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Conflict, displacement and reintegration: household survey evidence from El Salvador

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Abstract

This report presents findings from research on the economic consequences of conflict, refugee flight and displacement for households in El Salvador.¹ The research uses existing survey instruments to identify individuals and households who have been displaced by war, and examines the consequences in terms of their predisposition to poverty and their transition from poverty over time. The findings underscore the need for multilateral, bilateral and national development strategies to be targeted to provide support to those populations disproportionately affected by war and in particular to support the economic reactivation of the former conflictive zones in El Salvador. Moreover, efforts should be made to compensate for the lack of human capital investment in the former conflictive zones and to target investment activities towards the rebuilding of social capital.

The research partitions the displaced population into the *concentrated* and *dispersed* displaced following earlier work by Segundo Montes (1989b, 1985). The concentrated displaced refers to those individuals and households that have fled armed conflict seeking refuge in encampments either inside El Salvador or beyond its national boundaries. The dispersed displaced describes those who have fled the conflict and sought refuge wherever they were able to do so and largely without receiving aid or support through state and international agencies. The concentrated displaced were found to be disproportionately poorer than the dispersed displaced and disproportionately more likely to be poor and extremely poor in 1988.

By 1992, however, this disproportionate poverty only affected urban populations while poverty rates remained high for all households in rural areas and particularly those in former conflictive zones. Female-maintained households and residents of former conflictive zones, independent of whether they formed part of the concentrated or dispersed displaced, were also found to be consistently poorer and more likely to remain poor over time. This may argue for a set of programs that explicitly target the former conflictive zones and female-maintained households, providing education, vocational training, health-care, small credits and capital loans. These strategies should, however, be part of national programs to reactivate the rural sector and stimulate economic activity in the former conflictive zones in the post-war era. In this fashion the majority of the war-affected population may be reached and reactivation strategies may benefit other rural residents whose poverty is equally acute.

¹ The International Center for Research on Women provided financial support for the research through the PROWID grants mechanism with funding from USAID. Sarah Gammage is an economist with the Centro de Estudios Ambientales y Sociales para el Desarrollo Sostenible in El Salvador and Jorge Fernandez Gómez is an economist with the National Economic Research Associates in Spain. The research draws heavily on earlier work by Segundo Montes and we recognize a great debt to his scholarship and publicly lament his assassination in November 1989 along with 5 Jesuit colleagues, their housekeeper and her daughter. We would like to thank Roberto Rubio, Kathy Ogle, Andres Contéris, Cristina Ibañez, Donna Flynn, and Richard Strickland for their comments on earlier drafts of this paper. Kathryn Schaffer for her meticulous research assistance and Sally Yudelman, Heidi Worley, Kay Andrade Eekhoff.

Introduction

War and internal conflict impose significant costs upon civilian populations. Populations are often forced to flee their homes and communities in the face of advancing armies.² Systematic violence and destruction are used as tools to undermine support for insurgent forces. Communities as well as individuals are often targeted in such a way as to destroy unity and fragment social networks.³ Households are left without breadwinners, the livelihoods of individuals are threatened and the safety of communities and the human rights of individuals are not preserved. Aside from the physical and emotional trauma of these oppressive and deliberate actions, such events have long-lasting effects upon the ability of these communities to recover in the wake of war (UNHCR 1997; Zolberg et al 1989).

Men and women may be differentially affected by war and differentially exposed to violence, assassination and torture (Cockburn 1999; Törnqvist 1998; Sollis and Schultz 1995). The prevalence of rape and sexual violence during war increases the likelihood that survivors of violence have poor reproductive health and are less likely to seek medical assistance (Ibañez 1999; BRIDGE 1995). After combatant populations, women and children have among the highest incidence of injury and disability as the result of mines and anti-personnel devices. Men and women also face different challenges and opportunities to rebuild their lives, reform households and reinsert themselves into economic and social activity in the post-war era.

Many households are left permanently fractured and are uprooted or forced to flee without resources. A large proportion of these households may be either female-headed or female-maintained⁴ (Forbes Martin 1992; Cohen 1995; Yudelman 1999). The loss of human, physical and social capital may consign a substantial number of these households to persistent poverty, which may or may not be intergenerational in nature. There may also be consistent gender disparities that are compounded by flight and relocation that also have long-term implications for the ability of individuals and households to exit poverty.

The challenges for rebuilding a society in the aftermath of war are many. Reconstructing infrastructure and repairing the physical damage to buildings, bridges and roads may be financially burdensome, but it is far easier than reconfiguring a society that embraces truly viable, democratic and participatory governance (Carbonnier 1998; Boyce 1995b; Spence et al 1995). The reintegration of those individuals displaced or transformed by war is also essential.⁵ While much

² A significant portion of those who fled the conflict in El Salvador sought refuge in the United States. The United States Immigration and Naturalization Service reports that there are 168,053 Salvadorans residing in the United States who applied for political amnesty under the Act for the Reform and Control of Immigration in 1986, and another 187,000 who applied for temporary protection status (Funkhouser 1997).

³ In Central America this has been particularly associated with the "scorched earth" practices employed to target communities where insurgents and guerrilla forces were known or thought to be active (Ibañez 1999; Leogrande 1998; Stanley 1996, 1987; Weiss Fagen and Eldridge 1991; Villalobos 1989; UES 1987; Gettleman et al 1981).

⁴ Female-maintained households are those where women generate more than 50 percent of total household income. These may be single-earner or multiple-earner households.

⁵ Reintegration summarizes a process that is often only considered relevant for ex-combatants and soldiers. This paper makes a case for reintegration expenditures to be channeled to a broader population who have been affected by war and whose economic opportunities, human, social and physical capital have been depleted as a result of the conflict. These populations face significant barriers reinserting themselves into economic, social and political

attention is paid to more visible groups such as former combatants and refugees, the dispersed displaced largely fall through the net.⁶

The dispersed displaced form part of a community of individuals who are often never identified, who as a result of their flight may never have received aid, economic support, health and psychological services (Deng 1995). Their ability to recuperate and reintegrate may be greatly impaired by their lack of access to a variety of economic and social resources. Refugees and the concentrated displaced may receive disproportionate attention in the first few years of peace; they too, however, may fall through the net as the provision of services focuses largely on relief and all too seldom on development strategies to secure effective reintegration over the medium- and longer-term (Bakewell 1999; Frerks 1999; Hoddinott 1999).

This study draws upon evidence from El Salvador to challenge the belief that populations displaced by war are unidentifiable using conventional survey instruments. The research uses existing survey instruments to identify those individuals and households that may have fled former conflictive zones during the war that spanned the late 70s until the early 90s.

With the signing of the Peace Accords in 1992, El Salvador embarked upon an era of reconstruction and adjustment. While the potential peace dividends were large, El Salvador found its reconstruction moneys restricted by political realities and the overriding concerns about structural adjustment, the downsizing of government and the need for an open and liberalized economy that was not overburdened by fiscal deficit (Foley et al 1997; World Bank 1996, 1993, 1991; Paus 1995; CEPAL 1993). Moneys were allocated according to these stringent realities. A portion of the reconstruction funds was dedicated to reintegration expenditures for former combatants and refugees and for the tenant communities in many of the former conflictive zones (Boyce 1995a, 1995b).⁷ Limited land transfer was sponsored. Vocational training, small credits, health services and housing loans were extended to the ex-combatants and former refugees.

While there have been a number of studies to date that explore the peace process and the economic consequences of war in El Salvador, few have attempted to identify and document the situation of the displaced (Boyce 1995a; Weiss Fagen 1995; Murray et. al. 1994; Barry 1986; UCA 1985; Montes 1989a)⁸. The fortunes of many of these households have been doubly

spheres and therefore require specific services and transfers to ensure that they can meet their needs and secure sufficient income to support their families and dependents.

⁶ The dispersed displaced are those who have left conflictive zones and have relocated within the country. Refugees are those who have fled across national borders. Although a small subset of the dispersed displaced may have fled outside the country, they have returned to settle within the country largely without any support or aid from international and multilateral agencies. Refugees, on the other hand, have by definition fled across national boundaries and have been identified as a vulnerable immigrant population in the receiving countries. For this reason, refugees are more likely to have received aid and financial support in the camps Mexico and Honduras as well as during their repatriation.

⁷ The tenant communities are those that have been resident in the former conflictive zones often for as many as 10 years. They did not have title to the land that they worked nor were they officially recognized as having a right to reside in these locations. They may comprise some of the dispersed displaced as well as refugees who returned but were not concentrated displaced under the auspices of the United Nations or other international bodies.

⁸ Official documents cite an estimated 60,000 dispersed displaced persons residing in the 115 target municipalities identified in the reconstruction plan by the Secretariat for National Reconstruction (SRN). This estimate is conservative, as it excludes many of those individuals who fled outside of the 115 municipalities and who have fallen

undermined: firstly by their displacement and flight; and secondly by the fact that few economic or social programs have attempted to explicitly meet their development needs. Furthermore, little attention has been paid to the gender differentiated costs of war and reintegration in El Salvador.

The Guiding Principles on internal displacement, recommended by the Special Representative of the Secretary General for Dispersed displaced Persons to the United Nations in 1998, recognize the special needs of dispersed displaced women and children as well as those of particularly vulnerable categories of persons among them, such as expectant mothers, mothers with young children, female heads of household and unaccompanied minors (United Nations 1998; Cohen and Deng 1998; Deng 1995; Forbes Martin 1992). Despite the general recognition of those gender-specific concerns that relate to women and children in flight, little research has been undertaken in El Salvador that addresses the specific needs of the dispersed displaced and concentrated displaced, and those of women as a significant subset of these groups (Ibañez 1999; Vásquez 1999). Furthermore, a focus on women who have been directly affected by the causes and consequences of war is noticeably absent from the recent national policy declaration produced by the Salvadoran Institute for the Development of Women (ISDEMU 1997).

Objectives of the research

This research uses multiple purpose household survey data to identify individuals and households that migrated from former conflictive zones or who indicate on household surveys that they were displaced as the result of internal conflict. The purpose of this study is to compare the welfare of war-affected households that have benefited from the reconstruction and reintegration expenditures with those that have not, in order to discern whether they have fared differently over time.

Those individuals and households that fled former conflictive zones in search of more stable circumstances came with little capital, either physical or financial and with little formal education. Those fleeing rural areas in active conflict had few possessions and little opportunity for employment other than manual labor. The majority of these migrant households were fragmented, having lost key members as the result of the conflict. Many individuals were traumatized, disabled or unhealthy, having spent some time fleeing the armed forces or the guerrilla, sleeping without shelter and eating infrequently. Few were able to gain access to the services that they required, and continued living as migrants without returning to the departments from which they fled. Consequently, these individuals and households may be disproportionately more likely to be poor and to remain poor in the post conflict era.

This study attempts to explore the viability of using existing survey instruments to identify the displaced and to see how these households have fared over time. The displaced have been partitioned into two groups following earlier work on flight and displacement by Segundo Montes (Montes 1989b, 1985). These sub-groups are categorized as the *dispersed displaced* and the *concentrated displaced*. The partition attempts to capture aspects of flight and relocation that are correlated with access to resources and receipt of aid, and may explain the trajectory of these

through the safety net envisioned by expenditures under the by the reconstruction plan (Hemisphere Initiatives 1994).

households into or out of poverty over time. The *dispersed displaced* comprise those individuals and households that have fled the conflict and sought refuge wherever they were able to do so largely without receiving aid or support through state or international agencies. The concentrated displaced refers to those individuals and households that have fled armed conflict seeking refuge in encampments either inside El Salvador or beyond its national boundaries.

The taxonomy is intended to reflect the relative mobility of the population and summarize the unifying characteristics of those who have fled. As such, the distinction captures the unique experience of those who have been relocated in encampments, either as refugees or within El Salvador, contrasting their experience with that of others who fled individually or in small groups largely without seeking national and international assistance. The *concentrated displaced* aggregates the refugees, those who have been sheltered in encampments within El Salvador and communities of the repatriated, all of which are more sedentary in nature. The *dispersed displaced* refers to a more mobile population that relocated largely without national or international assistance using whatever networks and associations they could exploit to ensure their survival and guarantee their security.

Although the multiple purpose household survey was not created with the explicit purpose of exploring displacement, it may be possible to use such data to identify the dispersed and concentrated displaced. Furthermore, the data may be used to document whether these households are indeed more likely to be poor when compared to those populations that have not been forced to relocate as a result of the civil war. Additionally, there may be discrete differences that emerge from the comparison of the dispersed and concentrated displaced that can be used to inform the design of policy and programs to facilitate reintegration and compensate for the disproportionate impact of war upon these groups.

The objectives of this study are threefold:

- to explore whether existing survey instruments can be used to identify the concentrated and dispersed displaced;
- to determine whether the concentrated and dispersed displaced are disproportionately likely to be poor or to reside in female-maintained households; and,
- to develop recommendations for policy-makers and program practitioners on how to improve the welfare of war-affected households and to target reintegration expenditures.

This study complements qualitative ethnographic research that is being undertaken by Mujeres para la Dignidad y la Vida (*Las Dignas*), and Consejería en Proyectos, both non-governmental organizations that have been active among the refugee and resettled populations in former conflictive zones in El Salvador and Guatemala (Cabarrús Molina et al 2000; Vásquez 1999; Ibañez 1999). It is hoped that the complementarity of qualitative and quantitative research will not only yield information that is of direct relevance for El Salvador, but may also shed light on the applicability of such a methodology for the design and evaluation of programs and policies to facilitate the reintegration of individuals and households affected by war and civil conflict in other parts of the region. At the very least, this research will document those characteristics of

households that have been able to overcome the economic and social costs of war and highlight the particular challenges that face those who remain in poverty or encounter few opportunities for sustained reintegration and recuperation.

The conflict in El Salvador

From the late seventies to the early nineties many Salvadorans abandoned their homes and their lands, fleeing internal conflict and civil war (Boyce and Pastor 1997; Ibañez 1999; Vasquez 1999; Montes 1989b; Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights/Americas Watch 1984). While some fled across the Honduran, Nicaraguan and Guatemalan borders, others remained in El Salvador seeking refuge in those departments and municipalities that were not conflictive. Many Salvadorans who fled the armed conflict received international aid in refugee camps and were eventually repatriated under the auspices of the United Nations. Others received aid in reception camps within El Salvador. The category of concentrated displaced aggregates individuals and households that have been refugees and subsequently repatriated as well as those among the internally displaced who have been sheltered in reception camps within El Salvador. A significant percentage of those individuals and households that fled the conflict may never have been identified as displaced by war and may not have received aid or reintegration services. This is most likely to be true of the dispersed displaced.

Table 1 provides a summary of different estimates of the war-affected population over a 12-year period using the more conventional categories of the internally displaced, refugees and repatriated. Because of the difficulties inherent in any attempt to classify or quantify the war-affected populations, many divergent estimates exist of the internally displaced. Various agencies and non-governmental organizations responsible for disbursing aid to the internally displaced and repatriated have attempted to estimate the numbers of people in each category in need of food, clothing and shelter. These estimates are often highly contradictory. Although these numbers may be subject to measurement error, the trends within each category are broadly parallel, indicating that the number of refugees and internally rose throughout the course of the war. What is striking about Table 1 is that the estimates of the numbers of the internally far exceed the estimates of refugees, reaching a peak in 1985 of 577,182.

In all cases, the numbers of the repatriated are less than estimates of the numbers of refugees. This would seem to indicate that while many people fled, many also remained outside El Salvador for the course of the war (1979-1992) and few were officially repatriated (Stanley 1987; Montes 1989a). The repatriated are not necessarily representative of all of the refugees, although they were once classified as refugees. The repatriated are, however, more easily identified and therefore more easily targeted for the receipt of reintegration services. It is clear that in the face of significant logistical and financial constraints, those receiving reconstruction and reintegration support in the aftermath of war will be a subset of the total number of persons directly affected by the war.

Table 1. Estimates of the numbers of refugees, dispersed displaced and concentrated displaced in El Salvador

Number	Date	Source	Notes
Refugees			
87,000	1981	World Refugee Statistics, World Refugee Survey, 1981	30,000 in Honduras; 7,000 in Nicaragua; 5,000 in Costa Rica; 4,000 in Belize; 1000 in Panama; and an estimated 40,000 in Mexico.
15,000	1982	Beatrice Edwards and Gretta Tovar Siebentritt (1991) <u>The Repopulation of Rural El Salvador</u> , Lynne Reinner Publishers	Estimate for the Department of Chalatenango.
251,700	1985	World Refugee Statistics, World Refugee Survey, 1985	
245,500	1985	Segundo Montes (1985) <u>Refugiados y Repatriados El Salvador y Honduras</u> , Departamento de Sociología y Ciencias Políticas, Instituto de Derechos Humanos (IDHUCA), Universidad Centroamericana José Simeón Cañas, San Salvador, mayo 1989	
190,128	1996	World Refugee Statistics, World Refugee Survey, 1996	Total of pending asylum petitions to the United States by El Salvadorans.
Internally Displaced			
100,000	1981	World Refugee Statistics, World Refugee Survey, 1981	
225,000	1982	Beatrice Edwards and Gretta Tovar Siebentritt (1991) <u>The Repopulation of Rural El Salvador</u> , Lynne Reinner Publishers	
577,182	1985	Segundo Montes (1985) <u>Desplazados y Refugiados</u> , Instituto de Investigaciones, Universidad Centroamericana José Simeón Cañas, San Salvador, 1985	Estimated using actual voting records and forecast voting records from the census data. Any excess is attributed to internal relocation in response to the conflict.
60,000	1993	Target Population identified in the National Reconstruction Plan by the Secretaria de Reconstrucción Nacional (SRN)	In “Rescuing reconstruction: The Debate on Post-War Economic recovery in El Salvador”, Hemisphere Initiatives, Cambridge Massachusetts, May 1994

Number	Date	Source	Notes
Repatriated			
22,800	1992	World Refugee Statistics, World Refugee Survey, 1992	Estimates of concentrated displaced refugees and asylum seekers
31,314	1993	CIREFCA	Estimates of the concentrated displaced in 41 communities in the Departments of Chalatenango, Cuscatlán, Canañas, Usulután, San Salvador, La Libertad, San Vicente and Morazán. CIREFCA census, September 1993.
24,000	1993	Target Population identified in the National Reconstruction Plan by the Secretaria de Reconstrucción Nacional (SRN)	In “Rescuing Reconstruction: The Debate on Post-War Economic Recovery in El Salvador”, Hemisphere Initiatives, Cambridge Massachusetts, May 1994
31,000	1995	World Refugee Statistics, World Refugee Survey, 1995	Total estimated repatriations under the auspices of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees since the mid 1980s

Source: World Refugee Survey (1980-1997); Edwards and Siebentritt (1991); MIPLAN 1992; CIREFCA (1993); Murray et al. (1994); Montes (1989b; 1985)

The Peace Accords defined a process that regulated the demobilization of former combatants, the disbursement of land, credit and other financial packages, as well as access to health, education and other critical services (Murray et al 1994; Boyce 1997; United Nations 1992). Many combatants and tenants were given land in the former conflictive zones.⁹ Some were relocated to those areas from which they had emigrated or from where they originated, others were allocated land in conflictive zones where they had no ties or no family members. Prior to the implementation of the Peace Accords, programs were in operation to address the needs of specific communities and target populations that had been affected by war. Those who received aid and services may have fared comparatively better than those who did not. Reintegration and an effective transition out of poverty will depend not only on the resources and services that these people receive in the post-war era, but also on the resources and characteristics with which they were endowed prior to the war.

It is clear from the host of documents pertaining to the reintegration and reconstruction efforts, that the objective of meeting the needs and concerns of women has been subsumed within larger programs attempting to provide relief and channel reconstruction and reintegration expenditures.

⁹ The tenants have been resident for as many as 10 years in the areas where they were eventually given the right to purchase land. Tenants comprise individuals and households who have been displaced as a result of the war. The tenants are likely to fall disproportionately into the category of the concentrated displaced following the taxonomy developed earlier. Those tenants who were able to acquire land as a result of the land-transfer program benefited from the Peace Accords. Yet many of those who fled the conflictive zones and were not defined as being eligible for reintegration services, and have subsequently lost their claim to land that they had cultivated in former conflictive zones.

As El Salvador emerges from over a decade of civil war, poverty appears to be declining in urban areas where economic activity is being stimulated by the return of investment funds and concentrated displaced flight capital (CEPAL 1995). The rural poor, however, are increasing, and so too are the numbers of female-maintained households among the poor (Beneke de Sanfeliú 1999; Gammage 1997, 1998). This may provide evidence that the existing social assistance programs need to target both female-headed and female-maintained households, and more particularly, the subset of households directly affected by war.¹⁰ It may be necessary for the reintegration and reconstruction programs operated by national, bilateral and multilateral agencies to begin to focus on the gender differentiated costs of war for both refugees and the dispersed displaced in order to facilitate the final transition from war to peace and from economic exclusion to full participation in El Salvador (Ibañez 1999; Las Dignas 1999; United Nations 1998; Weiss Fagen 1995).

Methodology

National household survey data from 1988 and 1992 are used to define individuals who fled former conflictive zones. The data used to derive these preliminary results come from the 1988 and 1992 multiple purpose household survey (Encuesta de Hogares de Propósitos Múltiples or EHPM), conducted by the Ministry of Economy. The 1988 EHPM dataset comprises a cross-section of 25,197 individuals and the 1992 dataset has 60,293 individuals. Both samples were intended to be nationally representative and to capture important information about household structure, economic activities, income and expenditures in each year. The 1988 sample, however, may be biased towards urban areas as a number of outlying rural areas in the conflictive zones were not sampled.¹¹ Despite the restricted nature of the 1988 sample, however, it is considered to be comparable within 1988. It is likely that in 1988 both measures of the dispersed and concentrated displaced are disproportionately representative of urban areas and may be comparatively more prosperous than their rural counterparts.

Like many similar household surveys, the EHPM provides information about the following individual and household characteristics:

- socio-demographic variables such as gender, age, structure of familiar unit, marital status, and education level;
- labor market variables that capture whether the individual is economically active or not, type of work performed, job category and sector of activity, number of hours in primary and secondary jobs, and types and amount of income generated, as well as information on non-wage income;

¹⁰ There is an extensive literature on gender and poverty that establishes the importance of a gender focus in the design and application of programs to alleviate poverty (Barros, Fox and Mendonca 1997; Buvinic and Gupta 1997; Appleton 1996; Rosenhouse 1994; Geldstein and Delpino 1994; Appleton and Collier 1992).

¹¹ The areas that were not sampled were primarily concentrated in conflictive departments in rural Morazán, Cabañas, Chalatenango and Usulután.

- physical and financial assets such as the type of dwelling and associated services –electricity, plumbing, access to potable water-, land ownership and the ownership of productive capital such as machinery and livestock;
- location and migration over a range of years that provides information about the department and municipality of origin and residence over the following dates: 1979, 1984, 1986, 1988, 1992 and 1995/96.

The concentrated displaced were identified using their current location in each year and their receipt of aid and reintegration services through national and international agencies. The concentrated displaced tend to live in clearly defined communities in encampments or repatriated communities in El Salvador. Enumerators surveying respondents in the camps or in these communities also gathered data on the receipt of aid and reintegration services. An individual was defined as being a member of the concentrated displaced if he or she currently resided in a reception camp or repatriated community or if they reported having received aid through national or international agencies in such facilities at the time of the household survey (See Appendix 1 Table 12).¹²

The 1988 EHPM questionnaire included retroactive questions that attempted to provide information about the fraction of the population that were forced to flee their homes as a direct consequence of the conflict. Respondents were asked if they left their former place of residence in order to avoid the conflict, or if they had ever received aid from governmental, non-governmental, or international agencies working with the displaced. Given the sensitive nature of the questions and the perceived consequences of furnishing the authorities with certain answers, the information provided was extremely sparse. There was a high rate of null answers and the aggregate data that was available substantially underestimated the amount of aid channeled to refugee and concentrated displaced communities.

A second best alternative was to use the migration information from the demographic survey to identify population flows out of municipalities that were directly affected by military attacks or were considered to be “conflictive zones”. The classification of ex-conflictive municipalities compiled by the Fundación Guillermo Ungo (FUNDAUNGO) was used to define the dispersed displaced (Seligson and Córdova 1995).

There are important concerns about using existing survey data to study migration patterns in a country that has experienced civil war. There are two reasons, however, why using the EHPM data may prove fruitful. First, it is the only available household data set with almost complete national coverage that has been compiled systematically during the war years. Second, attempts have been made throughout the history of the EHPM to chart internal and external population movements. Data were collected to explore migration decisions as a result of natural disasters such as the 1986 earthquake, as well as to provide accurate statistics about the mobility of a rural population in times of conflict, economic recession and the marked decline of the agricultural sector.

¹² The communities of the concentrated displaced were defined using the CIREFCA definition from the 1993 census of concentrated displaced communities (See Appendix 1, Table 11).

Using this data for the purpose of conducting a quantitative study of the dispersed and concentrated displaced may produce imprecise results. The sample is not likely to be representative of all of the displaced and in particular the dispersed displaced. The dispersed displaced are by definition less visible having sought to re-establish their households wherever they find possibility of employment and survival. Consequently, the dispersed displaced may be particularly reluctant to identify themselves as displaced for fear of reprisal. As a result, the national household survey data are likely to yield under-estimates of this segment of the war-affected population. The sub-sample of the dispersed displaced may also suffer a degree of bias. Those individuals and households that do indicate on national survey instruments that they fled former conflictive zones may have disproportionately more access to resources and feel less threatened or vulnerable as a result of their flight. The dispersed displaced identified in the household survey are likely to be in more stable circumstances than those who have not been registered in the sample, and may therefore be less poor and comparatively better-off than the dispersed displaced who are not registered in the survey.

Some of the key problems encountered using the migration data to define the dispersed displaced are:

1. Not all flows identified as displacement can be directly attributed to the conflict. Although it may be true that most people fleeing conflict areas and municipalities will in fact be displaced, it is easy to imagine cases in which the UN definition of displacement would not apply.
2. This definition introduces bias by not explicitly taking into account a timeframe for the geographical development of the armed conflict. Not all conflictive zones were in active conflict throughout the course of the war, although we may reasonably argue that the populations residing in this area were exposed to systematic violence and oppression on a more continual basis.
3. The dispersed displaced may be particularly reluctant to share information with an enumerator from a national statistical agency about whether they had formerly resided in a conflictive zone.
4. Many of the dispersed displaced may also live in such precarious and mobile circumstances that they are not sampled in the normal course of a national household survey.

The first two caveats about the specificity of our definition of dispersed displacement would lead us to believe that our measure of the numbers of the dispersed displaced is likely to be biased upwards. The last two caveats draw attention to the fact that our sample may significantly underestimate the civilian population who may have fled internally without seeking refuge in encampments. Given the nature and intensity of the conflict in El Salvador, an *a priori* assumption is that the latter effects dominate the former and that our measure of dispersed displacement is more likely to be biased downwards.

Applying these definitions of the dispersed and concentrated displaced we can compare and contrast the characteristics and circumstances of each sub-group. There may be some minimal

overlap between the definitions since the population is necessarily dynamic and some of the concentrated displaced may leave the reception camps and repatriated communities to seek opportunities elsewhere. A small proportion of households that are categorized as dispersed displaced may also be headed by an individual who fled across the national boundaries and received aid as a refugee.¹³

Findings

The purpose of the analysis is to explore the economic transformation and reintegration of cohorts of the dispersed and concentrated displaced over time. The economic circumstances that these households face and the resources that they command prior to the conflict as well as the receipt of aid and transfers during the conflict is likely to influence their ability to reintegrate in a post-war era (Cernea 1999; Ibañez 1999).¹⁴

There is substantial evidence that the dispersed and concentrated displaced differ greatly in their access to resources and in their ability to reintegrate in the post-war era (Cohen and Deng 1998; United Nations 1998; Montes 1989b, 1985). Furthermore, it may be that many of these differences between the dispersed and concentrated displaced stem from initial differences in social and human capital which influence their choice about flight and relocation.

Violence and conflict have been cited as salient among the principal causes for the erosion of physical, human and social capital in Colombia (World Bank 1999, Moser and McLwaine 1999; Arriagada and Godoy 1999).¹⁵ These same factors may restrict choices about flight, repatriation and impede successful reintegration (Hoddinott 1999; Cernea 1999). The importance of social capital is increasingly gaining currency in the discussions of successful development strategies to overcome the economic and social costs of war. There is considerable evidence that social and political conflicts have an adverse effect on investment and growth (Collier and Gunning 1995; Easterly and Levine 1998).

It may be that the dispersed and concentrated displaced in El Salvador have been differentially exposed to violence and that their fortunes in the post-war period depend upon the differential acquisition or erosion of human and social capital (Ibañez 1999; Vasquez 1999).¹⁶ One possible

¹³ Fourteen per cent of dispersed displaced households in 1988 are headed by someone who was also defined as having been a member of the concentrated displaced (EHPM 1988). Whether these individuals are currently defined as being dispersed displaced or concentrated displaced was made on the basis of their current residence in an encampment or repatriated community.

¹⁴ The income and asset measures of poverty that are used may not be a sufficient description of poverty, capturing only some of the economic outcomes that are associated with marginalization, exclusion and deprivation and the ability to overcome these constraints. For this reason, this research is embedded in a larger project that addresses both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the costs of war and the ability of individuals to reintegrate (Vázquez 1999).

¹⁵ Social capital is defined somewhat narrowly here as comprising those networks, associations and informal institutions that secure the capacity of individuals to collaborate and cooperate (Portes and Landolt 1999; Moser and McLwaine 1999; Picciotto 1998; Pérez Sáinz and Andrade Eekhoff 1998).

¹⁶ The concentrated displaced may have suffered more direct conflict, particularly as they fled high intensity combat and scorched earth practices in Morazán, Chalatenango and Cabañas. Those fleeing the Rio Sumpúl massacre were fired on by both Salvadoran and Honduran troops. Consequently, many died in flight and were *de facto* treated as

explanation is that the dispersed displaced have comparatively more human and social capital which enabled them to relocate their households away from the conflictive zones before those households that later became members of the concentrated displaced.¹⁷ The community of the concentrated displaced may be made up of individuals and households who had few alternatives and could not exploit existing kinship networks or use their limited resources to relocate from the conflictive zones. These households may have remained in their communities until such a point as the conflict became so intense that they were forced to flee across national borders to ensure their survival or to seek aid in reception camps within El Salvador.

What follows is a detailed exploration of individual and household characteristics of the dispersed and concentrated displaced, comparing these populations with those individuals and households that have not been displaced as a result of war. Part of the discussion also focused on whether there are differences between the dispersed and concentrated displaced and how these differences might affect their likelihood of being poor and reintegrating in the post-war era. Observing the trajectories of the dispersed and concentrated displaced into or out of poverty between 1988 and 1992 may provide some specific insights into the effectiveness of transfers and reintegration expenditures.

Table 2a reveals that women are not over-represented among the dispersed displaced although they make up a slightly higher proportion, almost 56 per cent, of the concentrated displaced in 1988. Both men and women who are defined as being dispersed displaced are somewhat older than the population who have not been displaced. The average age of men and women who are among the concentrated displaced is between 5 and 8 years higher than those defined as not displaced as a result of the war. Table 2a also illustrates the attrition of children under the age of 14 from the samples of both the dispersed and concentrated displaced. Only 14 per cent of the concentrated displaced fall in this age cohort, whereas approximately 35 per cent of all Salvadorans nationally are under 14 years of age. The dispersed displaced also register a lower percentage of children under the age of 14, although the attrition is not as stark.

It is possible that total fertility rates are lower among the dispersed and concentrated displaced because of a variety of factors such as household fragmentation and periods of prolonged hardship during flight. The refugee population may also have had improved access to reproductive health services in the camps, a fact which may have significantly reduced the number of births among the concentrated displaced (Ibañez 1999; Vásquez 1999). It is also possible that infant mortality rates are substantially higher among the dispersed and concentrated displaced because of the hardships that they endured during flight. The attrition is the same for boys and girls among the concentrated displaced population but there are pronounced gender differences between boys and girls among the dispersed displaced. Only 19 per cent of dispersed

combatants when encountered by the military even though they were very clearly civilians. The dispersed displaced, however, may have had less direct exposure to conflict, although they may have suffered political violence and repression directed towards them because they were internally displaced from areas often under guerilla control. It is likely that in brute statistical terms the internally displaced suffered less direct violence. That both populations were traumatized, however, is not in question. The impact that this has on their formation and maintenance of social capital may be significant and appears to affect their ability to reintegrate in the post-war era.

¹⁷ The dispersed displaced may have also been more likely *ex ante* to reside in small towns in the conflictive departments and as a result they may have had greater access to education and health-care than the more rural population who were later to become refugees.

displaced females under the age of 14 are girls, whereas 26 per cent of males who are dispersed displaced are boys. This may attest to different preferences about fostering out boys and girls, or to different survival rates in flight.¹⁸

Interestingly both men and women who are defined as dispersed displaced in 1988 have higher rates of literacy than the general population.¹⁹ Approximately 73 per cent of dispersed displaced women report that they know how to read and write, whereas only 67 per cent of women in the general population are classified as literate. Similarly, 76 per cent of displaced men are able to read and write, while only 70 per cent of men nationally record that they are literate. The concentrated displaced report lower percentages of individuals who can read and write, 64 per cent of men and 55 per cent of women who have been concentrated displaced report that they are literate.

Despite their slightly higher levels of education, the dispersed displaced do appear to be poorer than those who are not displaced. Sixty three per cent of dispersed displaced men and 60 per cent of dispersed displaced women reside in households that fall below the poverty line. The findings define a little over one third of all women and 36 per cent of all men who are dispersed displaced as extremely poor in contrast to an average of 24 per cent for the general population. The concentrated displaced, however, are overwhelmingly income-poor. On average, 92 per cent of concentrated displaced women and 94 per cent of concentrated displaced men reside in households where the per capita income falls below the national poverty line. Similarly, 70 per cent of concentrated displaced men and 69 per cent of concentrated displaced women are extremely poor.

¹⁸ A similar dearth of children was found among Laotian refugees who had recently arrived in the United States where it was found that babies and young children suffered especially high mortality during their flight from Laos to Thailand (Gordon 1989).

¹⁹ This may indicate sample selection bias. The consistencies and similarities in the demographic data reported for the displaced and concentrated displaced populations, however, would appear to indicate that sample selection bias has not greatly affected the population of displaced reported in the national household survey.

Table 2a. Characteristics of the dispersed displaced and concentrated displaced (individuals)

	Female Dispersed Displaced	Male Dispersed Displaced	Female Concentrated Displaced	Male Concentrated Displaced	Female Not Displaced ^a	Male Not Displaced ^a
Percentage of Population	54	46	56	44	54	46
Average Age	29	27	34	29	26	24
Percentage of Children (under 14 years of age)	19	26	14	14	34	40
Average Years of Education	6.57	7.06	4.03	4.81	6.33	6.75
Literate %	73	76	55	64	67	70
Poor %	60	63	92	94	55	55
Extremely Poor %	33	36	69	70	24	24
Sample N	583	488	157	196	12,937	10,998
N (using expansion factors)	50,000	42,166	12,844	10,271	1,156,155	983,166

Source: Encuesta de Hogares de Propósitos Múltiples, 1988. ^a Excludes refugees and the concentrated displaced.

The data reported in Table 2a are from the 1988 household survey. The information recorded for the concentrated displaced captures many of these households not long after their repatriation. The concentrated displaced communities in 1988 were composed largely of refugees who had received emergency aid in many of the camps in Honduras in the early to mid 80s. A few of the concentrated displaced communities were formed as early as 1984 with support from the Roman Catholic Church and Fundación Salvadoreña (FUNDASAL), an NGO that provides financing for low-income housing projects. Repatriation began on a larger scale in 1986 under the auspices of the Comité Cristiana de Pobladores Desplazados en El Salvador (CRIPDES) when communities in Chalatenango and Cuscatlán were established (Murray and Barry 1995; Barry 1986).

The communities of the concentrated displaced were vulnerable and highly visible. Many members of these communities report threats and intimidation from the authorities and other paramilitary groups. While some financial support was available for these communities, funds were limited and the organizations that formed within the concentrated displaced communities received little aid and were often subject to external pressure from conservative political groups that sought to limit their ability to recuperate (Heckadon Moreno 1992; Montes 1989b).²⁰

Tables 2b and 2c compare the same data for urban and rural populations in 1992. Both the urban and rural samples of the dispersed displaced in 1992 are not significantly different from the general population in terms of their demographic structure, education, and predisposition to poverty. Women are slightly over-represented among the rural dispersed displaced but not among the concentrated displaced. The attrition of children under the age of 14 from both the dispersed

²⁰ Segundo Montes notes in *Refugiados y Repatriados: El Salvador y Honduras*, that: “These repopulated communities fall under the suspicion of both the government and the armed forces, as a possible social base aligned with the FMLN”, pp. 27. Montes cites this as giving rise to their comparative isolation and restrictions that affect a range of their economic and social activities (Montes 1989b).

and concentrated displaced remains marked. Both the dispersed and concentrated displaced have slightly lower average years of education than do their urban and rural counterparts who have not been displaced. Poverty rates are higher for the urban concentrated displaced than for the general population who have not been displaced. The urban dispersed displaced, however, are less poor than the national average. The same is true in rural areas: the concentrated displaced are slightly more likely to be poor, but this difference is not great. In general, both the concentrated displaced and dispersed displaced in rural areas are little different from the rural population in 1992.

Table 2b. Characteristics of the dispersed displaced and concentrated displaced (individuals): urban population, 1992

	Female Dispersed Displaced	Male Dispersed Displaced	Female Concentrated Displaced	Male Concentrated Displaced	Female Not Displaced ^a	Male Not Displaced ^a
Percentage of Population	54	46	54	46	54	46
Average Age	28	25	30	27	29	27
Percentage of Children (under 14 years of age)	21	30	30	33	26	30
Average Years of Education	5.87	6.34	3.98	4.24	5.76	6.45
Literate %	60	62	50	51	63	67
Poor %	48	54	79	76	57	60
Extremely Poor %	25	31	53	50	27	26
Sample N	236	206	492	421	17,466	15,085
N (using expansion factors)	9,514	11,069	17,850	14,996	863,161	743,615

Table 2c. Characteristics of the dispersed displaced and concentrated displaced (individuals): rural population, 1992

	Female Dispersed Displaced	Male Dispersed Displaced	Female Concentrated Displaced	Male Concentrated Displaced	Female Not Displaced ^a	Male Not Displaced ^a
Percentage of Population	59	41	50	50	51	49
Average Age	29	29	27	25	26	26
Percentage of Children (under 14 years of age)	24	27	32	36	35	37
Average Years of Education	2.14	2.00	2.24	2.24	2.42	2.59
Literate %	39	31	31	30	37	35
Poor %	73	71	77	75	72	74
Extremely Poor %	48	48	45	44	42	45
Sample N	159	112	1,006	1,005	13,815	13,214
N (using expansion factors)	10,376	7,236	64,179	64,001	936,824	895,178

Source: Encuesta de Hogares de Propósitos Múltiples, 1992. ^a Excludes the dispersed and concentrated displaced.

A detailed examination of the data reported in the Appendix in Table 1 reveals that female-headed households are not consistently over-represented among the dispersed or concentrated displaced. This result was contrary to *a priori* expectations which would suggest that a higher proportion of the dispersed displaced are women and children which might translate into a greater proportion of female-headed or female-maintained households (Törnqvist 1998). It may be that households which have become fractured and fragmented as a result of the conflict and their subsequent flight re-form nuclear units as part of a survival strategy that increases their assimilation and acceptance in the receiving communities.

Households are dynamic entities that restructure in response to events such as birth, death and marriage and when subject to external shocks such as those caused by civil conflict or natural disaster. Moser finds that households can act as “shock absorbers” engaging in complex coping strategies to reduce the vulnerability of household members to poverty (Moser 1996). It may be that these households have been absorbed into pre-existing households and are not being identified as female-headed or female-maintained. These findings are supported by both the qualitative studies of the repatriated communities and the returnees in Guatemala and El Salvador where the majority of the returnees reside in nuclear or extended nuclear families (Cabarrús Molina et al 2000; Vásquez 1999).

Table 3 reveals that the concentrated displaced are significantly poorer than the dispersed displaced in urban areas and little different from the dispersed displaced in rural areas. The data attest to a relative decline in the fortunes of the dispersed displaced in rural areas over time, which may be the result of their falling through a limited and often politicized social safety net.²¹ The concentrated displaced, on the other hand, are significantly poorer in 1988 and in 1992 in urban areas than the national average for all other households not directly affected by war. It appears, however, that the fortunes of the concentrated displaced have improved over time. Although poverty rates remain high, they are decreasing.

On average, household heads in concentrated displaced households have a lower number of years of education than do dispersed displaced household heads, except again in rural areas in 1992. The average education deficit of all household members in concentrated displaced households is also higher than for the dispersed displaced in 1988 and 1992 in urban areas. This may support the hypothesis that concentrated displaced households have less accumulated human capital and are less able to invest in their children than the dispersed displaced or those households that have not been directly affected by the conflict. Certainly, a higher number of school-aged children in concentrated displaced households have not completed the potential number of years of education that they could have been in school.²² In all cases the average education deficit in the rural areas is far greater than in urban areas.

²¹ Aid disbursed to the dispersed displaced through state agencies was subject to strict central control and under executive direction by high-ranking military officers (See section VI). This has led to allegations that overriding concerns of security and containment dictating the disbursement of funds (Edwards and Seibentritt 1991; Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights 1984).

²² This applies a definition of education deficit used by Psacharopoulos et al (1997). The education deficit summarizes the deficit in potential education for all household members between 7 and 17. If the education deficit is zero the full potential years of school have been acquired. If it is greater than zero a deficit in education exists and the individual has not had the opportunity to acquire the total potential number of years in school that are available.

In terms of household assets a higher proportion of households headed by a concentrated displaced individual have a dirt floor and a lower proportion have neither piped water nor sanitary services. This result is not surprising, since the majority of the concentrated displaced communities are rural and many of the dispersed displaced have fled to urban areas on the periphery of San Salvador, San Miguel, and Santa Ana.

Table 3. Comparisons of the displaced and concentrated displaced in 1988 and 1992

Characteristics (per cent – unless otherwise indicated)	Concentrated Displaced	Concentrated Displaced	Concentrated Displaced	Dispersed Displaced	Dispersed Displaced	Dispersed Displaced
	1988	1992 (Urban)	1992 (Rural)	1988	1992 (Urban)	1992 (Rural)
Poor	90.8	73.9	69.5	56.6	50.4	71.8
Extremely Poor	70.1	50.1	40.7	31.7	27.9	47.9
Female-headed	38.2	35.6	23.6	27.5	35.0	27.9
Female-maintained	36.9	32.5	21.7	35.1	29.0	21.5
Average per capita income	C 100.88	C 365.6	C263.1	C 250.93	C 537.4	C 209.62
Income that derives from informal sector activity	42.6	--	--	27.9	--	--
Income that derives from agricultural activities	7	--	--	9	--	--
Percentage of households receiving remittances	7	14.5	11.8	7	16.7	6.6
Education in years of household head	2.8	3.51	1.67	7.1	5.72	1.46
Average Household Education Deficit	0.35	0.30	0.54	0.19	0.28	0.58
Households with a dirt floor	57.7	38.5	68.2	28.6	17.8	57.7
Households with piped water	47.9	50.0	8.3	73.4	82.4	25.7
Households with sanitary services (pit latrine, septic tank or flush toilet)	17.4	22.6	2.8	54.4	67.4	1.3

Source: Encuesta de Hogares de Propósitos Múltiples, 1988, 1992.

The findings presented here appear to indicate that it is the lack of physical, human and possibly social capital which may predispose the concentrated displaced to poverty and may affect their ability to reintegrate and benefit from peace in the post-war era. There are, however, many factors that influence the likelihood that a household is poor: a more sophisticated multivariate analysis may allow us to distinguish between a number of such factors and rank those that are more closely associated with poverty. There appear to be distinct rural urban differences, which affect the likelihood that household members find work and are able to generate income. Many of the dispersed and concentrated displaced are rural households whose economic activities prior to displacement and flight revolved around subsistence agriculture and small scale livestock production. Those who flee towards and remain in urban areas may have higher human and

social capital and may be disproportionately able to find employment in non-agricultural activities. It is possible, therefore, that by self-selection households relocating to urban areas are better off.

There is a substantial literature that contends that female-headed and female-maintained households are poorer (Gammage 1998; Buvinic and Gupta 1997; Barros et al 1997; Rosenhouse 1994; Sen 1990). It may be, therefore, that female-headed and female-maintained households displaced by war are disproportionately likely to be poor, both because of their displacement and because of the gendered nature of their exclusion from decision-making fora, markets and productive opportunities (Sørensen, 1998).²³ Consequently, there may be gender considerations that affect the ability of household members to seek work, enter the labor market, and begin to rebuild their lives (Cockburn 1999; Moser and McIwaine 1999; Sen 1990). Meertens (1999) asserts that in urban areas it is often displaced women who are better able to join the labor market and find employment in either the formal or informal sector in Colombia.

Those men who became displaced as a result of violence and conflict in Colombia were more likely to be unemployed and remain unemployed after displacement than women (Meertens 1999). In contrast, both Vásquez (1999) and Cabarrús Molina et al (2000) find that while many women may have acquired skills and received training during their stay in the refugee camps they are unable to apply these new skills on their return to Guatemala and El Salvador. This may be because of the generalized lack of economic opportunity and the reassertion of traditional mores and dictates about women's time and task allocation that confine them to reproductive and domestic roles and limit their entry into the labor market.

A multivariate analysis permits a more nuanced discussion of the correlates of poverty that can better inform post-war policy and may cast light on those strategies that can help households reintegrate and recover in the aftermath of war. Such an approach can reveal critical information the relative weight of some of these correlates of poverty, which may prove useful for targeting and the design of policy and programs. A multivariate analysis explores the correlates of poverty controlling for multiple factors simultaneously. Perhaps what we are observing in the descriptive statistics are outcomes that are more closely correlated with other characteristics such as rural or urban status or whether the household is located in a former conflictive zone. These factors may weigh more heavily on the poverty of that household than whether they are headed by an individual who is defined as being a member of the dispersed or concentrated displaced. Therefore, the simple partition of the sample into repatriated, displaced and non-affected populations may mask underlying differences that are more important in determining whether or not the household is poor.

The logit regressions in Tables 5-7 in the Appendix explore those factors that are associated with a higher likelihood of being below the income-poverty line in 1988 and 1992. The different

²³ This assertion does not necessarily follow, as Moser (1996) has established that some female-headed and female-maintained households are less likely to be poor in parts of Latin America and the Caribbean. In her work comparing the comparative resilience of different household structures and hierarchies to economic and social crisis, she finds that a number of those households that remain female-headed and female-maintained are not necessarily poorer. Such households do not necessarily need to resort to nuclear or extended patriarchal arrangements that secure male income in exchange for women's almost exclusive participation in the reproductive sector.

specifications allow us to compare whether the concentrated displaced or the dispersed displaced are more likely to be poor in each of the years and to explore the economic, demographic and gender factors that pre-dispose these households to poverty. The data are for all households included in the national survey. Dummy variables were created for the concentrated displaced and the dispersed displaced to explore whether these characteristics had any effect on their predisposition to poverty.

These regressions are intended to be illustrative of those factors that are associated with income poverty. They do not represent an analysis of causality. The summary statistics gave sufficient grounds for believing that both the dispersed and concentrated displaced are poorer than their national counterparts who appear not to have relocated as a result of the war. It may be that the concentrated and dispersed displaced are also poorer *ex-ante* their flight and displacement. We cannot, therefore, attribute their poverty to their flight and displacement *per se*. We can however observe whether displacement is consistently associated with poverty over time.

The regressions in Table 6-7 in the Appendix are consistent with the findings reported in the summary statistics: the signs and magnitudes of the coefficients are broadly stable across all specifications. A variety of factors decrease the likelihood that a household falls below the poverty line. As the number of income earners in a household increases there is less likelihood of that household being poor. The years of education of the household head are also strongly correlated with poverty: as the number of years of education of the household head increases, the household is less likely to be poor.

Those factors that increase the likelihood of the household being poor in both years are if the household is female maintained or currently located in a conflictive or former-conflictive zone. Whether the household head is defined as being concentrated displaced strongly influences the likelihood that the per capita household income falls below the poverty line in 1988 and in 1992 in urban areas. Interestingly, neither the concentrated displaced nor the dispersed displaced are significantly poorer than other households in rural areas in 1992.

The regressions highlight the importance of remittances for mitigating poverty in El Salvador. In all specifications, remittances have a strong negative impact on the likelihood of a household being poor or extremely poor although the effect is stronger in the logic regressions of extreme poverty. Remittances may be particularly important for displaced households. Almost 15 per cent of the urban concentrated displaced and 17 per cent of the urban dispersed displaced receive dollar remittances in 1992. Households that have been forced to relocate initially because of the conflict may face disproportionate incentives to send family members abroad in search of work or to ensure their safety.

The ability to send a migrant overseas requires some financial and physical resources. Typically, it is not the poorest of the poor that migrate, although economic incentives prove to be a consistent explanation for migration (Katz 1998; Waller Meyers 1998; Funkhouser 1997; Portes and Borocz 1989; Hamilton and Stoltz Chinchilla 1988; Harris and Todaro 1970). For this reason the comparatively better-off urban concentrated displaced and dispersed displaced households are more likely to be able to generate the resources to send family members abroad. In the absence of credit and other smoothing mechanisms, remittances provide the only consistent source of

supplementary income that the concentrated displaced and dispersed have access to (Montes 1989a, 1989b).

Earlier research reveals that remittances are particularly important for female-headed and female-maintained households in El Salvador, and may lift many of these households out of poverty (Gammage 1997, 1998). The sustainability of the income stream depends acutely on the residency status of remitting individuals in the host countries as well as their duration of residency. As legal or documented residents tend to form their own households in the host country and undocumented residents are more likely to return, it may be expected that the receipt of remittances will dwindle over time (Funkhouser 1997; Tcha 1996; Montes 1989). As remittances decline, many households will fall below the poverty line. Given the vagaries of immigration policy in many of the host countries, wage arbitrage may not prove to be a consistently reliable strategy to alleviate poverty and capture foreign exchange (Taylor and Aleinkoff 1998).

Although female-maintained households are not disproportionately likely to be poor in 1988, female-maintenance is associated with extreme poverty in this year. In all specifications for 1992, female-maintained households are more likely to be poor or be in extreme poverty. Maintenance as a characteristic that increases the likelihood of a household being extremely poor is, however, eclipsed by the concentrated displaced variable. This might argue for the inclusion of an interactive term that captures whether maintenance and concentrated displacement as a combined attribute disproportionately influence the likelihood that a household is poor. Separate conditional logits run for extreme poverty revealed that the coincidence of female maintenance and dispersed displacement did increase the likelihood that a household was extremely poor but that this was not the case for the coincidence of concentrated displacement and female maintenance.²⁴ Similar interactive terms were included for female maintenance and residence in a former conflictive zone. The coincidence of these factors increased the likelihood that a household was poor or extremely poor in both years.

It is clear that in El Salvador the macroeconomic impact of the war may have been partially mitigated by the large flows of aid and remittances that have entered the economy since the mid-80s (Banco Central de Reserva 1989-1998; Segovia 1997; Wood and Segovia 1995; Acevedo, Barry and Rosa 1995; Boyce 1995, CEPAL 1993; IDB 1992). The conflict variable captures whether the household is currently located in a former conflictive department of El Salvador. The size of the coefficient on this variable increases for estimates of the determinants of extreme poverty in 1988. This may imply that the extreme poor are falling through the security net in the former conflictive departments. An analysis of the poverty profiles for the departments in later years indicates that female-maintained households comprise the majority of the extremely poor in Morazán, San Vicente and Cabañas. Indeed, in Morazán seventy-seven per cent of the extremely poor in urban areas are households that are female-maintained. In rural areas of Chalatenango, Cuscatlán and Cabañas over sixty per cent of households in extreme poverty are female-maintained in 1995 (Gammage 1997).

²⁴ The results are similar when we compare female-headship as a gender measure that may influence a household's likelihood of being poor.

Furthermore, when we control for factors such as location in a former conflictive zone, urban or rural residence, the number of income earners and the human capital of the household head, the dispersed displaced are not disproportionately likely to be poor in 1988 or 1992. The concentrated displaced, however, appear to be more likely to be poor and extremely poor controlling for these factors in both 1988 and 1992.

Indeed controlling for all those factors that are thought to influence poverty or be correlated with poverty, we find that being concentrated displaced in rural areas in 1992 actually decreases the households likelihood of being extremely poor relative to other rural households. *This would appear to indicate that the fortunes of the rural concentrated and dispersed displaced are little different from the general fortunes of rural households.* In fact those factors that influence the likelihood that a rural household is poor in 1992 respond overwhelmingly to the gender portfolio of household income, and the decline of the rural economy in former conflictive zones. As the number of income earners increases households are better able to generate income sufficient to lift them over the poverty line. Similarly, the receipt of remittances allows households to supplement earned income or subsistence production and secure income levels that are above the national poverty line.

The regressions reported here underscore the earlier findings that the concentrated displaced are indeed more vulnerable to poverty and disproportionately more likely to remain poor over time in urban areas. The conclusion that neither the concentrated displaced nor the dispersed displaced are more likely to be poor in rural areas in 1992 provides an insight into the fortunes of rural communities in the post-war era. This may provide evidence that programs and projects targeted towards the concentrated displaced have had limited success in lifting this population out of extreme poverty. This should not provide cause for undue satisfaction. The fact that the concentrated and dispersed displaced in rural areas in 1992 are just as likely to be poor as other rural households indicates the level of marginalization of the rural economy as a whole.²⁵

It is also important to underscore that those households that are resident in conflictive zones in rural and urban areas are consistently more likely to be poor in both 1988 and 1992. This finding may substantiate claims that all households (regardless of whether they have been forced to relocate as a result of conflict) in former conflictive zones are less connected to markets, have fewer employment opportunities and may disproportionately suffer the long-term effects of war. This would imply that the fortunes of the rural population in former-conflictive zones have been particularly limited, and that the collapse of the rural economy in these areas affected all of the residents regardless of household attributes, such as headship and maintenance, demographic structure and whether or not they had fled the conflict and relocated elsewhere.

Repatriation and reintegration programs, 1981 - 1996

²⁵ It is difficult to make categorical assertions about the nature of poverty in these households over time because the samples in 1988 and 1992 are somewhat dissimilar. In 1988 although the sample is more likely to be representative of urban areas, some rural areas have been included, as many of the municipal 'capitals' are in fact rural. A more powerful test would be to compare 1996 with 1992 to see how the concentrated displaced have fared in the reconstruction period.

The data from El Salvador present a unique opportunity to explore the effectiveness of reintegration and reconstruction expenditures that were undertaken in the period prior to the end of the war and corresponding to the period under study. The analysis presented in the preceding section illustrates the need for broad-based reactivation strategies to alleviate poverty and facilitate reintegration in the post war period. It is clear that concentrating efforts on channeling financial support, social services, and education to the former conflictive departments is likely to ensure that the majority of those who were displaced or concentrated displaced (either voluntarily or officially) will be reached. In addition, and without discriminating against other groups, a broad segment of the poor and extremely poor may also be reached.

The agencies and programs reviewed here are only those that were in operation prior to and including 1992. For this reason, we do not include the reconstruction expenditures under the National Reconstruction Plan, nor do we focus on the Social Investment Fund and the operation of the Municipalities in Action Program in the post-war era.

Our *ex ante* hypothesis was that the concentrated displaced population was more visible than the dispersed displaced. Analysis of the funding for the provision of services, reveals although this is true, the dispersed displaced were also targeted for the receipt of funding through programs in peri-urban and urban areas. The receipt of aid by the dispersed displaced depended upon whether they were willing to self-identify themselves in need of aid. The aid received by the dispersed displaced was typically confined to emergency food aid, blankets and material for emergency housing. The definition of the internally displaced employed by these agencies may also include some of the concentrated displaced and former refugees who returned voluntarily (see Appendix 1, Table 16). Despite the differences in the definitions being applied, it seems clear that a substantial number of the dispersed displaced did receive healthcare, education, housing, emergency aid and reconstruction finances. Indeed many of the displaced were officially registered with the Salvadoran government with a peak of over 250,000 displaced in receipt of services in 1985 (Montes 1989b; CONADES 1987; Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights 1984).

Although many of the dispersed displaced received support from international agencies, the majority of funds focused on repatriation and relocation services, shelter and emergency relief and meeting the short-term basic needs of the concentrated displaced. Development assistance was limited, largely because of the perceived temporary nature of the encampments and communities of the concentrated displaced. It is worthwhile noting however, that many of the reception camps for the internally displaced within El Salvador remained in existence for over 5 years. Communities of the concentrated displaced were still able to be identified in the latter part of the 1990s some 6 years after the end of the war.²⁶ Of the 33 agencies listed in Table 16 in the Appendix, only 13 programs explicitly refer to development projects that are essentially productive in nature: generating employment; providing credit for micro-enterprise activities or providing agricultural inputs and extensions services. Many of the organizations that remained linked to the concentrated displaced communities after repatriation were solidarity groups that were church-based or religious in origin. Typically, these groups had few available resources and

²⁶ Observations by members of *Las Dignas* and conference participants of the Mujeres y Reconstrucción Post-Conflicto regional conference held February 22, 2000 in San Salvador.

were not able to provide the level services that were sufficient to overcome the deficit in education and health-care that these populations faced.

In spite of the fact that many of the dispersed displaced were registered with the government their receipt of aid may have been more intermittent and sporadic and the coverage less extensive than that of the concentrated displaced. The majority of the dispersed displaced were absorbed into the general population fairly quickly. There is evidence that those members of the dispersed displaced who received services in camps fared comparatively worse than their counterparts who did not spend time in the camps (Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights 1984). The subset of the dispersed displaced registering with the government were certainly less than the total number of the dispersed displaced.

The National Commission for Assistance to the Displaced Population (CONADES) was established in 1985 to develop policies, and to plan, organize, direct and execute programs designed to assist the displaced populations. As part of this role, CONADES was charged with promoting and directing coordinated efforts between all of the public and private entities that provide assistance to the displaced. Furthermore, CONADES had as its mandate to: “facilitate the re-incorporation of the displaced population in their places of origin and within the the process of social, economic and political development.” To accomplish this mandate CONADES had a budget of US\$1.2 million for the 7 years that it was in operation between 1985 and 1991 (Ministerio de Hacienda 1980-1991). This amounted to a little over \$171,000 of national and international funds each year or approximately 50 cents per displaced person applying conservative estimates of the number of individuals in need of assistance.

Many of the programs that CONADES coordinated had separate and autonomous funding from other national and international agencies. This does not represent the total of funds channeled to the displaced and repatriated. CONADES was, however, a key agency that held responsibility for the coordination of government programs and the harmonization of these activities with international programs. There are criticisms that CONADES was both under-funded and logistically unable to coordinate these efforts. Furthermore, even though agencies such as CONADES, Comisión Nacional de la Restauración de Areas (CONARA) and Dirección de Desarrollo Comunitario (DIDECO) were civilian organizations, high-ranking military officers had executive or supportive roles in coordinating the relief efforts. This may have substantially hampered their ability to reach those most in need and may have subjected these institutions to directives that responded to military and not necessarily humanitarian concerns (Edwards and Seibentritt 1991; Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights 1984). Under the circumstances it may have been better to establish an independent agency to coordinate reintegration and repatriation activities, one that was not directly connected to the government.

The Development Program for Displaced Persons, Refugees and Returnees (PRODERE) was created in 1989 to promote and facilitate the economic and social reintegration of an estimated 2 million individuals affected by war in 6 countries in Central America.²⁷ The program was financed almost entirely by the Italian Government, providing over US \$115 million to execute a range of relief and development activities. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) with the United Nations Office for Project Services (UNOPS) coordinated the programs with

²⁷ PRODERE operated in Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Belize, Honduras and Costa Rica.

collaborative support from the World Health Organization (WHO/PAHO), and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The program was intended to be in existence for 3 years, but was extended until 1995.

PRODERE's principal objectives were defined as: (i) the reinsertion of populations affected by the war into national, regional and local economic and social processes; (ii) the improvement of basic living conditions; (iii) the promotion of productive activities and services; and (iv) the provision of training and credit programs. During the course of its operation in El Salvador, PRODERE channeled over US \$23 million to communities in conflictive zones, repopulated communities and to both the dispersed displaced and concentrated displaced. Between 1989 and 1991, however, PRODERE largely concentrated on providing emergency assistance and establishing highly decentralized programs and offices that had representation at the national, departmental and municipal levels in the conflictive zones and in areas where there were known to be settlements of the displaced and concentrated displaced. These national structures provided an institutional framework for many of these communities to dialogue with the authorities and with international agencies about the receipt of aid and eventually to participate in the development of the national reconstruction plan.

Sollis and Schultz (1995) write that: "In El Salvador, PRODERE provided momentum for the peace accords to stabilize social, economic and political conditions. Community level discussions on development priorities were initiated which permitted populations historically excluded from the broad political process to have a voice in identifying community needs and deciding community priorities." Even though PRODERE operated with comparatively flexible, responsive and decentralized programs, it was still hampered in its efforts to shift from relief to development aid (Sollis and Schultz 1995). This may have been because the initial duration of PRODERE had been determined largely by political and not operational concerns. Furthermore, PRODERE operated within a highly politicized and charged environment and under conditions of suspicion and fear fostered by active conflict.

Although it was successful in meeting the immediate needs of the displaced and concentrated displaced, PRODERE could do little to address the economic marginalization of the conflictive zones unless a decision was taken to identify economic reactivation as a fiscal priority. In the period under consideration, the country was still in the grips of civil war and the government was following 'containment' policies that met their immediate security objectives in the conflictive zones. There was little scope for reconstruction and reintegration to be undertaken in areas that were still militarized and in active conflict.

An analysis of the impact of programs to promote reintegration and reconstruction over the period 1980-1992 would be incomplete without some mention of the National Reconstruction Plan (PRN). Even though this research does not cover the post-war period it has implications for the design and operation of the National Reconstruction Plan. The PRN was launched in early 1992 when the Government of El Salvador established the National Reconstruction Secretariat (SRN) with a commitment of more than US \$304 million in support from the US government. While the Secretariat was nominally charged with coordinating reconstruction efforts, not all funds assigned to reconstruction were to pass through this entity.

Funding for several large infrastructure projects was channeled through the Ministry for Public Works, and another project to rehabilitate the national grid and mitigate some of the costs of siltation in the Cerrón Grande reservoir went to the Hydro-electric Commission. The Social Investment Fund (FIS) which receives the majority of its funds from the Inter American Development Bank (IDB) also received moneys earmarked for specific reconstruction purposes. The Municipalities in Action (MEA) was charged with the responsibility for generating and undertaking a variety of basic infrastructure projects: constructing schools, building and paving roads, installing potable water, electric power, community centers and health clinics. A non-trivial portion of funds were allocated to secure the land transfer program (PTT) which aimed to disburse an allotted number of contested and uncontested lands to former combatants from both the FMLN and the Military cadres as part of a reinsertion effort.

The principal objectives of the PRN were, according to the United Nations, "the integral development of the zones affected by the conflict, attention to the immediate needs of the population most affected by the conflict and of the ex-combatants of both parties, and the reconstruction of damaged infrastructure," (United Nations 1992). The target population identified in the PRN was approximately 40,000 demobilized ex-combatants, 120,000 dispersed displaced households, 26,000 concentrated displaced individuals and 800,000 residents of former conflictive zones. The target territory was the 115 most affected municipalities. Priority was to be given to basic needs and small infrastructure projects over a foreseen horizon of 5 years (Roldán et al 1997; Murray et al 1994).

The PRN described a broad set of investment projects and programs that were designed to address immediate infrastructural needs and subsequently to alleviate poverty among a target population of individuals and households in former conflictive zones or in areas deemed to be disproportionately affected by the civil war. The PRN was also seen as a means of securing national reconciliation and strengthening the development of democratic institutions that would underpin a democratic process (MIPLAN, 1992). In addition to laying out the principal objectives and target population, Volume 1 of the PRN document 'Plan de Reconstrucción Nacional' produced by the Ministry of Planning and Coordination of Economic and Social Development also provides a summary evaluation of the forecast macroeconomic implications of implementing the PRN. The document concludes that if sufficient funds are forthcoming and are allocated according to the terms laid out in the PRN: "The initial analysis of the macroeconomic impact of the PRN, demonstrates that [the PRN] can become a key instrument to accelerate the economic and social recovery, without endangering the financial stability of the country."

In such a fashion, the PRN was seen not only as securing peace and providing a framework for the expenditure of the funds required to redress the economic impact of the war, promoting reintegration and reinsertion of those target populations deemed to have been most affected by the war, but also as an essential tool for reactivating an economy that had seen negative rates of growth over the period of the 80s.

A variety of actors, governments and multilateral organizations pledged support to the PRN conditional on the plan being approved by all parties to the peace accords. The total budget of the PRN was estimated to be US \$1,829.9 million, of which US \$407.6 million had been pledged in contributions from the Government of El Salvador and US \$600.6 million from multilateral,

bilateral and international non-governmental agencies in 1993 (Boyce 1995 reproduced in Appendix 1, Tables 17-21). The accumulated damages estimated in the PRN for health, education, infrastructure, housing and agriculture came to US \$1.627.5. Were all funding to be forthcoming, this would designate US \$202.4 million for activities that were not designed to compensate directly for the economic and social costs incurred as a result of the war.

It is generally agreed that a significant portion of the agenda mandated by the Peace Accords and stipulated in the PRN has in fact been accomplished (FMLN 1997; Boyce 1995; Wood 1995). The completion in full of all components of the Peace Accords and the PRN has not been secured and key projects and programs identified in the accords remain outstanding. Financial and logistical support to the National Civilian Police and for the development of the Police Academy has been insufficient to consolidate the newly constituted civil police force and to ensure that they can effectively and transparently police, especially given the level of violence and corruption that prevails in post-war El Salvador (Wood 1995; Stanley 1993, 1995; WOLA 1995).

The land transfer program was eventually effected and over 13,000 hectares of land were transferred to approximately 35,000 beneficiaries, although the implementation had been slower and more cumbersome than had been expected. Constraints such as uneven access to credit, lack of access to agricultural inputs, transport, storage, marketing, extension and technical assistance have hampered the productivity of these farms and limited repayment of many of the loans (Roldán et al 1997). In light of this, the debt-forgiveness of 70% of the agrarian debt under the 699 Decree was crucial for small-farmers who were unable to repay loans they had acquired to purchase land through this program and may have prevented a significant proportion of these properties from being sold or rented.

As Wood states in her review of the Peace Accords and postwar reconstruction in El Salvador:

The socioeconomic agenda consisted primarily of initiatives that would facilitate the reintegration of ex-combatants and the *tenedores* into civilian life. Notably absent from the socioeconomic agenda of the Accords was any significant extension of existing agrarian reform legislation. Nor was poverty directly addressed outside of the areas targeted by the PRN except in the vaguest of terms.

Although the dispersed and concentrated displaced were also identified as recipients for benefits channeled through post-war reconstruction efforts, their receipt of these benefits was conditional upon them being resident in the 115 municipalities identified in the reconstruction plan (Murray et al 1994; Wood 1995). The artificial separation of the reintegration programs and the PRN may have greatly diminished the potential regeneration and reactivation of economic activity in those sectors where the dispersed displaced, concentrated displaced and ex-combatants were concentrated and more importantly in the former conflictive zones themselves. In 1995, a World Bank/FUSADES research project calculated that the proportion of those households defined to be non-poor in rural areas remains the lowest in all of the former conflictive departments (see Appendix 1, Table 3).

Tables 8-10 reported in the Appendix demonstrate that for rural indicators 4 of the poorest departments are former conflictive departments Cabañas, San Vicente, Chalatenango and Morazán. Of the 8 departments below median total household income 5 are also former conflictive departments or have seen significant sporadic conflict over the course of the war. It is worthwhile noting that in Cabañas, 60 per cent of the extremely poor are comprised of female-maintained households and that in Chalatenango, this number rises to 66 per cent. Economic dependency rates are also highest for rural areas in the former conflictive departments.

These findings further underscore the need for policy measures and investments to be undertaken with the explicit aim of reactivating economic activity in the former conflictive departments. They also indicate that reintegration and reconstruction expenditures have failed to fully redress the economic and social costs of conflict in the former conflictive departments.²⁸ Furthermore there may be reason to advocate for substantial expenditures and investments to be made that ameliorate the poverty and attenuate the inequality in these (and other) departments. It is clear that the end of the civil war and the subsequent flows of aid in the form of reparations and reconstruction expenditures in combination with the availability of substantial remittances and concentrated displaced capital provided impetus for strong economic growth.²⁹ This would support the belief that a combination of repressed demand, often referred to as the 'peace dividend', and Keynesian stimuli generated by targeted disbursements under the Reconstruction Plan (PRN), may be operating in the urban areas of former conflictive zones.

The disbursements of moneys under the PRN do appear to have disproportionately benefited households in urban areas in the former conflictive zones. Limited income growth has also been observed in the rural areas of former conflictive departments (Seligson et al 1993; World Bank 1993; Velado 1992; Webb et al 1988). The estimates of total household and per capita income growth do not include estimates of indebtedness, however, an area of concern for government and non-governmental agencies assessing the extent of agricultural indebtedness in El Salvador. It is not clear to what extent the reconstruction expenditures have stimulated income growth while simultaneously increasing the debt repayment obligations of poor households in the former conflictive zones (Roldán et al 1997; San Sebastian, Barry and Cuellar 1996; MSI 1996).

A shift of focus for the PRN and in particular for the Municipalities in Action (MEA) program towards explicit poverty alleviation goals may have very beneficial results. The unification of the MEA and the FIS in 1997 and the subsequent decentralization of the FIS in 1999 appear to have provided impetus for the redefinition of the poverty alleviation objectives of both agencies (Wilson, Banks and Taylor 1993; Interviews with members of FIS and MEA 1997,1998,1999). Efforts to tie program disbursements to poverty maps can channel expenditures towards reducing poverty and extreme poverty in priority areas, as well as providing a more coherent rationale for

²⁸ The need for programs that redress inequalities in the former conflictive zones is underscored in a variety of different analyses of the challenge of post-war recovery (Vázquez 1999; Yudelman 1999; Gammage 1998; Wood 1995).

²⁹ El Salvador has maintained an average rate of GDP growth of over 5.2 per cent at constant 1990 prices for 1992-1998 (BCR 1999).

expenditures than the largely demand-driven *modus operandi* pursued by the FIS since its inception in 1989.³⁰

Conclusions and recommendations

The results presented here appear to support the conclusion that existing survey instruments can be used to identify the displaced in El Salvador with the caveat that there may be non-trivial sample selection bias. This sample selection bias may have greater impact on the estimates of the dispersed displaced than the concentrated displaced. The attrition of the dispersed displaced from our sample by 1992 reflects the history of the war and the intensity of the conflict in the early 80s providing further support for the argument that it is human and social capital that may differentiate the refugees from the dispersed displaced. Further analysis of this population or subgroup may be greatly impeded by this attrition.

Despite the potential sample selection bias, undertaking a quantitative analysis of the correlates of poverty for the dispersed displaced and concentrated displaced households does have utility and can yield results that cast light on potential measures that may be employed to target these households and to facilitate their economic and social re-integration in the post-war era. Immediate emergency relief and development aid should be channeled to the refugees and the displaced to ensure that their basic needs are met. The findings from this study and the analysis of emergency relief and reintegration expenditures reveal that the dispersed displaced in El Salvador were not an invisible population, but were fairly easily identified, many of them being registered with the government and international agencies. Aid did reach the dispersed as well as the concentrated displaced. The strategies employed to reach these populations were different.

The concentrated displaced, being more easily identifiable, received aid *in situ* through national and international programs. The dispersed displaced were required to self-identify their need and seek aid largely through churches and non-governmental organizations in urban and peri-urban areas. Consequently, it may be that many of the dispersed displaced did not receive aid or received insufficient aid. The challenge is not only to reach those in need, but it is also to provide the right type of assistance as the needs of the population change over time. Transforming emergency relief into development programs is key to supporting the effective reintegration of these populations. These development programs however, should not exist independently of national strategies to address the economic costs of war in those areas that have been disproportionately affected by conflict. Certainly, targeting moneys to the former conflictive departments could successfully maximize the receipt of aid and services by both the concentrated displaced and the dispersed displaced who fall below the poverty line as well as many of the poor who have not been forced to flee as a result of the conflict.

The data reveal that both the dispersed displaced and the concentrated displaced are more likely to be poor than households that are not defined as being concentrated displaced or dispersed displaced in 1988. Because of sample selection biases, however, we may substantially

³⁰ This may be achieved by supporting greater interchange and articulation between the data collection agencies of the government and non-government sector (DIGESTYC, División de Información Social, FUSADES) and those institutions whose mandate is both reconstruction and poverty alleviation.

underestimate the poverty of the dispersed displaced. The finding that the dispersed displaced are less likely to be poor may be a function of this sample bias. Yet an alternative explanation exists for the finding that the dispersed displaced are less poor than the concentrated displaced. There may be grounds for believing that the dispersed displaced have access to comparatively more social and human capital, a factor that differentiates the refugees from the displaced by influencing the timing and choice of their relocation decisions.

This hypothesis appears to be supported by the differences in education and asset holdings revealed in the comparison of the displaced and concentrated displaced. Undertaking ethnographic enquiry into the fortunes of the dispersed and concentrated displaced may yield sufficient evidence to distinguish between these two competing explanations: (i) the prevalence of sample selection bias means that the dispersed displaced who are comparatively better-off are over-represented; or (ii), consistent differences in access to social capital affect decisions about flight and relocation and therefore shape the post-war fortunes of the displaced and concentrated displaced. The inability to distinguish between these explanations highlights the shortcomings of a purely quantitative approach based entirely on existing survey instruments. Yet the judicious combination of qualitative ethnographic data with the quantitative survey data may permit a more rich and informed discussion of those factors that predispose the dispersed and concentrated displaced to poverty and may influence their trajectories out of poverty in the post-war era.

The most striking finding about the demographic composition of the concentrated displaced and dispersed displaced is that women and children are not over-represented in these communities. Furthermore, the concentrated and dispersed displaced are not more likely to reside in female-headed and female-maintained households in urban areas. The data appear to indicate that traditional nuclear or multi-core households re-form or develop fairly quickly on repatriation or relocation in urban areas. This may respond to necessity rather than choice. Female-headed and female-maintained households are, however, slightly over-represented in rural areas. This means that a slightly higher proportion than average of the concentrated and dispersed displaced live in households that are maintained or headed by women in rural areas.

The multivariate analysis, however, underscores that gender is a factor that is more likely to predispose dispersed displaced households to extreme poverty than the concentrated displaced. In fact when interactive terms are included in the regressions, whether the household is female-maintained is more important than whether the household is dispersed displaced. This is probably because of almost 91 per cent of the concentrated displaced are poor and that the incremental disadvantage of being a female-headed or female-maintained household is less visibly acute. Being a female-maintained or female-headed household in a former conflictive zone does however increase the likelihood that the household is poor. This is particularly the case for households resident in rural conflictive zones.

The attrition of children under the age of 14 from both samples is disturbing. This could be the result of higher infant mortality rates experienced during flight. It may also be because fertility rates are lower among the concentrated displaced and dispersed displaced. It is possible that some of the dispersed displaced and concentrated displaced had the opportunity to foster children out informally to other households. This latter explanation is doubtful given the circumstances of their flight and the significant under-representation of children among the sample of the

concentrated displaced – a population with less opportunity to convey children into the care of others. This finding may argue strongly for the targeted provision of reproductive health-care services as well as maternal-child health care to both the concentrated and dispersed displaced.

The ability of the concentrated and dispersed displaced households to reintegrate in the post-war era will depend acutely on their ability to overcome the economic and social costs of war. Reintegration funds channeled to the concentrated displaced may indeed enable them to overcome these costs of war. Only by tracing their trajectories out of poverty will we be able to establish whether these funds have indeed been sufficient to lift the concentrated displaced out of poverty.³¹ Emergency relief and reintegration expenditures are seldom sufficient to compensate for the costs of war if they operate independently of national programs that rebuild infrastructure, invest in human capital and stimulate economic activity in those areas most affected by war. Many of the dispersed and concentrated displaced previously lived in communities that were rural and located at some distance from markets and, in many cases, paved roads and highways. This increased their economic isolation may have contributed to their impoverishment.³²

It is clear that the endowments of human and social capital held by the dispersed displaced are sufficient to enable many of them to reintegrate in the absence of substantial development expenditures. Certainly, the dispersed displaced who relocated to urban areas appear to have fared particularly well in contrast to the concentrated displaced. These households most likely relocated to the urban areas because they had higher education levels and could exploit kinship networks to enable them to find employment. This finding, however, lends further weight to the conclusion about the importance of human and social capital in facilitating reintegration.

Although it is difficult to make categorical policy recommendations about those strategies and transfers that have been most successful in lifting the concentrated displaced and dispersed displaced out of poverty, the social capital explanation appears to hold some weight. The dispersed displaced appear have larger endowments of social and human capital which may have facilitated their reintegration and recuperation in the post-war era. The policy recommendation would be to target resources towards the concentrated displaced and inhabitants of former conflictive departments to rebuild social capital and invest in human capital. This requires the provision of adequate education, health-care and funding for social as well as recreational facilities, community centers and libraries. An array of programs and projects of this type may provide essential fora to rebuild social capital and enable networks and informal institutions to be fostered and strengthened. This is particularly important given the wave of violence that we are observing in the post-war era that may contribute to further undermining already degraded human and social capital (IUDOP 1999; Arriagada and Godoy 1999).

Policy and programs should be driven by a careful analysis of the correlates of poverty, incorporating gender factors, location, sectoral attachment and human capital variables. Careful consideration should also be paid to economic and demographic dependency as an indicator of

³¹ A more complete analysis would require a thorough exploration of the impact of the reconstruction plan and the poverty profiles of cohorts of the concentrated displaced between 1992 and 1997.

³² Research sponsored by the BASIS CRSP in El Salvador, a USAID-funded program, has shown that distance from a paved road or from motorized transport increases the marginalization of rural communities and the likelihood that such households are poor (Briones and Andrade-Eekhoff 1999; Beneke de Sanfeliú 1999).

vulnerability to poverty and an inability to respond to incentives. In poor households where there has been a consistent attrition of income earners and where demographic dependency ratios are also high, individuals are often unable to upgrade human capital or to switch into higher return productive activities. A thorough and rigorous analysis of the correlates of poverty highlights those characteristics that unite the poor and draws attention to the need to intervene in markets to ensure the provision of health-care and education and to support the development of social capital households. Such an analysis should also include a gender component as many of the constraints that limit the transition to higher return activities have a specific and well-documented gender dimension.

Since a significant number of poor and extremely poor households in El Salvador are female-maintained, often sustained by more than one income, it may be necessary to target women's productive activities providing a combination of training, financial and non-financial services to these households. The vulnerability of female-maintained households in general, points to the need to provide support for working women. This may require a range of policy actions from gender-neutral language in labor agreements concerning the level and receipt of the minimum wage to child-care provisions in the workplace.

Since the majority of these women work in the informal sector and in services, special attention must be paid to the impact of legislation in the formal sector upon the informal sector. There is evidence to support the belief that not all spillover effects are negative. Certainly the effect of minimum wage legislation to increase the statutory minimum can result in all wages in the bottom quintile being shifted upwards without placing undue pressure on the rest of the income distribution (Amadeo and Neri 1998).

Where female-maintained households are a transitional feature of male unemployment and economic dislocation and out-migration, attention also should be paid to regions where male unemployment and underemployment have increased dramatically during the adjustment period. Targeting the unemployed and underemployed may prove to be an effective strategy to reduce temporary shortfalls in household income and to ensure that transfers reach those female-maintained households most likely to fall into transitional poverty. This strategy may prove to be particularly important for reaching those households affected by war with lower levels of human capital and fewer opportunities to shift into formal sector employment. Retraining and providing new skills to both men and women in these households may enable them to find employment in the formal sector and provide an alternative to undocumented migration and absorption into insecure, secondary labor markets in the United States and elsewhere.

The findings presented here underscore the need for reconstruction investments and activities to be concentrated in the former conflictive departments and not only in the 115 Municipalities identified in the national reconstruction plan. In this fashion the majority of the dispersed and concentrated displaced may be reached and reactivation strategies can benefit other rural residents whose poverty is also acute. It is also clear that economic strategies to improve livelihoods, stimulate the acquisition of human capital and rebuild social capital in rural areas and particularly rural conflictive departments must be made a priority to guarantee peace and stability in the post-war era. The transformation of rural employment may prove the key to resolving income disparities between the rural and urban areas and between the concentrated

displaced and the dispersed displaced. Unless physical infrastructure is laid down in rural areas, communications improved, and educational opportunities upgraded, the failure to expand rural employment opportunities and upgrade human capital may consign El Salvador to low return, low productivity and low income growth in rural areas, rising rates of rural-urban migration and contribute to the further emiseration of the urban poor.

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