

# Contents

Abstract .....	7
Zusammenfassung .....	8
Acknowledgments .....	11
List of Figures .....	17
List of Tables.....	19
List of Abbreviations .....	21

## **Part I Introduction, State of the Art, Theoretical Framework, and Methodology..... 25**

1 Introduction .....	27
1.1 Overview .....	27
1.2 Questions and Aims.....	29
1.3 The Argument and Hypotheses .....	32
1.4 Reasons to Study the State-led Transnationalism of Sending States and their Emigrant Policies in Central America .....	35
1.5 Focus of the Study .....	36
1.6 Conceptual Clarifications.....	37
1.6.1 The Sending State and its Motivations to Engage .....	37
1.6.2 State-led Transnationalism .....	38
1.7 Organization of the Study .....	39
2 State of the Art.....	41
2.1 Introduction .....	41
2.2 Political Science Contributions to Migration Studies.....	43
2.3 The Links between the State and Migration.....	46
2.4 From a Migrant-Receiving to a Migrant-Sending State Approach .....	52
2.5 Migration Policy .....	56
2.6 The Literature on the Case Studies: Central America.....	60
2.7 Concluding Remarks .....	64

3	Theoretical Framework .....	67
3.1	Introduction .....	67
3.2	Sovereignty and the State .....	68
3.3	Migration Governance .....	70
3.4	Measuring the Dependent Variable: State-led Transnationalism.....	74
3.4.1	Emigrant Policy Mechanisms .....	76
3.4.2	State Involvement.....	78
3.5	Selection and Measurement of Three Explanatory Variables: Conditions for a Higher Degree of State-led Transnationalism in Emigrant Policy .....	81
3.5.1	The Size and Potential Impact of the Emigrant Community .....	83
3.5.2	Party System Competitiveness .....	84
3.5.3	The State's Institutional Capacity to Implement Policies .....	85
3.6	Concluding Remarks .....	86
4	Methodology.....	89
4.1	Introduction.....	89
4.2	Research Design: Case Study Methods .....	89
4.3	Case Selection: El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras; Similiar Features ...	90
4.3.1	Convergences.....	90
4.3.2	Divergences .....	91
4.4	Scope .....	91
4.5	Data Collection and Management.....	93
4.5.1	In-depth Interviews.....	93
4.5.2	Document Analysis.....	94
4.6	Concluding Remarks .....	94
<b>Part II Describing and Comparing State-Led Transnationalism in Central America .....</b>		<b>97</b>
5	Policies to Build Relationships with the Emigrant Community.....	99
5.1	Introduction.....	99
5.2	Recognizing the Emigrant Community: Institutional Policies .....	99

5.2.1	Creating Institutions, Foreign Affairs Actions, the Expansion of Consular Services .....	100
5.2.1	Promoting Work Opportunities Abroad.....	107
5.3	Cultivating Loyalties in the Emigrant Community: Symbolic Policies.....	110
5.3.1	Days, Districts, and the Celebration of National Holidays .....	111
5.3.2	Declaring Responsibility for Migrants .....	113
5.4	Concluding Remarks .....	116
6	Policies to Integrate the Emigrant Community.....	119
6.1	Introduction.....	119
6.2	Extending Emigrant Rights.....	119
6.2.1	Out-of-Country Voting and Citizenship .....	119
6.2.2	Legislative Representation .....	125
6.2.3	Hometown Associations .....	128
6.2.4	Regional Institutions and Agreements.....	130
6.2.5	Providing Education, Health, and Labor Protection Services Abroad.....	139
6.2.6	Assisting the Arrested, Missing, and Emigrants in Transit; Receiving the Deported .....	143
6.3	Extracting Resources: Incorporating Migrants into the National Economy ..	150
6.3.1	Facilitating Investment Services, the Productive Use of Remittances, Matching Fund Programs .....	150
6.4	Concluding Remarks .....	153

### **Part III Explaining State-Led Transnationalism in**

#### **Central America ..... 157**

7	The Conditions for a Higher Degree of State-Led Transnationalism ....	159
7.1	Introduction.....	159
7.2	Size and Potential Impact of the Emigrant Community in the Country of Origin.....	161
7.2.1	The Emigrant Community Size .....	161
7.2.2	The History of the Emigrant Community.....	163
7.2.3	The Emigrant Community's Degree of Organization .....	167

7.2.4	Current Remittances from the Emigrant Community .....	168
7.2.5	The Out-of-Country Voting Rights of Emigrants.....	171
7.3	Party System Competitiveness .....	173
7.3.1	Fragmentation .....	174
7.3.2	Polarization .....	182
7.4	The State’s Institutional Capacity to Implement Policies .....	185
7.4.1	Adaptability.....	186
7.4.2	Stability .....	186
7.4.3	Coordination.....	187
7.4.4	Implementation and Enforcement .....	188
7.4.5	Efficiency .....	190
7.4.6	Public Regardedness .....	192
7.5	Different Degrees of State-led Transnationalism Regarding Emigrant Policy.....	193
7.5.1	State Emigrant Policy Mechanisms .....	193
7.5.2	State Involvement.....	195
7.6	Concluding Remarks .....	204
8	Conclusion .....	209
8.1	Key Question Answered.....	209
8.2	Key Findings .....	210
8.3	Theoretical Implications .....	212
8.4	Implications for Policy and Practice.....	213
8.5	Avenues for Future Research.....	214
	Bibliography .....	215
	Legal Sources.....	241