An Exploration of the Salvadoran Mining Justice Movement, and of the Contributions of the Salvadoran Diaspora In Canada

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Abstract

On March 29, 2017, after ten years with a Presidential moratorium on metallic mining in the country, the Salvadoran legislature voted to permanently ban the practice. Based on semi-structured interviews with activists, academics, and journalists, this study builds on the literature explores the contributions of the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada to the passage of the moratorium, and ultimately the ban. I discuss numerous types of contributions: coalition building involving various allies, communication and education initiatives, taking a position as members of the diaspora, and engagements with politicians in both Canada and El Salvador. I provide further context to the case by discussing both contextual elements and mobilization strategies relating to the mining justice movement in El Salvador, contextual elements that help make sense of the engagements of the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada in the movement, and challenges Salvadoran Canadians encountered while engaging in the movement. I conduct my analysis in three parts. The first outlines contributions to the transnationalism literature, the second details the results of a discourse analysis of my interview transcripts, and the third sketches contributions to the framing literature.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Several Latin American countries have a variety of measures in place to regulate and restrict mining. Hares (2017) highlights that "Costa Rica…prohibits open pit mining [and] Argentina bans mining in sensitive glacial areas". El Salvador has gone even further in implementing measures to prevent harm related to mining. On March 29, 2017, after ten years with a Presidential moratorium on metallic mining in the country, the Salvadoran legislature voted to permanently ban the practice (Broad & Cavanagh, 2015, p. 422; « El Salvador Makes, 2017 »). A strong activist movement played a central role in the passage of this ban, and in the implementation of the moratorium on metal mining that preceded it. This movement involved both domestic actors and international allies. I use this as my starting point, and explore the involvement of another group in El Salvador's mining justice movement: the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada. Specifically, I investigate the contributions of the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada to the passage of a moratorium on metal mining in El Salvador, and ultimately to a ban on metal mining, through participation in the Salvadoran mining justice movement

My study reveals multiple contributions. These include coalition building involving various allies, communication and education initiatives, taking a position as a member of the diaspora, and engagements with politicians in both Canada and El Salvador. It also explores themes that do not directly relate to my research question. These include both contextual elements and mobilization strategies relating to the mining justice movement in El Salvador, contextual elements that help make sense of the engagements of the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada in the movement, and challenges Salvadoran Canadians encountered while engaging. I will include these in both my overview of the results and, when relevant, my analysis. I will do

this for two reasons. Firstly, they relate indirectly to my research question. As I will discuss in further detail in Chapter 4, many Salvadoran Canadian activists that I interviewed described taking the lead from civil society in El Salvador. Secondly, they provide important contributions to the literature.

I will begin this chapter with a contextualization of mining in El Salvador. Specifically, I will outline the history of mining in El Salvador, impacts and anticipated impacts of mining in the country, the political action of the domestic anti-mining movement in El Salvador and its international allies, political violence targeting anti-mining activists in El Salvador, the passage of the moratorium, a resulting lawsuit against the country by Canadian mining company Pacific Rim, and the passage of the ban. I will then contextualize the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada. I will discuss factors that contributed to its formation, factors that have contributed to its recent growth, the current size of the diaspora, potential impacts of U.S. President Donald Trump's cancellation of Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for Salvadorans living in the United States on the size and characteristics of the diaspora in Canada, and the importance of remittances sent to El Salvador from members of the diaspora in Canada. I will then outline my research methods. I will conclude this chapter by sketching the remaining chapters of the thesis.

Contextualizing the Case Study: Mining in El Salvador

Like many other countries in Latin America, El Salvador has a long history of mining. Gold mining began over 110 years ago. The industry nonetheless largely halted in the 1980s and 1990s due to security concerns linked to the country's civil war (1980-1992). Low mineral prices kept production minimal throughout the 1990s. At the beginning of the 2000s, however, foreign mining companies started to show more interest in El Salvador, and several were granted exploration permits (Broad & Cavanagh, 2015, p. 421).

Several actors in the country had concerns regarding the possible impacts of mining. On the basis of interviews and discussion groups with "full-time community leaders, agronomists, campesinos (farmers), health promoters, and lawyers" (p. 2383), Cabezas et al. (2015) detail several of these concerns. One area of concern is the effects of mining on the livelihoods of populations living near mineral development. The authors' research participants expressed concern about both the possibility that mining could result in the contamination of local water sources and "the vast quantity of water used during the mining process" in a country in which only three per cent of superficial water is potable (p. 2384). A lack of potable water resulting from these impacts could in turn lead to higher rates of dermatological and neurological conditions, and of hematologic cancers. The lack of government testing "of water…samples in areas currently undergoing mining exploration" in El Salvador further enhances this risk (p. 2384). Participants also expressed concern about the release of arsenic in the mining process (p. 2384). A second area of concern that Cabezas et al.'s participants discussed is the physical displacement of local populations. The authors indicate that mining has led to internal displacement in the country, with companies having used a combination of threats and bribes to remove the local inhabitants of potential mining sites (p. 2385). A final area of concern is related to the assurances of mining companies that their presence in El Salvador will lead to local job creation. Cabezas et al. (2015) highlight that due to the country's "[lack] of local experts on the technical, logistical, and engineering aspects of mining", "the permanent, well-paying positions [associated with mining projects] would be reserved for foreign technicians" (p. 2383). All of these concerns appear to be reflected in public opinion on mining in El Salvador. According to a 2007 University of Central America poll, 62% of the country's population is opposed to mining

(p. 421). A 2015 poll, also commissioned by the University of Central America, revealed that this number had increased to nearly 80% ("Advisory").

A strong activist movement thus developed in El Salvador to oppose mining. The main coordinating organization of this movement, the National Roundtable on Metals Mining (La Mesa), was founded in 2005 by individuals and organizations opposed to mining in the country (Broad & Cavanagh, 2015, p. 421). Hopke (2012) highlights that the group's objectives in 2012 included "advancing legislation to prohibit mining, the suspension or revision of free trade agreements, stopping mining company lawsuits against the Salvadoran government, and calling for an end to impunity for crimes committed against anti-mining activists" (p. 368). The movement includes various actors working at the local and global scales. At the local scale, it involves important actors in "the Catholic Church,… environmentalists, human rights advocates, academics, other religious denominations, indigenous populations…, and…larger-scale agribusiness dependent on water" (Broad, 2015, p. 860). At the transnational scale, it involves the Canadian anti-mining movement; North American based non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as the Catholic Relief Services, the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES), the Institute for Policy Studies, Mining Watch, Oxfam, Public Citizen, SalvAide, the Share Foundation, and U.S.-El Salvador Sister Cities; international investment law firm Foley Hogg; members of the U.S. Congress; and the American State Department (Broad & Cavanagh, 2011, p. 29; Broad & Cavanagh, 2015, p. 426; « El Salvador », 2017; López & McDonagh, 2017; Zucker, 2010, p. 42). As one of La Mesa's main international partners, International Allies Against Mining in El Salvador is a particularly important transnational actor for the movement (« El Salvador – When », 2017). The organization operates in a collaborative way, and holds itself accountable to the movement in El Salvador. López and McDonagh (2017)

indicate that "[it holds] monthly meeting calls and major decisions are sent to the Roundtable for feedback". In terms of chronology, Broad and Cavanagh (2015) indicate that international support became widespread after 2009, driven in part by outrage regarding the assassination of four Salvadoran anti-mining activists (p. 426).

Since the establishment of the mining justice movement in El Salvador, members operating at the domestic level have used numerous strategies to advance its objectives. Firstly, they have organized education campaigns. These campaigns have included visits to Guatemala and Honduras to better understand the impacts of mining in these countries and the creation of local schools that have incorporated both the impacts of mining and methods of resistance into their curriculum (Broad & Cavanagh, 2015, p. 421; Cabezas et al., 2015, p. 2386). Secondly, they have used a community radio station run primarily by youth, Radio Victoria, to transmit information on mining to the public (Broad & Cavanagh, 2011, p. 28). Thirdly, they have purchased land containing mineral resources and transformed it into religious sites, "rendering it unavailable for mining for deep, traditional reasons" (Cabezas et al., 2015, p. 2385-2386). Finally, four municipalities in the Chalatenango region; Arcatao, Nueva Trinidad, San Isidro Labrador, and San José las Flores; have held municipal plebiscites regarding mining (Cabezas & Nadelman, 2016). To implement the referenda, activists "relied on little known, never before tested provisions within El Salvador's Municipal Code that allows for civic participation in local decision making processes" (p. 26). These regulations require municipalities to hold a referendum on an issue with local relevance provided that "40 percent of eligible voters in the municipality request in writing that a popular consultation is called" (as cited in Cabezas & Nadelman, 2016, p. 26). In all four cases, 99 per cent of voters declared their opposition. The average voter turnout was over 60 per cent (p. 26). Relating to objectives, Achtenberg (2011)

highlights that the movement has a long history of pushing for a law banning metal mining (p. 3). In their discussion of the creation of new democratic spaces through the mining justice movement, Cabezas et al. (2015) link this to resistance networks developed during El Salvador's civil war. The authors indicate that their "[p]articipants were quick to point out that [the creation of such spaces] occurred predominantly in communities that had a history and tradition of autonomy and resistance that persisted throughout the war and beyond" (p. 2386).

Members of the movement operating at the transnational level have also employed numerous strategies. The International Allies organized various kinds of international travel to share information across borders. One type of travel was visits to El Salvador by international delegations to spread awareness about the impacts and anticipated impacts of mining in the country. López and McDonagh (2017) point to a 2013 fact finding trip, ultimately made into a documentary, in which "[a] delegation of 45 people from 22 organizations in 12 countries participated in five days of conferences and strategy workshops and visits to mining-affected municipalities in the north of the country". Another was trips by Salvadorans to the Global North to spread awareness about the issue (López and McDonagh 2017). A final type of travel consisted of a trip to the Philippines "to strengthen connections with communities affected by [Australian mining firm] Oceana Gold's project and to document the impacts of mining there" (López & McDonagh, 2017). The Institute for Policy Studies, meanwhile, presented "[its] prestigious Letelier-Moffitt Human Rights Award to [la Mesa] in 2009", helping the movement increase its visibility (López & McDonagh, 2017).

More generally, Jen Moore of MiningWatch Canada points to awareness raising as one particular area in which international allies contributed to the movement. She highlights that their role consisted of "remaining in communication, staying informed, visiting El Salvador when

possible and then keeping [their] social base and the media informed…in order to counter the lies and falsehoods of the companies" (as cited in López & McDonagh, 2017), López and McDonagh suggest that international solidarity networks developed during the civil war have played a significant role in these mobilizations. They indicate that many organizations involved were engaged in human rights work during the war, and that the contacts that they established with many people who would later become members of La Mesa have helped the mining justice movement expand into the international sphere.

The activists involved in the domestic movement and their local allies have on multiple occasions been on the receiving end of acts of political violence. These acts include harassment by police officers, break-ins, death threats, physical attacks, and the assassination of four activists (Achtenberg, 2011, p. 4; Broad & Cavanagh, 2011, p. 28; Kirsch & Moore, 2016, p. 29). These crimes have generally faced only minimal investigation from the Salvadoran government (Zucker, 2010, p, 40). Broad and Cavanagh (2011) discuss a political factor that could help explain this negligence. They indicate that government critics have suggested that "[El Salvador's attorney general in 2011], appointed by the legislature as a compromise candidate between ARENA and the FMLN, has failed to investigate aggressively a number of sensitive cases involving politicians, corruption and organized crime" (p. 29). In addition to the obvious effect of intimidating activists, Broad and Cavanagh (2011) indicate that political violence has eroded community trust in El Salvador (p. 28). In spite of these demobilization efforts, the movement persevered in its pursuit of a metal mining ban. Bebbington et al. (2015) indicate that the movement resisted government attempts to compromise, arguing that "anything short of a ban could easily be manipulated into a green light for mining" (p. 201).

These efforts ultimately paid off, and had impacts at the executive and legislative levels. In 2007, Tony Saca's conservative administration decided to stop granting environmental permits for metal mining projects, effectively establishing a de facto moratorium on the practice in El Salvador (Broad & Cavanagh, 2015, p. 422). Several transnational actors resisted this move, including Canadian mining firm Pacific Rim. Pacific Rim, purchased by Australian gold mining firm OceanaGold in 2013 to avoid declaring bankruptcy, "initiated an investor-state dispute settlement (ISDS) case at the World Bank's International Centre for the Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID)" after the country rejected its request for a mining permit (López & McDonagh, 2017). The company sought $314 million in damages, later reduced to $250 million. In 2016, after years of uncertainty, the court finally ruled in favour of El Salvador, and "ordered [Oceana Gold] to pay $8 million towards El Salvador's more than $12 million in legal fees" (López & McDonagh, 2017). El Salvador then took a second step in addressing the impacts of mining. On March 29, 2017, the country's legislature voted to permanently ban the practice ("El Salvador Makes", 2017).

Several participants discussed the role of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), one of El Salvador's main political parties, in the implementation of the moratorium and ultimately the passage of the ban. I will thus briefly introduce the party. Five groups merged to form the group in 1980. For the twelve years that followed, El Salvador's civil war, the FMLN fought the country's government (Allison, 2005, p. 1). In 1992, "the FMLN and Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani signed Peace Accords at Chapultepec Castle, Mexico City" (Allison, 2005, p. 1) and the organization transitioned to a political party that actively participates in elections at multiple levels of government (Allison, 2005, p. 4). In 2009, it finally came to

power with FMLN candidate Mauricio Funes's victory in the country's Presidential election ("Journalist", 2009).

Contextualizing the Case Study: The Salvadoran Diaspora in Canada

The formation of the global Salvadoran diaspora can largely be traced to increased emigration from El Salvador during the civil war, brought on by conflict generated displacements (Wiltenberg, 2014, p. 42). In 2014, a wave of increased emigration from El Salvador began. This has predominantly been driven by the migration of women and children, and is also taking place in Guatemala and Honduras (Lee & Musalo, 2017, p. 137). Lee and Musalo (2017) propose two explanations for this wave. The first is the presence of several forms of violence in El Salvador. The authors highlight that in 2015, the country had the highest homicide rate in the world (p. 158). Rates of domestic violence and violence against women are also very high, something the authors link to increased emigration (p. 159-161). They highlight that from 2007 to 2012, El Salvador had the highest rate of gender-motivated killing in the world (p. 159). They also point to extremely high rates of corporal punishment and incest (p. 160). The second explanation is the presence of poverty and inequality. El Salvador's poverty rate is lower than Guatemala's and Honduras's, but Lee and Musalo (2017) still suggest it helps to explain the emigration wave (p. 161).

According to the Salvadoran government, the global Salvadoran diaspora numbers more than three million, approximately 90% of whom live in the United States (Wiltenberg, 2014, p. 45). There is a moderately sized Salvadoran diaspora in Canada. UReach Toronto indicates that 59,145 Salvadorans live in the country. They are particularly concentrated in the Greater Toronto Area, where 13,770 reside ("Country", n.d.). A recent political development in the United States could influence both the size and characteristics of this diaspora. In January 2018, the Trump

administration announced the termination of Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for approximately 200,000 Salvadorans living in the United States, effective September 2019 (Jensen, 2018; McMahon, 2018). TPS is "a designation [currently held by 300,000 people that] the U.S. grants to immigrants from certain countries with conditions that prevent people from returning, like an armed civil conflict or an environmental disaster" (Jensen, 2018). While TPS holders can work and study in the U.S. without fear of deportation, the program does not involve a path to residency or citizenship (Jensen, 2018). Salvadorans have been part of the program since 2001, after a 7.7 magnitude earthquake left the country with significant damage (Jensen, 2018). In recent months, the behaviour of Canadian government officials has suggested that they believe it is possible that the cancellation could lead to a surge in undocumented migration to Canada by Salvadorans. In anticipation of the cancellation, months before it became official, the Canadian government took several initiatives to discourage Salvadorans from crossing into Canada. Specifically, it "tapped Liberal MPs to visit immigrant communities in Miami, Los Angeles and New York[;] contacted Spanish-language media outlets in the United States[;] and paid search engine companies to direct people looking for information on immigrating to Canada to official government websites" (McMahon, 2018). While the cancellation of TPS for Salvadorans does not as of yet seem to have caused a large scale influx of Salvadorans into Canada, the possibility of this happening remains plausible.

One indication of the potential political importance of the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada is the massive role that remittances originating from members of the global diaspora plays in the country. Morin (2013) highlights that in 2012, these financial transfers totalled four billion dollars, "representing more than half of external revenue" (p. 33, own translation). A young Salvadoran sociologist once described migration and remittances as "the true economic

adjustment program of the poor in [El Salvador]", further highlighting their importance (Portes, 2010, p. 201). While these numbers and comments are not specific to the diaspora in Canada, it is reasonable to hypothesize that remittances originating from Salvadorans in Canada play at least a moderate role as a source of revenue in the country. It is nonetheless important to recognize, as outlined in further detail in Chapter 2, that the impact of remittances on political behaviour at home is generally indirect. Paarlberg (2017) indicates that Latin American migrants living in the United States influence the political behaviour of family members at home primarily through persuasion as opposed to through threatening to withhold remittances should family members not take part in particular behaviours (p. 554). He nonetheless recognizes that the sending of remittances provides migrants with status, lending their political perspectives more weight and opening the door to indirect influence through remittances (p. 554).

It is important to note that Guarnizo, Haller, and Portes (2003) indicate that in 2003, at the time of their article's publication, Salvadorans living in the United States did not have many opportunities to be involved in Salvadoran electoral politics. This was because the country had "[a] still incipient democracy and frail political parties" (p. 1221). These factors have, of course, evolved over the past fifteen years. My research aims to shed light on whether or not the participation of the Salvadoran diaspora in electoral politics has also evolved, based on my conclusions regarding the diaspora in Canada.

Methodology

For research methods, I conducted a document analysis and semi-structured interviews. My document analysis focused on both grey literature and media sources. For the grey literature, I conducted a search of Mining Watch Canada's online database for content related to El Salvador. This search revealed 51 blog entries, news releases, reports, and both videos and

transcripts of presentations. These sources were released between 2005 and 2018, and produced by various authors and organizations. I reviewed each of these sources for content relevant to my research. I also consulted additional grey literature sources suggested by participants and others familiar with the mining justice movement in El Salvador.

For media sources, I focused on seeking out media produced by the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada and by other Latin American diasporas in the country. This was because of Lyons and Mandaville's (2012) indication that "[s]ome studies of [forms of media produced by diaspora groups has revealed] the introduction of a new transformative dynamic in homeland politics emanating from discussions in print, Internet and satellite television forums produced abroad" (p. 10). I sought out this content by directly contacting Spanish language community newspapers in Canada and, when possible, conducting searches on their websites for relevant content. I was generally, however, unsuccessful in locating such content. Most of the websites I located did not have search functions, and I was not able to get directly in touch with most of the newspapers I identified. I also sought out relevant content produced by other Canadian media sources. I have included relevant insights from my document analysis in my discussion of the results of this research. The bulk of my findings, however, comes from interviews.

I interviewed five members of the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada, two people living in El Salvador, and two members of the global Salvadoran diaspora. For the latter two groups, I targeted participants who could discuss the role of the Salvadoran community in Canada in the Salvadoran mining justice movement. I used snowball sampling. In snowball sampling, a method generally used in qualitative research, the researcher begins by identifying a small number of participants. This number is generally between three and ten. These participants are then asked if they have any other potential participants to suggest. This process is repeated until the researcher

has a representative sample (Bouma, Ling, & Wilkinson, 2012, p. 286). I used this sampling method because a preliminary review of relevant websites suggested that there is a high degree of interaction among those mobilizing around mining in El Salvador. It is important to recognize one potential limitation of snowball sampling. This is that for the sample to be representative, a population's diversity must be reflected in the networks of participants. My participants discussed various types of engagement with the movement, involving numerous organizations and experiences. This suggests that my sample represents at least some of the heterogeneity among Salvadoran Canadians, members of the global Salvadoran diaspora, and residents of El Salvador who are politically active in relation to mining. It is nonetheless important to recognize this limitation. I began recruitment by contacting academic and personal contacts as well as civil society and diaspora organizations asking if they had any participants to suggest. I then used snowball sampling until I had interviewed a sufficient number of participants for my research.

I interviewed nine participants. I conducted the interviews in English. The table in Figure 1.1 provides some details on each interview and participant, including in which month the interview took place, how the interview was conducted (in person, over the phone, or over Skype), what the participant's main method of contribution to the Salvadoran mining justice movement has been (academic, activist, or journalistic), and the participant's relationship to El Salvador (member of the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada, member of the global Salvadoran diaspora, or resident of El Salvador). I define an activist contribution as one in which the participant is consciously pushing for change in relation to mining in El Salvador, an academic contribution as the undertaking of academic research that is related to mining in El Salvador, and a journalistic role as one in which the participant's objective is to communicate what is happening to others. The lines between different methods of contribution can of course at times

be blurry, particularly between activist and journalistic contributions. To address this, when in doubt, I based my classification on how the participant understood his or her role. Additionally some participants have occupied different types of relationships to El Salvador throughout their lives, and their engagement with the mining justice movement. Table 1.1 identifies the relationship they have occupied during the majority of the time they have been involved in mining politics in El Salvador. When I quote these participants or tell their stories, I identify them according to what best describes the relationship at the relevant point in time. Six of my participants identity as male, and three identify as female. To protect the anonymity of participants, I do not include gender identity in the table. For the questionnaires that I used for the interviews, please see Appendix A.

Table 1.1: Details on Participants

Participant	Month of Interview	Interview Method	Contribution to the Movement	Participant's Relationship to El Salvador
Participant 1	June 2018	In Person	Activist	Member of Canadian Diaspora
Participant 2	July 2018	Skype	Activist	Resident
Participant 3	July 2018	Skype	Activist	Resident
Participant 4	July 2018	Skype	Academic	Member of Global Diaspora
Participant 5	July 2018	Skype	Academic	Member of Global Diaspora

Participant 6	July 2018	Phone	Journalist	Member of Canadian Diaspora
Participant 7	July 2018	Phone	Activist	Member of Canadian Diaspora
Participant 8	July 2018	Phone	Activist	Member of Canadian Diaspora
Participant 9	July 2018	Phone	Activist	Member of Canadian Diaspora

Because of the mining related history of political violence in El Salvador, I do not refer to participants directly when quoting them or telling their stories (i.e. I do not say according to Participant 3…). I rather refer to them based on their type of contribution to the movement and relationship to El Salvador. Because there is only one participant who describes his or her contribution to the movement as journalistic, it is inevitably possible to identify which participant (Participant 6) I am referring to whenever I quote him or her or tell his or her stories. Because a journalistic contribution is as a concept very broad, however, it could refer to a large number of people. I thus do not believe that there is a reasonable chance this participant could be identified.

I will conclude my discussion of methodology with a brief reflection on positionality. Two factors in particular may have limited what some participants were comfortable discussing with me. The first is that I am a white man coming from a socio-economic position of privilege. The second is the lack of a long-term rapport between the participants and I. I did not know any of the participants before contacting them about the research, and have to date only interacted in person with the participant that I interviewed in person.

Overview of Chapters

I will now briefly outline the remainder of this thesis. In Chapter 2, I will explore relevant literature. I will detail both the transnational framework and two transnational solidarity movements that help to better understand my case. In Chapter 3, the first of two results chapters, I will outline points that my participants made in interviews that relate to the domestic Salvadoran mining justice movement and the contributions of international allies other than the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada. In Chapter 4, the second such chapter, I will outline points that my participants made that relate to the contributions of the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada to the movement. In Chapter 5, I will provide my analysis. This will center on four themes: links to the transnationalism literature, insights derived from a discourse analysis of how participants presented their responses, links to Benford and Snow's (2000) insights on collective action framing, and reflections on a particularly puzzling finding. In Chapter 6, I will conclude by summarizing my findings and analysis, discussing current and possible future developments that relate to my research, and outlining some possible future research topics.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In this chapter, I will first outline transnationalism, a framework that addresses the political engagements of migrants. Specifically, I will outline the framework's rejection of methodological nationalism, how it defines transnationalism, its emergence and development, its major currents, insights from the framework, and its potential and pitfalls. I will then discuss relevant contributions relating to transnational solidarity movements that by and large do not involve crossing national borders.

Transnationalism: Dismissing Methodological Nationalism

At its core, transnationalism is the rejection of methodological nationalism. Glick Schiller and Wimmer (2003) define methodological nationalism as "the naturalization of the nation-state by the social sciences" (p. 576). They indicate that "[s]cholars who [apply methodological nationalism] assume that countries are the natural units for comparative studies, equate society with the nation-state, and conflate national interests with the purposes of social science" (p. 576). They then detail three variations of methodological nationalism in social science literature: "ignoring or disregarding the fundamental importance of nationalism for modern societies" (p. 577-578), "[naturalizing]…that the boundaries of the nation-state delimit and define the unit of analysis" (p. 578), and "[applying] territorial limitation which confines the study of social processes to the political and geographic boundaries of a particular nation-state" (p. 578). In contrast, Glick Schiller and Levitt (2004) highlight that in addition to nation-states, "[s]ocial and religious movements, criminal and professional networks,…governance regimes[, and] flows of capital…operate across borders" (p. 1007).

Transnationalism: Defining the Concept

Transnationalism has emerged as a way of moving beyond methodological nationalism. Guarnizo, Landolt, and Portes (1999) limit transnationalism "to occupations and activities that require regular and sustained social contacts over time across national borders for their implementation" (p. 219). They suggest that while "the occasional contacts, trips and activities across national borders of members of an expatriate community also contribute to strengthening the transnational field", these types of interactions are not substantial or unique enough to warrant a new area of research (p. 219). They then outline two ways of categorizing transnationalism. Firstly, they distinguish between economic, political, and socio-cultural transnationalism. The economic category consists of "the economic initiatives of transnational entrepreneurs who mobilize their contacts across borders in search of suppliers, capital and markets" (p. 221). The political category consists of "the political activities of party officials, government functionaries, or community leaders whose main goals are the achievement of political power and influence in the sending or receiving countries" (p. 221). The socio-cultural category, finally, consists of "socio-cultural enterprises oriented towards the reinforcement of a national identity abroad or the collective enjoyment of cultural events and goods" (p. 221). Secondly, they distinguish "between transnational activities initiated and conducted by powerful institutional actors, such as multinational corporations and states, and those that are the result of grass-roots initiatives by immigrants and their home country counterparts" (p. 221).

Keck and Sikkink (1998), meanwhile, provide a typology of types of transnational networks based on motivations. They identify "those with essentially *instrumental goals,* especially transnational corporations and banks"; "those motivated primarily by *shared causal ideas*, such as scientific groups or epistemic communities"; and "those motivated primarily by *shared principled ideas or values* (transnational advocacy networks)" (p. 30, *original emphasis*).

Adamson (2012) adds an additional category: “networks that are defined by a common identity marker, such as ethnic, national or religious identity” (p. 32). She suggests that such networks “may overlap with, but are analytically distinct from [Keck and Sikink’s three network categories]” (p. 32).

Transnationalism: Emergence and Main Trends

I will now sketch the framework’s emergence, and its main currents. The transnational framework is a relatively recent phenomenon. Glick Schiller and Wimmer (2003) argue that the framework began to develop in the 1970s as a response to the “economic restructuring of contemporary globalization”, pointing particularly to the “worldwide recession and the oil crisis” (p. 594). But they suggest that it did not fully emerge until the fall of the Berlin Wall. It was after this that “[s]cholars in a number of fields, together with political leaders and journalists, began to announce that the world was becoming qualitatively different and applied the term globalization to what they were observing, fascinated by various kinds of flows of people, ideas, objects and capital across the territorial borders of states” (p. 595). Glick Schiller and Wimmer (2003) identify numerous problematic assumptions associated with this first wave of transnational studies. The first was that improvements in communications technology were the main drivers of change, a belief that “impeded discussion of the broader social and economic forces[,] past and present, which had shaped the transnational ties that linked the globe together” (p. 596). The second was that the processes of globalization involved represented a shift from a static past (p. 596). Glick Schiller and Wimmer (2003) suggest that many scholars applying the transnationalism framework have moved beyond this assumption. They indicate that while “[t]here is a general consensus that contemporary globalization processes seem more potent in their degree of penetration into the rhythms of daily life around the world” (p. 597), such

scholars recognize that globalization is not a new process and seek to understand it both historically and contemporarily (p. 596-597).

Authors have identified several currents in the transnational framework. Glick Schiller and Levitt (2004), firstly, discuss numerous distinct schools. Two are particularly relevant to the analysis. The first consists of research done by anthropologists and sociologists in the United States. At its core, this current "[is] shaped by its critique of the unilinear assimilationist paradigm of classical migration research" (p. 1005). It focuses particularly on connections between home and host states (p. 1005). Three more specific developments in this school are noteworthy. Firstly, studies within it reveal that while not all migrants take part in transnational economic and political practices, a significant number do (p. 1005; citing Guarnizo, Haller, & Portes, 2002; Guarnizo, Haller, & Portes, 2003). Secondly, other authors have presented "transnational migration as a product of late capitalism which renders small, nonindustrialized countries incapable of economic autonomy and makes them dependent on migrant-generated remittances (p. 1005; citing Guarnizo & M.P. Smith, 1998; Itzigsohn, 2000; Portes, 2003). Finally, Ong (1999) indicates that scholars in this current "view transnational processes associated with global conflicts and the world economy as factors that affect the demographic and social composition of the nation-state" (p. 8). Specifically, generally focusing on the United States, these authors "pay attention to domestic attempts at managing the influx of refugees, migrant workers, and foreign capital on the social and political body of the nation" (p. 8). They highlight important contributions that the migrants involved in these processes make to American society, and call on the American government to adopt more welcoming policies related to them (p. 8-9).

The second school consists of studies done by the Oxford University based Transnational Community Programme. This current moves beyond using connections between home and host states as the basic unit of analysis, replacing it with the "rubric of community" (Glick Schiller & Levitt, 2004, p. 1006). This is because "migrants are embedded in networks stretching across multiple states and [their] identities and cultural production reflect [these] multiple locations" (p. 1006). One of this current's most noteworthy contributions is the importance of "[distinguishing] between patterns of connection on the ground and the conditions that produce ideologies of connection and community" (p. 1006; citing Benton & Gomez, 2002; Ostergaard-Neilsen, 2003).

Outside of this typology, one other current in the framework is worth mentioning. This current is cultural globalization studies. Ong (1999) indicates that it draws on Appadurai's assertion that both advances in electronic media and increasing mass migration stimulate new types of imagined communities (p. 10-11). Appadurai (1996) suggests that "electronic media provide resources for self-imagining as an everyday social project" (p. 4). He suggests that the combination of this transition with increasing mass migration, voluntary and involuntary, has created "a new order of instability in the production of modern subjectivities" by creating "diasporic public spheres" (p. 4). Ong (1999) critiques Appadurai's formulation. She suggests it neglects ongoing links between nations and states, and "the need to consider how the hyphen between the two has become reconfigured by capital mobility and migration" (p. 11). Additionally, she argues that "his accounts of cultural flows ignore class stratification linked to global systems of production" (p. 11). Ong (1999) relates these pitfalls to a problematic divide in transnationalism literature between political economy approaches to the study of "the impact of transmigration on host and home countries" and approaches "that focus…on the cultural, imaginative, and subjective aspects of modern travel and interconnections" (p. 15). She links the

later to cultural globalization studies (p. 15). She suggests that there is little dialogue between the two currents, highlighting that "seldom is there an attempt to analytically link actual institutions of state power, capitalism, and transnational networks to…forms of cultural reproduction, inventiveness, and possibilities" (p. 15). Ong (1999) then argues that only by combining these insights into a single framework can one hope to "provide a nuanced delineation of the complex relations between transnational phenomena, national regimes, and cultural practices in late modernity" (p. 16).

Transnationalism: Relevant Insights from the Framework

Several additional insights from the framework are worth mentioning. The first such insight is a concept introduced by Glick Schiller and Levitt (2004): social field. They define social field "as a set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are unequally exchanged, organized, and transformed (p. 1009). They indicate that social fields can be national or transnational (p. 1009). They draw on a related concept introduced by Bourdieu: intellectual field. A given intellectual field, according to Bourdieu, is structured by institutions working collaboratively or in opposition to one another. Bourdieu indicates that these institutions are defined not by their own characteristics, but by their positionality within the institutional field (as cited in Grenfell, Jenkins, & Kelly, 1992, p. 86). Glick Schiller and Levitt (2004) also draw on an insight from the Manchester School of Anthropology: that migrants often belong "to tribal-rural localities and colonial-industrial cities at the same time", from which they construct "a single social field created by a network of networks (p. 1008).

Glick Schiller and Levitt (2004) suggest that applying a social field perspective can contribute several insights to transnationalism. Firstly, it can provide a better understanding of

"the potential array of social relations linking those who move and those who stay behind" (p. 1009), and of how such relations can impact the transnational political behaviour of migrants (p. 1009-1010). Secondly, it allows one to appreciate that migrant experiences are "influenced by multiple sets of laws and institutions" (p. 1010). Finally, it "reveals that there is a difference between ways of being in social fields [and] ways of belonging" (p. 1010; citing Glick Schiller, 2003; Glick Schiller, 2004). Glick Schiller and Levitt (2004) indicate that "[w]ays of being refers to the actual social relations and practices that individuals engage in, while ways of belonging refers to identities associated with these relations and practices (p. 1010). They suggest that "[i]ndividuals can be embedded in a social field but not identify with any label or cultural politics associated with that field" (p. 1010).

Another relevant insight is the recognition of the important role migrants' home states play in transnational politics. Glick Schiller and Wimmer (2003) indicate that "[l]ong distance nationalism links together people living in various geographic locations and motivates them to action in relationship to an ancestral territory and its government" (p. 597; citing Glick Schiller and Fouron, 2001a). They suggest that "[t]hrough such ideological linkages, a territory, its people, and its government become a transborder enterprise" (p. 597; citing Glick Schiller and Fouron, 2001a).

Hughes, Plummer, and Smith (2017) provide another relevant insight. They outline several strategies by elite actors, such as governments in the Global North and large corporations, to control and limit the influence of transnational progressive organizations. Firstly, they discuss an exclusion measure. They indicate that both "states…and the inter-state institutions they control…have [in recent years] limited the access of non-state actors to the official policy arenas in which important international negotiations occur", including the United

Nations (p. 4). They suggest that this has been particularly true for "groups that challenge market ideologies or neoliberal ideas of governance" (p. 4-5). Secondly, they point to numerous control measures. One such measure is the appropriation by elite actors of movement language. Hughes, Plummer, and Smith (2017) identify two reasons for which elite actors, particularly corporations, apply this strategy. The first is to give the impression that they are taking seriously and responding to the demands of activists (p. 5-6), and the second is "to take advantage of market opportunities emerging from a movement's success" (p. 6). A second control measure is the resourcing of organizations by elites. Hughes, Plummer, and Smith (2017) indicate that corporations, foundations, and governments have been funding many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) since the end of the Cold War (p. 6). They suggest that part of the aim here has been to "shape the agendas and activities of civil society groups" by demanding accountability to themselves as donors (p. 6). Finally, Hughes, Plummer, and Smith (2017) outline numerous repression measures. Some such measures are softer, such as the stigmatization and ridicule of activist discourse (p. 9). Others are more overtly violent. The authors suggest that "[a]rresting and physically abusing protesters serves to criminalize dissent, deter broader public participation and discourage support for their messages" (p. 9).

Hughes, Plummer, and Smith (2016) also detail several responses by transnational progressive organizations to these strategies. Firstly, organizations sometimes cooperate selectively and strategically with elite actors. Citing Goldman (2005), Hughes, Plummer, and Smith (2016) highlight that "many groups that subjected themselves to the World Bank's attempts to 'discipline' civil society…did so not because they believed in the projects, but simply to try to prevent even worse outcomes" (p. 9-10). Secondly, some movements have joined forces with counter-hegemonic states to advance common political objectives, particularly in the post-

Cold War geopolitical world order (p. 11). Movements have used this strategy in debates over "access to essential medicines" and "global climate negotiations during the World Trade Organization protests in 1999" (p. 11). Finally, many organizations have used the World Social Forum (WSF) as a space for creating consensus. The WSF routinely holds meetings in cities in different parts of the world, and both "[suggests] possible alternatives to the neoliberal model of economic globalization" and "[creates] spaces for people to discuss and organize around those alternatives" (p. 14). Hughes, Plummer, and Smith (2017) argue that "the WSF helps to take transnational movement politics out of the inter-state arena and into broader, non-state centered spaces and agendas" (p. 14).

Coutin and McGuire (2013) present another relevant insight. They indicate that "the circumstances of individuals who do not transcend but rather are positioned outside of multiple national borders" is neglected in the literature (p. 690, original emphasis). To address this issue, they introduce two concepts that help to explain these circumstances: transnational foreignness and transnational alienage. They indicate that one is transnationally foreign when "[he or she is an external representative] of a nation, regarded as honourable or exemplary, and [is] exempt from national regulations in ways that enable them to be positioned anywhere" (p. 690). On the basis of "interviews…conducted in 2009 and 2010 with US Embassy officials in Mexico City, San Salvador and Guatemala City" (p. 691), they apply transnational foreignness to this population. They indicate that the foreignness of these Foreign Service Officers (FSOs) "grants them a position of privilege, allowing them to be officially hailed rather than feared" (p. 694). They highlight that "FSOs working for the State Department hold diplomatic positions, meet with local and international officials, provide services to would-be visitors to the United States and serve their fellow citizens living abroad" (p. 695). They indicate that an additional

component of the FSO experience is a conception of both personal and professional service. This involves the pursuit by FOSs of the reproduction of "US interests, US jurisdictions that are transplanted abroad…and US identities" (p. 698). It involves a perception by the FSOs that they are "promoting justice, reducing crime, building relationships and promoting development" (p. 698).

In contrast, Coutin and McGuire (2013) indicate that one who is transnationally alien "[is an internal alien who is considered] criminal or unassimilable and who [is] therefore excluded in ways that position them elsewhere" (p. 691). On the basis of interviews conducted in 2008 with long-term US residents who had been deported from the United States to El Salvador (p. 691), they apply transnational alienage to this population. The authors highlight that these deportees are subjected to both "the [racializing] effects of US immigration and criminal justice policies" and "[their relegation] to the margins of their countries of legal citizenship" (p. 693). They point to three constitutive elements of this alienage. The first is a "lack of documents in both El Salvador and the United States", and challenges deportees face in obtaining such documents (p. 694). The second is a lack of cultural belonging in El Salvador. Respondents discussed facing suspicion due to their accent, "clothing, haircut, tattoos, ornaments (i.e. piercings) and mannerisms" (p. 694). The third is the need for deportees "to regulate their behaviour and movement so as not to attract suspicion" (p. 694).

As with FSOs, Coutin and McGuire (2013) highlight that deportees have a conception of service. This ethic of service involves a desire to contribute to society, whether in the United States (before deportation) or El Salvador (after deportation) (p. 700). Some contributions deportees discussed include "[being] gainfully employed, [using] the knowledge and skills they had acquired in the United States, [being] good spouses or parents, [and serving] in the military"

(p. 699). Deportees suggested that the key reason for which they wish to make such contributions is to make membership claims. They indicated they make such claims to legitimate their full participation in society, "[assert] that they [have] value", and provide legal weight to membership claims "when applying for suspension of deportation" (p. 699; citing Coutin, 2003). Unlike FSOs, however, deportees face obstacles to implementing their ethic of service. This is because of both legal restrictions stemming from their deportation and social stigmatization (p. 699).

Guarnizo, Haller, and Portes (2003), meanwhile, highlight that the involvement of members of a community of migrants in transnational politics does not necessarily entail the involvement of all, or even of the majority, of the community's members. On the basis of both interviews and a probability survey with Colombian, Dominican, and Salvadoran migrants "residing in four major U.S. metropolitan areas" (p. 1212), the authors indicate that less than one sixth of their sample had taken part as "core transnational activists" in various political and economic activities involving their home countries (p. 1225) . Even when the authors apply "a more inclusive definition of transnationalism", only up to one third of their sample had been involved in such activities (p. 1238). The authors suggest that these numbers "[contrast] markedly with past ethnographic descriptions of transnationalism as a form of political action adopted by entire immigrant communities" (p. 1225).

Relatedly, authors have identified gender as a particular factor that can influence the likelihood of a migrant engaging in transnational political behaviour. On the basis of both participant observation and open-ended interviews with immigrant from Latin America living in Queens (New York City), Jones-Correa (1998) concludes that among such immigrants, men are more likely to pursue political activity related to their home countries, and women are more

likely to pursue such activity in relation to their host country, the United States. More specifically, these men "tend to form, participate in and lead ethnic organizations whose interests and focus [are] in the country of origin" (p. 334), while these women involve themselves in U.S politics, particularly at the local and state levels (p. 335). He links this to the statuses that these men and women occupy in both their home countries and the United States. While many of the male migrants come from middle class backgrounds and hold significant status in their home countries, they "initially take jobs with status and class positions well below those they held before immigrating" (p. 326-327). Women, on the other hand, tend to have less status in their home countries, and thus experience less status loss upon arrival in Queens (p. 327). Guarnizo, Haller, and Portes (2003) diverge, presenting mixed conclusions regarding the impact of gender on the likelihood of political mobilization relating to the host country among Latin American immigrants living in U.S. cities. They indicate that status loss after migration does not increase the likelihood of engaging in transnational political behaviour, a conclusion that holds true after "[interacting] downward mobility with gender" (p. 1229; 1232). They also, however, suggest that although no gender pattern presents itself in the transnational political engagements of Colombian migrants, "Dominican and Salvadoran [male migrants] are much more likely to participate in transnational politics [than female migrants]" (p. 1235).

Authors applying the transnational framework have also identified several political strategies used by migrants to influence politics in their home countries. One such strategy is the use of various types of resources to advance different political objectives, some of which migrants have privileged access to. One type of resource is social capital. Paarlberg (2017) provides an example of this. He argues that Latin American migrants living in the United States influence the political behaviour of family members at home. His argument is based on a data set

encompassing “a series of political activities of voting-age adults in all available Latin American and Caribbean countries, as self-reported by respondents of the [2008 and 2010] AmericasBarometer [polls]…conducted by Vanderbilt University’s Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP)” (p. 547); and data used for control variables, including “GDP per capita from the World Bank’s World Development Indicators (WDI), a democratic governance score from the Polity IV survey, and migration inflow data to the United States by country from the Migration Policy Institute” (p. 547-548). Paarlberg’s (2017) analysis suggests that communication with family members living in the United States influences numerous higher level voting behaviours, including “persuading others to vote for a [favoured] candidate, identifying with a political party, paying attention to politics, attending meetings of a political organization, and volunteering for a political campaign” (p. 552). He indicates that these influences are primarily due to informal communication, and not the receipt of remittances (p. 554). Guarnizo, Landolt, and Portes (1999) provide a more specific example of this. They highlight that Dominican migrants in New York City often have considerable influence on how non-migrant kin vote in elections in their home countries (p. 231)

Another type of resource is financial resources. Compared to those in their home countries, migrants, particularly those having migrated from the Global South to the Global North, often have privileged access to such resources. They use this access to influence politics in their home countries in two ways. Firstly, migrants can play a considerable role in financing electoral campaigns in their home countries. Guarnizo, Landolt, and Portes (1999) highlight that the Dominican community in New York City collects between 10 and 15 percent of funds raised for Dominican political campaigns (p. 231). Secondly, Lyons and Mandaville (2012) highlight that the large sums of money involved in remittances often give weight to the political

perspectives of migrants (p. 5). As noted above, however, Paarlberg (2017), focusing on Latin American migrants living in the United States, nuances this argument. He indicates that such migrants influence the political behaviour of family members at home primarily through persuasion as opposed to threatening to withhold remittances should family members not take part in particular behaviours (p. 554). He nonetheless confirms a hypothesis that the sending of remittances provides migrants with status, lending their political perspectives more weight and opening the door to indirect influence through remittances (p. 554). The final type of resource is technology. Lyons and Mandaville (2012) highlight that the more advanced communication and travel capacities offered by globalization "have significantly lowered the costs and barriers to participating in transnational political mobilizations" (p. 22).

A second strategy migrants use to influence politics in their home countries is the use of opportunities arising from their physical presence in their host countries. Glick Schiller and Levitt (2004) present an interesting example of this. They explore lobbying activities undertaken by numerous Cuban, Irish, and Israeli diaspora members aiming to convince legislative institutions in various host countries to support political projects related to their home countries. They indicate that these activities have on multiple occasions succeeded (p. 1014). Discussing the broader political actor of transnational social movements, meanwhile, Lyons and Mandaville (2012) highlight that these movements often use participants physically present in various settings to pursue different aspects of a common agenda. Activists in Europe, for example, can make use of opportunities offered by the European Union, while those in important global urban centres where meetings relevant to a cause are held can organize demonstrations to accompany these meetings (p. 6). These authors compare this phenomenon to a division of labour based on comparative advantage (p. 12). They indicate that this strategy can be particularly powerful when

actors in a country with a democratic regime in place undertake political activity related to issues in a country with an authoritarian regime in place, within which local actors are less free to do so. They link this last point directly to diaspora activism (p. 12-13).

Transnationalism: Potential and Pitfalls of the Framework

Because diaspora activism is by its nature a phenomenon that crosses borders, it naturally seems like a fitting framework for our analysis. An additional benefit of the framework is that it allows for a broader understanding of the migrant experience. Itzigsoghn (2012) indicates that when studies on migrants are structured by methodological nationalism, they often focus on factors related to migrants' host countries, such as their integration into these countries. He argues that the transnational framework is structured for a broader analysis (p. 183; citing Glick Achiller & Wimmer, 2003). Glick Schiller and Levitt (2003), relatedly, suggest that dismissing methodological nationalism allows for a stronger understanding of aspects of the migrant experience related to gender, race, and social class. They argue that "[r]ecognizing that migrant [behaviour] is the product of these simultaneous multiple statuses of race, class, and gender makes certain social processes more understandable" (p. 1015). They use the use of national income statistics "to assess the socioeconomic status of migrants without considering the other statuses that they occupy" to illustrate the insufficiency of methodological nationalism for one looking to understand such aspects (p. 1015). Their discussion of the treatment of the gender differences in power and status engrained in transnational kinship networks by the transnational framework (p. 1006) further illustrates the framework's suitability for a researcher hoping to understand social phenomena.

It is nonetheless important to consider two pitfalls of the transnational framework discussed by Guarnizo, Landolt, and Portes (1999). Firstly, these authors suggest that the use of

disparate units of analysis in the framework can cause confusion. They highlight that "[t]he existing literature on [transnationalism] tends to mix [the various levels of actors involved in transnational politics], referring at times to the efforts and achievements of individual migrants, others to the transformation of local communities in receiving and sending countries, and still others to the initiatives of home governments seeking to co-opt the loyalty and resources of their expatriates" (p. 220). To address this pitfall, I have been careful, throughout my discussion of my findings, to clearly identify the actors that have been involved in the implementation of the moratorium and ultimately the ban in El Salvador. Secondly, these authors suggest that the heterogeneity involved here presents the risk of a common mistake in research inspired by theory. This mistake is "to exclude a range of events or activities just because they are not identical to those that prompted the idea in the first place, even when they share many of the same characteristics" (p. 221). They argue that this is problematic because "[n]ot everything that falls within the scope of a given concept needs to be the same, either in terms of the form or purpose of the activities involved" (p. 220-221). To prevent this potential pitfall from weakening my analysis, I have included everything that participants identified as diaspora activism in my results and analysis.

Solidarity Movements

I will now outline two relevant contributions relating to transnational solidarity movements that do not involve crossing national borders. Both suggest that it is possible for the perspectives of those a transnational movement seeks to represent to be neglected by those speaking for the movement. Roura (2016) focuses on the Palestinian solidarity movement in Barcelona. She bases her conclusions on "an over-time process tracing analysis" involving "some of the 30 semi-structured interviews [she] conducted with diaspora and non-diaspora

actors in Barcelona [in] 2015 (p. 3). She argues that despite the involvement of numerous diaspora members in the city, the movement's objectives and strategies have been influenced by the local political context (p. 10). She suggests, for instance, that "feminist organizations [based in Barcelona] participating in [the movement focus on the situation of women under the Israeli occupation" (p. 9). Additionally, she suggests that "the opposition between the Catalan Government (historically in the hands of the right and significantly pro-Israel) and the Barcelona Council (historically in the hands of the left and significantly pro-Palestinian) may have acted as a mechanism for the formation and growth of the [movement]" (p. 11). It is reasonable to hypothesize that this transition has involved the marginalization of local perspectives in Palestine.

Gill (2009), meanwhile, discusses a movement that emerged on numerous university campuses in the United States between 2001 and 2007 to denounce the abuse of workers at Coca Cola factories in Colombia (p. 668). Gill (2009) highlights that the North American and European activists who led this movement focused on poor labour practices undertaken by Coca Cola in these factories. In doing so, they neglected the critique of capitalism that workers were trying to vocalize, centered on "the dispossession and reconfiguration of the working class and the reemergence of the state in defense of class privilege under neoliberalism in both Colombia and the United States" (p. 669). These insights are relevant to my research because they illustrate the possibility that the voices of local actors in El Salvador could be neglected by diaspora activists and their organizations. Neglecting to address this throughout my data analysis could have led me to one dimensional and incomplete conclusions. I thus addressed this potential problem by including residents of El Salvador in my sample.

Conclusions

The literature on transnationalism and transnational political activity is quite comprehensive. In this literature review, I have outlined a relevant selection: its rejection of methodological nationalism, how it defines transnationalism, the emergence of the framework, its main currents of analysis, relevant insights from the framework, and its potential and pitfalls. I have also discussed relevant contributions relating to transnational solidarity movements that by and large do not involve crossing national borders. I will engage with this literature throughout my discussion of my research.

Chapter 3: The Mining Justice Movement in El Salvador, and the Contributions of International Allies

In this first of two results chapters, I will sketch several themes regarding the mining justice movement in El Salvador, and the contributions to the movement of international allies other than the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada, as outlined by interview participants. These add further insights to some of the points already developed in my overview of the case Chapter 1. I will begin by sketching numerous contextual points: the chronology of the movement's development and the evolution of public opinion regarding mining in El Salvador, the role of networks developed during the country's civil war in the movement, the high degree of involvement of women, and political violence and intimidation tactics targeting mining justice activists in El Salvador. I will then sketch several mobilization strategies that activists have employed: framing mining issues as multidimensional; engaging with researchers and academics to enhance credibility and engage new partners; educational initiatives, including the organization of different forms of travel to spread awareness and the use of videography and filmmaking; physically preventing the advancement of mining related development; holding referenda about mining in some Salvadoran communities; and numerous tactics employed specifically by the Catholic Church.

Contextual Points

Chronology

Participants provided insights on the chronology of the movement's development, and on the related evolution of public opinion regarding mining in El Salvador. One Salvadoran Canadian activist indicated that "in 2007-2008, the population of El Salvador started to mobilize

against heavy metal mining in El Salvador, specifically the El Dorado project". Both this participant and an activist residing in El Salvador suggested that the assassinations in 2009 and 2010 propelled a call by Salvadoran activists for international solidarity, and resultant international support for the movement. Another Salvadoran Canadian activist indicated that support for the movement also increased domestically in this period, with a significant increase in "the number of organizations that were involved in civil society opposition to metal mining in El Salvador". Two participants provided further insights on chronology. An academic indicated that many Salvadorans initially supported mining, and that the movement had to work hard to educate people about the impacts:

> One challenge was convincing people in El Salvador that banning mining was a good idea. People generally view mining as good-you extract resources from the ground and this creates wealth. You find the wealth and don't have to create it, it's easy money. The mining justice movement overcame this challenge. It took part in awareness raising from the start. In a 2005 survey, around 60% of the Salvadoran population declared their opposition to mining. Perceptions kept shifting and by 2010, the number had reached 80%. Obviously the campaign was working. At one point, the mining company adopted a green mining campaign. This presented a public opinion challenge, but we kept at it.

An activist residing in El Salvador, meanwhile, indicated that over time, a strong consensus against mining developed:

> Because here, we reached a point at which saying yes to mining became so unpopular that politicians were willing to pass a metallic mining ban. If you said in the media, for example, that

> mining is a good idea, immediately you would have a strong reaction on behalf of people in the media.

Historical Roots

Another contextual element that one of the academics pointed to is the importance of networks developed during the country's civil war. This builds on the grey literature on this subject overviewed in Chapter 1:

> [W]e think that the people who are living in the northern part of [El Salvador] where the ore deposits can be found are the people that suffered more during the guerrilla war. This is because they supported the guerrillas and then suffered the consequences of that. But at the same time, they are organized. They have community ties…You have to look at the antecedents of how [these people] were organized before…The resistance to the companies was very strong, and this was really because people had already suffered a lot and they were very well organized.

Involvement of Women

One academic indicated that his or her contact with the movement suggested that women were highly involved:

> I was only in a few meetings with people who were involved with La Mesa, with mining in El Salvador... I cannot say that I had extremely extensive contact with all of these people. But I had some, especially with the people who were directing the movement. And I was impressed to see as many women as men... I collaborated a lot with CEICOM (Centro de Investigación sobre Inversión y Comercio)… What is interesting is that more than half of the people working there are women. You can see that Salvadoran women are really involved in this movement.

Political Violence and Intimidation Tactics

A final relevant contextual point is political violence and intimidation tactics targeting anti-mining activists in El Salvador. I provided a general overview of this political violence in Chapter 1 (see Contextualizing the Case Study: Mining in El Salvador section). An academic provided further insights, describing a mining company's attempts to intimidate him or her as he or she gave a presentation on mining impacts:

> The first time that I gave a talk about mining impacts in El Salvador,… there were people from many different communities. Peasants, people that live in the area, some people from the universities. But there was also people working with [a mining company]. When I was talking, they put the cameras basically no more than two feet from my face in a really intimidating way.

Mobilization Strategies

Framing the Issue as Multidimensional

One academic indicated that organizations in El Salvador involved in the mining justice movement have framed the issue as multidimensional to increase support for the movement:

> Organizations in El Salvador have emphasized mining as a multidimensional problem. They have, for example, linked it to related problems with water. One group of people that is particularly interested in the water situation in El Salvador is the Catholic Church, basically because of the social upheaval that water shortages create. This contributed to the Church's support of the mining justice movement. Many movements can only call on one other ally, some

> on none at all. Focusing on the multidimensional elements of mining helped ensure this wasn't the case for this movement.

Engaging with Researchers and Academics

One strategy participants discussed was engaging with researchers and academics. An activist residing in El Salvador described the importance of this:

> I think those involved in the movement were really good at having people doing research, strong research. This involved scientists revealing that mining is actually not a good idea for El Salvador because of the country's characteristics: the high density of population, the water stress, the lack of public policy for health and the environment.

The activist further indicated that the credibility that scientific scrutiny provided helped get the archbishop and more generally the Catholic Church on board. He or she then argued that the archbishop's academic background in chemistry and resultant familiarity of this scientific scrutiny facilitated his involvement:

> Involving scientific and technical experts helped a lot in convincing, around 2007-2008, the archbishop of El Salvador and the Catholic Church to get involved.

> The archbishop around this time [2007-2008] was known for being really conservative and into business. But he had studied chemistry, and graduated from a well-known university. So when the mining company tried to do some lobbying with him, and convince him that cyanide is not that bad and that there's more cyanide in people's urine than what the mine was going to use, the archbishop recognized that they were trying to fool him, to lie to him and to the country.

Another activist based in El Salvador pointed to the importance of consulting with international organizations with expertise in investment settlement dispute procedures following the Pacific Rim lawsuit:

> When El Salvador was sued at ICSID for not allowing mining, we formed alliances with international organizations that understand the biases of the international court system. This was very important for us because we didn't understand how the investor state tribunal system worked and why a company that is not local was able to sue the country externally, out of the country, when if they wanted to sue El Salvador, they should have done it at the national level. Through this, we learned a lot about the impacts of trade agreements and how they constitute an architecture to defend the interests of the companies and not necessarily those of the public in El Salvador. What we learned helped us to develop specific demands against the World Bank tribunal and to question how a tribunal consisting of three people who have never been to El Salvador can make a decision that will affect the entire population.

The two academics that I interviewed provided first-hand accounts of the contributions of international researchers. These two participants have made multiple contributions, including a study detailing the impacts of a mine in El Salvador and another providing "a review of the environmental impact assessment for [another such mine"]". One of them described a challenge he or she encountered while engaging in this type of work: attempts by a mining company to discredit his or her work:

> [At one point, representatives of a mining company] wrote a letter to the chair of my department accusing me of saying things that were not true. They said that the scientific basis that I was using

> was not right. It was an effort to intimidate me. Fortunately, the chair of my department did not take the letter seriously. But they were trying to damage my reputation and my position at the university. That's nonetheless nothing compared to what people in El Salvador have been through.

Educational Initiatives

Relatedly, participants described several initiatives intended to educate people about the impacts of mining, and to spread awareness about the issue. Firstly, one activist residing in El Salvador pointed to the importance of learning from communities in neighbouring countries who have already experience the impacts of mining projects through visits to these communities:

> One particular strategy was to have Salvadoran communities exchange experiences with communities in Guatemala and Honduras that had been affected by mining so that they could better understand the impacts….What they saw there was not necessarily what the companies had promised. They had promised jobs, economic development, minimal impact on the health of people, and that the local environment would be in better shape than before after their departure. But through these trips, they realized that the opposite was true. The communities that they saw were suffering from poverty, there hadn't been any economic development, a lot of the water sources had been contaminated, the environment had been destroyed. The communities were not healthy. There were people suffering from respiratory diseases; from cancer; their houses were completely polluted because of dust and contamination from the mine; the water sources were contaminated; their plants, like the corn and plantations, were being destroyed; the animals were dying because they were drinking contaminated water. Having communities learn about this was very powerful.

Secondly, and relatedly, an activist residing in El Salvador described organizing speaking tours in Canada and the United States:

> Each year, we sent people from El Salvador to Canada and to the United States to talk about what was going on in El Salvador with the mining, to present the latest data and information. These tours involved visits to schools, universities, professional collectives, the US Congress, the Canadian Parliament, and the media.

Finally, an activist residing in El Salvador discussed the importance of filmmaking and videography in spreading awareness about mining justice in El Salvador. He or she described documenting the investigation into the 2009 and 2010 murders of anti-mining activists through film. He or she also described using video from mining sites in Honduras at workshops on mining held in El Salvador. The participant indicated that these videos focused particularly on "what actually happens when a mine is closed and the company is gone, [on] what is left in the fields".

Physically Preventing Mining Related Development

One activist residing in El Salvador discussed the strategy of physically preventing mining related development by blocking access to mining sites in Cabañas, and indicated that those identifying as peasants were particularly involved in these acts of resistance:

> In Cabañas,…they were really strong having peasants. There was an idea that these were the people that in real time would stop a machine, a truck, or a bulldozer...Now people in the community were ready to say stop, we won't let you pass. That is actually what happened in Cabañas in 2008. That is why Marcelo Rivera was killed in July 2009.

Local Referenda

Another strategy is the holding of local referenda on the future of mining within certain communities. I described these, based on grey literature (Contextualizing the Case Study: Mining in El Salvador section), in Chapter 1. An activist residing in El Salvador expanded on this literature, arguing that these referenda were important in obtaining the support of the legislative assembly, which for years did not support the movement even as many governmental and non-governmental institutions in the country got on board:

> [A] strategy that I think was important was [working] with local institutions of government. When we had made all of the arguments, most major actors in El Salvador were on our side. This included the executive branch of the government at the national level, the Catholic Church, a lot of community organizations, and universities. But still the legislative assembly wasn‘t listening to our demand to prohibit mining. We decided to work at the local level, and began to organize local governments, and to hold local referenda on mining…That was really important because it generated a national debate about why the legislative assembly still wasn't approving the mining prohibition, despite the support of local governments and the executive branch of the national government.

Role of the Catholic Church

Several participants highlighted the importance of the Catholic Church in the movement. Two Salvadoran Canadian activists described this involvement, with the latter linking it to the engagement of other traditionally conservative actors in El Salvador:

> NGOs like CRIPDES, NGOs working against mining in the region, they somehow made an alliance with the Catholic Church in El Salvador…As a result, the Catholic Church would make public announcements supporting the work of NGOs working against mining.

> I would add that, an interesting development that was not necessarily foreseen by everyone was the issue being relevant to sectors of Salvadoran society that were traditionally conservative, and with whom civil society actors weren't really too close. In particular the upper echelons of the Catholic Church. When the archbishop of San Salvador declared his opposition to mining in the country, that was huge. . It was a new voice in the struggle. This involved the more conservative echelons of the Church in El Salvador...With many different types of more conservative actors getting involved, there was a cautious welcoming of that. And from a civil society standpoint, we worked with that new scenario to amplify the message

Participants pointed to two specific contributions by the Catholic Church. Firstly, one activist residing in El Salvador indicated that some priests used their masses to share information about mining. Secondly, another such activist described two visits to the Salvadoran legislature by the country's archbishop to build support for the metal mining ban. The participant emphasized that it is highly unusual for the archbishop to get involved in politics:

> For the first time in history, [the archbishop] walked to the legislative assembly to ask all of the political parties to join forces in supporting the prohibition of mining. He did this twice within a couple of weeks…The first visit was in February 2017. He came with the clerical structure of the Church in El Salvador, the bishop's conference. There's a practice in El Salvador where if you as a citizen or an organization have a proposal for a specific bill, you can present it if it is sponsored by a political party. And that's what they did. A bill prohibiting metal mining had already been

> presented by the National Roundtable Against Metal Mining, and [the Church's representatives] presented a very similar bill, with a few minor changes. And their proposal was received by all of the political parties, who promised to study it. Two weeks later, the archbishop made his second trip. He organized a mass demonstration with about 20,000 people. This included people from the Church, as well as schools, social organizations, and anti-mining organizations. The result was a massive procession of people led by the archbishop. Normally bishops only do the religious processions, but don't lead any political or issue based marches. And again, a multiparty commission came out to meet the archbishop. This is also very rare. Usually when social movements come to the legislature, maybe one legislator comes out to meet them. This time, there were about ten of them that came out to receive another letter from the bishop saying please discuss this piece of legislation. And then publicly, all of the parties indicated that they were going to support it and pass the prohibition. And about a month later, they did.

Conclusions

Participants outlined several contextual elements regarding the Salvadoran mining justice movement, and the contributions of international allies other than the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada to the movement. These included the chronology of the movement's development and the evolution of public opinion regarding mining in El Salvador, the role of networks developed during the country's civil war in the movement, the high degree of involvement of women, and political violence and intimidation tactics targeting mining justice activists in El Salvador. Participants also outlined numerous mobilization strategies. These included framing mining issues as multidimensional; engaging with researchers and academics to enhance credibility and engage new partners; educational initiatives, including the organization of different forms of travel to spread awareness and the use of videography and filmmaking; physically preventing the advancement of mining related development, holding referenda about mining in some

Salvadoran communities; and numerous tactics employed specifically by the Catholic Church. In the next chapter, I will discuss the contributions of the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada to the movement.

Chapter 4: Contributions of the Salvadoran Diaspora in Canada

This second results chapter addresses the ways in which the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada engaged in the Salvadoran mining justice movement. I will begin by contextualizing this engagement; outlining the awareness of the Salvadoran diaspora in general, beyond those who have been most engaged, of the issue; some of the factors that motivated diaspora members to get involved; the chronology of how this involvement played out; some historical roots that influenced the diaspora's involvement; and two groupings among diaspora members under which some of the engagement was carried out. I will then outline several mobilization strategies advanced by diaspora members: coalition building involving various allies, communication and education initiatives, taking a position as members of the diaspora, and engagements with politicians in both Canada and El Salvador. I will conclude by outlining some challenges that diaspora members described in relation to their engagement in mining politics, and in some cases how they responded to these challenges. Because of how interlinked different elements of the movement have been, there is naturally some overlapping between all of these categories.

Contextualizing the Engagements

Awareness of the Diaspora of the Issue

Participants provided insights on what the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada in general, beyond those who have been most engaged with mining in El Salvador, think of the subject. Some suggested that the diaspora as a whole is not particularly aware of the issue. One Salvadoran Canadian activist summarized this perspective.

> `When it comes to the population [in Canada], I would say that [it] is not aware of what's going on with mining in El Salvador. Engagement in mining justice in El Salvador had to do mainly with associations like ours, and some firms.

The journalist that I interviewed, meanwhile, suggested more largely that Salvadoran Canadians are often disengaged from their host country:

> If you talk to a lot of Salvadorans who grew up in Canada and the US, you'll find a lot of us aren't really connected closely to our country anymore. At least that's what my experience has been with a lot of Salvadorans I know. The country right now is so dangerous from gangs and corruption that the connection has sort of been severed.

An activist living in El Salvador, meanwhile, suggested that engagement with mining from the diaspora in Canada as a whole is lacking, but that the movement successfully spread some awareness about mining in the diaspora. He or she then linked this to getting Canadian civil society organizations involved:

> Altogether, the role of the community was to strengthen the movement and involve the Salvadorans because many Salvadorans didn't know about this issue. We let the community know what was going on and through the contacts that members of our community had, we strengthened awareness of our movement among those Canadian civil society organizations that are progressive, that are interested in El Salvador, that are interested in monitoring what's going on with mining companies.

Another Salvadoran Canadian activist argued that the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada is less supportive of the mining justice movement than the diaspora in the United States. He or she then linked this to a favourable perception of mining among the general Canadian public:

> Among diaspora members, there's more support in the [United States] than what I see here in Canada…As much as we wanted to have more people supporting [the movement],….it's not so easy to have the support of people for this topic.

> If you ask me, in Canada, people are completely in favour of mining. That's my impression. I mean, there are some people who are opposing, but I don't see any improvement in terms of Canada not pursuing mines in developing countries.

Motivations for Mobilization

Participants discussed several factors that motivated Salvadoran Canadian activists to become involved in the mining justice movement in El Salvador. One activist residing in El Salvador highlighted two particular elements that encouraged diaspora members worldwide, including in Canada, to get involved: the assassination of anti-mining activists in El Salvador and Pacific Rim's lawsuit. The participant then linked the second point to remittances:

> 16 or 18% of our GDP is from what diaspora members send to their families here. So people say since I'm sending money to my family in El Salvador and this company is suing the government, I should say something, I should take a stand.

Relatedly, a Salvadoran Canadian activist pointed to Pacific Rim being a Canadian company as a motivating factor for diaspora mobilization:

> [A]s folks living in Canada with some ties to El Salvador, we felt it necessary to in some capacity address the issue given that Pacific Rim was based out of Vancouver. …I can't speak for the folks in El Salvador for whom we had been working, but oftentimes issues in El Salvador have to do with meddling from other countries, and most of that has to do with US government policy or the private sector in the US. There's not much we as Canadians can really do in these cases, other than supporting whatever colleagues in the US are doing. But in this case, it was very clearly a Canadian company, transnational in terms of the capital invested in it, but based out of Vancouver. Given that Canada is a safe haven for a lot of mining enterprises, it's not surprising that there was a Canadian company that was engaged in El Salvador. So we felt that it was the right opportunity; we knew that there were civil society organizations in the country that had been facing this issue for a while, right back to around 2004-2005.

Chronology of Mobilizations

Participants provided insights on how the involvement of the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada in the movement evolved over time. One Salvadoran Canadian activist indicated that the diaspora's engagement was initially on a very small scale, but grew as relevant events unfolded:

> [O]ur involvement, my involvement in particular, evolved over the years. We started off in 2008-09 with Pacific Rim. As things changed with that particular issue, particularly with the settlement dispute suit…, things evolved. The case changed over the years. Pacific Rim was bought by another mining company. As the situation changed, so did our involvement, so did our tactics, so did our strategy from Canada. So did the degree to which we worked with others in Canada and around the world, particularly in the United States but also in Australia, and in Europe to a certain extent. What I can say is that looking back on it today, it started off very, very small.

In addition to these general insights, participants provided perspectives on how the involvement of two Salvadoran Canadian associations, based in two different Canadian cities, evolved over time. I will refer to one as Salvadoran Canadian Association 1, and to the other as Salvadoran Canadian Association 2. One Salvadoran Canadian activist who has been involved with Salvadoran Canadian Association 1 suggested that the association was actively involved in the Salvadoran mining justice movement for several years, an involvement driven by the organization's leadership's desire to engage in the issue. The participant indicated that the resignation of the association's President and his or her replacement with a President with different priorities led the association to become less involved. He or she then reflected on two factors that may have pushed the new leadership to disengage:

> [T]he new President has focused more on culture and being a voice for the community, and less on politics. This change has been due to backlash from members of the community opposed to left-wing policies and the FMLN (Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front). But it is important to note that the diaspora leadership involved in mining justice was inspired by justice. They did not need a political line, but were allies with political parties in El Salvador that were advancing the cause of justice.

> The change in leadership priorities has also been due to characteristics in the new leadership: they have tended to be older, and they survived a civil war. They thus wanted to avoid divisions by avoiding politics.

In contrast, a Salvadoran Canadian activist who has been involved with Salvadoran Canadian Association 2 indicated that while the association was only able to provide financial support once, its engagement with the movement has been consistent:

> When it comes to supporting the work that NGOs are doing down in El Salvador, we've always publicized that to the community in Canada and we've been doing that since 2004. When it comes to specifically helping financially, it was only once that we got money from an NGO, allowing us to support NGOs in El Salvador financially. That was basically it. But then our role as an association has always been there. Whenever we can promote something that goes against mining companies, we use social media, we use email, we use phone calls to invite people to get involved.

Historical Roots

As with mobilization in El Salvador, one participant highlighted the legacy of the country's civil war as a defining feature of the participation of the global Salvadoran diaspora, including the diaspora in Canada, in the movement. One activist residing in El Salvador discussed the importance of economic and political networks developed through civil war driven emigration:

> I know that since the war in El Salvador, in the 1980s, there have been communities of Salvadoran people in the United States, Canada, Australia, and Europe who ran away during the war. And they were in these countries not only to make a life for themselves, but also to send some economic and political support for what was going on during the war. This involved international committees supporting the guerrillas, the opposition that wanted to take down the dictatorship. That was something that was really strong in the 1980s, and remained so in the

> 1990s. It has since changed; people in the diaspora are not looking for how to take weapons or economic support for the guerrilla. Now they are trying in some places to reconstruct communities; they send economic support for local schools, local electricity systems. They invest in human rights, in capacity building…So when the mining thing started to be a strong concern for people, these historical relations with the diaspora and with organizations and committees at the international level just oriented that energy and these resources to do something against mining.

Groupings

A final contextual element that participants discussed is the existence of two groupings among members of the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada who supported the movement. One Salvadoran Canadian activist indicated that some diaspora members have taken the lead from the FMLN, while others have taken the lead from civil society groups in El Salvador:

> All of this has happened in different groupings. For a lot of the Salvadoran Canadian diaspora that is socially progressive, that would be interested in this kind of issue, and would want to take some sort of action, a lot of that has been mediated through involvement in and support for the FMLN. The FMLN as a political party today, but also the FMLN historically as an opposition group during the civil war. So a lot of folks who have been involved have mediated their engagement through some sort of involvement with the FMLN abroad…Folks who have been directly involved with the FMLN, through formally established committees that have been recognized by the FMLN in El Salvador; they have tended to follow the party line on the issue and haven't deviated too much from that. To the extent that the party had a position on the issue, folks in Canada involved with the FMLN have tended to follow that.

> Others [not affiliated with the FMLN] haven't been necessarily beholden to that party line and that has given us a little more freedom to act in a way that we have seen as being more fitting to the situation. We have taken the lead on stances from civil society in El Salvador. Separation between civil society and FMLN politics in El Salvador, on the progressive end of civil society, isn't huge. So they're not definitely mutually exclusive and they reinforce one another. But in this case there has been definitely a recognizable difference that has allowed us to get more room to manoeuvre on the issue from a civil society point of view.

Mobilization Strategies

Coalition Building

Participants described coalition building involving various allies as part of their support for the Salvadoran mining justice movement. Several highlighted the importance of collaboration with civil society organizations in both Canada and El Salvador. One Salvadoran Canadian activist described taking the lead from civil society organizations in El Salvador:

> [O]ur objective as Salvadoran Canadians was to support the actions and the lead taken by civil society organizations in El Salvador, particularly La Mesa…Our objective was to support them. Obviously there was some back and forth, but we didn't dictate what happened. We weren't in a position to do so, they were the experts, and our job was to raise the issue with folks here, giving them a voice. This was fundamental to our approach.

Another Salvadoran Canadian activist discussed the importance of collaboration with civil society organizations in Canada, indicating that such organizations played an important support role in the diaspora's mobilization:

> Because of our high level of interest in mining justice, we are the best advocates in Canada for keeping the issue on the radar. But our work would not be possible without the support of Canadian NGOs, who have the structure and staff to offer significant support.

Beyond NGOs generally, participants described coalition building involving numerous allies. They described collaboration with two types of actors based in Canada. The first was Canadian labour unions. One Salvadoran Canadian activist had significant connections within unions, and got the institutions involved. Eventually, the movement acquired the support of Canada's largest union:

> At some point in 2008, we had a resolution of the Canadian Labour Congress against the company and in support of the people of El Salvador. This was a big achievement for us; to have the largest union congress supporting our campaign in El Salvador.

The second was First Nations communities in Canada. One Salvadoran Canadian activist indicated that this was propelled by the impacts such communities themselves have experienced from mining projects.

Another ally was American NGO CISPES. A Salvadoran Canadian activist explained:

> We conducted a lot of mobilization in Vancouver, and this was in alliance with some of our allies in Seattle. There is an organization called CISPES which involves Salvadorans and people from the United States that are very active in El Salvador. Sometimes we had joint demonstrations with them…People have [also] come from CISPES to picket Pacific Rim's headquarters in Vancouver.

A final ally was the Salvadoran diaspora in Australia. One Salvadoran Canadian activist described collaborating with members of this community, particularly in the aftermath of Australian gold mining firm OceanaGold's 2013 purchase of Pacific Rim (see Chapter 1):

> When the company was taken over by OceanaGold, which is a company that is based in Australia, we connected with the Australian Salvadoran community, and it was them who began to organize against the company in Australia. They kind of copied the same model that we had done in Canada. We sent people from El Salvador to Australia, we talked to labour unions, and all of a sudden we had a mass of organizations that were supporting the people of El Salvador. But all of it was generated originally by the Salvadoran community.

Communication and Education Initiatives

Participants described numerous initiatives by members of the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada that aimed to inform various audiences about the impacts of mining in El Salvador, and to promote the Salvadoran mining justice movement. Firstly, three Salvadoran Canadian activists described inviting Salvadorans to Canada to discuss the impacts of mining in the country, raise awareness, and pressure a mining company to leave El Salvador from within Canada:

> We began to bring Salvadoran activists to Canada, introducing them to different organizations, and these organizations eventually began to push the company to leave El Salvador.

> We have organized speaking tours in Canada. People from La Mesa have spoken to Parliament, to relevant sub-committees, and at schools and universities. Diaspora members have both hosted and translated for such events.

> [W]hen we were having meetings and building support for the movement, we invited people from El Salvador to Canada…I think that was good because people in Canada got to hear the people from El Salvador, hear their stories of struggle, of what they were doing to work against these powerful companies, and of how they were achieving things. I think that was how we had the best outcome in terms of increasing support among members of the diaspora in Canada.

Secondly, and relatedly, another Salvadoran Canadian activist described taking part in annual conventions in El Salvador in which Salvadoran Canadians and Salvadoran Americans were invited to listen to Salvadorans describe the impacts of mining in the country:

> I was part of [an organization]. Every year, we had a convention in El Salvador. And as part of these conventions, we held a discussion about mining. I was part of this. We invited people from San Isidro, from the places where people were fighting against mining in El Salvador, so that Salvadorans coming from the US and Canada could hear their stories first hand. Most of these Salvadorans came from the US, but some came from Canada.

Thirdly, Salvadoran Canadians have engaged with the media in multiple ways. One activist residing in El Salvador indicated that the diaspora has been instrumental in connecting media organizations produced by Latin American communities in Canada and other media organizations that work with these communities with the movement:

> [T]he Salvadoran and Latin American communities in the US and Canada opened up opportunities to engage with media sources. A local Latin radio station or a program that is mainly concentrating on the Latin American community, for example. This is something that was possible because of the activity of diaspora members in Canada.

This activist also indicated that the diaspora in Canada helped engage international media:

> Speaking to international media had a lot of weight. When from El Salvador you see that the BBC, Al Jazeera, and the Guardian are covering the issue, it means it's important and there's worldwide attention on it. And I think that was possible because of the actions of people in Canada.

The journalist that I interviewed, meanwhile, contributed to the movement through both journalism and providing oversight for local referenda on mining in the country:

> A few years ago, I was a news editor of my university student newspaper. I came across a media studies professor who was hosting a class taking people to El Salvador to become international observers in one of the referenda when El Salvador was trying to ban metal mining. These things are called *consultas populares*. They were referenda taking place in small communities in El Salvador to pressure the government to ban metal mining. I took part in this, and was thus there documenting one of the referenda. Ever since then, I've been trying to get more involved in Salvadoran politics through journalism.
>
> My role in the mining justice movement has really been one of communication. Putting it out there that this is happening. So I wasn't really on the ground, I was there as an eye to see and report on what was happening, and that continues to be my role. I wasn't deeply involved in organizing or anything.

Fourthly, one Salvadoran Canadian activist described working with an organization to write papers on mining in El Salvador and share them with relevant contacts:

> We …wrote papers that we shared with the Minister of the Environment and the legislative assembly in El Salvador, establishing our position as Salvadorans in Canada that were opposed to having a mining company operating in El Salvador.

Finally, an activist residing in El Salvador indicated that several Salvadoran diasporas, including the one in Canada, helped spread global awareness about mining in El Salvador and the mining justice movement, notably by making information available in multiple languages:

> The involvement of diaspora groups is how information was shared in English with people in Canada, the United States, Australia, and Europe.

> I would say that connecting the issue to the Salvadoran diaspora in the United States, Canada, Australia, and Europe made the story about El Salvador fighting an international corporation get wider. It was easy to track the story because you had information online; it was not necessary to be in El Salvador to understand what was going on. There was information in English, in French, in Spanish.

While most of this awareness raising focused on mining impacts in the country, the mining justice movement, and the Pacific Rim lawsuit, one Salvadoran Canadian activist who has been involved with Salvadoran Canadian Association 1 indicated that the organization also promoted a larger critique of the inclusion of investment settlement dispute mechanisms in free trade agreements:

> So there were two elements to our work: pushing for Bill C-300 in Canada and raising awareness in Canada of private Canadian mining companies being able to sue a developing country when the majority of its people are against a project. How can a small company overthrow the sovereignty of a whole nation? This led to another related element: denouncing free trade agreements that have investment settlement dispute mechanisms. This was a true learning experience for me.

Taking a Position as Members of the Diaspora

Participants also indicated that taking a position on mining issues in El Salvador as a member of the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada was another important strategy for diaspora members. A Salvadoran Canadian activist who has been involved with Salvadoran Canadian Association 2 indicated that in late 2008 or early 2009, leaders of the association initiated a letter writing campaign targeting Pacific Rim:

> I remember the first time that Pacific Rim threatened to sue El Salvador, we found out in [the city the association is based in]. It was around December 2008. The association was having a dinner. We prepared a letter, and had about 1500 people sign it. When presented these to the company in Vancouver, they were surprised that there was so many Salvadorans in Canada. That's how we began to put pressure on the company.

An activist residing in El Salvador, meanwhile, indicated that the Salvadoran Canadian community took part, alongside Canadian NGOs, in demonstrations in Canada in support of the movement, and that this enhanced the movement's legitimacy:

> Many Salvadorans taking part in the demonstrations put on by organizations based in Canada was really key. People saw that it was not just an NGO taking action, it was an NGO that was supporting the interest of families and communities that care about what's going on in El Salvador.

Engagements with Politicians

Salvadoran Canadian activists described different types of engagement with various politicians in both Canada and El Salvador related to the movement. One Salvadoran Canadian activist described successfully obtaining the support of some Salvadoran political figures positioned outside of El Salvador:

> We talked to the ambassador of El Salvador, to the local consul in [a Canadian city], and were able to gain their support in the struggle.

Relatedly, another Salvadoran Canadian activist described cautiously engaging with politicians in El Salvador who seemed, at least in part, to be supportive of the movement:

> [O]ver the years, as the case evolved, as the National Roundtable's involvement in the case developed, there were other tactics. We did realize that with a change in government in El Salvador in 2009, and with a passive opposition to mining by that government (although it hadn't yet been made formal), there was an opportunity to work with government and state institutions in El Salvador, to a certain extent in coordination with them, without losing our civil society focus. So there was a shift around 2009-2010, involving looking to increase the extent to which we strategized with Salvadoran state institutions.

Salvadoran Canadian activists also described engagements with Canadian politicians. One activist residing in El Salvador indicated that diaspora members "met with a number of [MPs] to let them know that there were Canadian companies going to El Salvador and generating conflict in the country". A Salvadoran Canadian activist who has been involved with Salvadoran Canadian Association 1, meanwhile, indicated that under the old leadership interested in engaging with the movement (see above, Contextualizing the Engagements of the Salvadoran Diaspora in Canada section, Chronology of Mobilizations sub-section), the association engaged with numerous Canadian MPs to push for the passage of Bill C-300. This was a Private Members bill intended to increase accountability for Canadian mining companies operating abroad. The activist described the bill, and what it did and did not address:

> Bill C-300, a Private Members Bill, was a light version of an ombudsperson. Meaning that communities affected by mining could put forward grievances, but the bill did not include any strong sanctions such as trade withdrawal or prosecution.

Macklin and Simons (2010) describe the bill in further detail. They indicate the bill was tabled by Liberal MP John McKay; that"[h]ad it passed, [it] would have required extractive companies operating in developing countries to comply with certain international human rights and environmental standards widely accepted by the industry as best practice"; and that "[f]ailure to do so would have resulted in, among other things, Export Development Canada withdrawing financial support and Canadian trade commissions and embassies ceasing to support and promote those companies' activities".

The activist described several strategies that Salvadoran Canadian Association 1 employed in the push for Bill C-300. He or she indicated that the association reminded Canadian

politicians that its members can vote in Canada. The activist indicated that this helped build support in two ways. The first was by encouraging politicians to seek the support of these potential voters, something that was facilitated by the idea that Salvadorans vote as a block. The second was the legitimacy that a link to Canadian voters lent to politicians supporting the cause.

The activist also described more specific ways in which the association generated support for Bill C-300: the organization of both a documentary screening and a rally on Parliament Hill, and the use of [an annual cultural festival] to promote the bill:

> We organized [a screening of a documentary] called *Return to El Salvador* with American filmmaker Jamie Moffett. We held this event [at a venue in the city our association represents]. We had a full house, and John McKay was present. It was moving. The documentary was well done, and the venue was nice, not a university classroom but a professional cinema room.

> We also had a rally on Parliament Hill, where we had MPs from the NDP (New Democratic Party), from the Bloq Québécois, from the Liberals (particularly John McKay) come out to support Bill C-300. This rally happened a few days before the vote happened in Parliament.

> [W]e had [a cultural festival], a summer festival for the Salvadoran community in [the city in which we are based], where we had over 1,000 people attend. We made announcements, we talked about it at this public event, where people were enjoying food, enjoying soccer. We circulated petitions and cards for people to sign. So that's where we had a lot of community members come out, that's where we had the most participation.

The bill was ultimately defeated in the House of Commons in a vote of 140-134 (Macklin & Simons, 2010). The activist provided insights into why the bill did not pass:

> Bill C-300 was a Private Members Bill presented by a Liberal MP. So it wasn't officially backed by the Liberal Party, or the Liberal caucus. Every Conservative MP who voted opposed the bill, and the Conservatives constituted a strong plurality in Parliament at the time. It was thus essential for the other parties to almost completely unanimously support the bill. And while the NDP and Bloq Québécois were fully supportive, there were division in the Liberal Party. The party had a human rights faction, and a neoliberal faction. They would talk a lot about human rights and corporate social responsibility, but ultimately some Liberals opposed the bill.

Several participants thus highlighted engagements with politicians as an important component of their engagement in the Salvadoran mining justice movement. One Salvadoran Canadian, however, presented different insights. He or she suggested that engaging with Canadian politicians, and Canadian politics in general, was not a major priority for his or her engagement with the movement:

> We talked with some MPs (Members of Parliament), from BC. But we were generally not focused on influencing any change in politics in Canada.

Challenges and Responses

Salvadoran Canadian activists described several challenges related to their support for the mining justice movement in El Salvador, and some discussed how they responded to such challenges. One activist pointed to a lack of representation of the Salvadoran diaspora among policy making institutions in Canada:

> We've made some contacts throughout our involvement in the movement, but generally speaking I don't know how much we're able to have a seat around the table when the discussion concerns El Salvador. Other diaspora communities in Canada have significant representation at different levels of government here in Canada. This representation provides them with leverage to have a say in both issues in their home countries and issues that affect their communities in Canada. So I'd love to see that for our diaspora, and I think that the Pacific Rim lawsuit and mining issue presented an opportunity to build this further. I wouldn't say it was a lost opportunity, we definitely made some movement, but it's still a challenge.

An activist who has been involved with Salvadoran Canadian Association 1, meanwhile, discussed two challenges related to the association's involvement in the movement, and how members of the association responded:

> [One] challenge was limited resources and time, particularly for low-income people. The struggle can be time consuming; you often find yourself sending emails at midnight. Some people had to step down at times.

> While members of the executive were on board, not all members of the association agreed with involvement in mining justice. Some felt that the organization shouldn't get political. They were worried about being labelled as left-wing and affiliated with the FMLN…To address this, we used non-partisan, universal vocabulary to talk about the issues. Terms like protecting the environment, protecting water, protecting life. We also worked with Canadian NGOs and other diasporas, including the Filipino diaspora. This helped to neutralize opponents, including those within the Salvadoran community.

Conclusions

Participants outlined several contextual elements regarding the involvement of the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada in the mining justice movement in El Salvador. These included the awareness of the diaspora in general, beyond those actively involved in the movement, of mining issues in El Salvador; factors that motivated diaspora members to get involved; the chronology of how this involvement played out; some historical roots that influenced the diaspora's involvement; and two groupings among diaspora members under which some of the engagement was carried out. Participants also outlined numerous ways in which the diaspora in Canada contributed to the movement. These included coalition building involving various allies, educational and communications contributions, taking a position as a member of the diaspora, and engagements with politicians in both Canada and El Salvador. Furthermore, several Salvadoran Canadian activists discussed challenges they have encountered while engaging with the movement. I will now move into my analysis of the findings presented in the last two chapters.

Chapter 5: Analysis

This chapter outlines my analysis of my findings. I will first explore several general links to the transnationalism literature. I will then sketch two insights derived from an analysis of the ways in which participants presented their responses. I will then link my findings to Benford and Snow's (2000) literature review on collective action framing within social movements. I will conclude by reflecting on one particular interesting finding, considering why it seems that only one organization in Canada with which diaspora members have engaged was involved in the push for Bill C-300.

Links to the Transnationalism Literature

One element of the transnationalism literature to which my research links is Glick Schiller and Levitt's (2004) rejection of methodological nationalism. As outlined in Chapter 2 (Transnationalism: Defining the Concept section), these authors argue that ""[s]ocial and religious movements, criminal and professional networks,…governance regimes[, and] flows of capital…operate across borders" (p. 1007). My findings provide multiple examples of this: the establishment by Salvadoran migrants in Canada, the United States, Europe, and Australia of resistance networks during the Civil War; Salvadoran mining justice activists working with international organizations to better understand investment settlement dispute mechanisms and how to fight Pacific Rim's lawsuit; Salvadoran Canadian mining justice activists taking the lead from civil society in El Salvador; trips by Salvadorans to Canada and the United States to discuss mining impacts; trips by Salvadoran Canadians and Salvadoran Americans to El Salvador to better understand such impacts; trips by Salvadorans to communities in neighbouring countries who have experienced mining to better understand the impacts; and collaboration by Salvadoran

Canadian mining justice activists with the Salvadoran diaspora in Australia, American NGO CISPES, and FMLN politicians. Participants often discussed engagements by Salvadoran Canadian activists and activists residing in El Salvador interchangeably, illustrating how interconnected all of these actions became. Some of these activities only took place once or twice, and thus do not on their own fulfill Guarnizo, Landolt, and Portes' (1999) criteria for transnationalism: "occupations and activities that require regular and sustained social contacts over time across national borders for their implementation" (p. 219). I nonetheless argue that given that all of these engagements were part of a connected series of activities and that several did take place routinely, taken together they do constitute transnationalism.

A second such element is Lyons and Mandaville's (2012) assertion, as outlined in Chapter 2 (Transnationalism: Relevant Insights from the Framework section), that transnational social movements often use participants physically present in various settings to pursue different aspects of a common agenda. Several examples of this came out in my interviews, all in pursuit of the advancement of mining justice in El Salvador: Salvadoran Canadian Association 1's engagements with Canadian federal politicians in the push for Bill C-300, Salvadoran Canadian Association 2's letter writing campaign targeting Pacific Rim, diaspora members partnering with CISPES to picket Pacific Rim's head office in Vancouver, and a Salvadoran Canadian activist's successful attempts to attain the support of the Canadian Labour Congress.

A third such element is Guranizo, Haller, and Portes's (2003) assertion that, as outlined in Chapter 2 (Transnationalism: Relevant Insights from the Framework section), contrary to the findings of early ethnographic analyses of transnational political activity, such activity sometimes does not involve entire immigrant communities. Several elements of my results support Guarnizo, Haller, and Portes's (2003) conclusion. Firstly, as outlined in Chapter 4

(Contextualizing the Engagements section, Awareness of the Diaspora of the Issue sub-section), several participants suggested that most Salvadoran Canadians are not aware of mining issues in their home country, and that those engaged in the mining justice movement represent a relatively small portion of the diaspora. Secondly, one Salvadoran Canadian activist indicated that "the idea that Salvadoran Canadians vote as a block [in elections in Canada] gave them leverage" in the push for Bill C-300, but stopped short of suggesting that they actually do vote as a block. Finally, as outlined in Chapter 4 (Contextualizing the Engagements section, Chronology of Mobilizations sub-section), a lack of consensus among members of Salvadoran Canadian Association 1 regarding the value of involvement in mining justice ultimately contributed to the association's disengagement from the issue.

One could, of course, adopt a smaller scale definition of community, and propose that Salvadoran Canadian activists mobilizing in relation to mining justice form a political community of their own. There are two indications of this in my results. Firstly, Salvadoran Canadian activists generally used the pronoun "we" when responding to questions about how the diaspora has been involved in mining justice. This does not conclusively indicate that all of my results apply to all of those in the diaspora involved in the movement, and one activist discussed differences in who diaspora members took the lead from in El Salvador (see Chapter 4, Contextualizing the Engagements section, Groupings sub-section). It does, however, indicate that diaspora members at the very least want to present a unified front, and may believe that broadly speaking they constitute one. Secondly, my employment of snowball sampling involved participants identifying other participants, suggesting some degree of interaction. But my results relating to Salvadoran Canadian associations suggest that some elements of the diaspora's engagement were carried out in isolation from others. No participant discussed any interaction

between Salvadoran Canadian Association 1 and Salvadoran Canadian Association 2. Additionally, neither of the activists that have been involved with Salvadoran Canadian Association 2 discussed Bill C-300 in any way, whereas an activist who has been involved with Salvadoran Canadian Association 1 discussed it at length, indicating it was central to the association's mining justice work. This suggests that these associations did not work together significantly in relation to this issue.

A final element of the transnationalism literature to which my research links is Jones-Correa (1998) and Guarnizo, Haller, and Portes's (2003) discussions of the influence of gender on migrant engagement in transnational politics. As outlined in Chapter 2 (Transnationalism: Relevant Insights from the Framework section), Jones-Correa (1998) suggests that the downward status mobility Latin American male migrants living in Queens (New York City) experience upon arrival leads them to engage in political behaviour related to their home countries. Guarnizo, Haller, and Portes's (2003) study of Latin American migrants living in U.S. cities suggests that status loss does not influence participation in political behaviour in a statistically significant way, something that holds true after "[interacting] downward mobility with gender" (p. 1229; 1232). They do, however, indicate that males are more likely to engage in political behaviour related to their home countries than their female counterparts among Dominican and Salvadoran migrants (p. 1229; 1232; 1235). My findings do not indicate that either gender or post-migration status loss has any influence on likelihood of taking part in transnational politics among Salvadoran Canadian activists. Two of the Salvadoran Canadian activists that I interviewed are men, and the other two are women. All four described active engagements in the movement, and at the very least an ongoing interest in mining in El Salvador. Additionally, no participant discussed post-migration status loss as a factor that motivated them to get involved in

the movement. Finally, as outlined in Chapter 3 (Contextual Points section, Involvement of Women sub-section), the only participant who directly discussed gender was referring to the extensive presence of women in an organization involved in the domestic movement in El Salvador.

Discourse Analysis

My analysis of the way in which participants presented their responses revealed two insights. Firstly, one activist residing in El Salvador generally did not distinguish between the engagements of the diaspora in Canada and those of the diaspora in the United States, consistently presenting them as one. He or she also sometimes did the same with diaspora engagements in Europe and Australia, but not as consistently. This lends further support to the idea that the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada collaborated significantly with Salvadoran diasporas in other countries. This theme, as outlined in Chapter 4, came out in my interviews in the form of collaboration by members of the diaspora in Canada with the diaspora in Australia after Oceana Gold's purchase of Pacific Rim and with American NGO CISPES. It also suggests that collaboration with the diaspora in the United States may have been particularly strong. These conclusions provide further support to the literature rejecting methodological nationalism.

The second insight relates to a Salvadoran Canadian activist's characterization (as outlined in Chapter 4, Contextualizing the Engagements section, Groupings sub-section) of Salvadoran diaspora politics in Canada as being carried out by people in two groups: those taking the lead from the FMLN, and those taking the lead from civil society in El Salvador. The participant clearly identified with the latter, emphasizing throughout the interview that he or she and his or her allies took the lead from civil society in El Salvador. While he or she described cautiously working with the post 2009 FMLN administration, this was only to advance pre-

established objectives. Three other Salvadoran Canadian activists also emphasized taking the lead from civil society in El Salvador, and one (as outlined in Chapter 4, Contextualizing the Engagements section, Chronology of Mobilizations sub-section) outwardly rejected a link between Salvadoran Canadian Association 1 and the FMLN, arguing that the association strategically formed alliances with political parties to advance the cause of justice, but was not beholden to any party line. One participant did discuss the FMLN in different terms, but this was one of the activists residing in El Salvador. While this activist did not indicate that he or she took the lead from the party, and only discussed it briefly, he or she praised the party for adopting the metal mining ban as part of its agenda, and described its opposition to the Central America Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) as "another moment when [it] was really connected with people's interests". The existence of only one of the two groupings among my Salvadoran Canadian participants is nonetheless an interesting finding. It is, of course, possible that my employment of snowball sampling and small sampling size led to an underrepresentation of participants who took the lead from other actors, including the FMLN, among my participants. It is possible that such individuals do not exist in participants' networks, something that of course does not mean that such individuals do not exist in the larger Salvadoran Canadian community. This is thus a topic for further research.

Collective Action Framing Based Analysis

Benford and Snow's insights on the framing process help explain numerous elements in my findings. Benford and Snow (2000) define collective action frames and describe the emergence of the concept:

> The concept of frame as used in the study of social movements is derived primarily from the work of Goffman (1974). For Goffman, frames [denote] "schema of interpretation" that enable

> individuals "to locate, perceive, identify, and label" occurrences within their life space and the world at large (p. 21). Frames help to render events or occurrences meaningful and thereby function to organize experience and guide action. Collective action frames also perform this interpretive function by simplifying and condensing aspects of the "world out there", but in ways that are "intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support and to demobilize\e antagonists" (Snow & Benford 1998: 198). Thus, collective action frames are action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities of a social movement organization (SMO).

One element of the authors' review of these frames that is relevant to my research is boundary and adversarial framing. Benford and Snow (2000) define these as "related attributional processes that seek to delineate the boundaries between "good" and "evil" and construct movement protagonists and antagonists" (p. 616). Participants highlighted two antagonists in relation to the Salvadoran mining justice movement. Seven participants (three Salvadoran Canadian activists, two activists residing in El Salvador, and two academics) described Pacific Rim and later Oceana Gold as an enemy. More specifically, three participants (two Salvadoran Canadian activists and one activist residing in El Salvador) identified the company's lawsuit against El Salvador as a factor that motivated them or people they collaborated with to get involved in the movement, three participants (one Salvadoran Canadian activist and two academics) described the suit and other company actions as challenges that the movement had to overcome, two participants (one Salvadoran Canadian activist and one academic) described political action directly targeting Pacific Rim or Oceana Gold (see Chapter 4 for more details), and one activist residing in El Salvador argued that the company's lawsuit helped generate attention and support for the movement in international media outlets. One of

the two participants that did not discuss Pacific Rim as an adversary, a Salvadoran Canadian activist, did discuss Canadian mining companies more generally as adversaries, discussing "[working] with friends in El Salvador who were fighting Canadian mining companies locally". The other, the journalist, did not directly discuss any particular adversary. Given that seven participants is relatively close to a consensus on a common adversary, it seems possible that the identification of Pacific Rim as an adversary was the product of successful adversarial framing.

A second antagonist identified by some participants was right wing political parties in El Salvador. One activist residing in El Salvador suggested that fatigue with one such party, the Alianza Republicana Nacionalista (ARENA), preceded the election of the FMLN's candidate to the Presidency in 2009. An academic, meanwhile, indicated that the presence of such parties in the country's legislative assembly complicated and delayed the passage of the metal mining ban. Relatedly, one Salvadoran Canadian activist expressed concern that control of the national assembly by right wing parties could lead to the ban's repeal. I outline this in more detail in Chapter 6. Interestingly, this is the Salvadoran Canadian activist who did not discuss Pacific Rim as an adversary. This could speak to a larger divide amongst diaspora members active in the mining justice movement. Altogether, however, given that only three participants discussed right wing parties in El Salvador, it does not seem likely that the identification of this adversary is the result of large scale successful adversarial framing.

The second relevant element of the collective action framing literature is prognostic framing. Benford and Snow (2000) indicate that such framing "involves the articulation of a proposed solution to the problem [at hand], or at least a plan of attack, and the strategies for carrying out the plan" (p. 616). Eight of the nine participants interviewed agreed that mining development presents risks to El Salvador, and while the journalist remained neutral, he or she

indicated that the activists he or she has worked with all hold this belief. This indicates a consensus on a problem, albeit at a very general level, among Salvadoran Canadian activists, activists residing in El Salvador, and academics. This consensus does not, however, generally extend to proposed solutions to the problem. Participants highlighted various solutions. Seven participants discussed the metal mining ban, but only five (three Salvadoran Canadian activists and both activists residing in El Salvador) directly indicated that their work involved pushing for the ban's passage. The other two addressed the ban in other ways: an academic indicated that he or she was happy when it passed, and the journalist indicated that the activists that he or she worked with were pushing for the ban's passage. Given that seven participants is relatively close to a consensus on a solution, it seems possible that the identification of a mining ban as an objective was the result of successful prognostic framing.

Participants discussed two other objectives that could be considered solutions to the problem of mining impacts in El Salvador. One Salvadoran Canadian activist and one academic pointed to opposing Pacific Rim (and later Oceana Gold's) lawsuit against El Salvador. Two Salvadoran Canadian activists, meanwhile, pointed to pushing for greater accountability for Canadian mining firms operating abroad. One of these activists discussed the issue generally, while the other discussed the push for Bill C-300. Given that only one and two participants, respectively, discussed these solutions, however, it does not seem likely that the identification of either is the result of successful prognostic framing.

Putting three of my interviews with Salvadoran Canadian activists into dialogue with one another further suggests that a consensus does not exist among Salvadoran Canadian activists engaged in the Salvadoran mining justice movement regarding the need to push for policy change in Canada, and thus that the identification of this is not the result of successful prognostic

framing. One activist indicated that his or her engagement did not involve pushing for change in Canada, highlighting that "I don't think that my involvement was to make sure that Canada wasn't involved in mining, I think it was mostly focused on El Salvador not allowing mining", and that "[w]e talked with some MPs, from BC, but we were generally not focused on influencing any change in politics in Canada". As outlined in Chapter 4 (Mobilization Strategies section, Engagements with Politicians sub-section), however, an activist who has been involved with Salvadoran Canadian Association 1 discussed pushing for Bill C-300 at length. This discussion took up over half of our conversation, and the participant indicated that this push was one of the two main elements of the association's engagement with the movement. A third Salvadoran Canadian activist, meanwhile, argued that members of the diaspora have sought to enact change in both Canada and El Salvador:

> The role of the diaspora in Canada has been to maintain an active awareness of what goes on in the country, and that tends to lead to some sort of action in some way. A lot of that is just direct support for what is going on in El Salvador, some of it is trying to build capacity in the diaspora here to be able to have a say in both what goes on in El Salvador, but also have a say in what Canadian government policy that affects El Salvador is developed.

The final element of the collective action framing literature that relates to my research is master frames. Benford and Snow (2000) define a master frame as one that is "quite broad in terms of scope" and that "[functions] as a kind of master algorithm that [colours] and constrains the orientations and activities of other movements" (p. 619). As outlined in Chapter 3 (Mobilization Strategies section, Framing the Issue as Multidimensional sub-section), one academic suggested that the domestic mining justice movement in El Salvador has been able to

widen its appeal by emphasizing links between mining and poor water quality. The academic indicated that this helped bring about the support of the Catholic Church, whose leaders link water shortages to "social upheaval". The need to prevent risks related to social upheaval could thus be a master frame that has impacted the mining justice movement by helping to engage actors who may otherwise have been out of reach. Benford and Snow (2000) nonetheless indicate that "just because a particular SMO develops a primary frame that contributes to successful mobilization does not mean that that frame would have similar utility for other movements or SMOs", that "only a handful of collective action frames have been identified as being sufficiently broad in interpretive scope, inclusivity, flexibility, and cultural resonance to function as master frames" (p. 619). The authors provide a list of such frames, and the need to prevent risks related to social upheaval is not on it (p. 619). The proposition that this threat could serve as a master frame thus needs to be further tested by analyzing its role in other social movements.

Engaging with Bill C-300

I conclude this chapter by reflecting on an interesting finding from my research. As discussed above, an activist who has been involved with Salvadoran Canadian Association 1 discussed pushing for Bill C-300, and indicated that the association was directly involved in numerous elements of the push. He or she suggested that the push for this law was one of the association's main goals for several years. In contrast, none of the other eight participants so much as mentioned Bill C-300. While two other Salvadoran Canadian activists discussed engaging with Canadian Members of Parliament, neither referred to the bill. This suggests that this one association was actively engaged with an issue that other Salvadoran Canadian associations, organizations representing the global Salvadoran diaspora, and activist

organizations not linked to the diaspora did not engage with. I propose one possible explanation for this, related to the timing of the engagement of different organizations. Salavadoran Canadian Association 1 was engaged in the Salvadoran mining justice movement for several years before the 2010 vote on Bill C-300. My interviews did not reveal specific insights about the chronology of the engagements of other organizations. One Salvadoran Canadian activist, however, indicated (as overviewed in Chapter 4, Contextualizing the Engagements section, Chronology of Mobilizations sub-section) that the engagement of the diaspora in Canada generally began around 2008-2009 on a very small scale, and then grew progressively. It is thus possible that Salvadoran Canadian Association 1 was active in relation to mining justice in El Salvador before other organizations in Canada, and thus had more time to engage with Bill C-300.

Conclusions

My analysis presented several conclusions regarding my findings. This includes numerous links to the transnationalism literature, two insights derived from an analysis of how participant presented their responses, links to Benford and Snow's (2000) literature review on collective action framing, and reflections on a particularly puzzling finding: why it seems that only one organization in Canada with which diaspora members have engaged was involved in the push for Bill C-300. The next chapter will provide a summary of my findings and analysis, and numerous concluding remarks.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

I will begin this chapter by summarizing my findings and analysis. I will then present some insights regarding both current mining related issues in El Salvador and the future of the Salvadoran mining ban and mining related political engagement in Canada. I will conclude with an outline of potential future research topics related to mining in El Salvador, and to the mining justice movement.

Summary of Findings and Analysis

My findings revealed several insights regarding both the Salvadoran mining justice movement at the domestic and international scales, and the contributions of the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada. Some relate to contextual elements regarding the movement. Some of these elements relate to the chronology of the movement's development, and to the related evolution of public opinion regarding mining in El Salvador. These include the movement's emergence around 2007-08; its rapid expansion after the 2009-10 assassinations; the Salvadoran population's initially open attitude towards mining, something that only changed with educational initiatives on the part of the movement; and the eventual development of a strong anti-mining consensus in the country. Other contextual elements include the role of resistance networks developed during the civil war in the movement, the high degree of involvement of women, and political violence and intimidation tactics targeting anti-mining activists.

Other insights relating to the movement consist of mobilization strategies. Firstly, one participant discussed the importance of framing mining issues as multidimensional, notably by linking them to related problems with water. Secondly, participants discussed engaging with researchers and academics, which helped convince leaders of the Catholic Church to support the movement and

allowed movement leaders to better understand the international investment settlement dispute system and fight Pacific Rim's lawsuit. The academics I interviewed discussed their first-hand experience conducting research related to the movement, describing the studies they carried out and, in one case, an attempt by a mining company to undermine a researcher's credibility. Thirdly, participants discussed educational initiatives. These included taking part in visits by Salvadorans to communities in neighbouring countries that have experienced the impacts of mining to learn about them first hand, organizing speaking tours in Canada and the United States, and documenting the impacts of mining projects through video and then sharing the resultant films with the public to spread awareness. Fourthly, a participant highlighted physically preventing mining related development by blocking access to mining sites in Cabañas, and indicated that those identifying as peasants were particularly involved in these acts of resistance. Fifthly, a participant discussed the importance of local referenda about mining in several communities. Finally, participants discussed the important role of the Catholic Church in the movement. One linked this to the involvement of other conservative actors in El Salvador, while others described two particular contributions by the Church: priests using their masses to share information about mining and the archbishop of El Salvador leading, in the lead up to the passage of the ban, two marches to the legislature in support of it.

Other insights in my findings relate to the role of the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada. Some address contextual elements. One such element is the level of awareness and perspectives of the diaspora in general, beyond those who have been actively engaged in the movement, of mining debates in El Salvador. Participants generally indicated that the diaspora is not particularly engaged in the issue. One participant I interviewed extended this to engagement with the country generally, and another indicated that the diaspora has been less supportive of the

movement than the diaspora in the United States. One participant, however, suggested that working with Canadian civil society organizations helped engage the diaspora in Canada. Another contextual element is factors that motivated those diaspora members who did engage with the movement to do so. Participants pointed to the 2009-10 assassinations, Pacific Rim's lawsuit, Pacific Rim being a Canadian company, and the sending of remittances to El Salvador. Another contextual element is the chronology of the diaspora's engagement. Participants discussed this engagement's progressive growth from a small starting point and the how the engagement of two Salvadoran Canadian associations evolved over time. While Salvadoran Canadian Association 1 was actively involved for several years but then became disengaged after a change in leadership and a resultant change in priorities, Salvadoran Canadian Association 2 has remained consistently engaged. Another contextual element is the role of economic and political networks developed through civil war driven emigration in the diaspora's engagement. A final contextual element is the existence of two groupings among members of the diaspora who have been involved: one consisting of those taking the lead from the FMLN, and another consisting of those taking the lead from Salvadoran civil society organizations.

Other insights relating to the diaspora's engagement consist of mobilization strategies. Firstly, participants described coalition building involving numerous allies: civil society organizations in Canada, Canadian labour unions, First Nations communities in Canada, American NGO CISPES, and the Salvadoran diaspora in Australia. Secondly, participants discussed numerous education and communication initiatives: inviting Salvadorans to Canada to discuss the impacts of mining in the country, raise awareness, and pressure a mining company to leave El Salvador; holding an annual convention in El Salvador at which Salvadoran Canadians and Americans were invited to hear about the impacts of mining in the country; engaging with

both diaspora media in Canada and international media; contributing directly through journalism; providing oversight for local referenda on mining in the country; writing papers and sharing them with relevant contacts; and making relevant information available in multiple languages. Thirdly, participants discussed taking a position as members of the diaspora. This involved a letter writing campaign initiated by members of Salvadoran Canadian Association 2 targeting Pacific Rim. The campaign aimed to pressure the company to drop its lawsuit by highlighting that a large number of Salvadorans lived in Canada and were unhappy with the company's actions. It also involved taking part in demonstrations within Canada in support of the movement.

Finally, participants discussed engaging with federal politicians in both Canada and El Salvador. This involved working with some Salvadoran politicians positioned outside of El Salvador and politicians in El Salvador who seemed to be supportive of the movement's objectives. It also involved extensive advocacy by Salvadoran Canadian Association 1 in favour of Bill C-300, a bill that would have increased accountability for Canadian mining companies operating abroad. This involved reminding Canadian politicians that diaspora members can vote in Canada, the organization of both a documentary screening and a rally on Parliament Hill, and the use of an annual cultural festival to promote the bill. A participant who has been involved with the association discussed why the bill did not pass, pointing to the make-up of Parliament at the time and divisions within the Liberal Party. Another participant presented a different perspective on engaging with Canadian politicians generally, indicating that his or her work did not involve significant engagement with such politicians.

Some final insights regarding the diaspora's engagement relate to challenges diaspora members faced while mobilizing and how they responded. One participant pointed to a lack of

official representation among policy making institutions in Canada. Another, meanwhile, discussed two challenges specific to Salvadoran Canadian Association 1: limited time and resources for those involved and lacking support from some members of the association concerned about "being labelled as left-wing and affiliated with the FMLN". He or she indicated that the association responded to the time and resources challenge by having people take time off when necessary, and to the lack of consensus among membership challenge by both adopting a universal vocabulary and working with various partners.

My analysis, meanwhile, outlined several further insights. Two are applications of different concepts from the transnationalism literature to my results. The first such concept is Glick Schiller and Levitt's (2004) rejection of methodological nationalism, and Guarnizo, Landolt, and Portes' (1999) related definition of transnationalism. I provided several examples from my findings of political engagements that fit the criteria outlined by these authors for both. The second such concept is Lyons and Mandaville's (2012) assertion that transnational social movements often use participants physically present in various settings to pursue different aspects of a common agenda. Again, I provided several examples from my findings of this. The third such element is Guarnizo, Haller, and Portes's (2003) suggestion that transnationalism sometimes does not involve entire immigrant communities, in contrast to earlier ethnographic studies of transnational political activity. I provided examples from my findings that support this conclusion. I then suggested that conceiving of those Salvadoran Canadians active in the movement as constituting a community of its own leads to some examples of unified political action, but that some elements of the diaspora's engagement were carried out in isolation from one another. The final such element is Jones-Correa (1998) and Guarnizo, Haller, and Portes's (2003) discussions of the influence of gender on migrant engagement in transnational politics,

due to post-migration status loss among male migrants. I concluded that my findings do not suggest that either gender or post-migration status loss has any influence on likelihood of taking part in transnational politics among Salvadoran Canadian activists

Two further insights arose from the discourse analysis of my findings. The first is one participant based in El Salvador's presentation of engagements by the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada, the diaspora in the United States, and sometimes diasporas in Europe and Australia as one. I proposed that this indicates that engagements by these different groups may have been highly linked, something that was at times itself a theme in my interviews. The second is indications by four Salvadoran Canadian activists that they took the lead from civil society in El Salvador, and the absence of any participants indicating that they took the lead from the FMLN. This is contrary to one participant's indication that diaspora engagement in Canada took place in two groups: one consisting of diaspora members taking the lead from the FMLN, and another consisting of diaspora members taking the lead from Salvadoran civil society organizations.

Other insights arose from my application of Benford and Snow's (2000) literature review on collective action frames in social movements to my findings. I first applied both boundary and adversarial framing and prognostic framing. I proposed that the identification of Pacific Rim as an adversary was the product of successful adversarial framing, and that the identification of a mining ban as an objective was the result of successful prognostic framing. I then applied master frames to my research. I argued that the threat of water scarcity could serve as a master frame, but that this hypothesis needs to be tested through analyses of other social movements.

A final insight resulted from my reflection on why one participant discussed the push for Bill C-300 at length, while no other participant so much as mentioned the bill. I proposed one explanation for this, related to the chronology of the engagement of different organizations.

Current Issues and Insights on the Future

I will now sketch some current mining related issues in El Salvador, and insights from participants regarding the future. Regarding current mining issues, McKinley details numerous recent developments that could threaten the mining ban. These include the ongoing presence of Oceana Gold through its El Dorado Foundation, circulation of "a new campaign in favour of "Green Mining"…from an unidentified source in Facebook", the receipt by 2019 presidential candidate Carlos Calleja of "important backing from transnational mining interests", and efforts by "small-scale artisanal miners in the department of la Unión… [to mobilize] in attempts to reform the current law to allow artisanal mining on a permanent basis". Kirsch and Moore (2016) discuss the activities of the El Dorado Foundation in El Salvador, which have been particularly concentrated in the San Isidro region (p. 23), in further detail. They outline several initiatives that the foundation has recently carried out. These include business and professional development programs; educational initiatives such as adult education programs and support for local schools; environmental initiatives such as [establishing] ecology clubs in local schools, "sponsoring local clean up and fumigation programs", and planting trees; health initiatives such as sponsoring "health campaigns on sexual and reproductive health" and campaigns "to prevent cervical cancer"; recreation initiatives such as building a park and supporting local sports events and programs; women's programs focused on both personal and professional development; and support for local cultural events and initiatives (p. 21-23). The authors then indicate that "many organizations and community members [consider] the Foundation's activities [to be] a "rebranding" exercise for the company" and that "the activities of the Foundation in their communities [are] a dangerous attempt to isolate organizations opposed to mining [and] cultivate a more [favourable] public [perception] of the company" (p. 26).

Participants, meanwhile, provided some perspectives on the future. Firstly, one academic and one Salvadoran Canadian activist, respectively, discussed the possibility that the mining ban could be repealed:

> For me, it was a victory when metal mining was banned in El Salvador. That doesn‘t mean [the government] can‘t repeal the law and reopen the possibility of mining, but people there are very active.

> There has been a recent political shift in El Salvador. Right now, the national assembly is controlled by the right wing party. Our fear is that they‘re going to bring Canadian mining companies back to the country. So the challenge right now is to organize to be prepared for this.

A Salvadoran Canadian activist, meanwhile, provided another insight regarding the future. He or she discussed the need to push the Canadian government to increase accountability for Canadian mining companies operating abroad:

> And then there‘s some work that NGOs have been doing not just in El Salvador but regionally…Honduras, Guatemala, Mexico. I think they have to find a way to ensure that these mining companies are penalized for what they do, and they have to be penalized in countries like Canada. This is because our system, in Central America, will never work for the poor; it will always work for those with money. So I think the big challenge outside the country is to convince the Canadian government that it‘s possible to… make mining companies responsible for what happens in those countries.

Concluding Thoughts and Future Topics

These insights highlight the need for ongoing research on this topic. I highlighted two topics for further research in Chapter 5. The first is whether or not some Salvadoran Canadian activists involved in the Salvadoran mining justice movement have taken the lead from actors other than Salvadoran civil society, including the FMLN (see Discourse Analysis section). The second is whether or not the threat of water scarcity could serve as a master frame in collective action framing (see Collective Action Framing Based Analysis section). I will conclude by proposing several others. The first is how activists residing in El Salvador, Salvadoran diaspora members in Canada, Salvadoran diaspora members in other countries, and other international allies engage with the Salvadoran mining justice movement in the current context. Given that the movement recently achieved a major victory with the passage of the metal mining ban, but this victory could be at risk, it is plausible that mobilization strategies may evolve to meet current and future challenges. The second is how mobilization strategies advanced by Salvadorans living in the United States, Australia, Europe, and other countries with Salvadoran populations have compared to those advanced by Salvadorans living in Canada. Insights from one Salvadoran Canadian activist suggest that engagements in Australia followed a similar model as those advanced in Canada (see Chapter 4, Mobilization Strategies section, Coalition Building sub-section). It would be interesting to explore this conclusion further, and to investigate the contributions of other Salvadoran diasporas. The final potential future research topic is a more in-depth comparative analysis of the engagements of the Salvadoran diaspora and of those of other international allies. The politics of mining justice in El Salvador is a complex, evolving issue. Further inquiry is without question needed to better understand it.

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Appendix A: Interview Questionnaires

For Salvadoran Canadians

1. What is your relationship to El Salvador?

2. Can you describe your involvement in the Salvadoran mining justice movement?

3. What political strategies do you think were most effective in the advancement of the movement's political objectives?

4. What kind of challenges did you face while undertaking these mobilizations? How did you respond to these challenges?

5. How did your presence in Canada influence the types of strategies you advanced while mobilizing?

6. Are you involved in organizations representing or run by the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada? If yes, what role did your involvement in such organizations play in the nature of your political mobilization?

7. How has the topic of mining in El Salvador been covered in the media, in both Canada and El Salvador?

8. Can you think of anyone else that you think I should speak with?

For Residents of El Salvador and Members of the Global Salvadoran Diaspora

1. What is your relationship to El Salvador?

2. Can you describe your involvement in the mining justice movement in El Salvador?

3. What political strategies do you think were most effective in the advancement of the movement's objectives?

4. How has the Salvadoran diaspora in Canada been involved in the mining justice movement in El Salvador?

5. How has the involvement of the Salvadoran community in Canada helped the mining justice movement in El Salvador advance its objectives?

6. Have any challenges resulted from the involvement of the Salvadoran community in Canada in the movement? Were these challenges overcome? If so, how?

7. Did the involvement of the Salvadoran community in Canada in the movement influence the passage of a legislative ban on metal mining in El Salvador in March 2017. If so, how?

8. How has mining in El Salvador, the mining ban, and the mining justice movement been covered in the media, in both Canada and El Salvador?

9. Can you think of anyone else with whom you think I should speak?