time it's because another [woman] has gone in and made sure that that table was available...at the end of the day, I felt like somebody like Norma, Nidia, Blanca Flor, Sola, Lorena, la Carolina even Ana Maria, they opened the door. The [party] made sure that even if there are people that are machista that we would have our space..."

She states that now, it is in the hands of youth and women in the Diaspora to take those positions. In doing so, this will open up the door for new generations to take leadership in the

creation of change in El Salvador and in the Diaspora. She believes that accepting the position of lead in the Campaign Committee has opened the door for other women in the party as women before her made had made possible,

Assuming Our Historical Responsibility

Ultimately, this study revealed that the nine Salvadoran women I interviewed, mobilized because they had a sense of conviction and need to contribute to social change in El Salvador, via the party. They believed that it was their historical and social responsibility to organize Salvadorans in the exterior in order to bring about change in El Salvador. But they strongly believed that organizing Salvadoran communities in San Francisco, Santa Cruz, and Los Angeles would do more than integrate the Diaspora on the national agenda, it would empower their communities. Outreaching to other youth and women was part of the process of creating a true democracy. While the Salvadoran government was unable to do it through its premature integrationist policies, these women and their respective organizations did what they could to inform the Salvadoran community in the exterior.

The 2014 FMLN presidential elections permitted the Salvadoran committee of Santa Cruz, and student organizations such as CISPES and USEU, to come together and organize an electoral watch. Claudia says, that she originally attended these events, not because of the party but because she wanted to grow closer to the community. A committee member came up to Claudia, and the following is her reflection of the importance of the event,

“I remember, I don’t know if at the end or at the beginning [a committee member] approached me and said “te paso la batuta” he has always been empowering me, he has always pushed me and motivated me...and something that really resonated was the fact that he said, “This is your historical duty, es tu tarea histórica, [your historic responsibility], right? You have to do this.” That is what has motivated me to organize, not only to learn about my history as a Salvadoran, but to organize with and to know that USEU, connected to the committee and doing some work with CISPES, it’s powerful...for the purposes of organizing Salvadorans here and for the purpose of raising awareness of things that are happening...because Chicanos are not going to tell what is

happening in El Salvador. CISPES might tell what is happening in El Salvador but it's not the same as Salvadorans themselves are taking action into these issues. It's for the purposes of getting Salvadorans education and engaged in political issues, getting Salvadorans to know each other...I definitely see how this is coming together..."

In February 2014, the elections watch that was organized by FMLN militants and affiliated organizations went beyond the elections and provided an opportunity for the various factions of the Salvadoran community in Santa Cruz to meet each other. After the elections, the three organizations came together again to discuss "La Cebolla" and where each organization fell in relation to the other.

Marta was asked to be a leader of the Campaign Committee in Los Angeles. Because she had worked with organizations close to the FMLN before such as CISPES and SANA, she had maintained a role of sympathizer. It is not until she is selected as a leader of the campaign that she "comes out" as part of the party. She felt that much of the party's militant base might not accept her because she was an internal member. But her fellow organizer, a Sandinista, encouraged her to accept the position and he offered her his unconditional support. In this way, the rest of the party and she accepted the role that had been assigned to her. In the following excerpt she expresses (in tears) the fear and awe she felt as a woman and youth in being asked to lead the campaign,

"I thought it was an honor for them to even consider me to be part of their [campaign committee]. It was more of a sense of [responsibility]. I was told, [assume your historical responsibility] ...and I said okay...I felt the shoes I was filling were huge, were huge-like I could fit my whole life in those shoes and I couldn't fill them. I knew enough about our history, I knew enough about the women who came before me, I knew everything they had gone through the torture, everything, I had heard about how women had been intimidated..."

Blanca Flor Bonilla, who was in charge of organizing the FMLN Campaign Committees selected Marta to be a campaign leader in Los Angeles. She had seen Marta's work and contributions to the Salvadoran community and the FMLN party through her work in SANA and CISPES. Marta

felt that the support she received from the community regardless of its initial bumps was empowering because she felt that she was opening the door for other youth, and other women to take on leadership roles and be trusted by the party.

VII. Conclusion

Like some of my interview subjects, I had never visited El Salvador as a child.

Fortunately, I was blessed with a multitude of stories about my mother's life as a poor peasant, an agricultural child laborer, and a single mother during the civil war. My father, who had been a youth activist, guerilla insurgent and a political prisoner for two years, often told us about the war on drunken nights. All in all, I knew something about the Civil War, poverty and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). Throughout my high school education, my eyes constantly searched for a reflection of these oral histories in our American history books. I constantly asked, "Where are my people in this story?"

When planning out this project all I knew was that I wanted to know something about Salvadoran women and transnational movements. As I searched for a topic, I recalled an event I attended in February of 2013 that left me stunned. The "National Dialogue," led by FMLN Vice Presidential nominee Oscar Ortiz had been attended by women and men who were 1st, 1.5, 2nd and 3rd generation Salvadorans in the United States. The talk was centered on citizenship, Diasporic suffrage, social justice, political participation and the FMLN's social advancements. I was thoroughly impressed by the way in which the party spoke about incorporating the Diaspora as citizens, and even more so, I was impacted by the way in which gender and machismo entered the conversation. I had never heard anything like it in my life. Soon enough, I found myself coming closely tied to Salvadoran organizations in Santa Cruz. By that time, these organizations were already organizing around the 2014 presidential elections.

The 2014 presidential elections in El Salvador created an opportunity for Salvadorans inside and outside of the country to rally under the flag of social justice and change. As the elections results would reveal, the Salvadoran people enthusiastically sought to continue the social policies promoted and implemented by the FMLN. The elections were also historical, because for the first time in El Salvador's history, Salvadorans residing outside of the country were permitted to cast their votes through a vote by mail ballot system. While more than 10,000 out of the 3 million Salvadorans residing in the exterior of El Salvador were able to register to vote, a little over 3,000 of those votes were valid. Yet, the votes in the first and second round of the elections coming in from the Diaspora predominantly swayed left.

In this study, I was interested in the relationship between Salvadoran women and the Salvadoran left. *I wanted to understand how and why Salvadoran women in the Diaspora mobilized to support the 2014 FMLN presidential campaign.* From being within the movement, I knew that women were present in the campaign from the exterior. To answer the research question above, I conducted two field studies: first, I interviewed Salvadoran institutional representatives in San Salvador, El Salvador concerning the way the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE) and the FMLN outreach to Salvadorans in the exterior to encourage their vote from the exterior. Interviews with the Supreme Electoral Tribunal revealed that limited time and resources did not allow the tribunal to fully outreach to Salvadorans in the exterior to vote. Similarly, because the Diasporic vote was a form of trial and error attempt, the tribunal and the party did not make specific efforts to encourage the votes of youth and women in the Diaspora.

In the second field study I conducted nine interviews that lasted between 1-2 hours each with Salvadoran women who were politically active in the cities of Los Angeles, Santa Cruz, and San Francisco. These interviews revealed the roles and contributions women believe they made

to the campaign and elections. In addition, the nine Salvadoran women I interviewed mobilized because they believed it was their duty to help El Salvador move towards radical social change. They believed that it was their historical and social responsibility to organize Salvadorans residing in the exterior to empower communities in San Francisco, Santa Cruz, Los Angeles as well as El Salvador. Their leadership and contributions during the campaign opened new doors for women, and youth activism in the Salvadoran left from the Diaspora.

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X. Appendix

IV. *METHODOLOGY*

Field Study #1: Salvadoran Institutional Representatives (September 2014)

Interview Questions: (English and Spanish versions)

[English:]

Introduction of interview subject:

Can you tell me something about your biography?

What has been your trajectory in the FMLN and social movements?

1.) Broadly speaking, can you describe the relationship and policy that [institution] maintains towards the social, cultural, economic and political participation of Salvadoran women in the Diaspora?

2.) Overall, what were some initiatives promoted by [institution] to increase the participation of Salvadoran's in the Diaspora during the 2014 presidential elections? What were the characteristics of these initiatives and what were the modes of implementation?

3) Can you tell me about any policies implemented by [institution] concerning the political participation of Salvadorans women in the Diaspora during the 2014 electoral campaign? What were the characteristics of these initiatives and what were the modes of implementation? What were the results of such policies?

4) What does the participation of Salvadoran women from the Diaspora in the 2014 electoral campaign mean or not mean to [institution]? What does it mean for El Salvador's democratic process?

5) In your opinion what new opportunities and challenges does Salvadorans women's participation pose for Salvadoran women's advancement in the Diaspora? What new challenges does this participation pose for [institution]?

[Spanish:]

Introducción de Representante:

Me puede dar un breve resumen de sus datos biográficos?

Cual ha sido su trayectoria en el FMLN y movimiento social?

Preguntas para entrevistas:

1) En términos amplios, ¿puede describir usted la relación y política que mantiene [institución] hacia la participación social, cultural, económica, y política de Salvadoreñas en el exterior?

2) ¿Puede dar una descripción un poco amplia sobre algunas iniciativas implementadas por [institución] para aumentar la participación de salvadoreños en el exterior durante las elecciones

presidenciales del 2014? Como se caracterizaron tales iniciativas y cuales fueron los modos de implementación?

3) ¿Me puede decir algo sobre cualquier política establecida por [institución] relativa a la participación política de mujeres Salvadoreñas desde la diáspora durante la campana electoral del 2014? Como se caracterizaron tales iniciativas y cuales fueron los modos de implementación? Que fueron los resultados de tales iniciativas?

4) ¿Que significa o no significa la participación de mujeres salvadoreñas desde la diáspora en esta campana electoral y para su [institución] ? Que significa para el proceso democrático de El Salvador?

5) En su opinión, ¿que nuevas oportunidades o desafíos presenta la participación de Salvadoreñas en el exterior hacia el avance de los derechos de la mujer Salvadoreña en la diáspora? Que nuevos desafíos presenta esta participación de Salvadoreñas para [institución]?

***Field Study #2:
Salvadoran Women in the Diaspora (Dec. 2014-Feb. 2015)***

[English]

Code #: _____ **Date/Time:** _____

I. Biographical Data:

Let's start off with a little bit about your background?

What is your age?

Where do you live? (City only)

Is that where you were born?

What is your (your parents) migration history?

When did you (your parents) first settle in this region? For how long and why?

Did you have family in this region?

What does a typical day look like for you?

What does your familial structure look like?

How many people are in your household? What is their relationship to you and one another?

If you have children, what is their age?

Do you take care of another family member?

Student:

What institution do you attend?

What year are you?

What are you studying?

If you just graduated, when did you graduate?

Are you first generation student?

Employment:

What do you do professionally? What do you work in?

What sort of employment have you held in the past?

II. History of Mobilization:

Prior to the Electoral Campaign and Salvadoran Elections, had you been active in the Salvadoran community or other communities?

Have you mobilized with the FMLN before? Have you mobilized with other Salvadoran organizations before? If yes, where?

Yes:

-Tell me more about this past activism.

-When was the first time you mobilized?

-Around what issues?

-Were you part of a group?

-What role (s) did you have in those movements?

No:

-What leads you to become involved in this campaign if you had not mobilized before?

Did you participate/organize in any community or public events before becoming active in the FMLN electoral campaign or the 2014 presidential elections in El Salvador?

Yes:

Tell me about your previous mobilization.

When was the first time you mobilized? Around what issues/topics did you initially participate in?

In what city? For how long were you involved?

Were you part of a group/collective? Which one(s)?

What was your role or responsibility in these movements?

What do you believe were your strongest contributions?

No:

What influenced your mobilization in the 2014 FMLN campaign if you had not been active before?

III. Mobilizing during the 2014 Elections and FMLN Campaign (2013-2014):

What led you to mobilize for the FMLN 2014 campaign?

Did you know about the FMLN before this period?

Had you mobilized around issues related to the FMLN before?

What did you know about the policies being proposed by the FMLN? What did you think about the parties policies?

What were your initial reactions to the ideas of Salvadorans voting from the exterior of El Salvador?

-Were you able to nationalize yourself, get your DUI in order to vote? Did you try to register to vote?

-Did you participate in any events that promoted the “Voting from the Exterior” law?
Why were these elections important to you?

If you had mobilized previously, did that mobilization influence your participation in the FMLN electoral campaign? How?

*Was mobilizing for the campaign different or similar to the mobilizing you had done before?
 Was it different? If so, in what ways?*

IV. Mobilization Post Elections:

Have you continued to mobilize?

Yes:

Around what issues do you mobilize?

Where? (City)

Do you work with any groups or collective?

Why do you continue to mobilize?

No:

What has led you to demobilize?

V. Reflective Ideological Identification:

On being a woman in spaces of Mobilization:

What can you tell me about being a woman mobilizing in spaces within the left in the in the U.S?

Do you feel like your experience in these spaces were in some ways different because you were a woman? Where they? If so, how?

Did/do you consider your activism political mobilization? Why or why not?

What do you get out of mobilizing? Has this mobilization opened or closed doors for you?

How does your activism during the campaign fit into your overall experience as a Salvadoran living outside of El Salvador?

[Spanish]

de Código: _____

Dia/Hora: _____

1. Datos Biográficos:

Comencemos con un poco de su historia biográfica?

¿Cuál es su edad?

¿En dónde vive? ciudad)

¿Allí nació?

¿Cual fue el motivo que migró hacia los EEUU? OCuál fue la razón que sus familiares emigraron hacia EEUU?

¿Cuándo se instaló usted en esta región? O ¿Cuándo se instalaron sus padres en esta región? ¿Por cuánto tiempo y porque?

¿Tenía familia en esta región?

¿Cuáles son algunas de sus vocaciones o tareas diarias (e.g. trabajo, organization, tiempo con familia)?

¿Cómo es su estructura familiar?

¿Cuántas personas hay en su hogar? ¿Cual es su relación hacia ellos/a?

Si tiene hijos/as, ¿que edad tienen?

¿Cuida usted de otro familiar?

Estudiante:

-¿Cual institución atiende?

-¿En qué año escolar esta?

-¿Que estudia/o?

-Si ya se graduó, ¿cuándo se graduó?

-¿Es usted primera generación en la universidad?

Empleo:

-¿Qué hace usted profesionalmente? ¿ En qué trabaja?

-¿Qué tipos de empleos ha tenido usted en el pasado?

II. Historia de Movilización:

¿Estuvo usted activa en la comunidad Salvadoreña ú otras comunidades antes de la campaña electoral del FMLN o de las elecciones del 2014 en El Salvador?

Si:

Cuénteme algo de su movilización anteriormente.

¿Cuándo fue la primera vez que se movilizó?

¿Cuales fueron o han sido los temas?

¿En cuál ciudad se movilizó y por cuánto tiempo?

¿Usted formó parte de un grupo?

¿Cuál fue su papel o responsabilidad principal dentro de esos movimientos?

¿En su opinión cuál fue su contribución más significativa?

No:

¿Qué influyó su decisión de movilizarse para la campaña del 2014 del FMLN si no se había movilitado anteriormente?

III. Movilización durante las elecciones presidenciales y campaña del FMLN (2013-2014):

¿Qué influyó su movilización en la campaña del FMLN en el 2014?

¿Supo usted del FMLN antes de este periodo?

¿Se había usted movilitado con temas relacionadas al FMLN anteriormente?

¿Qué sabía usted anteriormente de las plataformas políticas del FMLN? ¿Qué opina usted sobre esas plataformas políticas?

¿Qué fue su reacción inicial a la idea que Salvadoreños/as votarán desde el exterior de El Salvador?

¿Pudo usted nacionalizarse para poder votar, agarrar su DUI? ¿Intento empadronarse?

¿Participó en eventos que promocionan la ley del “Voto desde el Exterior”?

¿Porque le fue importante estas elecciones?

Si se había movilizado anteriormente, ¿Influenció esa movilización su participación durante la campaña electoral del FMLN? ¿Cómo?

¿Fue diferente o similar su movilización durante la campaña a la movilización que había hecho antes?

IV. Movilización Posterior a la Campaña:

¿Se ha continuado a movilizar?

Si:

¿Tras qué tema(s) se moviliza?

¿En dónde? Ciudad)

¿Se moviliza con un grupo o colectivo?

¿Porque continúa participando o movilizándose?

No:

¿Qué ha influenciado su desmovilización?

V. Reflexión, e Identificación ideológica:

Siendo una mujer en espacios de Movilización:

¿Qué me puede decir de su identidad como mujer en espacios de movilización de la izquierda en EEUU?

¿Siente usted que su experiencia en estos espacios fueron diferentes por su identidad como mujer? ¿Fueron diferente? ¿Como?

¿Considera usted que su activismo fue movilización política? ¿Por qué o por qué no?

¿Qué obtiene usted a cambio de su movilización? ¿Qué oportunidades le ha ofrecido esta movilización?

¿En qué modo se relaciona su movilización durante la campaña con su vida como Salvadoreña viviendo en el exterior?

Figure 4: IRB Exemption: Interviews with Salvadoran Institutional Representatives
IRB Approval: Interviews with Salvadoran Women in the Diaspora

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA CRUZ

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SAN DIEGO • SAN FRANCISCO

OFFICE OF RESEARCH COMPLIANCE ADMINISTRATION
 1473
 ucsc@ucsc.edu

SANTA CRUZ, CALIFORNIA 95064 TEL: (831) 459-

Salvadorian Women in the Diaspora and the 2014 FMLN Electoral Campaign
 UCSC IRB Protocol # 2274
 UCSC Principal Investigator: Pineda, Samantha
 Exemption Determination Date: 9/5/2014

Principal Investigator:

The Office of Research Compliance Administration has reviewed the proposed use of human subjects in the project referenced above and has determined that the project is exempt from further IRB review.

Please note that you should consult with the Office of Research Compliance Administration if you have any plans to make changes to our study. Additionally, if an adverse event or unanticipated problem occurs during the research, it is your responsibility to notify IRB immediately.

UCSC IRB operates under a Federalwide Assurance approved by the DHHS Office of Human Research Protections, FWA00002797. Our DHHS IRB Registration Number is 00000266.

Caitlin Deck, Director
 Office of Research Compliance Administration
 (831) 459-1473
 cdeck@ucsc.edu

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RE: Salvadoran Women in the Diaspora and the 2014 Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) Presidenti
 UCSC IRB Protocol # 2309
 UCSC Principal Investigator: Pineda, Samantha
 Approval Date: 2/19/2015

Dear Investigator:

The Human Subjects review committee has reviewed the proposed use of Human Subjects in the project referenced above and has determined that the project is approved for a period of three years. There is no need to submit an annual renewal form before the expiration date.

This approval will expire on 2/17/2018. You should reapply for review at least one month prior to the expiration date in order to continue conducting your research beyond that date.

Please remember that modifications to the protocol must be reviewed and approved by the IRB prior to being initiated.

Additionally, it is your responsibility to promptly notify the IRB of any unanticipated problem that occurs during the research, including any breach in confidentiality or data security that places participants or others at a greater risk of harm.

The UCSC Institutional Review Board operates under a Federalwide Assurance approved by the DHHS Office for Human Research Protections, FWA00002797. Our DHHS IRB Registration Number is IRB00000266.

Sincerely,

Caitlin Deck, Director
 Office of Research Compliance Administration
 (831) 459-1473

Flyers (Spanish and English)

¿Es usted una mujer Salvadoreña que se movilizó políticamente en la campaña presidencial del FMLN desde el exterior en el 2014?



¡Oportunidad para participar en Investigación!

¿Le interesaría compartir su experiencia y participación en la campaña? ¿Le gustaría recibir más información sobre este estudio?

Si es así, favor de contactar Samantha Pineda (investigadora principal):

Correo electrónico: spineda1@ucsc.edu Teléfono: 213.531.1339

Nota: La investigadora se está poniendo en contacto con posibles mujeres para entrevistar a través de referencias de otros activistas, estudiantes, y amigos/amigas. ¡Si usted sabe de alguien que participo o interesada en compartir su historia por favor deles contactos!

Más sobre la investigadora principal: Samantha Pineda es la investigadora principal en este estudio. Ella estudia feminismo y estudios latinoamericanos y latinos en la Universidad de California Santa Cruz. Este es su último año de licenciatura y está realizando esta investigación para graduarse. Ella organiza como estudiantes en la Unión Salvadoreña de Estudiantes Universitarios (USEU) en UCSC, es colaboradora general con el Comité en Solidaridad con El Pueblo Salvadoreño (CISPES) en UCSC, representante de USEU en el comité salvadoreño de Santa Cruz, y recientemente se ha unido a la Juventud del FMLN en California de sur.

Are you a Salvadoran woman who politically mobilized during the 2014 FMLN presidential campaign in the exterior of El Salvador?



Opportunity to participate in study!!!

Would you be willing to share your experience and participation in the campaign?
Would you like more information concerning this study?

If so, please contact Samantha Pineda (Primary Researcher)
Email: spineda1@ucsc.edu Or Call: 213. 531.1339

Note: Researcher is contacting potential interview subjects through word-of-mouth. If you know anyone who may be willing to participate in the study please forward the information above.

More about the Primary Researcher: Samantha Pineda is the primary researcher of this study. She is an undergraduate at the University of California Santa Cruz majoring in Feminist Studies and Latin American and Latino studies. She is a student organizer in the Unión Salvadoreña de Estudiantes Universitarios (USEU) at UC Santa Cruz, forms part of the Juventud FMLN-Los Angeles, is a youth representative in the Salvadoran Committee of Santa Cruz, and has previously interned with the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

V. FINDINGS

Figure 1: Elections Results Data: Elections in the Republic of El Salvador 2014

1st Round of Elections: February 5, 2014

Total votes for each party.

| Party: | Presidential Nominee (P.E.) /Vice Presidential Nominee (V.E) | Total Votes | Final % Count |
|--|---|--------------------|----------------------|
| ARENA | P.E: Norman Quijano | 1,047,592 | 38.96% |
| UNIDAD | P.E.: Antonio “Tony” Saca | 307,603 | 11.44% |
| FMLN | P.E.: Salvador Sanchez-Ceren V.E.: Oscar Oriz | 1,315,768 | 48.93% |
| FPS-Fraternidad Patriótica Salvadoreña | P.E.: Oscar Lemus V.E.: Rafael Menjivar | 6,659 | 0.25% |
| PSP-Partido Salvadoreño Progresista | P.E: René Rodríguez V.E: Adriana Bonilla | 11,314 | 0.42% |

*Data Retreated from: “*Escrutinio Final 2014: Primera Eleccion Presidencial 2014*”

February 5, 2014 (accessed 5/10/2014)

http://www.tse.gob.sv/2014/escrutiniofinal_1ray2davuelta/pres1/pais.htmlhttp://www.tse.gob.sv/2014/escrutiniofinal_1ray2davuelta/pres1/pais.html

http://www.tse.gob.sv/2014/escrutiniofinal_1ray2davuelta/pres1/pais.html

Round 1: Vote Count from the Diaspora. February 5, 2014.

| Party: | Presidential Nominee/Vice | Total Votes | Final % Count |
|---------------|--|--------------------|----------------------|
| ARENA | P.E: Norman Quijano | 599 | 31.38% |
| UNIDAD | P.E.: Antonio “Tony” Saca | 136 | 7.12% |
| FMLN | P.E.: Salvador Sanchez-Ceren V.E.: Oscar Oriz | 1157 | 60.61% |

| | | | |
|--|---|-------|-------|
| FPS-Fraternidad Patriótica Salvadoreña | P.E.: Oscar Lemus V.E.: Rafael Menjivar | 4 | 0.21% |
| PSP-Partido Salvadoreño Progresista | P.E.: René Rodríguez V.E.: Adriana Bonilla | 13 | 0.68% |
| Total Processed: | | 1,909 | 100% |

**Data Retreated from: “*Escrutinio Final 2014: Primera Eleccion Presidencial 2014-Res. En El Exterior*”

February 5, 2014 (accessed 5/10/2014)

http://www.tse.gob.sv/2014/escrutiniofinal_1ray2davuelta/pres1/dep15.html

http://www.tse.gob.sv/2014/escrutiniofinal_1ray2davuelta/pres1/dep15.html

http://www.tse.gob.sv/2014/escrutiniofinal_1ray2davuelta/pres1/dep15.html

2nd Round of Elections: March 13, 2014

Total votes for each party.

| Party: | Presidential Nominee/ Vice | # of votes | Final % Count |
|---------------|-----------------------------------|---|----------------------|
| ARENA | Norman Quijano | 1,489,451 | 49.89% |
| FMLN | Salvador Sanchez-Ceren | 1,495,815 | 50.11% |
| | | <i>Difference of votes:</i> 6,364 | |

*Data Retreated from: “*Escrutinio Final 2014: Segunda Eleccion Presidencial 2014*”

March 13, 2014 (accessed 5/10/2014)

http://www.tse.gob.sv/2014/escrutiniofinal_1ray2davuelta/pres2/pais.html
http://www.tse.gob.sv/2014/escrutiniofinal_1ray2davuelta/pres2/pais.html

http://www.tse.gob.sv/2014/escrutiniofinal_1ray2davuelta/pres2/pais.html

Total Votes from the Diaspora.

| Party: | Presidential Nominee/ Vice | # of votes | Final % Count |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| ARENA | Norman Quijano | 854 | 36.59% |
| FMLN | Salvador Sanchez-Ceren | 1,408 | 63.41% |
| Total Processed: | | 2,262 | 100% |

*Data Retreated from: “*Escrutinio Final 2014: Segunda Eleccion Presidencial 2014: Res. En El Exterior*”

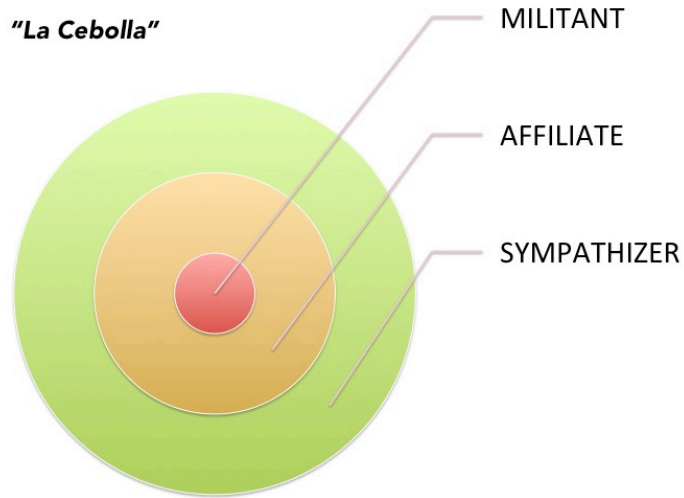
March 13, 2014 (accessed 5/10/2014)

http://www.tse.gob.sv/2014/escrutiniofinal_1ray2davuelta/pres2/dep15.html
http://www.tse.gob.sv/2014/escrutiniofinal_1ray2davuelta/pres2/dep15.html

| Region of Mobilization | Pseudo Name * | Affiliation | Age | Generation | Organization |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--|
| Los Angeles | Norma | Militant | 24 | 2 nd | USEU-UC Los Angeles, Juventud FMLN, FMLN Los Angeles |
| | Nidia | Militant | 30 | 2 nd | USEU-UC Los Angeles, Juventud FMLN, FMLN Los Angeles |
| | Marta | Militant/Affiliate | 36 | 1.5 | FMLN Campaign Committee-Los Angeles, |
| San Francisco | Susana | Affiliate/Sympathizer | Born in the 1950s | 1 st | Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES)-San Francisco |
| Santa Cruz | Blanca | Affiliate/ Militant | 21 | 2 nd | USEU-UC Los Angeles, Salvadoran Committee of Santa Cruz |
| | Prudencia | Affiliate/Militant | 26 | 2 nd | Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES)-Santa Cruz, Salvadoran Committee of Santa Cruz |
| | Ana Maria | Sympathizer | 42 | 1 st | Salvadoran Committee of Santa Cruz |
| | Claudia | Sympathizer | 19 | 3 rd | USEU-UC Santa Cruz |
| | Olga | Affiliate/Militant | 54 | 1 st | Salvadoran Committee of |

| | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|------------|
| | | | | | Santa Cruz |
|--|--|--|--|--|------------|

VI. ANALYSIS



Universe Diagram: Spectrum of women's political mobilization

