



Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

## International Journal of Educational Development

journal homepage: [www.elsevier.com/locate/ijedudev](http://www.elsevier.com/locate/ijedudev)



# Migration and children's schooling and time allocation: Evidence from El Salvador

Zachary Intemann\*, Elizabeth Katz

University of San Francisco, 7 Leon Vicario Barrio Cuxtitali, San Cristobal de las Casas, Chiapas, Mexico

### ARTICLE INFO

**Keywords:**  
Education  
Migration  
Gender  
Time allocation  
El Salvador

### ABSTRACT

This paper examines the impact of parental migration on schooling outcomes for children left behind in El Salvador. Using cross sectional data collected in 2012, outcomes for children are analyzed for children with migrant parents. The outcomes are also analyzed by remitting behavior of the parents and gender of the migrant parent who left his or her child behind. Results are observed using instrumental variable estimations, as well as seemingly unrelated regressions to estimate the impact of migration on children's time allocation. Results show that children with at least one migrant parent will complete more years of school. The gender of that migrant parent has no significant impact. Lastly, parental migration has no significant influence on work time but does decrease time devoted to education. This paper studies the impact of both migration and remittances on a child's schooling behavior. Results suggest that the same factors that affect schooling may have a strong correlation with the propensity to migrate as well, hence the use of instrumental variables.

© 2014 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

## 1. Introduction

El Salvador's main export is people, while its greatest import is remittances, creating consequences for schooling behavior of the children left behind. In fact, as of 2006, remittances in El Salvador exceed the amount of incoming foreign direct investment (FDI) and make up approximately 18% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which is a result of the estimated 35–45% of total Salvadoran population that emigrates (Gammage, 2006). According to 2010 U.S. Census data, more than 1.6 million Salvadorans reside in the United States, an increase from 655,165 in 2000, and these numbers are likely underestimates. The number of Salvadoran citizens in the United States represents around a quarter of the total population in El Salvador. Thus, there are many Salvadoran parents living in the United States, and having a migrant parent away may have consequences for the child left behind.

How does having a migrant parent abroad affect children's education? The common hypothesis for migration and education is that a member of the household migrates, works, and sends home money to contribute to the family income. Thus, children in the family will be able to attend school, either by having the money to

afford school costs or the opportunity costs of work instead of school. On the other hand, an absent parent can cause emotional damage or behavioral issues for a child; migration may result in a child being unsupervised, unprotected, and potentially poorly behaved (de la Garza, 2010). A lack of supervision and encouragement could be harmful to a child's schooling. In addition, in terms of labor (domestic or non-domestic), in the absence of remittances, migration can also decrease the amount of available labor in the household, which could cause a child to work more and deter him or her from attending school. Therefore the theoretical connection between migration and education can be uncertain.

An economy motivated by migration will create consequences for the children left behind. This study is unique to the existing literature in multiple ways. It features a time-use diary, which measures children's weekly time allocation as a result of migration. Additionally, the survey for this study includes questions specific to the link between children and the migrant parents including specific details about migrant parents opposed to simply noting if the household has a male or female migrant member, more common in other surveys.

This paper uses two key estimation methods: instrumental variable estimations to measure the impact of parental migration on completed years of schooling and children's school attendance, and a seemingly unrelated regression model for time allocated to both school and labor by children. The first dependent variable of interest is a dummy indicating if the child has a migrant parent,

\* Corresponding author. Tel.: +52 967 141 0292.  
E-mail addresses: [zpintemann@usfca.edu](mailto:zpintemann@usfca.edu) (Z. Intemann),  
[egkatz@usfca.edu](mailto:egkatz@usfca.edu) (E. Katz).

and the second is if that migrant parent sends back remittances. Remittances are imperative for this research because as a migrant sends remittances to the family, the increased family income allows more opportunity for a child to attend school. Observations for completed years of education are also interpreted by comparing effects of having a migrant mother versus having a migrant father. Children are also observed by comparing different samples depending on if a child lives in a household that receives remittances from any source versus none for measuring time dedicated to work or to school. Children with migrant parents will complete approximately a fifth more of a year of school than children who do not have a migrant parent, and the results suggest remittances have little to do with that. In addition, a seemingly unrelated regression will be used to estimate the impact of parental migration on the time devoted to both work and school by the child left behind. Migration does not have any effect on time working but does cause an increase in time studying.

This paper uses data collected in four development regions of El Salvador to contribute to the literature by examining the impact of both migration and remittances on children's schooling, as well as their impact on children's time allocation, to show how migration may affect children's daily behavior. Section 2 gives a review of the literature, Section 3 explains the data and methodology, Section 4 shows the results, and Section 5 provides a discussion.

## 2. Literature review

Previous research has been done on the impact of migration on children left behind in developing countries. Starting with research on budget allocation, Adams and Cuezuecha (2010) conclude in Guatemala that households receiving remittances spend less on food, but more on education and housing. In terms more specific to children, Antman (2010) finds that if a Mexican father migrates and then returns, spending on education and durable goods for boys is lower when the father is present than when the father is away, but the effect is insignificant for girls. For adults, Acosta (2006) finds that remittance recipients in El Salvador are more likely to own a business or be self-employed and female labor is reduced significantly. Similarly, Damon (2009) finds that working hours decrease with remittances in El Salvador, while both men and women enjoy more leisure time.

An interesting component of this paper is the ample sample size of both female and male migrants as opposed to only male migrants in many studies. Remittance behavior of the migrant may vary by gender. Cortes (2010) finds that male migrants from the Philippines will remit more and stay away longer than females will. In Thailand, female migrants are more likely to remit than males (Osaki, 1999). Additionally, Thai women remit more altruistically than contractually, while Thai male migrants remit more contractually, meaning that women remit out of care for the family, while men are more likely to remit because they are legally required to (Vanwey, 2004). Abreigo (2009) argues that Salvadoran households with a mother migrant away are better off since, though they may not earn as much as males, migrant females will remit more consistently. Fathers send less consistently and, in some cases, stop remitting altogether.

Another point to consider is that if relocating to the United States, migrant women often find service jobs that pay less than those of male migrants (Cohen, 2011), which could affect health or schooling outcomes back home. Antman (2010) points out that a household may have better health or schooling outcomes if the father migrates since the mother's decision-making power in the household will increase, thus allowing more expenditures to be spent on children's wellbeing.

There are two forms in which previous literature has examined the impact of migration and outcomes of children left behind. The

first manner looks to consider effects when a parent or other household member has migrated. The second way generally uses a dummy variable simply stating whether or not the child's household receives remittances. Not all households with a migrant member receive remittances, and not all recipient households necessarily have a migrant member. Thus, results can vary depending on which independent variable is used.

Beginning with schooling for children with a migrant parent, Antman (2011) measures time allocation of children (like this study). She shows that Mexican children, especially boys, will experience a decline in schooling and increase in work outside of the home if their father migrates. Her results resemble those of the time allocation section in this study. Also in Mexico, McKenzie and Rapoport (2006) find that a household having a migrant member lowers the chances for both boys and girls of completing high school and increases their chances of entering the labor force.

In Peru, Robles and Oropesa (2011) measure household risk of migration and find that having a household member migrate creates disruption and has a negative effect on children's schooling. Hanson and Woodruff (2003) from Mexico show that children in migrant households will significantly complete fewer years of school. In addition, interestingly they find that the migrant from the household is correlated with more schooling for children with mothers with lower education levels.

However, Mansuri (2006) finds in Pakistan that children will finish more years of school, more so for girls, if they live in a household with a migrant living abroad. A reason for different results than results from Latin America is likely that migration in Pakistan is more seasonal while migration in Latin America is more permanent. Another possible explanation for mixed results in the literature could be that it commonly uses the migration variable as a dummy if there is a migrant from the household, while others simply identify if a child's father resides abroad (particularly in the cases in Mexico).

Most similar to this study, Acosta (2011) does include the gender of the migrant in the study in El Salvador (though not necessarily the parent of a school age child); he discovers using ordinary least squares and household fixed effects, that female migration likely reduces child labor in domestic and non-domestic activities, while male migration stimulates it. Contrastingly, female migration will reduce the likelihood that a child stays in school, while male migration does not impact schooling. His study is unique in that he disaggregates the sample of children depending on age, obtaining results for children ages 6–11 and 12–18. Unlike this study, Acosta finds that a female migrant from the household will reduce the likelihood of a younger child being in school. His key finding is that female migration will reduce the likelihood of a child performing non-domestic labor.

Acosta's paper is most similar to this study in that it measures the likelihood of children attending school or working in El Salvador, yet it has different results than those of this study. Acosta's variables of interest are if the household has a migrant member and a male migrant or female migrant member in separate regressions, but his study does not include the relationship of the migrant to the child, while this study features information on migrants' relationship to the children as well as their basic living information in their destination location. This paper uses instrumental variables and seemingly unrelated regression estimations to observe the effects of parental migration and receiving additional income in the form of remittances on children.

There can be a noticeable difference for a child's educational outcome if an older sibling migrates or if a parent migrates and remits. For this reason, the literature focusing on remittances may likely have more mixed results. Migration may increase or decrease children's school enrollment, depending if the income

Download English Version:

<https://daneshyari.com/en/article/6841419>

Download Persian Version:

<https://daneshyari.com/article/6841419>

[Daneshyari.com](https://daneshyari.com)