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REMITTANCES, FAMILY ECONOMY, AND THE ROLE OF WOMEN:
THE CASE OF EL SALVADOR



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INTRODUCTION

Migratory movements have often been an important phenomena in the framework of international political and economic relationships. During the 1980s, especially in some Central American and Caribbean countries, migrations have played a new role because of the increasing number of people taking part in them and the transfers of funds those people make. According to the information available, Guatemalans, Salvadorians and Nicaraguans living abroad represent between 7% and 13% of the total population of these three countries (see table 1).^{1/} The proportion is even higher in terms of economically active population. An exodus of this magnitude represents an enormous loss of human capital for these countries, which is undoubtedly not compensated for by the remittances received from abroad.

It is a complex task to fix the volume of these transfers. Official statistics record them only partially because the migrants use different means to send economic help to their families at home. Nevertheless, available data indicate its importance, not only in the family framework, but also in the national economies. Even though the individual transfers entered in a country's balance of payments do not always include those sent to the families of migrants, their magnitude is still considerable compared with unrequited official transfer payments (see table 2).

This paper will deal with the case of El Salvador, a country where a pilot study ^{2/} was recently carried out, on the basis of a small sample survey. The accent was put on the particular effects of remittances on family economy and on the role of women.

El Salvador is a country whose growth depends on a certain number of prime agents, the main one of which is coffee, a crop which provides more than half of the country's total exports. Its contribution resides not only in the product, employment and foreign currency it generates, but also in its effect on capital formation, public finances, and money supply.

During the past ten years of crisis, during which the national economy has fallen back some 25 years in terms of per capita income, another important source of income has emerged which, according to some estimates, yields returns greater than the value of coffee exports.^{3/} This new spur to demand is constituted by the remittances from hundreds of thousands of Salvadorians who have emigrated, fleeing the political and economic crisis in El Salvador.^{4/} Nevertheless, the sphere of action and the destination of this income are very different from those of coffee, which is controlled by relatively few landholders. While to some extent coffee gives rise to luxury consumption and flights of capital, it also generates production and employment and is an important source of savings for the country. On the other hand, remittances

from abroad are dispersed among hundreds of thousands of low-income families and are spent, fundamentally, for primary consumption of food and clothing. Although this source of financing has helped to alleviate the effects on the poor of the long and penetrating economic crisis only a very small amount of the new capital which flows from it has been put towards capital formation, and its role as an incentive to development has been superceded by its function as an escape valve for the social pressures resulting from the crisis.

The fact that these money flows are managed in large measure by women is especially important. Remittances are sent primarily to female heads of family, who exercise a great sense of responsibility in using them to satisfy basic needs, particularly those related to child care.

1. Remittances and their impact on family economy

As has been seen in other studies,^{5/} there is an unspoken agreement between the families of migrants and the migrants themselves that the latter will maintain close ties with the former. Migrants do not break their connections with their family of origin; on the contrary, after leaving the country, they remain in constant communication with their family with the idea of providing it with economic support.

The importance of this support is obvious from the considerable size of the remittances. This has already been referred to; nevertheless, the role remittances play as a means whereby poor families can help themselves can be measured more accurately by examining their impact on the economy of such families.

In the pilot study carried out in El Salvador, it was estimated that money remittances constitute 47% of the total income of the families which receive them (see table 3). That is to say that family income received in return for work amounts to 755 colones a month, while that received from abroad averages 669 colones (US\$124). It should be pointed out that in rural areas and in households headed by women, the remittances received are significantly higher than wage earnings.

In general terms, remittances bring family income up to a total of 1 424 colones a month, which is roughly equivalent to three minimum wages.^{6/} The wages earned by the heads of the families surveyed speak more eloquently as to how low their income is. Almost two thirds of the heads of household of the one hundred and some families comprising the sample receive the minimum wage or less, and nearly a quarter of them receive no income at all (see table 4).

The degree to which these families depend on external flows is considerable. If they were stopped or reduced, the well-being of most of the families included in the sample would be substantially affected.^{7/}

On the other hand, a look at how the families in the sample spend their remittances, shows that they must be used primarily to satisfy basic needs, since the consumption of the majority of the families surveyed is substandard.^{8/} In the rural sector, anything left over is used to purchase

farmland and animals (for production and home consumption), while in the urban sector it is invested in small businesses. Although the percentage of the families which can make such investments is not high (approximately 5%), those which invest relatively large proportions of their remittances (between 25% and 40%), so that it could be said that remittances help to strengthen the informal sector of the country ^{9/} (see table 5).

In addition to raising the income of families, remittances help to restructure their spending patterns. Thus, pressure favouring income distribution is exerted from the bottom of the social structure, without its being necessary for the central government to apply explicit economic policies to produce that effect.

2. Remittances and the role of women

Remittances also promote some social changes. They reinforce women in their traditional role of responsibility for the family unit (to which the matrifocal character of the majority of Salvadorian families can be attributed).^{10/} Through force of circumstance, women adopt a more active role in the household than is traditionally the case since normally they are the recipients of the remittances from abroad.^{11/} Their role is not, however, limited to receiving such funds; they also begin to administer them according to a different order of priorities from that of a dominant masculine figure in a family unit.

According to information recently obtained in El Salvador, two effects can be distinguished which for analytical convenience will be called income effect and budget effect. With respect to the first, the fragmentary data available indicate that, as stated above, remittances constitute a very large share of total family income, especially in families headed by women.

Of the 113 families included in the sample, more than half (52%) were headed by women, and such families were more common in the low-income urban sector than in the rural sector. In households directed by women, the lack of economic and social protection is greater. Thus, for example, in 60% of households with a female head, the woman is alone at the head of the family, that is to say, she has no masculine support; while 83% of male heads of family have the support of a wife or companion, who not only relieves the man of the responsibility of housework, but sometimes also contributes wage earnings from paid work (see table 6).

With respect to the occupation of heads of family, approximately 25% of those who are women are entirely engaged in work in the home, and 35% carry on activities related to the informal sector.^{12/} This means that the living conditions of many families headed by women are very undependable. The level of income received by female heads of family confirms this. A little more than three quarters have an income which is equivalent to just under the minimum wage, while only half of the male heads of family have incomes that low (see table 4). In addition, the proportion of women who receive no income at all is almost twice as large as that of men in that position (31% and 17%, respectively).

As can be seen from the figures above, the degree of economic and social vulnerability of households headed by women is significantly greater than that of households with male heads. This fact deserves special attention since it points towards the overload of responsibility on women and the importance of remittances to households headed by them for maintaining the family structure.

As for the budgetary effect, the information collected indicate that women play an important role in the distribution of income coming from abroad. Although in the majority of the families in the sample, the woman manages the resources (see table 7), it can be supposed that in households where there is no significant masculine figure (52%), the woman has greater freedom to change the priority assigned to the various items in the family budget.

In any case, there are differences in the structure of expenditure of remittances, depending on the sex of the head of family (see table 4). Thus, greater emphasis is placed on expenditure on items related to child welfare (such as health, food, and education) in the answers received from households headed by women. The difference between the proportion of questions which are answered affirmatively by men and by women is particularly significant in the case of food (75% for women and 67% for men) and education (76% for women and 64% for men) (see table 8).

In a traditional family the man usually gives a part of the income to the woman for her to decide how it is spent and keeps the rest to satisfy his personal needs. If, however, this situation changes as the result of migration, women have greater control over their family's resources and allocate them differently because they are more sensitive to the well-being of their family and traditionally more closely attached to their children. This is confirmed by other studies which reveal the tendency of women to put the welfare of their children and family first in budgeting the funds available.^{13/}

In terms of dynamics, this approach to budgeting has a redistributive effect, which is positive from a social point of view since it is reflected in investments which later result in the formation of human capital at ground level. It also has cumulative effects which lead to a relative improvement of the economic situation of the family unit. This accounts for the reference made in the preceding section to remittances having a redistributive effect from below, that is to say, an effect brought about informally in the absence of any economic policy on the part of the government.

In short, in the framework of the regional crisis, remittances have now become not only a very large macroeconomic variable, but also an important mechanism for survival of families living in extreme poverty and a help in the reorganization of the family budget. In this last aspect, the role of women in the management of remittances is immensely important. In this new role, women may take on new social functions including not only the receipt of the remittances sent but also their distribution in such a way as to achieve family well-being.

3. Problems and outlook

The brief review contained in the preceding sections may be supplemented by posing a number of questions of both an economic and a social nature for future analysis.

At the economic level, it should be determined to what extent a new economic model is being imposed by induction on countries with heavy migration. If it is assumed that migration is a structural phenomenon, it may be stated that no sudden change in present trends is apt to occur in the short term and that the annual income derived as a result of the continuous export of the work force will therefore be comparable to or even higher than that derived from external sales of merchandise. At the same time, significant change can be expected in consumption models, in internal systems for income redistribution and in capital formation. The assumption that remittances will for a time give a new boost to development should, nevertheless be carefully examined, because of all the theoretical and practical consequences involved. In the short term, they may be used to strengthen the formation of productive savings. In this respect it should be pointed out that the fundamental consumption of low income groups is basically composed of articles produced domestically, while the transformation of national savings into funds for importing manufactures constitutes one of the principal obstacles to recovery from the crisis.

This paper has deliberately left aside important social aspects of migration in order to concentrate on remittances and, particularly, on the role of women in spending them. This does not mean that those other aspects should not be the subject of future research (in particular, a profile of women migrants should be constructed). It is no less necessary to make a thorough study of the role which women who receive remittances play in the productive sectors before any conclusion can be reached concerning the real impact of remittances on the women of Central America.

The activities and behaviour patterns of country women are different from those of city women. Variations among city women may also be noted, which depend on social position and occupation. In any case, in El Salvador, women are by and large, the traditional managers of family income. Nevertheless, in the absence of new studies of the role women play in the family unit and in the productive sector --formal or informal--, remittances might appear to be a factor which reinforces their traditional position as family-income managers in that remittances may deprive them of opportunities to play a more dynamic role in production.

Lastly, one factor which should not be passed over is the structure of families --both nuclear and extended-- in countries where emigration is heavy. Leaving aside the important matter of family stability, a more detailed study of remittances could clear up some questions on such matters as, the changes which transfers can effect in the profile of Central American societies, at least, in those countries where remittances are already being made in significant number; the impact which transfers will have on new forms of organization and on the structuring of other agents of financial intermediation; the potential of remittances and how they can be channelled so that they can serve as additional spurs to development. And why in some

countries migration is accompanied by heavy transfers whereas in others they are relatively small. Finally, it is also necessary to analyse the complex family and social ties on which individual or family survival depend.

Notes

- 1/ The tables are at the end of the text.
- 2/ Segundo Montes, "Impacto de la migración de salvadoreños a los Estados Unidos: El envío de remesas y consecuencias en la estructura familiar y en el papel de la mujer (mimeographed document prepared for the ECLAC Mexico Office in July 1988). This pilot study refers to a sample of just over one hundred rural and urban families with relatives in the United States. For purposes of conciseness, the present paper contains less information about Salvadorian society than the pilot study.
- 3/ In 1987 coffee exports yielded US\$347 million while remittances have been estimated to have amounted to between US\$200 million and US\$1 billion (see table 2). See also Segundo Montes, Salvadoreños refugiados en los Estados Unidos, Instituto de Investigaciones, Universidad Centroamericana José Simeón Cañas, San Salvador, 1987, p. 120 and El Salvador: Income, Employment and Social Indicators Changes over the Decade 1975-1985, Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C., 1988, p. 49). This means that remittances account for between 5% and 20% of the gross domestic product of El Salvador.
- 4/ According to Segundo Montes (Salvadoreños refugiados en los Estados Unidos, *op. cit.*, p. 39), the estimated population of El Salvador was about 4.7 million inhabitants in 1985. Approximately one million Salvadorians now reside in the United States (legally or illegally).
- 5/ J. Oded Stark, et al, Migration, Remittances and Inequality, Migration and Development Program, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1987 and Intergovernmental Committee for Migration, Las causas y consecuencias de la cultura de la migración en San Cristóbal y Nieves, Centro de Políticas de Inmigración y Asistencia a los Refugiados, Universidad de Georgetown.
- 6/ At the time of the survey (July 1988) the minimum daily wage was 18 colones in the capital and 17 colones in secondary towns.
- 7/ Actually, after a long period of living abroad, some emigrants cut their family ties and live an independent life while others return to the country.
- 8/ Basic needs can cover all aspects of daily life, from housing to employment. Here this term refers to three items which are included in all the definitions --a certain level-- of nutrition and elementary health and education services. (See Frances Stewart, Planning to meet basic needs, London, McMillan, 1985, p. 1.)
- 9/ Carlos Briones provides additional information on the impact of remittances on the Salvadorian informal sector in the annex to his study entitled "Un ensayo de descripción de las características del 'sector informal' urbano salvadoreño" (Boletín de Ciencias Económicas y Sociales, No. 4, July-August 1987).
- 10/ Segundo Montes, "La familia en la sociedad salvadoreña", Estudios Centroamericanos, No. 450, April 1986 and Ignacio Martín-Baró, "Cinco tesis sobre la paternidad aplicadas a El Salvador", Estudios Centroamericanos, Nos. 319 and 320, May and June 1975.

11/ The same discovery is made in other studies; see, for example, Charles H. Wood and T. McCoy, "Migration, Remittances and Development", International migration review, vol. XIX, No. 2.

12/ Segundo Montes, "Impacto de la migración de salvadoreños a los Estados Unidos: El envío de remesas y consecuencias en la estructura familiar y en el papel de la mujer", op. cit.

13/ Kate Young, Carol Wolkowitz and Roslyn McCullagh (editors), Of marriage and the market: Women's subordination internationally and its lessons, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1984.

Statistical annex

Table 1

SELECTED CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES: MIGRATIONS UNTIL 1985

	Total population	Migrants				
		Total	In the United States	In Mexico	In Central America	In Canada
<u>Thousands of persons</u>						
<u>Low estimate</u>						
<u>Total</u>	<u>16 033</u>	<u>1 139</u>	<u>666</u>	<u>194</u>	<u>264</u>	<u>15</u>
El Salvador	4 768	483	278	120	75	10
Guatemala	7 963	291	203	74	10	4
Nicaragua	3 272	365	185	...	179	1
<u>High estimate</u>						
<u>Total</u>	<u>16 405</u>	<u>2 156</u>	<u>885</u>	<u>642</u>	<u>614</u>	<u>15</u>
El Salvador	4 963	1 566	675	504	377	10
Guatemala	8 298	316	150	138	24	4
Nicaragua	3 144	274	60	...	213	1
<u>Percentages</u>						
<u>Low estimate</u>						
<u>Total</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>7.1</u>	<u>4.2</u>	<u>1.2</u>	<u>1.7</u>	<u>0.1</u>
El Salvador	100.0	10.1	5.8	2.5	1.6	0.2
Guatemala	100.0	3.7	2.6	0.9	0.1	...
Nicaragua	100.0	11.2	5.7	...	5.5	...
<u>High estimate</u>						
<u>Total</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>13.1</u>	<u>5.4</u>	<u>3.9</u>	<u>3.7</u>	<u>0.1</u>
El Salvador	100.0	31.6	13.6	10.2	7.6	0.2
Guatemala	100.0	3.8	1.8	1.7	0.3	...
Nicaragua	100.0	8.7	1.9	...	6.8	...

Source: Low estimate of total population: Latin American Demographic Centre, Demographic Bulletin, vol. XX, No. 40, July 1987; high estimate of total population and low estimate of number of migrants: United States Census Bureau, Migration, Past and Present, CIR Staff Paper No. 25, p. vii; high estimate of number of migrants: United States Department of Health and Human Services, The impact of Central American migrants on Social Security Programmes.

Table 2

SELECTED CENTRAL AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES: TRANSFER PAYMENTS FROM ABROAD

(Millions of dollars)

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
<u>Costa Rica</u>								
Unrequited official transfer payments	-5	...	6	46	111	176	117	146
Unrequited private transfer payments	20	27	30	23	32	34	35	43
<u>El Salvador</u>								
Unrequited official transfer payments	31	21	119	164	173	194	219	347
Unrequited private transfer payments	17	39	52	107	134	150	174	198
<u>Guatemala</u>								
Unrequited official transfer payments	1	1	1	1	1	1
Unrequited private transfer payments	109	89	62	30	28	19	75	191 <u>a/</u>
<u>Haiti</u>								
Unrequited official transfer payments	37	74	61	64	75	97	100	127
Unrequited private transfer payments	52	64	49	46	43	49	52	56
<u>Honduras</u>								
Unrequited official transfer payments	...	19	21	35	70	134	145	130
Unrequited private transfer payments	...	9	9	10	10	12	15	16
<u>Nicaragua</u>								
Unrequited official transfer payments <u>b/</u>	112	57	43	76	88	80	109	132
Unrequited private transfer payments	12	13	8	4	2	2	3	10
<u>Dominican Republic</u>								
Unrequited official transfer payments	5	10	15	20	60	114	29	...
Unrequited private transfer payments	183	183	190	195	204	242	242	...

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of figures supplied by the International Monetary Fund.

a/ Includes donations received in kind and in cash (US\$172 million) and family remittances (US\$19 million).

b/ Includes only donations from private international organizations.

Table 3

EL SALVADOR: MONTHLY FAMILY INCOME

(In Salvadorian colones)

	Total sample	Urban poor	Rural	Heads of family	
				Male	Female
1. Income of head of family	410	582	290	532	297
2. Family income from work	755	1 010	548	895	622
3. Remittances	669	785	696	567	763
Remittances (in dollars)	124	145	129	105	141
4. Total family income (2+3)	1 424	1 795	1 264	1 462	1 385
5. Remittances/total family income (%) (3/4)	47.0	43.7	55.9	38.8	55.1

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of data contained in a document by Segundo Montes entitled "Impacto de la migración de salvadoreños a los Estados Unidos: el envío de remesas y consecuencias en la estructura familiar y el papel de la mujer" (prepared for the ECLAC Mexico Office in July 1988).

Table 4

EL SALVADOR: DISTRIBUTION OF HEADS OF FAMILY BY INCOME BRACKET

(Percentages)

Income brackets in colones	Total sample	Urban poor	Rural	Heads of family	
				Male	Female
0	23.9	18.4	36.1	16.6	30.5
1-100	5.3	5.3	8.4	3.8	6.8
101-200	9.8	2.6	13.9	9.3	10.2
201-300	9.7	5.2	8.4	7.5	11.9
301-400	5.3	5.2	5.6	5.6	5.1
401-500	10.7	13.2	8.3	9.3	11.9
<u>0-500</u>	<u>64.7</u>	<u>49.9</u>	<u>80.7</u>	<u>52.1</u>	<u>76.4</u>
501-700	9.8	10.5	5.6	14.9	5.1
701-1000	9.8	21.0	2.8	16.6	3.4
1001-1500	8.9	15.8	8.3	11.1	6.8
Bracket unknown or question unanswered	7.1	2.6	2.8	5.6	8.5
Average income (colones)	410.3	582.2	290.1	530.6	296.7

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of data contained in a document by Segundo Montes entitled "Impacto de la migraciones de salvadoreños a Los Estados Unidos: el envío de remesas y consecuencias en la estructura familiar y el papel de la mujer" (prepared for the ECLAC Mexico Office in July 1988).

Table 5

EL SALVADOR: USE OF REMITTANCES

	Total sample	Urban poor	Rural	Heads of family	
				Male	Female
Food					
Nothing	8.0	7.9	8.3	14.8	1.7
Something	53.9	45.8	53.3	52.8	54.7
Rent					
Nothing	65.5	31.6	77.8	77.8	54.2
Something	13.9	11.7	15.0	10.3	15.6
Clothing-footwear					
Nothing	44.2	18.4	64.4	50.0	39.0
Something	17.3	14.8	20.3	21.0	14.5
Health-medicine					
Nothing	31.0	23.7	33.3	31.5	30.5
Something	21.4	18.3	25.2	23.0	19.9
Education					
Nothing	58.4	52.6	58.3	61.4	55.9
Something	21.2	20.6	16.5	22.1	20.6
Purchase of house					
Nothing	94.7	92.1	91.7	96.3	93.2
Something	42.2	49.3	35.0	74.0	26.3
Purchase of farmland					
Nothing	97.3	100.0	94.4	96.3	98.3
Something	46.7	-	50.0	45.0	50.0
Purchase of farm animals for production					
Nothing	99.1	100.0	97.2	100.0	98.3
Something	25.0	-	25.0	-	25.0
Purchase of animals for consumption					
Nothing	98.2	100.0	94.4	96.3	100.0
Something	7.0	-	7.0	7.0	-
Purchase of vehicle for work purposes					
Nothing	99.1	97.4	100.0	98.1	100.0
Something	15.0	15.0	-	15.0	-
Investment in a business					
Nothing	93.8	86.8	97.2	92.6	94.9
Something	40.0	46.0	20.0	52.5	23.3

Table 5 (concl.)

	Total sample	Urban poor	Rural	Heads of family	
				Male	Female
Purchase of tools					
Nothing	94.7	92.1	97.2	94.4	94.9
Something	12.5	13.3	5.0	11.7	13.3
Payment of travel and other debts					
Nothing	85.5	89.5	91.7	85.2	91.5
Something	47.6	30.0	64.3	56.8	33.3

Source: Segundo Montes, "Impacto de la migración de salvadoreños a los Estados Unidos: el envío de remesas y consecuencias en la estructura familiar y el papel de la mujer", (document prepared for the ECLAC Mexico Office in July 1988).

Note: Figures entered against "nothing" refer to percentage of the families surveyed which spent nothing at all on the item in question. Those entered against "something" refer to the percentage of the families surveyed which spent something from the remittances they received on that item.

Table 6

EL SALVADOR: PRESENT HEADS OF FAMILIES INCLUDED IN THE SAMPLE, BY SEX AND MARITAL STATUS

(Percentages)

	Total sample	Urban poor	Rural	Heads of family	
				Male	Female
<u>Total</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
Male	47.8	36.8	61.1	100.0	-
Female	52.2	63.2	38.9	-	100.0
<u>Total</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
Single	17.7	18.4	16.7	7.4	27.1
Married	38.9	42.1	44.4	57.4	22.0
Common-law	21.2	13.2	16.7	25.9	16.9
Divorced	1.8	2.6	2.8	-	3.4
Separated	4.4	7.9	2.9	3.7	5.1
Widowed	15.3	15.3	16.7	5.6	25.4

Source: Segundo Montes, "Impacto de la migración de salvadoreños a los Estados Unidos: el envío de remesas y consecuencias en la estructura familiar y el papel de la mujer" (document prepared for the ECLAC Mexico Office in July 1988).

Table 7

EL SALVADOR: MANAGER OF FAMILY SPENDING BEFORE AND AFTER MIGRATION
OF FAMILY MEMBER(S)

(Percentages)

	Total sample	Urban poor	Rural	Heads of family	
				Male	Female
<u>Before</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
Father	24.8	18.4	33.3	42.6	8.5
Mother	61.9	73.7	47.2	38.9	83.1
Grandparent	5.3	5.3	2.8	3.7	6.8
Father and mother	8.0	2.6	16.7	14.8	1.7
<u>After</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
Father	17.7	7.9	30.6	37.0	-
Mother	68.1	76.3	52.8	44.4	89.8
Grandparent	5.3	7.9	2.8	3.7	6.8
Son (daughter)	1.8	2.6	-	1.9	1.7
Uncle (aunt)	1.8	5.3	-	1.9	1.7
Father and mother	5.3	-	13.9	11.1	-

Source: Segundo Montes, "Impacto de la migración de salvadoreños a los Estados Unidos: el envío de remesas y consecuencias en la estructura familiar y el papel de la mujer" (document prepared for the Mexico Office in July 1988).

Table 8

EL SALVADOR: LIVING CONDITIONS CONSIDERED TO HAVE IMPROVED BECAUSE OF REMITTANCES ^{a/}

(Percentages)

	Total sample	Urban poor	Rural	Heads of family	
				Male	Female
Housing	60.6	65.7	72.2	60.8	60.3
Child health	64.6	67.9	70.6	62.5	66.7
Child nutrition	70.7	82.1	73.5	66.7	74.5
Child education	70.1	85.7	66.7	63.8	76.0

Source: Segundo Montes, "Impacto de la migración de salvadoreños a los Estados Unidos: el envío de remesas y consecuencias en la estructura familiar y el papel de la mujer" (document prepared by the Mexico Office in July 1988).

^{a/} Only replies with affirmative answers were considered.

