



**Chronic Poverty**  
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## **Intrahousehold asset dynamics and its effect on the intergenerational transmission of poverty**

**A select annotated bibliography and  
literature review**

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### **What is Chronic Poverty?**

The distinguishing feature of chronic poverty is extended duration in absolute poverty.

Therefore, chronically poor people always, or usually, live below a poverty line, which is normally defined in terms of a money indicator (e.g. consumption, income, etc.), but could also be defined in terms of wider or subjective aspects of deprivation.

This is different from the transitorily poor, who move in and out of poverty, or only occasionally fall below the poverty line.



## Abstract

This paper presents an annotated bibliography and a literature review of relevant scholarship concerning intrahousehold access to and control of assets, and their effects on the intergenerational transmission of poverty. The paper is structured in two sections: 1) the literature review, which provides a critical overview of current research and addresses key theoretical and methodological questions, and 2) the annotated bibliography, which lists and summarises relevant works on the subject. The paper opens up by examining the links between intrahousehold resource allocation and IGT poverty. Section two identifies relevant scholarship addressing the study of IGT poverty. The main factors contributing to the intergenerational transmission of poverty are outlined, and recent literature making the case for an asset-based approach to the study of poverty is presented. Chapters 3 and 4 examine relevant theoretical and empirical scholarship on household dynamics. In chapter 3, the main factors shaping access to resources are profiled. While gender inequality, age and status are critical determinants of intrahousehold hierarchies, social relations which transcend the boundaries of the household are also considered. Chapter 4 explores in greater detail how key assets such as land, healthcare, nutrition and education are distributed amongst household members, and the effects of unequal distribution on IGT poverty. Finally, the last two chapters review recent scholarship concerning the importance of socio-cultural norms and practices in shaping asset dynamics, and highlight the potential contributions of anthropology to poverty research. The literature review is followed by a select annotated bibliography of relevant scholarship, including summaries and keywords for all references.

The main findings of the paper indicate that further research is needed in order to determine how and when asset dynamics constitute critical drivers of IGT poverty. The focus on the household as a unit of analysis is found to be problematic, as it neglects extra-household factors of crucial importance in the allocation of resources and may obscure the role of long-term structural relations of economic inequality in reproducing chronic poverty. In this sense, it is suggested that anthropological approaches may prove a useful tool, both theoretically and methodologically, for the advancement of poverty research.

**Keywords:** Intergenerational transmission of poverty, assets, household dynamics, resource allocation, social norms, gender, education, health and nutrition, agriculture and land.



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This paper is the final output of a study commissioned by Kate Bird at the Overseas Development Institute, theme leader of the 'Empirical Approaches to the Intergenerational Transmission of Poverty' theme of the Chronic Poverty Research Centre. It seeks to provide a review of differential intrahousehold access to and control of assets and its short and longer run effects, including on the intergenerational transmission of poverty. It will contribute to research being designed by the Chronic Poverty Research Centre on inequality and assets and the intergenerational transmission of poverty.

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# 1 Introduction and overview

## 1.1 Background

This literature review and annotated bibliography has been undertaken to contribute to the third phase (2005–2010) of work of the Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC), which is structured around three distinct themes that are strategically sequenced and integrated: thematic research, policy analysis, and policy engagement. In particular, this bibliography is part of the foundation research theme *Empirical Methods for Studying Intergenerational Transmissions of Poverty (IGT)*. In providing an overview of the factors driving intrahousehold resource allocation and their effects on the intergenerational transmission of poverty, this bibliography will contribute to research being designed by the CPRC into inequality and assets and the intergenerational transmission of poverty.

## 1.2 A guide to the structure and contents

The paper is divided into two parts: a literature review and an annotated bibliography. The literature review is composed of five main chapters, along with an introduction and a conclusion. It begins by providing an overview of the state of current research, examining the links between literature on intrahousehold resource allocation and poverty research. Following this introduction, the second chapter addresses key conceptual and methodological issues regarding the intergenerational transmission of poverty, placing particular emphasis on the emergence of an asset-based approach to the study of chronic poverty. The next two chapters shift the focus towards the analysis of intrahousehold allocation research. Chapter 2.3 addresses key questions of definition and methodology, to then examine three main critical factors driving intrahousehold inequality. Chapter 2.4 looks at how assets and resources are effectively distributed within the household, and how unequal distribution contributes to the intergenerational transmission of poverty. It explores relevant literature examining the critical factors which drive the unequal distribution of land, healthcare, nutrition and education amongst household members. The last two chapters make a case for taking into consideration the importance of social relations. Chapter 2.5 reviews works which specifically address the significance of socio-cultural norms in shaping household dynamics. Chapter 2.6 concludes the literature review by presenting the main findings of the paper.

The annotated bibliography follows a similar structure, so that references cited in any given section of the review may be found under the same heading in the bibliography. Each section of the bibliography presents a number of references listed in alphabetical order and followed by a brief summary and a set of selected keywords. Finally, a complete list of references listed in alphabetical order can be found at the end of the paper.



## 2 Literature review

### 2.1 Introduction

Researchers and policy-makers have recently turned their attention to the interlinks between intrahousehold resource allocation and poverty dynamics. It is now widely accepted that relations of inequality govern access to and control of assets in the household, affecting patterns of expenditure on and investment in younger generations. Research on poverty dynamics has emphasised the importance of intergenerational transmissions to children in the consolidation of chronic poverty. The distribution of education, food, healthcare, and other material and immaterial assets among household members determines children's likelihood to either stay poor or break out of poverty. Therefore, the study of asset dynamics is central to identify the critical factors leading to the intergenerational transmission of poverty.

In this paper, relevant literature on intrahousehold resource allocation and asset dynamics is examined. It is found that, while recent poverty research highlights the importance of asset-based studies of poverty dynamics, literature on intrahousehold resource allocation concentrates mostly on factors affecting asset dynamics, leaving the effects on chronic poverty largely unexplored. Only a few systematic attempts to bring these two areas together have been published (See chapter 1), and intrahousehold resource allocation and the intergenerational transmission of poverty (henceforth IGT poverty) still remain largely two separate bodies of literature. However, recent research increasingly acknowledges a direct correlation between the two, and an attempt has been made here to explore the effects of asset-dynamics on chronic and intergenerationally transmitted poverty.

There is an abundant literature on intrahousehold resource allocation and IGT poverty. The selection has been made taking into consideration both relevance and date of publication, the focus being on most recent works. Inevitably, topics of particular importance to IGT poverty have been favoured, and emphasis has been placed on the role played by social norms and cultural frameworks in affecting asset dynamics. It has long been acknowledged that a number of development projects have failed largely due to a lack of knowledge about, and consideration of local customs and social norms (see Messer, 1990). Anthropological insights have been particularly helpful in uncovering these aspects of social life and highlighting their importance for the study of intrahousehold dynamics and poverty reduction. As Ferguson (1992) has argued, the cultural, legal, and moral paths governing economic exchanges must be taken into consideration in order to understand poverty dynamics. Relevant anthropological contributions have therefore been included where pertinent.



## 2.2 IGT, chronic poverty and poverty dynamics

The intergenerational transmission of poverty can be described as the private and public transfer, from one generation to the next, of key deficits in assets and resources. Intergenerational transfers include material assets such as land or livestock, together with human, financial, socio-political and environmental capital. If the transmission is positive, it can lead to a break in poverty cycles while, when negative, results in the intergenerational transmission of poverty. Collard (2000) has argued that a given generation will grant transfers of human capital to the young generation as a form of insurance against future risks. Research on IGT poverty, however, shows that the generational bargain does not depend solely on individual motivations (be these altruism or self-interest), but it is subject to wider systems of inequality that determine the outcomes of generational transfers.

While IGT poverty can also be transmitted from younger to older generations, and within and between public spheres, the focus here is on the private transmission of poverty from older to younger generations, especially from parents to children. In this context, the study of childhood poverty is particularly important. It has been argued that IGT poverty suggests a degree of path-dependence in the lives of those who have been disadvantaged from childhood (Kabeer, 2003). Children may experience long-term damage from parental poverty, particularly due to *in utero* illness or malnutrition. Deficiencies in early infancy may also be determinant. Factors that influence the transmission of poverty to the next generation include: household composition, adolescent pregnancy, early childcare and development practices, domestic violence and household income and assets among others (Bird, 2007). The focus on the 'irreversibilities' of transfers occurred during childhood, however, should not obscure the fact that there is a certain margin of resilience and flexibility which allows for the breaking out of poverty cycles during adult life (see Yaqub, 2003). Multiple factors contribute to intergenerational transfers of poverty: poor nutrition and healthcare; low levels of education; a depleting environment; insecure livelihoods; indebtedness; and gendered cultural norms and social practices (Bhargava *et al.*, 2005).

Recent literature emphasises the importance of the study of social relations in the analysis of poverty transmission (Harper *et al.*, 2003), and it has been suggested that the cutting edge on chronic poverty research lies in the interface between asset dynamics and changing social relations (Shepherd, 2007). The shift to asset-based approaches in poverty research is very recent, and it is born out of the realisation that basing poverty analyses on expenditure or income levels, as it had been traditionally done, is both misleading and insufficient to account for and explain different kinds of poverty (Carter and Barrett, 2006; Osmani, 2007). In this context, it has been argued that a dynamic asset-based approach – the term asset understood to include privately held productive and financial wealth – provides important information on the structural foundations of poverty and helps differentiate chronic poverty – of which it is possible to 'escape' – from poverty traps (Carter and Barrett, 2006).



It is argued that reformulating poverty research on an asset-basis should ultimately produce a more satisfying analysis which addresses the question of the impact of market-oriented liberalisation policies on long-term poverty dynamics (*Ibid.*). Particularly relevant to this discussion is Osmani's (2007) invitation to shift the focus of study from the level or magnitude of endowments to its structure. Osmani argues that economic growth does not necessarily lead to a reduction of chronic poverty. The structure of people's endowments may not necessarily match the structure of new opportunities, thus constituting a barrier to their integration in new markets. A focus on the structure of asset dynamics is thus fundamental to understand not only how poverty is intergenerationally transmitted, but also how poverty traps are created and maintained over time. The following chapters explore the connections between assets and poverty dynamics, taking as a starting point relevant literature on the differential intrahousehold allocation of resources. Questions of gender inequality, family hierarchy, and extra-household relations are explored, and particular emphasis is placed on how these factors influence access to and control of assets in the household.

## 2.3 Intrahousehold dynamics

### 2.3.1 *Concepts, definitions and research issues*

The idea that the family constitutes a unit of economic activity dates back to Chayanov's study of Russian peasant economy (Thorner *et al.*, 1986). Chayanov's study, first published in Russian in 1926 and translated into English in 1966, was fundamental in shifting the focus of economic analysis from wages, interest, rent and profits to the family as a unit of production. Fifteen years later, Becker (1981) published the *Treatise on the Family*, introducing the neoclassical economic approach to the study of the household. Becker argued that household members altruistically allocate resources and labour in such a way as to maximise efficiency, and that the household could thus be analytically conceived as a unitary entity with a single utility function, where preferences are identical and resources are pooled. Becker's model found wide resonance amongst economists, shaping intrahousehold economics thereon. This school is variously referred to as the unitary, altruistic or benevolent dictator approach, the common element being the assumption that ultimately the household constitutes a single decision-making agent and as such can be treated for analytical purposes (*cf.* Farmer and Tiefenthaler, 1995).

Opposed to the 'unitary' view is the 'common preferences' or 'collective' approach, which can be divided into cooperative and non-cooperative models. The first assumes Pareto efficient outcomes, whereas the second focuses on the bargaining processes within the household.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For a detailed review on the different economic models of household decision-making processes see Bolt and Bird, 2003; Haddad *et al.*, 1997 and Doss 1996.





Although neoclassical economic models of the household continue to exert a powerful influence in both research and policy design (*cf.* Doss, 1996; Akresh, 2005), a growing body of contemporary literature emphasises the multiplicity of factors involved in the allocation of resources within the household and the need for more interdisciplinary work in order to understand the processes by which assets are unequally distributed (see Messer, 1990; Ferguson, 1992; Evans, 1991; Haddad *et al.*, 1997).

Contemporary researchers commonly agree that no single definition of the household is universally valid (Rogers, 1990; Pfeiffer, 2003). Household composition is subject to great cultural and historical variation and any fixed definition of the household would be misleading and arbitrary (Rogers, 1990). New approaches have thus moved away from previous homogeneous and static conceptions of the household, and emphasise its shifting, flexible boundaries. The household is described as a site of negotiation, bargaining and conflict, and it is increasingly accepted that resource allocation follows rules that do not always protect the most vulnerable members or produce the most efficient outcomes. Households do not constitute homogeneous units, but are instead the locus of complex sets of social relationships which are defined through intra and extra-household relations of power and inequality. Furthermore, it has been noted that the focus on the household as a social unit, and the individual as an actor, can obscure the role of wider economic relations of inequality (Wolf, 1997), and may constitute itself an arbitrary -and often misleading- imposition of Western ideology on local conceptualisations.

In the following sections, the main factors structuring household dynamics will be outlined. The literature reviewed not only highlights the importance of intrahousehold inequality but also points to the necessity to take into consideration the role played by extra-household relations on intrahousehold dynamics. In this sense, it is acknowledged that while analytical categories are a necessary tool for the researcher, they are not a reflection of separate spheres in social life and thus should not be taken at face value (Booth *et al.*, 1999).

### 2.3.2 *Gender inequality and the conjugal contract*

As part of the critique to the unitary model of the household, and parallel to the consolidation of feminist scholarship, a growing body of studies which explore the effects of asymmetrical gender relations on household dynamics has emerged. The literature can be divided in two groups: (1) studies focusing on gender inequality as a driver of poverty, and (2) studies analysing gender relations as a critical factor of intrahousehold resource allocation.

(1) Feminist scholarship has made important contributions to the understanding of chronic poverty. A growing body of literature explores the relationship between gender inequality, poverty and development (for a good review, see Kabeer, 1994). The effects of gender inequality on agricultural production, malnutrition, human capital investment and the welfare of children are a central concern (see, for instance, Quisumbing, 2003; King,



2001; Evans, 1991). While feminist literature does not constitute a single, homogeneous body of theory, much of this literature builds on the assumption that, while the form of gender inequality may vary cross-culturally, inequality itself is a universal phenomenon (Moore, 2001; Sen, 1997; Jolly, 2002). In some cases, gender inequality is implicitly seen as a fundamental cause of chronic poverty (see, for instance, Sen, 1997). This view has been reinforced by the publication of studies that show that gender inequality is economically inefficient (Udry, 1996), and as a result it has often been argued that improving the relative position of women will reduce poverty. However, attributing the persistence of poverty to gender inequality can also be seen as an oversimplification of complex political processes which obscures the effects of long-term structural patterns of market relations on African economies (O’Laughlin, 2007).

(2) Gender relations have also been analysed as a critical factor of the differential access to and control of assets and resources. The household is seen as a site of institutionalised inequality (Bruce, 1989) and it is argued that this inequality, built on a socially-sanctioned division of labour, structures the allocation of resources amongst household members. Asymmetrical power relations between men and women within the household are said to affect the allocation of resources on two counts: by limiting adult women’s access to resources and by determining parental investment on food, health and education amongst siblings of different gender. The study of intrahousehold gender relations as a central aspect of household bargaining processes is frequently known as the ‘separate-spheres’ approach. The ‘separate-spheres’ approach incorporates the influence of gender ideology into bargaining models, focusing on the conjugal contract as the framework whereby separate gendered spheres of economic activity are related to one another (Carter and Katz, 1997).

The conjugal contract, far from being homogeneous, is subject to geographical and historical variation. The way in which assets are allocated and labour distributed between husband and wife differs cross-culturally (see Kevane, 2001), and according to type of marriage (see Oni, 1996). Furthermore, the nature of marital contracts changes according to the location of the household in the wider economy, and is itself affected by economic changes (see Pfeiffer, 2003). The study of the conjugal contract is important not only because it determines the allocation of resources, but also because it affects patterns of expenditure and investment on children, thus affecting the intergenerational transmission of poverty.

In patrilineal societies, women often gain access to land or livestock through marriage. Because of this, it has been commonly argued that conjugal contracts that restrict a wife’s access to assets commonly result in the discrimination of female household members in the distribution of resources like food, healthcare and education (Kabeer, 1994). This is certainly the case in some South Asian regions like India or Pakistan. However, recent research questions the applicability of these findings to other developing regions (Quisumbing, 2003). Generally, when women do obtain their own income through farm and non-farm activities,

this is generally spent on covering basic needs like food or healthcare (Hoddinott and Haddad, 1995). The reason for this may be that often, the intrahousehold allocation of tasks established that men are responsible for the purchase or maintenance of durable productive assets (land, livestock, housing), while women are in charge of daily family expenses (mainly food and medical treatment). Nevertheless, there is evidence that households where the working head is female allocate resources in a manner that favours children, increasing allocations toward education and improving child health and nutrition (Handa, 1994). This is a relative improvement, however, because in rural developing areas, where women rarely inherit land or livestock, when the conjugal contract is dissolved (be it through divorce or widowhood) female-headed households enjoy lower socio-economic status and a more limited access to resources.

### 2.3.3 *Other factors affecting intrahousehold dynamics*

Gender inequality is not the only factor determining intrahousehold dynamics. Intrahousehold differentiation also affects children differently depending on family status, which is determined through gender, age, birth order, and status of the mother. Where monogamy prevails, hierarchy amongst children tends to be established via gender and birth order. As Ejrnæs and Pörtner (2004) show, often children with higher birth order have an advantage over siblings with lower birth order in the allocation of resources. Choe *et al.* (1995) reach the same conclusion for China, where female children with older siblings are often discriminated against in greater measure.

The practice of polygyny, common in many African societies, introduces a different axis of inequality in the household. As Oni (1996) has shown for the Yoruba, relationships in polygynous marriages are intrinsically unequal and hierarchical. Mother and child form a social unit, and their position within the marriage is defined in relation to the position of other wives. 'Favoured' wives enjoy a privileged position in the household, and are more likely to be granted moral and financial support from the husband, while neglected wives (usually senior wives) are often obliged to find alternative ways of supporting their children in times of need.

Finally, kinship structures also influence the allocation of authority in the household. Under patrilocal and patrilineal systems, men often control property, resources and income. Women do not generally have property rights and are thus dependant on fathers, husbands or sons for accessing productive assets. In these situations it is not uncommon for male elders to constitute the maximum authority both within and outside the household. Matrilineal systems, on the contrary, afford women more autonomy, placing greater authority on the women's relatives. Wolf (1997) finds that in Java, where the kinship system traditionally accords women some economic autonomy, daughters make their own decisions about factory work, and although parental permission is important, it is in no way determinant of the final outcome. On the contrary, in Taiwan, where there is a strong patrilineal and patrilocal



system, parents are always involved in a daughter's work-related decisions and parental opinions are dutifully obeyed.

#### 2.3.4 *Beyond the household: social relations and extra-household dynamics*

Contemporary literature emphasises the dynamic and fluid nature of households and their boundaries. Researchers and policy-makers, however, tend to disregard the multiple and overlapping social networks in which households are engaged. Instead, they concentrate on bargaining processes within the household, overlooking the fact that extrahousehold relations create larger and more complex spaces of bargaining and conflict which affect how authority is exercised and assets allocated in the household. Bruce and Lloyd (1997) have noted the necessity of a research focus that transcends the physical and temporal boundaries of the household. Households, they argue, are rarely self-contained entities, and the maintenance of networks of mutual obligation and support between kin does not require co-residence or even physical proximity. Furthermore, neglecting the study of resource flows and exchanges beyond the household, particularly among kin, obscures economic connections and decision-making dynamics of fundamental importance to household economics. Two main extra-household factors must be considered:

(1) It cannot be assumed that the same unit (i.e. the household) is always responsible for both production and consumption. In many cultures, resources are generated through group as well as individual and family processes (Heywood, 1990). Groups can cut across the boundaries of the household unit, generating extrahousehold influences on intrahousehold dynamics. The group may make decisions regarding food production and the distribution of outputs, and may also make demands on the individual's time, thus participating of decisions that affect household resources. Furthermore, it is well documented that poor rural households facing endemic risks come together in social, ethnic, and occupational groups to provide economic assistance to each other (Hoff and Sen, 2005). Collective efforts to redefine social and family rights and responsibilities often have distributional implications by affecting the bargaining power of individuals (see, for instance, Folbre, 1997).

(2) Secondly, people's mobility must be considered. A fundamental factor in extrahousehold influence on intrahousehold allocation is migration. Literature on remittances is mostly economic and is based on various models of 'household strategy'. This literature has traditionally focused on individuals' motivations (self-interest versus altruism, cooperative versus non-cooperative behaviour) as well as on the differential effects of remittances according to gender (Guzman *et al.*, 2007; Malone, 2007; Chen, 2006). However, remittances are not the only way in which migration affects intrahousehold dynamics. While generating an external source of income, labour migration of male household members affects intrahousehold time allocation. In households where only male members migrate, children's responsibilities increase. They have to look after crop waste, manage livestock, access markets, and, in some cases,



drop out of school and even engage in wage labour (see Bhargava *et al.*, 2005). Additionally, as Chen (2006) has argued, migration of the household head may lead to modification in the bargaining power of household members as well as to changes in expenditure patterns.

## 2.4 Access to and control of assets

Asset holdings are a critical indicator of household income and consumption levels, as well as a fundamental factor in the development of poverty traps. Evidence shows that better endowed households are more likely to break poverty cycles investing in children's nutrition, health and education, while low asset-holding greatly contributes to the intergenerational transmission of poverty. Asset ownership is largely determined by inheritance practices, but is also susceptible to change through marriage and income diversification.

Land constitutes the most important asset in developing countries. Where income diversification occurs, households are more likely to break out of poverty. However, income is still highly dependent on agricultural production in most developing countries. Economic and environmental degradation is leading to increasingly reduced ratios of cultivable land, and as a consequence the size of landholdings owned by future generations will continue to decrease. The implications for the intergenerational transmission of poverty are important; where income is highly dependent on cultivable land, the children of people who are poor will grow up to be poorer unless income diversification occurs, and diversification will only occur if higher investments on human capital are accompanied by a betterment of labour and capital markets (Bird, 2007; Bhargava *et al.*, 2005).

### 2.4.1 Agriculture and land

Agriculture constitutes the primary source of livelihood for the majority of the population in developing countries, especially in Africa. While income diversification is encouraged, households are still highly dependent on agricultural production in most developing countries. Literature on agricultural production and poverty concentrates on (1) productive efficiency, (2) new technologies, and (3) environmental depletion.

(1) In much of Sub-Saharan Africa, land is traditionally controlled by corporate groups. Rules, rights, and obligations regarding land are complex and diverse; they evolve in response to economic and demographic change, and tend to vary across ethnic groups. However, restrictions on women's access to resources to a lesser or greater extent are found everywhere. Women do not generally inherit land. Because of this, and despite the fact that in Sub-Saharan Africa men and women frequently farm separate plots, women's access to resources and effective technologies are in most cases mediated by their husbands. Furthermore, lineage elders may restrict their access to land, and members of the family may exert their right to claim part of the output (Kevane and Gray, 1999).



These restrictions have a negative effect on agricultural output, and indeed a number of studies found significant inefficiencies in allocation of inputs in rural African households. For example, Udry (1996) showed that in Burkina Faso plots controlled by women produce lower yields because of a male-biased allocation of inputs. While Udry attributes this to an inefficient allocation of resources, Kevane and Gray (1999) have argued that output inefficiencies may be due to wider gender conflicts situated outside the household, and that a focus on social institutions beyond the household will show that it is the gendered nature of land rights that causes differences in agricultural output and efficiency.

(2) The effects of technological changes on time allocation have also been a key theme in the literature. It has been argued that the introduction of new technologies needs to be evaluated in terms of their interaction with existing social norms (Messer 1990), and in terms of their effects on time allocation (Quisumbing, 2003). The introduction of cash crops in Nepal, for instance, resulted in a reduced allocation of time to childcare (Paolisso *et al.*, 2002).

(3) Finally, the impact of environmental scarcity and depletion needs to be taken into consideration. Increasing population in developing countries is depleting the carrying capacity of the environment. Households therefore require more time to access resources such as water, fuelwood or livestock; a responsibility which falls primarily on children (Bhargava *et al.*, 2005). Forests, soil and water resources are often the only sources of productive capital inputs for African rural households. These natural resources provide important sources of consumption such as fuel, building materials, medicines or nutrition. Reduced availability can thus have direct and substantial impacts on household income, consumption, nutrition and health (Larson *et al.*, 1996). In urban areas, degradation often takes the form of pollution, which can create higher financial costs for future generations (such as having to buy water because local ground water has been contaminated) or human capital costs (such as ill-health caused by earlier hazardous waste disposal in residential areas). Economic and environmental degradation is leading to increasingly reduced ratios of cultivable land, and as a consequence, the size of landholdings owned by future generations will continue to decrease.

#### 2.4.2 *Health and nutrition*

Malnutrition and illness are critical drivers of downward mobility, and the main factors in determining the irreversibility of poverty transfers (Bird, 2007). Research in this area is plentiful and covers a wide range of topics. This section reviews relevant literature on nutrition and healthcare focusing on (1) expenditure patterns (2) gender and birth order discrimination and (3) effects on IGT poverty.

(1) There is now broad recognition that intrahousehold resource allocation patterns can be critical determinants of children's health and nutrition in the developing world. While other factors like parental education influence investments in child welfare, it is generally



agreed that in developing countries women spend more on child nutrition and healthcare than men (Bruce, 1989; Quisumbing, 2003). It has been argued that the reason for this is that often men are responsible for large purchases or payments like housing or farming while women are responsible for childcare and manage daily expenditures on food (Oni, 1996; Pfeiffer, 2003). At the same time, it has been found that nutritional knowledge significantly improves rates of malnutrition (Christiaensen and Alderman, 2004). The maintenance of gendered power asymmetries, coupled with a lack of nutritional knowledge, can thus be seen as factors contributing to IGT poverty. However, it has also been noted that the increased recognition that intrahousehold dynamics affects expenditure on child healthcare should not obscure the fact that the main cause of child malnutrition is not parental neglect, but long-term structural patterns of economic inequality of well-known historical roots. The commoditisation of local economies and the development of overarching macroeconomic strategies -partly a consequence of colonialism and imperialism- create low and undependable cash incomes for both men and women which affect intrahousehold dynamics and can influence child health (Pfeiffer, 2003).

(2) Gender differences in health and nutrition have long been a subject of study in the intrahousehold allocation literature. Female discrimination, rather than being a uniform phenomenon, is subject to social and economic variations. Household studies on access to healthcare showed no gender difference in most regions with the exception of South Asia (Quisumbing, 2003). Regarding food allocation, despite assumptions that gender bias is prevalent in all developing countries, most evidence points to Northern India, Southeast Asia, and China as the main regions where females are nutritionally deprived (see, for instance, Choe *et al.*, 1995). Important factors in nutritional gender bias include:

- **Patrilocal and patrilineality:** in these regions, where residence is patrilocal and inheritance patrilineal, males are expected to contribute to family income and lineage and thus male-biased investment is prevalent (Messer, 1997).
- **Family planning strategies:** the so-called quantity-quality transition suggests that as the means to ensure child survival and birth control are improved, there is a decline in fertility rates accompanied by higher investment on children (Kabeer, 2003). Greater parental control over family size results in better family planning strategies, benefiting children and contributing to break poverty cycles. Therefore, while poverty constitutes a fundamental aspect in explaining patterns of investment, a variety of factors including age, gender, number of sibling and birth order are also of great importance. This is the case for South Asia, a region with a long history of gender discrimination (Kabeer, 2003). However, Das Gupta (1987) has suggested that in North India and Bangladesh, excess female mortality is not a result of arbitrary female discrimination, but part of an explicit parental strategy to obtain their desired family size and



composition. While women's structural marginalisation seems to be the underlying cause for a strong preference for sons, Das Gupta shows that discriminations against females is focused on higher birth order girls, and therefore closely related to family-building strategies. Age bias therefore also exists in reference to birth order.

- Dowry system: it has also been argued that female discrimination follows an economic logic. Miller (1997) finds that in South Asia, discrimination against daughters is prevalent amongst upper strata households, while it is not so common amongst lower classes. The reason for this is that amongst propertied households, investing in sons is economically more efficient when the future costs of marriage are taken into account. Conversely, in sub-saharan Africa where bride price is paid, daughters are favoured.
- Finally, some societies such as Indian, African, and Mexican societies, often prioritise elderly males (India) or elderly of both sexes respectively (Messer, 1997).

(3) Nutrition, survival and protection are considered critical aspects of child welfare for poverty transfer (Harper *et al.*, 2003). In particular, child and maternal nutrition and health status, together with the timing of shocks and interventions, are described as the critical factors in determining the irreversibility of poverty transfers (Bird, 2007). Maternal malnutrition increases rates of infant mortality and leads to impaired cognitive and physical development in both mother and babies. Low birth weight babies are more likely to develop chronic illnesses or die from a common disease. They also have higher risks of being stunted and experiencing impaired cognitive development, which increases their likelihood of becoming poor adults. Furthermore, illness of a household member is likely to produce household adjustments that may have negative effects for other members of the household. For example, Pitt and Rosenzweig (1990) have shown that when infant morbidity occurs, teenaged daughters are more likely to increase their participation in domestic work, decrease their participation in market activities and drop out of school.

### 2.4.3 *Human capital and education*

Low levels of human capital are widely considered to be a major impediment to economic growth and the elimination of poverty. Children who complete secondary education are more likely to escape chronic poverty (Bhargava *et al.*, 2005). Education results in better health outcomes and reduced both fertility and infant mortality (Castaneda and Aldaz-Carroll, 1999). At the same time, lack of education constitutes a key factor in the intergenerational transmission of poverty. It reproduces social and economic inequality and creates negative human capital transfers that are likely to be self-reproducing. However, and despite the advantages of increasing schooling rates in developing countries, it has been noted that it is difficult to establish a direct correlation between educational achievement and socio-





economic mobility (Moore, 2001). This is because the extent to which education translates into increased earnings depends on the labour market and on individuals' access to it. It is in this sense that Osmani (2007) notes the importance of structural mismatches between endowments and opportunities for the study of poverty reduction (see chapter 2.2).

Nevertheless, it is generally agreed that children's education is of critical importance as a means to break out of poverty traps. Several factors have been found to influence access to education:

(1) Income: income poverty is one of the main reasons why children are less likely to go to school. Demand for education is lowest in areas where poverty is endemic and where economic opportunities for literate adults are absent (Kabeer, 2003). Household level data also highlights the significance of poverty in explaining patterns of educational failure and child labour. Vulnerable households, those at constant risk of sliding into greater poverty, are the ones most likely to rely on unskilled labour and report high levels of working children (Kabeer, 2003). However, there is evidence that household poverty does not constitute an insurmountable barrier. Other factors such as gender, birth order, or parental education, also play a fundamental role in levels of schooling.

(2) Parental Education: both increases in household permanent income and education of the parents are generally positively associated with child schooling. In particular, mother's schooling has strong positive impacts on girls' education. Having uneducated parents is associated with household poverty and increased risk of malnutrition and disease. In Latin America, children born to uneducated parents in low-income households face significant disadvantages in schooling enrolment and achievement (Castañeda and Aldaz-Carroll, 1999). In India, children whose parents did not receive education have lower schooling rates, particularly girls (Bhargava *et al.*, 2005), and in Guinea improvements in parents education raises the schooling of both sons and daughters (Glick and Sahn, 2000). The reasons for this correlation are not entirely clear. It has been argued that educated parents prioritise children's education, and are more able to help them with their homework and encourage them in their academic pursuits (Kabeer, 2003). However it has also been suggested that parental education may be a proxy for parental wealth which then translates into nutritional and educational resources (Moore, 2001).

(3) Gender: researchers and policy-makers have increasingly recognised the benefits to expanding girls' access to schooling. Improvements in women's education help to eliminate gender inequalities in employment opportunities and earnings and also lead to better child nutrition and lower fertility (Glick and Sahn, 2000). Female education is also important in interrupting the intergenerational transmission of poverty because educated mothers are more likely to send their own children to school (Kabeer, 2003). Furthermore, it has been found that the loss of a child's mother, regardless of her level of education, is a strong predictor of poor schooling outcomes (Case and Ardington, 2004). However, schooling rates in developing countries continue to be higher for boys than for girls. In Rajasthan, there are gender differentials not only in school entry and retention, but in



social norms and customs that determine the roles women and men can perform in the family and community (social expectations for girls focus on marriage and the domestic sphere) (Barghava *et al.*, 2005).

(4) Social exclusion and marginality: children of poor families often grow up in an environment where education is not encouraged, poverty is a way of life, and hopes of entering the mainstream life either economically or socially are low (Kabeer, 2003). In India, caste clearly circumscribes people's horizons by delimiting the kind of future that parents could imagine for their children. Discrimination in classrooms is frequent, reproducing hierarchical social relations and ensuring an intergenerational transfer of social inequality (Bhargava *et al.*, 2005 and Kabeer, 2003).

## 2.5 Social norms and cultural contexts

Researchers and policy-makers increasingly acknowledge the need to include socio-cultural considerations in the study of asset dynamics and poverty reduction. It has been frequently proved that, when policies are designed without taking into consideration the social contexts in which they are implemented, unexpected and often undesirable consequences follow. Furthermore, numerous studies have shown that economic processes are not isolable from culturally-defined systems of values and social relationships.

In Buenos Aires, it is found that consumption patterns in times of drastic socio-economic change follow a logic which contradicts consumption theory and highlights the importance of considering issues like social prestige as yet another form of wealth (Jelin, 1990). Furthermore, Ferguson (1992) shows that in Lesotho, different forms of wealth coexist, and these are neither mutually interchangeable nor necessarily convertible to cash, indicating that a meaningful ranking of wealth holding must include a cultural analysis of local commodity paths and the structure of property. Therefore, it is important to take into account that 'wealth' is not a universal category, and must be contextualised when dealing with poverty reduction.

Social norms affect the intrahousehold allocation of time and resources. Kevane (2001), for instance, shows that in Burkina Faso, the restructuring of time allocation when farm capital is increased varies systematically between Bwa and Mossi women due to the different social norms regarding women's economic and social behaviour. Similarly, in Cote d'Ivoire Duflo and Udry (2004) find that rainfall shocks that increase the output of yam crops (the 'appreciated' crop) are associated with shifts in expenditures towards education, basic goods, and overall food consumption. In contrast, rainfall shocks that increase the output of crops cultivated individually by either men or women result in strong expenditure shifts towards adult and prestige goods.



The findings in these articles suggest that the study of intrahousehold dynamics is only fruitful when local systems of value are taken into consideration. It is important to note, however, that systems of value are not fixed or static. Oni (1996) finds that in Nigeria, the drastic cut in government expenditure on health has introduced significant changes in social norms regarding intrahousehold allocation of tasks amongst Yoruba polygynous families. While traditionally mothers were responsible for children's medical expenses, currently the role of the father in financing children's healthcare is becoming increasingly significant. This indicates that, on the one hand, culturally-defined norms affect intrahousehold dynamics, and, on the other hand, social norms respond to change and adapt to new situations.

## 2.6 Conclusion

The asset-based approach to the study of IGT poverty is a relatively new field in poverty research. Born out of the limitations of economic models based on income levels and expenditure patterns, the study of asset dynamics provides a more accurate description of the nature of socio-economic restrictions in developing countries. The asymmetrical allocation of key assets such as education, food, land or healthcare among household members is now recognised as a critical factor in the emergence and persistence of poverty traps, as well as an important driver of IGT poverty. Consequently, recent years have seen the emergence of an incipient body of literature addressing the study of IGT poverty through the lenses of previous and current research on intrahousehold resource allocation.

Evidence shows that better endowed households are more likely to break poverty cycles by investing in children's nutrition, health and education. Multiple factors contribute to intergenerational transfers of poverty: poor nutrition and healthcare, low levels of education, a depleting environment, insecure livelihoods, indebtedness, and gendered discrimination amongst others. Rural households in developing countries are still highly dependent on agricultural production, malnutrition and illness constitute critical factors in the irreversibility of poverty transfers, and low levels of human capital are considered a major impediment to economic growth and the elimination of poverty. Therefore, land, food, healthcare, and education constitute central themes of IGT poverty research.

A fundamental aspect of IGT transfers, as reflected in the literature, is the level of path-dependence in the lives of those who have been disadvantaged from childhood. The focus on the irreversibilities of childhood poverty transfers should not conceal the fact that it is possible to break out of poverty cycles during adult life. Nevertheless, the study of childhood conditions is central theme to IGT poverty research, as the main channel for poverty transfers are transmissions from parents to children. In this sense, norms determining the control and distribution of key assets between husband and wife and amongst siblings are of paramount importance. Consequently, research on IGT poverty has turned to existing



literature on intrahousehold resource allocation looking for a better understanding of the dynamics which drive intrahousehold asset dynamics.

While research on IGT poverty is relatively novel, the focus on the household as a unit of economic activity can be traced back to Chayanov's work in the first half of the 20th century. Initially, literature on intrahousehold resource allocation conceived the household as a single decision-making agent where assets were distributed in an equal, or at least efficient, fashion. Later generations questioned this view, and it is now widely accepted that intrahousehold asset dynamics are governed by relations of inequality which affect patterns of expenditure on and investment in younger generations. The household is now conceived as a site of negotiation, bargaining and conflict, governed by rules that do not always protect the most vulnerable members or produce the most efficient outcomes.

Feminist scholarship has played a fundamental role in bringing to the fore the importance of gendered norms and practices in the study of resource allocation. Literature in this area has emphasised that gender inequality affects not only relations between spouses, but also distribution amongst siblings. The impact of feminist scholarship has been such that other factors affecting intrahousehold inequality have often been overlooked: age, birth order, social status, household composition and kinship structures are equally conclusive in the configuration of intrahousehold hierarchies.

The election of the household as the basic unit of analysis has been seen by some authors as problematic. It is important to take into consideration the role played by extrahousehold factors in the configuration of intrahousehold inequalities and asset dynamics. Households are engaged in multiple and overlapping social networks which affect resource allocation and access to assets. In numerous societies where production is communal, extrahousehold relations form a larger and more complex space of bargaining and conflict where decisions about investment and expenditure are exercised independently from the household unit. Furthermore, it is often the case that development research is based on Western ideas about poverty and wealth, inequality or fairness, disregarding local systems of value and indigenous perceptions on wealthfare, progress and development.

Anthropological insights can be particularly helpful in uncovering these aspects of social life and highlighting their importance for the study of intrahousehold dynamics and poverty reduction. Anthropologists' commitment to long-term fieldwork places them in a privileged situation to analyse policy interventions and identify local perceptions about the appropriate uses, rights, and obligations regarding household resources (Messer, 1990; Booth, *et al.*, 1999). In this sense, it has been noted that intrahousehold analyses often neglect the importance of local systems of value in shaping asset dynamics and obscure the role played by wider relations of economic inequality in the consolidation of poverty traps. As several authors note, the role of structural economic and political relations of inequality in creating and maintaining conditions of poverty should not be overlooked (Pfeiffer, 2003). While this



question has been addressed in poverty research (see Carter and Barrett, 2006 and Osmani, 2007), literature on intrahousehold resource allocation continues to build on a concept of the household as a decision-making centre independent of socio-economic constraints. In this sense, the absence of historical contextualisation, particularly with regards to European colonialism, is highly remarkable.

Adopting a critical perspective, the anthropological studies reviewed present a constructive framework for addressing existing deficits in IGT poverty research while providing some useful insights into the potential contributions of anthropology to development.



## 3 Annotated bibliography

### 3.1 Introduction

**Ferguson, J. (1992).** 'The cultural topography of wealth: Commodity paths and the structure of property in rural Lesotho'. *American Anthropologist*, 94, 55-73.

Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/view/00027294/ap020487/02a00040/0>

Discussions of poverty and wealth often assume that wealth is a measurable substance, the possession of which can be indexed on a linear scale, from high to low. This article contests this implicit assumption, arguing that wealth-holding is always complicated by the fact that exchange is culturally regulated, and guided along approved paths. An analysis of domains of wealth in a rural Lesotho village illustrates the point. Wealth-holding here is clearly unequal, but cultural, legal, and moral paths governing economic exchanges between different categories property mean that the holdings of different households are in important ways incomparable, and that their wealth is different in kind, and not only in amount. The attempt to locate households economically in such a setting thus requires mapping a politicocultural 'topography' of channels facilitating the flow of commodity exchange, dams obstructing, slowing, or filtering it, and furrows temporarily diverting the flow from one channel or dam into another. A meaningful ranking of wealth holding must include a cultural analysis of commodity paths and the structure of property. (Author's own)

This article emphasises the importance of taking into consideration the social and cultural meanings of wealth in poverty research. In Lesotho, land cannot be bought or sold, and thus the acquisition of fields does not require nor produce any cash. Livestock is a source of wealth and social prestige, as well as a necessary asset for bridewealth, but it cannot be exchanged for education, healthcare or cash. Other categories of wealth such as housing also constitute separate spheres, independent of general commodity exchanges. In this context, wealth of one kind cannot translate into other 'kinds' of wealth, and the intrahousehold allocation of resources is contingent upon a set of social norms which are always culturally specific.

*Keywords:* Wealth, Cultural topography, Social norms, Lesotho

**Messer, E. (1990).** 'Intrahousehold allocation of resources: perspectives from anthropology' In Rogers, B.L. and Schlossman, N.P. (Eds.) (1990) *Intra-Household Resource Allocation: Issues and Methods for Development Policy and Planning*. Tokyo, Japan: United Nations University Press.

Available at: <http://www.unu.edu/unupress/unupbooks/80733e/80733E00.htm#Contents>

This chapter introduces the various anthropological frameworks used to predict the effects of socio-economic interventions on households and their members. Economists generally



evaluate the effects of development projects based on income or consumption outcome measures, education, health, and nutrition indicators. Yet, attempts to improve these socio-economic indicators may not always work as expected. This paper analyses the unexpected impacts of development policies which do not take into consideration crucial socio-cultural factors. Anthropologists can evaluate project impacts by assessing the resources available to a social unit (land, labour time, skills, energy, and potentially productive materials); analysing its rules for classifying, using, and distributing these resources; and establishing the nutritional and health-related consequences of these rules for resource allocation and use.

Anthropological approaches are particularly suited to identifying the perceptions of individuals about the appropriate uses, rights, and obligations regarding household resources. Some of the changes brought about by development projects are less tangible; for instance, the 'value' of being female, a mother, a member of a particular group or the possessor of a particular cultural skill. Anthropologists are sensitive to such concerns. Information on these perceptions is needed so that some reasonable assessment of what people are likely to accept in terms of time commitments to a given project can be made in advance of scheduling participation. (Adapted from author's text)

*Keywords:* Anthropology, Development policy, Social norms,

### 3.2 IGT, chronic poverty and poverty dynamics

**Bhargava, P., Mathur, K. and Rajagopal, S. (2005). 'Understanding Chronic Poverty in Rajasthan'. Childhood Poverty Research and Policy Centre (CHIP) Report 16. London: CHIP**

Available at: <http://www.childhoodpoverty.org/index.php?action=publicationdetails&id=97>

This report, based on two years of research carried out in four villages in Rajasthan, examines childhood poverty and the mechanisms that lead to transmission of poverty over a life course and between generations. The concept of childhood poverty is defined here in relation to major deprivations in terms of health and nutrition, education and work faced during childhood. Multiple factors contribute to intergenerational transfers of poverty: poor nutrition and healthcare; low levels of education; a depleting environment; insecure livelihoods; indebtedness; and cultural norms and social practices.

The following factors are reported as major causes of childhood poverty in Rajasthan:

- Environment depletion - the increasing population is depleting the carrying capacity of the environment. Households therefore require more time to access resources such as water, fuelwood or livestock; a responsibility which falls primarily on children.
- Generally, girls spend 33 to 50 percent more time than boys in these activities. They are thus deprived of more educational opportunities than boys.



- Migration: migration also contributes to children's allocation of time. Even in households where only male members migrate, children's household responsibilities increase: looking after crop waste, managing fodder for cattle, managing livestock, accessing markets, and even working for wages. The increased burden of household activities often leads to irregular schooling.
- Indebtedness: indebtedness also plays a paramount role in reproducing the conditions for childhood poverty. Moneylenders play a central role, charging high rates of interest ranging from 24 to 36 percent per annum. Loans are used for social ceremonies, medical care, or to purchase seeds, manure and livestock. When a household is unable to repay loans on time, moneylenders double the rate of interest, pushing the household into greater impoverishment which can continue from one generation to the next.
- Education: current male literacy rates in Banswara are 56 percent and 75 percent in Tonk. However, even when fathers are literate, girls' education is not a priority and girls may not be enrolled in schools. The enrolment and achievement of children from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes continues to be lower than that of children from other households. Furthermore, teachers continue to discriminate against children from these castes, reproducing hierarchical social relations and ensuring an intergenerational transfer of social inequity.
- Healthcare: while there have been programmes to improve reproductive and child health services, the health situation of women and children in the study area is still very poor. There is a high incidence of early marriage and early pregnancy. Data from the study area reveal that more than 50 percent of women in Banswara and more than 40 percent in Tonk had their first pregnancy below the age of 18.

Eighty percent of children in the 11-17 age-group were found to be chronically energy deficient according to their Body Mass Index (BMI). At the same time, given that the children start working at an early age and work long hours, their nutritional status is low.

The report highlights key policies which are already in place, pointing to the gaps between policies and practice, and concludes by addressing a series of policy recommendations in the areas of education, health and livelihoods.

*Keywords:* Childhood Poverty, IGT Poverty, Deprivation, Coping Strategies, Gender Discrimination, Education, Health, India





**Bird, K. (2007). 'The intergenerational transmission of poverty: an overview'. Chronic Poverty Research Centre Working Paper, forthcoming.**

This paper reviews the international literature on the intergenerational transmission (IGT) of poverty and seeks to identify gaps in knowledge and to suggest a research agenda for work on the IGT poverty within the Chronic Poverty Research Centre. It aims to identify which factors increase the likelihood that poverty is passed from one generation to another. The livelihood framework is used to explore how the vulnerability and policy context influences individual and household level asset holdings and how capabilities, agency, perception of risk and levels of vulnerability and resilience combine with contextual and structural factors to influence individual and household responses to shocks and opportunities during the life course. The paper focuses largely on parent to child transmissions, and suggests that the study of intergenerational transmission of poverty should focus on children and how their early life experience either builds a solid foundation for later life, or introduces a set of 'irreversibilities' which limits their opportunities and life chances. It should also explore the factors that impact on adults in such a way that the chronic poverty that they experience is likely to be transmitted intergenerationally either to their children, to their parents or to the cohorts above and below them. (Adapted from author's executive summary).

*Keywords:* IGT poverty, Household composition, Extra-household factors, Resilience

**Carter, M., Barrett, C. (2006). 'The economics of poverty traps and persistent poverty: an asset-based approach'. *Journal of Development Studies*, 42 (2), 178–199.**

Available at:

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~content=a741607994~db=all~order=page>

Longitudinal data on household living standards open the way to a deeper analysis of the nature and extent of poverty. While a number of studies have exploited this type of data to distinguish transitory from more chronic forms of income or expenditure poverty, this paper develops an asset-based approach to poverty analysis that makes it possible to distinguish deep-rooted, persistent structural poverty from poverty that passes naturally with time due to systemic growth processes. Drawing on the economic theory of poverty traps and bifurcated accumulation strategies, this paper briefly discusses some feasible estimation strategies for empirically identifying poverty traps and long-term, persistent structural poverty, as well as relevant extensions of the popular Foster-Greer-Thorbecke class of poverty measures. The paper closes with reflections on how asset-based poverty can be used to underwrite the design of persistent poverty reduction strategies. (Author's own)

The objective of this paper is to define the conceptual foundations for an asset-based approach to poverty research which permits the identification of structures of poverty and allows for a forward-looking discussion of poverty reduction. The authors start by noting the limitations of conventional poverty measures to account for poverty transitions over time. The



concept of 'asset poverty line' is outlined, and a series of measures to provide information on the depth of structural poverty are presented. However, it is acknowledged that the concept of 'asset poverty line' presents a static model for poverty research. In section 4 considerations of time variation are introduced, and the 'dynamic asset poverty threshold' model is presented. By introducing a dynamic approach to asset-based poverty research, this model allows for the distinction between transient poverty and poverty traps. Section 5 offers some econometric considerations on this model. Finally, section 6 concludes the paper with a few reflections on policy implications.

*Keywords:* Asset poverty line, Asset poverty threshold, Poverty traps, Structural poverty

**Castañeda, T. and Aldaz-Carroll, E. (1999). 'The Intergenerational Transmission of Poverty: Some Causes and Policy Applications'. Inter-American Development Bank Discussion Paper. Paris: IADB.**

Available at: <http://www.iadb.org/sds/doc/1258eng.pdf>

The purpose of this report is to investigate the effects of family background factors in determining the intergenerational transmission of poverty in Latin America, focusing on education as a critical factor in the transmission of poverty. Based on the findings of this investigation, the report discusses policy implications and government programs to break the ITP process. The report contains five sections. The first two sections present the conceptual framework and a review of relevant literature with results for LAC and non-LAC countries of the effects of family background variables on child schooling. The third section presents the empirical estimates for sixteen LAC countries of the effects of numerous family background variables on the chances of children completing secondary education. The fourth section reviews the results of empirical work and those of the relevant literature to derive policy implications for reducing the intergenerational transmission of poverty in LAC countries. It is found that family background characteristics play an important role in the educational performance of poor children, and thus on their future economic prospects. It is also found that those children who complete secondary education, and can thus likely break the IGT poverty cycle, have fewer siblings and higher educated parents, and live in a higher income household, most likely in an urban area. The authors emphasise the strong negative impact of the number of siblings on the chances of completing secondary education, as well as the roles played by parental time and resource constraints in raising a family. Finally, the fifth section summarises the main results and presents the policy implications derived.

*Keywords:* IGT Poverty, Education, Gender, Policy, Latin America

**Collard, D. (2000). 'Generational Transfers and the Generational Bargain'. *Journal of International Development*, 12, 453-462.**

Available at: <http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/abstract/72509660/ABSTRACT?CRETRY=1&SRETRY=0>

The paper suggests that the framework of a generational bargain is a potentially useful one for looking at important aspects of economic and social policies for both rich and poor countries. The bargain is that the working generation makes transfers of human capital to the young and consumption to the old on the understanding that other generations will behave in a similar way. The paper examines the stability of the bargain against 'bad' behaviour by particular generations; fractures in the generational cluster; and re-negotiation of the bargain. (Author's own)

This article explores the sustainability of the generational contract by looking at the motivations involved in the transmission of assets from one generation to another. Initially, a certain degree of 'altruism' within the family is assumed to drive the generational contract. However, ultimately, the generational bargain works as an insurance for the working generation against some kind of risks (illness, production shocks, etc). To prove this point, Collard provides a series of examples that show that both strategic self-interest and a sense of altruism and duty are important in ensuring the stability of the contract. It is argued that the generational bargain would disappear if individual generations came to believe that the contract would come to an end, thus proving that reciprocity is a fundamental factor in the generational bargain. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that intergenerational relations must be taken into account when designing social policies, not only from an analytical but also from a normative point of view.

*Keywords:* Generational bargain, Overlapping-generations model, Altruism

**Harper, C., Marcus, R. and Moore, K. (2003). 'Enduring poverty and the conditions of childhood: lifecourse and intergenerational poverty transmissions'. *World Development*, 31 (3), 535-554.**

Available at:

<http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/B6VC6-48176RJ-1/2/c9da64877acac90d7680c50048dcbf94>

In this paper, we explore the conditions of childhood that can lead to poverty throughout the lifecourse and affect transfers of poverty to the next generation. The largely inconclusive evidence base surrounding lifecourse and intergenerational poverty transmission is reviewed before a discussion of the key social processes and contexts that impact on childhood, lifecourse and intergenerational poverty. Prioritised issues--nutrition, childcare and guidance, education, child work, and aspirations and attitudes--are explored within the context of UNICEF's basic framework of survival, protection, development and participation. The paper



concludes with an analysis of elements of the wider environment, critical to enabling action in childhood to break poverty cycles. (Author's own)

Current literature on the transmission of poverty focuses on the individual as an actor, using existing quantitative data based on family-level factors and dynamics. This approach overshadows a wider political-economic and social context. This article insists on the importance of the study of social relations in analysis of poverty transmission, emphasising the role of certain social norms and practices (in particular those related to discrimination and inequality) in the distribution of assets within families and between generations.

*Keywords:* Child poverty, IGT poverty, Nutrition, Child work

**Moore, K. (2001). 'Frameworks for understanding the inter-generational transmission of poverty and well being in developing countries'. Chronic Poverty Research Centre Working Paper 8. Manchester, UK: Institute for Development Policy and Management/ Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC). Available at:**  
<http://www.chronicpoverty.org/pdfs/08Moore.pdf>

Initial work done by the Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC) suggests that the tightest possible definition of chronic poverty would be intergenerationally transmitted (IGT) poverty. However, while this concept has been widely used in a 'developed' country (particularly American) context, focussing particularly on issues of state-benefit dependence, it has rarely been applied to the 'developing' world in a holistic manner. In this paper, a framework for understanding IGT poverty in developing country contexts is developed, focussing on bringing together literature on the intergenerational transfer, extraction, and absence of transfer of different forms of capital: human, social-cultural, social-political, financial/material and environmental/natural. It is important to note that while the concept of IGT poverty is primarily used to signify the 'private' transmission of poverty from older generations of individuals and families to younger generations (especially, but not solely, from parents to children) – and therefore has special relevance to issues of childhood poverty – poverty-related capital can also be transmitted from younger generations to older generations, and within and between the 'public' spheres of community, state and market. It is suggested that of the range of structures, processes, and livelihood strategies that can affect IGT poverty, a few are particularly important in developing countries: HIV/AIDS, migration patterns, socio-legal entitlement norms, labour market structures, and the presence or absence of social safety nets and social services. The paper concludes with a discussion of the policy implications of IGT poverty. It is hypothesised that policy interventions will differ depending on the type of capital transmitted, as well as on the general approach to poverty reduction – whether an approach targeted at particular individuals or groups within one generation, or a strategic and instrumental approach focusing on intergenerational structures and relationships. (Author's own)



**Musick, K. and Mare, R. D. (2004). 'Recent Trends in the Inheritance of Poverty and Family Structure'. California Center for Population Research Online Working Paper Series. Online: California Center for Population Research.**

Available at: <http://repositories.cdlib.org/ccpr/olwp/ccpr-002-04>

This study investigates trends in the interdependence of poverty and family structure from one generation to the next, focusing specifically on mothers and daughters. This aspect of the mobility process has not been explored, despite widespread concern about the life chances of children in poor single-parent families and dramatic changes in the distributions of poverty and family structure in recent decades. We examine origin-by-destination status along the two dimensions of poverty and family structure, using rich panel data and loglinear models to parse out the associations between poverty and family structure within and across generations. Our results show that the intergenerational associations between poverty and family structure are strong, but operate through largely independent pathways. Net of the correlation between poverty and family structure within a generation, the intergenerational transmission of poverty is significantly stronger than the intergenerational transmission of family structure, and neither childhood poverty nor family structure affects the other in adulthood. Finally, despite important changes in the distributions of poverty and family structure, we find no evidence of change in the processes of intergenerational inheritance over time. (Author's own)

This article analyses the general perception in the United States that poverty and single parenthood are tied together and constitute a critical factor in the intergenerational transmission of poverty. It is found that the intergenerational transmission of poverty and family structure are independent factors, and that there is no evidence of a correlation between changes in the constitution of family structure and processes of intergenerational inheritance.

*Keywords:* IGT poverty, Family structure, United States

**Osmani, S. (2007). 'When Endowments and Opportunities Don't Match: Understanding Chronic Poverty'. Chronic Poverty Research Centre Working Paper 78. Manchester, UK: Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC).**

Available at: <http://www.chronicpoverty.org/pdfs/78Osmani.pdf>

Attempts to understand the causes of chronic poverty have largely centred on the concept of the poverty trap. In this perspective, the main focus is on the paucity of initial wealth or endowments, which under certain plausible conditions can create a trap from which a poor person will find it hard to escape without help from outside. While acknowledging the value of insights gained from this perspective, this paper proposes to draw attention to a different perspective that can also prove useful in both understanding the causes of chronic poverty and looking for its solution. Instead of focusing on the level or the magnitude of endowments



possessed by the poor, this new perspective focuses on the structure or composition of endowments. The crucial insight offered by this perspective is that chronic poverty can arise not just from low level of endowments but also from a mismatch between the structure of endowments possessed by the poor and the structure of opportunities open to them. This paper is an attempt to elaborate on this insight and to draw out some of its implications, especially its implication for the relationship between growth and poverty. (Author's own)

This paper offers a new perspective on the study of poverty reduction based on the idea of a mismatch between the structure of endowments and the structure of market opportunities. The paper starts with a reflection on the problems of defining and identifying different kinds of poverty, with particular emphasis on the distinction between chronic poverty and poverty trap. It then outlines the argument for a shift in focus from endowments' levels to endowments' structures. Two types of drivers of chronic poverty are then identified: the macro constraint (which refers to the restrictions of limited market opportunities) and the structural constraint (which refers to a mismatch between endowments and patterns of economic growth). Finally, the relative importance of these two types of constraint are analysed, placing particular emphasis on the effects of rapid economic growth on both.

*Keywords:* Chronic poverty, Poverty traps, Structural mismatch, Endowments and opportunities

**Smith, B. and Moore, K. (2005). 'Intergenerational transmission of poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa – a select annotated bibliography with special reference to irreversibilities associated with poor nutrition, health and education'. Chronic Poverty Research Centre Working Paper No. 59 and CPRC Annotated Bibliography No 3. Manchester, UK: Chronic Poverty Research Centre.**

Available at: [http://www.chronicpoverty.org/pdfs/59Smith\\_\(Moore\).pdf](http://www.chronicpoverty.org/pdfs/59Smith_(Moore).pdf)

This annotated bibliography is part of the foundation research theme Empirical Methods for Studying Intergenerational Transmissions of Poverty (IGT), which attempts to identify the extent to which such processes occur, the nature and reversibility of such processes in different contexts and occurring at different times, and the range of factors that increase the likelihood that poverty is passed from one generation to the next.

While this research stream will focus primarily on the household and intra-household level, it is recognised that the household is not the only nor, in many cases, even the main domain of IGT processes. This research will also aim to develop an understanding of the key macro-level processes and policies – e.g. health, education and social transfer policies, labour market and migration trends – that can facilitate or hinder the intergenerational transmission of well-being. (Adapted from author's introduction)



Sections include: Definitions, Concepts and Frameworks; Methods for Investigating IGT Processes; Health, Nutrition and Irreversibilities in Child Development; Education, Training and Reversals in Poverty Trajectories; Intergenerational Transmission of Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa.

*Keywords:* IGT poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa, Nutrition, Education, Health

**Shepherd, A. (2007). 'Understanding and explaining chronic poverty – an evolving framework for Phase III of CPRC's research'. Chronic Poverty Research Centre Working Paper No. 80. Manchester, UK: Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC).**

Available at: <http://www.chronicpoverty.org/pdfs/80Shepherd.pdf>

In order to explain chronic poverty and determine how best to interrupt it, a clear and coherent conceptual framework is necessary. The framework presented in this paper has been developed based on work undertaken both by the Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC) during its first two phases (2000-2005) and by others, and is intended to inform CPRC's ongoing research and policy analysis in Phase III (2005-2010).

The framework has three levels. The first is a statement of the problem 'chronic poverty' (Section 2). The second is an elaboration of how we are looking at this problem through the lenses of poverty dynamics and intergenerational transmission (Sections 2 and 3). The third level proposes concepts which are most useful in understanding and explaining chronic poverty, poverty dynamics and intergenerational transmission (Section 4). In particular this suggests that there is an inter-disciplinary meeting point between concepts of 'poverty traps' and 'adverse incorporation', and suggests that the cutting edge of research on chronic poverty lies in the interaction of asset dynamics and changing social relations. Key components of the context are explored in Section 5. One of these – the performance of the state, and in particular the under-performance of 'fragile states' or chronically deprived countries – is the subject of Section 6, which suggests both that research on chronic poverty has something to say to the 'fragile states' discourse, and that dealing with chronic poverty may be an important task in 'fragile states'. Section 7 concludes with a reflection on how this paper changes the way we see chronic poverty. The current working paper provides an overview of the entire framework. Elements of the framework are elaborated upon in a set of companion papers. (Author's own)

*Keywords:* Chronic poverty, Poverty dynamics, IGT poverty, Poverty traps, Social relations  
Adverse incorporation

Yaqub, S. (2003). 'Poor children grow into poor adults: Harmful mechanisms or over-deterministic theory?'. *Journal of International Development*, 14, 1081-1093.

Available at: <http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/abstract/99519624/ABSTRACT?CRETRY=1&SRETRY=0>

Does childhood poverty lead to adult poverty? Evidence shows childhood is a sensitive period for developing cognition, physical vitality and personality. This is traceable to specific behavioural and biological mechanisms. However such science could easily drive overdeterministic views about how childhood affects later life. The paper therefore discusses how damage from childhood poverty can—at least sometimes and partially—be resisted or reversed, both during childhood and in adulthood. As people reach biological maturity, alterations to their developmental trajectories rely increasingly on alterations in behavioural relationships. Opportunities remain vital throughout life for sustained socioeconomic attainment.

This paper investigates whether childhood experiences set the course of lifetime achievements. Empirical literature is presented showing developmental sensitive periods, when certain types of damage to functionings can—but not always—result from childhood poverty, and some—but not all—damage may be permanent. The caveats indicate, respectively, resilience and plasticity in human functionings. The role of genes in determining human accomplishment suggests to some that antipoverty interventions are futile. Without careful empirical assessment of behavioural and biological mechanisms that affect resilience and plasticity in human functionings, research into the lifetime impact of childhood poverty may simply add weight to such 'over-determined' theory. (Adapted from author's abstract and conclusion)

*Keywords:* Childhood poverty, Resilience

### 3.3 Household dynamics

#### 3.3.1 *Concepts, definitions and research issues*

Akresh, R. (2005). 'Understanding Pareto Inefficient Intrahousehold Allocations'. Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA) Discussion Paper No. 1858. Bonn, Germany: IZA.

Available at: <ftp://repec.iza.org/RePEc/Discussionpaper/dp1858.pdf>

Udry (1996) uses household survey data and finds that the allocation of resources within households is Pareto inefficient, contradicting the main assumption of most collective models of intrahousehold bargaining. He finds that among plots planted with the same crop in the same year, within a given household, those controlled by women produce lower yields than the men's plots. This paper challenges that finding. Using an alternative nationally representative dataset, I find that only households in regions geographically proximate to





those studied by Udry exhibit Pareto inefficient intrahousehold allocations, while the rest of the country reveals no evidence of Pareto inefficiencies. Households in regions experiencing negative rainfall shocks are on average less likely to exhibit Pareto inefficient intrahousehold allocations, and these negative rainfall shocks are correlated with increases in labour resources allocated to the wife's plots, further confirming that in bad years, households try to avoid losses from Pareto inefficiency. (Author's own)

*Keywords:* Intrahousehold allocation, Collective household models, Pareto efficiency, Africa

**Becker, G. (1981). *Treatise on the family*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.**

The *Treatise of the Family* has become one of the cornerstones of the neoclassical economic approach to intrahousehold resource allocation. In this book, Becker presents an economic or rational choice approach to the study of the family. He argues that the economic analysis is not only limited to the study of phenomena with explicit monetary prices and formal markets, but instead can be applied to non-material behaviour such as marriage, birth, divorce, division of labour or prestige. It is argued that individuals always maximise their utility from essential preferences that do not change rapidly over time. This behaviour is coordinated by explicit and implicit markets. The implications for the study of intrahousehold resource allocation are that members of the household always allocate resources and labour in such a way as to maximise efficiency. This theory, which relies on notions of altruism to aggregate the preferences of different members of the household into a single decision-making agent, lends legitimacy to the concept of the household as a unitary entity which acts as a single individual. The book is divided into several chapters covering themes such as: single-person households; division of labour; polygamy and monogamy; assortative mating in marriage markets; the demand for children; theory of fertility; family background and the opportunities of children; inequality and intergenerational mobility; fall of families; altruism in the family; families in nonhuman species; imperfect information, marriage and divorce; the evolution of the family; the family and the state.

*Keywords:* Family, Unitary model, Pareto efficiency, Intrahousehold allocation

**Bender, D. (1967). 'A refinement of the concept of household: families, coresidence, and domestic functions'. *American Anthropologist*, 69 (5), 493-504.**

Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/view/00027294/ap020378/02a00050/0>

The concepts of 'household' and 'family' have been given a greater degree of precision in recent years by those scholars who have pointed out that the former is a residence group that carries out domestic functions while the latter is a kinship group. The concept of 'household,' having been analytically distinguished from that of 'family,' is still burdened by the inclusion of two social phenomena that are logically distinct and vary somewhat independently: co-residence and domestic functions. Social groups based on affinal and



consanguineal relationships, co-residence, and domestic functions -often thought of as aspects of a single social phenomenon labeled by the term 'family'- are in fact semi-independent variables. (Author's own)

This article analyses the concepts of household, family, co-residence and domestic functions. It has been frequently assumed that families, households, and domestic functions include one another, and that there is a necessary relation between them. This article questions such claims by pointing to the many logical and empirical discrepancies embedded in the assumption that families live together in the same household and share a series of domestic functions. In fact, there are numerous ethnographic instances which show not only that persons residing together do not always carry out domestic functions, but that in fact domestic functions are often carried out by groups whose members do not reside together. The author argues that when using concepts like 'household' it is necessary to clarify exactly what we mean by it, for 'it is well established that once social scientists identify a social phenomenon with a label, there is a great danger that they may overlook important variations that the label is unable to handle'.

*Keywords:* Household, Family, Domestic functions, Coresidence, Terminology

**Bolt, V.J. and Bird, K. (2003). The intrahousehold disadvantages framework: a framework for the analysis of intra-household difference and inequality'. Chronic Poverty Research Centre Working Paper, No. 32. Manchester, UK: Chronic Poverty Research Centre.**

Available at: [http://www.chronicpoverty.org/pdfs/32Bolt\\_Bird.pdf](http://www.chronicpoverty.org/pdfs/32Bolt_Bird.pdf)

This paper has been funded by the Remote Rural Areas component of the Chronic Poverty Research Centre. Its purpose is to introduce the IDF (Intrahousehold Disadvantages Framework) which provides researchers with a set of practical tools to analyse intra-household differentiation. In this paper we present a critical analysis of existing gender frameworks, focusing on their applicability to analysing other dimensions of intra-household difference (not their inherent value per se). This identifies a set of tools and concepts which will help provide an analytical starting point from which to examine these (non-gender) intrahousehold asymmetries. However, we recognise the complexity of this task, and a framework which attempts to examine multiple dimensions of difference risks being resource hungry and producing distorted data and information overload. In an attempt to counter these dangers, we present a two-tier framework that examines the impact of 'clusters of disadvantage' on intra-household resource allocation and decisionmaking (these 'clusters' are locally identified, and reflect real individuals within the community who are most likely to be amongst the poorest of the poor). (Adapted from author's executive summary)

*Keywords:* Intra-household disadvantages framework, Intra-household difference, Gender



**Booth, D. M. Leach and Tierney, A. (1999). 'Experiencing poverty in Africa: perspectives from anthropology'. Background Paper for Status of Poverty in Africa Report, 1999. Sussex: Institute of Development Studies.**

Available at:

[http://www.odi.org.uk/pppg/publications%5Cpapers\\_reports%5Cmul%5Cwob\\_bp1.pdf](http://www.odi.org.uk/pppg/publications%5Cpapers_reports%5Cmul%5Cwob_bp1.pdf)

The value of a multi-disciplinary approach to the understanding of poverty and the design of poverty-reduction strategies is now widely accepted. However, this paper argues, current expectations about the potential contribution to poverty analysis from disciplines other than economics remain rather too slanted towards what are presumed to be the special strengths of PRA-based PPAs: capturing poor people's perceptions, identifying their priorities and describing their coping strategies.

Properly understood as centring on the observation and interpretation of behaviour, anthropological enquiry has relevant things to say at all the three levels that concern a poverty status report: 1) who are the poor? 2) why are they poor? and 3) what can be done to reduce poverty?

Key findings under these headings are:

- While anthropological work can help to enrich statistical poverty profiles, a more important contribution may be in documenting the variable, fluid, complex and contested categorisations and relationships that constitute the reality that poverty-reduction efforts must contend with on the ground.
- Documented responses to structural change are sufficiently diverse and affected by the particularities of local structures, including notably gender relations, that multiple paths of impoverishment or dis-impoverishment remain more likely than homogeneous national or regional trends.
- Anthropological studies help to remind us that the primary stakeholders in anti-poverty operations are, of necessity, active participants in constructing their own future, while the activities of states and development agencies are not always empowering of poor people.

The main implications for the policy and practice of poverty reduction are:

- The complexities which remain uncaptured by statistical and sociological categorisations of the poor are a source of uncertainty. Since it is known that they are numerous and important, planning for poverty reduction will generally benefit from a strong learning-process orientation.
- Diversity of social response does not mean that no generalisations are possible, or that those that remain robust (e.g. the gains from decontrolling rural markets, or



legislating on women's rights) are unimportant. But it does strengthen the view that anti-poverty action needs to be built at least partly from the bottom up.

- Development interventions, including anti-poverty strategies, are likely to benefit from an approach that is more institutionally self-aware. This implies placing poor people's own efforts at the centre, and reflecting more self-critically on possible side-effects of the exercise of governmental and agency power. (Author's own)

*Keywords:* Anthropology, Poverty, Agency, Development policy, Africa

**Doss, C.R. (1996). 'Testing among models of intra-household resource allocation'. *World Development*, 24 (10), 1597-1609.**

Available at:

<http://sfx7.exlibrisgroup.com:3210/oxford?sid=google&auinit=CR&aualast=Doss&atitle=Testing+Among+Models+of+Intrahousehold+Resource+Allocation&title=World+Development&volume=24&issue=10&date=1996&spage=1597&issn=0305-750X>

This paper examines prevailing models of intrahousehold resource allocation and tests them against empirical evidence. Doss reviews the current state of the literature on the common preference model, the unified household model, the collective model, the cooperative bargaining model and the noncooperative model. She then tests these models against empirical evidence. She concludes that first, there is strong evidence against the common preference model. Second, both intrahousehold differentiation and exogenous factors also affect the intrahousehold allocation of resources, and thus the unified household model is insufficient. Finally, evidence is inconclusive as to whether households attain efficient Pareto outcomes, and therefore further research is needed in this field. In the last section of the paper the author points to other areas of further research, namely: microlevel analysis of individual behaviour within the household, division of household goods into public and private, expand intrahousehold analysis to include children and old people, formation and dissolution of households, inclusion of other social networks beyond the household, how violence fits into the intrahousehold allocation of resources, better data on how risk is distributed within the household and how decisions are made.

*Keywords:* Intra-household allocation models, Pareto efficiency, Common preference model –critique

**Ellis, F. (1988). *Peasant Economics: Farm Households and Agrarian Development*, Second Edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.**

This is a revised and expanded edition of a popular textbook on the economics of farm households in developing countries. The book is designed as a textbook for students of agricultural economics or related disciplines interested in the economics of peasant agriculture. Its purpose is to disentangle some of the existing theories on household decision



making, the working of rural factor markets, paths of technical change, the internal relations of the farm household and the prospect for peasants in a capitalist world economy. While mainly an economics book, the author also acknowledges the social and political forces that surround and constrain the application of economic analysis. The second edition retains the same building blocks, designed to explore household decision-making in a social context:

- (1) The first part deals with methodological issues and questions of definition (the concept of the household and the concept of the peasant economy), and surveys neoclassical economic and Marxian theories of rural household economics.
- (2) The second part explores five alternative microeconomic theories of peasant household behaviour.
- (3) The third part analyses main theories of intrahousehold economic analysis, focusing on the role of women in the household.
- (4) The fourth part extends household economic analysis in a different direction: farm size and technical change in peasant agriculture.
- (5) A new chapter on the environment combines exposition of economic tools not previously covered in the book with examination of household and community decision-making in relation to environmental resources.

Key topics are efficiency, risk, time allocation, gender, agrarian contracts, farm size and technological change. For these and other topics, household economic behaviour represents the outcome of social interactions within the household, and market interactions outside the household.

*Keywords:* Intrahousehold allocation, Marxian theories, Peasant household behaviour, Technical change

**Farmer, A. and Tiefenthaler, J. (1995). 'Fairness concepts and the intra-household allocation of resources'. *Journal of Development Economics*, 47 (2), 179-189.**

Available at: <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/B6VBV-3YXBHXV-1/2/1d7535b312c5ea89843798886ea0f476>

How do parents allocate scarce resources among their children? While much research has focused on investment strategies, parents' preferences for equity may also play a role in the household allocation of resources. While the studies that incorporate equity define it in limited terms, in this paper, several fairness concepts are applied to the problem of intrahousehold distribution. Comparing food allocations and health outcomes across fairness concepts indicates that each concept results in a different allocation of food and a different health outcome. The implications of this result for empirical studies of intrahousehold distribution and policy interventions are discussed. (Author's own)



Much of the economic literature on resource allocation has revolved around the debate over the primacy of either equity or efficiency as the drivers of decision-making processes within the household. This article examines the grounds of this debate by exploring the way 'equity' can be differently defined. Six distinct models of equity are defined and analysed in relation to their effects on intrahousehold resource allocation. There are three traditional ways of defining equity: equal split, proportional split and equal loss. These, however, can either be applied to food incomes or health outputs. Consequently, six alternative notions of equity derive. If parents are concerned with inputs, they will view equity as either (a) equal split of inputs, (b) proportional split of inputs, or (c) equal loss of inputs. If parents care more about equity in terms of outcomes, they may view equity as (d) equal health output, (e) proportional health output, or (f) equal loss from maximum health. Each type of equity produces a different result in the allocation of resources. Two important conclusions derive from this analysis: one the one hand, food allocations and the resulting health outcomes are different across each of the six fairness concepts, and on the other hand different children will benefit from different fairness concepts. Determining what fairness concept (or equity type) is relevant in a given society is fundamental as it will affect the conclusions drawn from the data. This is particularly relevant for research on gender, as different conclusions about parental motivation and gender bias could result from the same data if researchers impose different concepts of fairness. Similarly, the author underscores the importance of defining fairness concepts for policy-makers in designing policies of redistribution of resources.

*Keywords:* Fairness, Health, Equity

**Haddad, L., Hoddinott, J. and Alderman, H. (Eds.) (1997). *Intrahousehold Resource Allocation in Developing Countries: Models, Methods, and Policy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.**

Available at: <http://www.ifpri.org/pubs/jhu/intrahres.asp>

This book surveys a diverse body of theory and evidence on intrahousehold allocation. In doing so, it seeks to achieve four objectives. The first objective is to convince the reader that understanding the process by which household allocations occur is important for policy and project design. The second objective is to clarify the various theories that can be brought to bear on intrahousehold allocation. The third objective is to indicate that, although substantial progress has been made on the theoretical front, a number of major measurement and econometric issues remain unaddressed. The fourth objective is to suggest that further work on intrahousehold allocation will benefit substantially from interaction among researchers across a number of disciplines. (Adapted from author's introduction)

The contributors to this volume (economists, sociologists, anthropologists and demographers) examine how social and cultural factors influence intra-household resource allocation at the family and household level about the allocation of time, income, assets, and



other resources. This interdisciplinary approach is meant to produce a more accurate and comprehensive understanding of decision-making processes within the household in order to improve the targeting capability of development policies.

*Keywords:* Intrahousehold resource allocation, Interdisciplinary research, Policy

**Messer, E. (1990) 'Intrahousehold allocation of resources: perspectives from anthropology'. In Rogers, B.L. and Schlossman, N.P. (Eds.) (1990) *Intra-Household Resource Allocation: Issues and Methods for Development Policy and Planning*. Tokyo, Japan: United Nations University Press.**

See chapter 1 (Introduction)

**Pfeiffer, J. (2003). 'Cash income, intrahousehold cooperative conflict, and child health in Central Mozambique'. *Medical anthropology*, 22 (2), 87-130.**

See section 3.2 (Health and Nutrition)

**Quisumbing, A.R. and Maluccio, J.A. (2000). 'Intra-Household Allocation and Gender Relations: New Empirical Evidence from Four Developing Countries'. Food Consumption and Nutrition Division (FCND) Discussion Paper No.. 84, Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute.**

Available at: <http://www.csae.ox.ac.uk/conferences/2000-OiA/pdfpapers/quisumbing.PDF>

The paper reviews recent theory and empirical evidence testing unitary versus collective models of the household. In contrast to the unitary model, the collective model posits that individuals within households have different preferences and do not pool their income. Moreover, the collective model predicts that intrahousehold allocations reflect differences in preferences and 'bargaining power' of individuals within the household. Using new household data sets from Bangladesh, Indonesia, Ethiopia, and South Africa, we present measures of individual characteristics that are highly correlated with bargaining power, namely human capital and individually-controlled assets, evaluated at the time of marriage. In all the country case studies we reject the unitary model as a description of household behaviour, but to different degrees. Results suggest that assets controlled by women have a positive and significant effect on expenditure allocations towards the next generation, such as education and children's clothing. We also examine individual-level education outcomes and find that parents do not have identical preferences towards sons and daughters within or across countries. (Author's own)

*Keywords:* Intrahousehold allocation, Gender relations, Models of household, Women



**Rogers, B.L. (1990) 'The internal dynamics of households: a critical factor in development policy'. In Rogers, B.L. and Schlossman, N.P. (Eds.) (1990) *Intra-Household Resource Allocation: Issues and Methods for Development Policy and Planning*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press.**

Available at: <http://www.unu.edu/unupress/unupbooks/80733e/80733E00.htm#Contents>

This chapter examines the internal dynamics of the household as a fundamental aspect of development policies. It argues that acknowledging the fluid and dynamic nature of the household is necessary in order to design effective development policies, for building development policies on the assumption that resources are equally pooled in the household results in a perpetuation or increase of the unequal distribution of benefits.

Four broad areas relating to the household are considered as fundamental aspects of development goals and selecting or planning projects: (1) the amount of time available to different household members for participation in the project; (2) the allocation of household tasks to different members and the degree to which these tasks are transferable among members; (3) differential access to goods, both for production and for consumption; and (4) differential control over income.

After reviewing relevant literature in these four areas, the author concludes that the success of development projects in any sector depends on an understanding of the sometimes complex economic and social relations among household members. Project benefits may be diluted or lost altogether as they are distributed among household members, and even those which achieve their proximate objective, may cause inequitable distribution of burdens and rewards. But negative results can be avoided, and the likelihood of success increased, if the dynamics governing the allocation of resources and responsibilities within households are understood and taken into account in the planning process.

The second part of this paper focuses on methodological issues in the study of intra-household dynamics. The factors addressed here include: defining the unit of analysis; measuring individual income and expenditure; measuring time use and task allocation; measuring individual access to household resources (productive assets, education, food and human capital); and measuring the distribution of power and decision-making responsibility. Finally, it is concluded that anthropological research should be used as a way of gaining prior knowledge of the field.

*Keywords:* Intrahousehold dynamics, Development policy, Social norms, Inequality

**Thorner, D., Kerblay, B. and Smith, R.E.F. (1986). *A.V. Chayanov on the Theory of Peasant Economy*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.**





This is an English translation of two of Chayanov's works, *Peasant Farm Organisation* and *On the Theory of Non-Capitalist Economic Systems*. In addition, the editors contribute two essays on Chayanov's life and works, and a bibliography. The *Theory of Peasant Economy* constitutes Chayanov's response to the failure of traditional economic theory to explain certain aspects because of peasant behaviour. In this book, Chayanov argues that because traditional economic theory is built on a capitalist model of production (based on relations of capital, wages, interest and rent), it is inapplicable to farm economy. The main argument of the book is that production in a household is not based on maximising profit, but rather on calculations made by households as both units of production and units of consumption. Therefore, the basic principle for understanding the peasant economy is the balance between the household member as a labourer and as a consumer. Households calculate the increase or reduction of productivity based on an estimate of how much production is needed for survival and for investment against an estimate of the costs of increased labour. In short, households increase their production as long as production gains outweighed the negative aspects of increased labour and therefore they do not follow the capitalist 'maximising-profits' ideology. The relevance of Chayanov's work consists on shifting attention from capitalist relations to the household as an economic unit.

**Wolf, D.L. (1997) 'Daughters, decisions and domination: an empirical and conceptual critique of household strategies'. In Visvanathan, N., Duggan, L., Nisonoff, L. and Wiegersma, N. (Eds.) (1997) *The Women, Gender and Development Reader*. London: Zed Books.**

This chapter focuses on intra-household relations between parents and daughters in a Southeast and East Asian setting where gender relations differ considerably. Specifically, the chapter analyses decision-making processes in the family with regard to young women and factory employment in Java, Indonesia and Taiwan, and critically examines to what extent these processes reflect a household strategy. It is argued that it is necessary to demystify 'the household' as the only context in which the myth of family solidarity and unity is perpetuated. In order to do this, it one must question the concept of 'household strategies' and its underlying assumptions. In order to overcome this, it is imperative to explore the expressed intentions of social actors. Central to this argument is the idea that social actors know a great deal about the conditions and consequences of what they do in day-to-day life.

Comparing the situation of working daughters in Java and Taiwan allows the author to demonstrate the inadequacy of the concept of 'household strategy' to define intrahousehold relations, and to emphasise the role played by social norms in the configuration of household decision-making processes. In Java it is found that ultimately daughters make their own decisions about factory work, and although parental permission is important, it is in no way determinant of the final outcome. This is mostly due to a particular kinship system which traditionally accorded women some economic autonomy, as well as to recent changes in the local economy which have resulted in increased education, the increasing age at marriage, a



new period of adolescence, and young adulthood without economic dependants. On the contrary, in Taiwan parents are still involved in a daughter's work-related decisions and parental opinions are obeyed. Since daughters permanently leave their natal home upon marriage, the patrilineal and patrilocal system socialises daughters to be filial and to pay back the debt they incurred to parents for bringing them up. Changes in the international division of labour have not greatly changed female status within the family in either the Javanese or Taiwanese case, but have instead fortified the previous position of each, building upon the gender relations which existed before industrial capitalism.

It is argued that the concept of 'household strategies' not only obscures intrahousehold divisions built on hierarchical structures but also ignores processes of resistance and non-compliance which are central to the understanding of decision-making processes. It is concluded that due to certain unwarranted assumptions about individuals and households, the concept of household strategies misrepresents intra-household behaviour, obscuring internal stratification by gender and generation and silencing the voices of the unempowered.

*Keywords:* Household strategy, Gender, Domination, Agency, Ethnocentrism, South Asia East Asia

### 3.3.2 *Gender inequality and the conjugal contract*

**Bruce, J. (1989). 'Homes divided'. *World Development*, 17 (70), 979-992.**

Available at: <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/B6VC6-45KN90V-B2/2/40c3f1846f797b6ab21a4cb10c97da28>

This paper reviews social inequalities between men and women, exploring how they are played out among intimates within the household. Evidence is presented that households do not constitute a unified economy. Examples are provided of the tensions that exist between partners over life course decisions, including the use of income. In diverse cultural settings, mothers typically contribute the whole of their earned income and devote other resources they control to meeting the household's basic needs. Knowledge of how women use their earnings provides another rationale beyond that of productivity and justice for giving special attention to women's livelihoods. (Author's own)

Following the argument of the 'separate-spheres' model, Bruce concludes: 'We have seen that men and women are distinctive in their economic access, and similarly have distinct self-interest within the family. We have found that male and female goals within nuclear and intergenerational households are typically pursued through institutionalised inequalities, rather than through cooperative plans. We predict an increasing sub-nuclearisation of families to the mother-child unit. We argue for attention to these facts in pursuit of equality and economic progress. Certainly, the information presented here suggests that to the many



fault lines along which social changes are monitored, the economic condition of male and female within the same household should be added' (p.989).

*Keywords:* Gender, Inequality, Bargaining process, Intrahousehold allocation

**Carter, M. and Katz, E. (1997) 'Separate Spheres and the Conjugal Contract: Understanding the Impact of Gender-Biased Development'. In Haddad, L., Hoddinott, J. and Alderman, H. (Eds.) (1997) *Intrahousehold Resource Allocation in Developing Countries*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.**

Available at: <http://www.ifpri.org/pubs/jhu/households/intrahhresch06.pdf>

Both the common preferences and conjugal contract views of the household can imply the existence of intrahousehold patterns of inequality that may evolve over time. However, the conjugal contract theory developed here suggests that intrahousehold inequality is relevant for policy analysis precisely because its pattern is mutable, economically endogenous, and shaped by gender bias in development and development policy. This chapter explores these questions by putting forward a model of the household economy composed of separate gender-specific spheres of economic activity and resource allocation linked by a conjugal contract. While building on other critiques that have challenged the unitary model's assumption of unified household preferences, the conjugal contract model also modifies the assumption—characteristic of both the unitary model and many of its critics—that the various sources of household income are pooled into a single fund from which household members draw in order to obtain goods. Research in developing countries has shown that household budgeting patterns vary widely, with full income pooling being the exception rather than the rule.

The central methodological contribution of the model is its recognition of the key mediating role of resource exchanges that occur within the household. These internal exchanges play two important roles in the household economy. First, expectations regarding the level and type of exchanges determine each household member's decisions about how to allocate labour time and income among competing uses. Second, changes in exogenous economic parameters, such as prices and wages, are absorbed by the household in part via their effects on the relative claims that individual household members have on one another's resources.

Although previous economic models of the household have allowed for the differential impact of economic change on household members, conceptualising this impact in terms of an alteration in the intrahousehold terms of exchange is new. By recognising the central role of the 'conjugal contract' in the determination of household behaviour and welfare, policies could be designed to enhance productivity and well-being without contributing to intrahousehold inequality, and perhaps even alleviating it. (Adapted from author's text)



*Keywords:* Conjugal contract, Gender, Exchange, Unified household model –critique

**Chant, S. (2007). 'Children in female-headed households: interrogating the concept of an inter-generational transmission of disadvantage, with particular reference to Gambia, The Philippines and Costa Rica'. LSE Gender Institute, New Series Working Paper Issue 19. London: LSE Gender Institute.**

Available at: <http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/genderInstitute/children.pdf>

Grounded in a popular stereotype that female-headed households are the 'poorest of the poor', it is often assumed that women and children suffer greater poverty than in households which conform with a more common (and idealised) male-headed arrangement. In addition, a conjectured 'inter-generational transmission of disadvantage' in female-headed households is imagined not only to compromise the material well-being of children, but to compound other privations – emotional, psychological, social and otherwise. Beyond affecting young people in the short-term, these are also deemed to sow the seeds of future hardship. However, a mounting body of evidence suggests that household headship is not necessarily a good predictor of the start that children have in life, nor of their trajectories into adolescence and adulthood. On the basis of such evidence, the present paper seeks to interrogate - and challenge- some (mis)conceptions about female household headship and poverty among children. It finds that while risks to children's well-being may arise through discriminatory or hostile attitudes towards female-headed households in society at large, gender dynamics within male-headed units can be just as prejudicial in this regard. With this in mind, suggestions are offered for gender-sensitive policies which might help to ensure that children in all poor households are guaranteed equality in basic needs and rights. (Author's own)

*Keywords:* Children, Gender relations, Household headship

**Chant, S. (2007). *Gender, Generation and Poverty: Exploring the 'Feminisation of Poverty' in Africa, Asia and Latin America*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.**

This book analyses the shortcomings of existing literature on the feminisation of poverty (FP). In the first two chapters the author reviews current research on poverty and gender, particularly with regards to FP theories. Chapter 3, 4 and 5 examine particular case studies in Gambia, Costa Rica and the Philippines. The last chapter presents the author's conclusions and some policy implications. Chantz concludes that there is no evidence to support the arguments on which FP theories are currently built: that income poverty is particularly pronounced amongst women, that a given age group is more vulnerable to poverty than another, and that rises in female household headship are associated with a feminisation of poverty. The author calls for a more rigorous and detailed approach, and urges researchers and policy-makers to pay attention to diversity within FP. It is concluded



that the feminisation of poverty must be understood as a feminisation of responsibility and obligation, and that the focus must be on gender relations and generational change.

*Keywords:* Feminisation of poverty (FP), Gender relations, Female household headship, Poverty

**Evans, A. (1991). 'Gender issues in rural household economics'. Institute of Development Studies Bulletin 22. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex.**

Economists working in agricultural development have been concerned to theorise and model the behaviour of households for a wide range of diagnostic and predictive purposes. These models combine two fundamental units in microeconomic analysis: the household and the firm. This article questions the efficacy of the household model, in explaining the full extent of consumer and producer behaviour in rural areas, pointing to the importance of intra-household gender relations in determining economic outcomes at the household level. (Author's own)

*Keywords:* Gender, Household behaviour, Rural households

**Fafchamps, M., Quisumbing, A.R. (2002). 'Control and ownership of assets within rural Ethiopian households'. *Journal of Development Studies*, 38 (2), 47–82.**

Available at: <http://www.ifpri.org/divs/fcnd/dp/papers/fcndp120.pdf>

This paper investigates how the control and devolution of productive assets are allocated among husband and wife. Theory predicts that bargaining power within marriage depends on the division of assets upon divorce (exit option) and on control over assets during marriage (noncooperative marriage). In empirical applications, bargaining power is typically proxied by variables such as dowry payments, assets brought to marriage, and ownership of assets within marriage. Using detailed household data from rural Ethiopia, we show that assets brought to marriage, ownership of assets, control within marriage, and disposition upon death or divorce are only partly related (strictly speaking, surveyed households do not 'own' land since all agricultural land is legally owned by the state). In rural Ethiopia, control over productive resources is centralised into the hands of the household head, be it a man or a woman, irrespective of ownership at or after marriage. Disposition upon death or divorce only loosely depends on individual ownership during marriage but control over assets is associated with larger claims over these assets upon divorce, a finding consistent with the presence of incentive problems. Assets brought into marriage have little impact on disposition upon death, but matter in case of divorce. (Author's own)

*Keywords:* Ownership of assets, Conjugal contract, Bargaining power, Ethiopia

**Handa, S. (1994). 'Gender, headship and intra-household resource allocation'. *World Development*, 22, (10), 1535-1547.**

Available at:

[http://econpapers.repec.org/article/eeewdevel/v\\_3A22\\_3Ay\\_3A1994\\_3Ai\\_3A10\\_3Ap\\_3A1535-1547.htm](http://econpapers.repec.org/article/eeewdevel/v_3A22_3Ay_3A1994_3Ai_3A10_3Ap_3A1535-1547.htm)

Household head, as reported in household surveys, may not always identify the main economic provider and decision maker within the household. Research based on this definition of headship may lead to misleading conclusions on the link between gender and poverty. Treating female-headed households as a homogenous group can also be inappropriate. Results from Jamaica show that it is not female headedness per se that is associated with child welfare, but the absence of a potential female decision maker within the household. (Author's own)

In this article, Handa distinguishes between household heads as reported in surveys and household heads as the actual economic provider and decision maker. Where the working head of a household is female, there is evidence the allocation of resources favours the welfare of children, as children in FHHs display better short-term health status and school enrolment rates, and are less likely to participate in the labour force. This is consistent with a number of underlying factors: a female labour force may represent bargaining power and access to resources which result in better child outcomes. Male-headed households display poorer results. However, it is partnered female-headed households that show the best results for children. In fact, Handa argues, it is not female-headedness per se, but the absence of a female decision-maker in the house that results in negative children's outcomes. This study illustrates the importance of interpreting survey results carefully and the necessity to avoid creating general and homogeneous categories which may be misleading.

*Keywords:* Household headship, Gender, Intrahousehold resource allocation, Child welfare

**Hoddinott, J. and Haddad, L. (1995). 'Does female income share influence household expenditure patterns?'. *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics*, 57 (1).**

Available at: <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdf?vid=4&hid=103&sid=0008c1a6-5752-49fe-b9f0-90f29234f1e9%40sessionmgr107>

This paper uses a noncooperative bargaining model to motivate an empirical analysis of the determinants of household expenditures. Drawing on a national household survey from the Cote d'Ivoire, the authors find that raising women's share of cash income increases the budget share of food and reduces the budget shares of alcohol and cigarettes. These effects are robust to changes in functional form, are reflected in reduced-form estimates, and concur with results obtained by examining single-sex households. (Author's own)

*Keywords:* Gender, Female income, Expenditure patterns, Africa, Cote d'Ivoire



**Jolly, S. (2002). 'Culture, gender and development. Gender and development in brief'. *BRIDGE Bulletin*, 10, 1-2.**

Available at: <http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/dgb10.html>

Dominant ideas in development derive from Western conceptions of human rights. Within this context, research on gender inequality in developing countries has often been discredited as being a Western concern distant from local priorities. However, while recognising the intrinsic western bias in conceptions of development, it is necessary to realise that local ideas are never homogeneous. Social relations are always subject to power structures and fighting oppressive practices is not necessarily an imposition from 'the outside', but rather an election amongst the various local voices.

*Keywords:* Gender, Culture, Development, Western bias

**Kabeer, N. (1994). *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought*, London: Verso.**

*Reversed Realities* examines the biases which underpin development theories, focusing on the marginal status given to women in development policies. Tracing the emergence of women as a specific category in development, the author examines alternative frameworks for analysing gender hierarchies. The book is divided into three sections. The first four chapters deal with theoretical debates about feminism and development. In the next three chapters the author shifts from political analysis to a focus on research methodology, addressing the role of gender in household economics, poverty assessment and cost-benefit analysis, and providing a 'gender relations' critique of these methodologies. The three final chapters examine the application of the 'gender relations' perspective on development policies, and specifically on family planning and population policy, grassroots organisation and the institutionalisation of gender training.

*Keywords:* Gender, Feminism, Population policy, Grassroots organisation, Institutionalisation of gender training

**Kevane (2001). 'Social norms and the time allocation of women's labor in Burkina Faso'. *Review of Development Economics*, 5 (1).**

See chapter 5 (Social norms and cultural contexts)



**King, C. (2001). *Gender and Rural Community Development III: Tools and Frameworks for Gender Analysis*. Published online: The Regional Institute.**

Available at: <http://www.regional.org.au/au/apen/2001/n/KingC1.htm>

This paper illustrates a variety of tools for gender analysis, their method, and implications on addressing gender issues in the context of (but not limited to) rural community development. Women are critical to agricultural production, but their access to resources and effective technologies is often constrained by gender barriers. In addition, government agencies working toward rural community development can also be gender blind. This can lead to detrimental effects on the design and implementation of effective rural community development projects. The paper begins with a brief introduction on gender analysis. Three tools are then introduced (i) Gender Analysis Matrix (GAM), (ii) Women's Empowerment Framework, and (iii) The Social Relations Approach. The paper concludes that there is a fundamental need for gender analysis to be incorporated into rural community development projects and activities, and within agencies that carry out this work. This is paper III of a three paper series for this conference on Gender and Rural Community Development. Paper I provides a critical analysis of different policy approaches to development that can be applied in both the Australian and Global contexts. Paper II illustrates gender issues that exist within the Australian rural community development domain, concluding the necessity for gender analysis in projects and organisations. This paper offers three tools as a means of incorporating gender in the rural community development equation. Achieving this goal requires agricultural professionals to have a new set of conceptual and analytical perspectives and skills in order to deal with the spectrum of projects in which they become involved (Adapted from author's abstract and conclusions)

*Keywords:* Gender, Rural community development, Social relations, Women empowerment framework

**Klomegh, R. (1997). 'Socio-economic characteristics of Ghanaian women in polygynous marriages'. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 28 (1), 73-88.**

Marriage type in Africa is an aspect of socio-cultural organisation that differs from that of European tradition. For instance, in Ghana, both monogamous and polygynous marriages exist and are socially and legally acceptable. Also marriage, be it monogamy or polygyny, is not only a union between spouses but, more importantly, it is an alliance between two families or kin groups. The type of marriage that has attracted much attention is polygyny because it is widely practised and believed to have contributed to high fertility in the region.

The purpose of this paper is to investigate some social and economic factors that may be associated with the types of marriages Ghanaian women enter. To this end, the following questions will be addressed: (1) What is the prevalence of polygyny in Ghana? (2) What social and economic indicators are associated with marriage type?





The article is divided into four sections. Section one is a review of empirical research on the subject. The second section provides a review of theoretical literature on polygyny. The findings regarding the association between socio-economic factors and marriages type are presented in the third section. It is followed by a discussion of the findings in the final section. (Author's own)

*Keywords:* Conjugal contract, Polygyny, Marriage, Ghana

**Moore, H.L. (1994). *A Passion for Difference: Essays in Anthropology and Gender*. Cambridge: Polity Press.**

This book demonstrates anthropology's contribution to current debates in feminist theory. It examines the nature and limitations of the theoretical languages used by anthropologists and others to write about sex, gender and sexuality. Moore begins by discussing recent feminist debates on the body and the notion of the non-universal human subject. She then considers why anthropologists have contributed relatively little to these debates, and suggests that this has much to do with the history of anthropological thought with regard to the conceptualisation of 'persons' and 'selves' cross culturally.

In subsequent chapters, the author pursues a series of related themes including the links between gender, identity and violence; questions of gender and identity in the context of intra-household resource allocation; the construction of domestic space and its relationship to bodily practices and the internationalisation of relations of difference; and the links between the gender of the anthropologist and the writing of anthropology. (Adapted from publisher's abstract)

Chapter 5 (Social identities and the politics of reproduction) deals with the analysis of intrahousehold dynamics. It is argued that in order to comprehend the workings of household dynamics it is necessary to move away from contemporary understandings which prioritise the study of relations of production and acknowledge the importance of relations of reproduction. Reproduction here is understood not merely as the biological production of babies, but as the conflictive and sometimes contradictory process by which persons and their particular social identities are created. Gender ideologies and other forms of difference such as race or class constitute an integral part of relations of reproduction. These forms of difference become naturalised identities which serve as the basis for the establishment of social and legal rights and needs. Relations of reproduction are therefore crucial to understand power relations both at a household and at a state level.

*Keywords:* Feminist theory, Anthropology, Gender, Intrahousehold allocation, Concept of the person



**O'Laughlin, B. (2007). 'A bigger piece of a very small pie: intrahousehold resource allocation and poverty reduction in Africa'. *Development and Change*, 38 (1), 21-44.**

Available at:

<http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/bpl/dech/2007/00000038/00000001/art00002>

Feminist research has convincingly shown that an increase in household income does not necessarily lead to improvement in the well-being of all members of the household. More questionable is the policy conclusion often drawn from this research for rural Africa: redressing gender imbalance in control of productive resources will significantly reduce poverty. This contribution argues that the evidence and analysis presented by two studies repeatedly cited to show that gender inequality is inefficient are problematic. It is mythical to suggest that tinkering with women's market position by exchanging unequal collective rights to productive resources for individual ones will decisively reduce rural poverty in Africa. That will depend on the restructuring of long-term and deeply unequal processes of integration in the market, not on a firmer insertion of women within existing patterns of individualisation and commodification of productive resources (Author's own)

This article argues that the idea that gender inequality is the cause of poverty in Africa is a myth. Two narratives written in the 1980s have served as foundations to this myth: Christine Jones's account of how households in northern Cameroon failed to optimise their production when men did not give women fair compensation for their work, and Christopher Udry's (1996) demonstration that the imbalanced allocation of inputs between women's and men's plots in Burkina Faso did not maximise yields. The myth presents rationale for reducing gender inequality that simplifies its political complexities by abstracting gender inequality from its specific historical context of capitalist development in colonial and post-colonial Africa. The logical implication to be drawn is that improving the condition of women will reduce poverty. Following this argument, O'Laughlin argues, it is easy to conclude that the organisation of rural households (as the source of gender inequality) is the main cause of poverty in African countries. However, this account obviates the effects of long-term structural patterns of market relations on African economies, ignoring how the colonial forced labour systems initiated processes of change in rural livelihoods that underlie the current socio-economic system.

*Keywords:* Gender and development, Feminist scholarship, Effects of colonialism

**Oni, J.B. (1996). 'Qualitative exploration of intra-household variations in treatment of child illness in polygynous Yoruba families: the use of local expressions'. *Health Transition Review*, 6 (1), 57-69.**

See section 3.3 (Other factors affecting intrahousehold dynamics)



**Pfeiffer, J. (2003). 'Cash income, intrahousehold cooperative conflict, and child health in Central Mozambique'. *Medical anthropology*, 22 (2), 87-130.**

See section 4.2 (Health and Nutrition)

**Quisumbing, A. (2003). *Household Decisions, Gender and Development*. Washington: International Food Policy Research Institute.**

This book summarises IFPRI's substantial contributions to the study of gender in development policy. Specifically, it synthesises findings from the gender and intrahousehold research program launched by IFPRI in the mid-1990s. The volume brings together briefs by different authors, drawing out key messages from the varied studies on each issue. Despite the diversity of topics and approaches, there is a common focus on the household as a non-unitary space of bargaining and conflict. The book is organised around five key themes: (1) power and resources within the household, (2) agriculture and natural resources, (3) health and nutrition, (4) social capital, legal institution, and property rights, and (5) the impact of policies and interventions. Every section begins with an overview of the topic which highlights the contributions of each chapter.

*Keywords:* Gender, Intrahousehold allocation, Agriculture, Health and Nutrition, Legal issues  
Policy implementation

**Sen, G. (1997). 'Subordination and sexual control: a comparative view of the control of women'. In Visvanathan, N., Duggan, L., Nisonoff, L. and Wiegiersma, N. (Eds.) (1997) *The Women, Gender & Development Reader*, London: Zed Books.**

While in the West the female body is constantly used as an advertising medium for the sale of commodities, In India, on the other hand, use of the female anatomy for the purpose of selling commodities is not quite so prevalent but sexual objectification is more direct and personal, its social roots lying in the historical antecedents of a peasant society. This chapter explores control of sexuality in India, focusing on the relationship between sexual domination and labour systems.

The argument is based on the hypothesis that in earlier and more egalitarian societies, women had both responsibility for and control over children. However, as patriarchal household structures developed, the control of children passed from women to some men. This occurred through sexual control over women and was reinforced by social and religious glorification of the 'chaste' woman.

In contemporary India, women of the landholding classes are secluded and their sexuality guarded as a mechanism to control their labour and to ensure the paternity of children. Within the land-owning class, this is connected to questions of inheritance. However, female



chastity and virtue are preponderant values guarded also within the community of the landless, where inheritance patterns play no part. The author argues that there is a double reason for the persistence of sexual control amongst landless communities: On the one hand, male interest in the control of sexuality is probably rooted deep in the psychological makeup of oppressed manhood; on the other hand responsibility for children under conditions of acute poverty makes women willing to submit to male sexual control in return for some economic resources, however meagre.

In India today the progressive feminist movement is divided between those who focus on the economic and class problems of poor women and those who focus on issues affecting middle and upper class women (like dowry or bride-burning). This chapter is an attempt to bring these two approaches together by focusing on the social control of female sexuality as an overarching phenomenon affecting women of all classes.

*Keywords:* Feminism, Gender relations, Sexual control, India

**Udry, C. (1996). 'Gender, agricultural production and the theory of the household', *Journal of Political Economy*, 104 (5), 1010–46.**

See section 4.1 (Agriculture and Land)

### 3.3.3 *Other factors influencing intrahousehold dynamics*

**Choe, M.K., Hongsheng, H. and Feng, W. (1995). 'Effects of gender, birth order, and other correlates on childhood mortality in China'. *Social Biology*, 42 (1-2), 50-64.**

Using data from the 1988 Two-Per-Thousand Survey of Fertility and Birth Control, this paper examines the effects of gender, birth order, and other correlates of childhood mortality in China. Controlling for family-level factors, childhood mortality is found to be associated with the child's gender and birth order. Among firstborn children the difference between male and female childhood mortality is not statistically significant, but among others, female children between ages one and five experience higher mortality than male children. Childhood mortality is slightly higher for children who have older brothers only than for those who have older sisters only, and it is highest for those who have both older brothers and sisters. Other factors affecting childhood mortality in China include mortality of older siblings, birth interval, urban/rural residence, mother's level of education, and mother's occupation. All interactive effects between gender and family-level characteristics are found to be statistically insignificant. (Author's own)

*Keywords:* Infant Mortality in China, Birth Order, Gender, Sex Ratio



**Das Gupta, M. (1987). 'Selective discrimination against female children in rural Punjab, India'. *Population and Development Review*, 13 (1), 77-100.**

Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/view/00987921/di962003/95p0004z/0>

South Asia is well known as being a region of the world where the normally higher number of females than males in the total population is reversed. Among the Indian states, historically Punjab in the Northwest has had the most imbalanced sex ratios. The excessive mortality of females that this reflects is commonly hypothesised to be due to discrimination against females, particularly female children, relative to males, in the allocation of food and health care within the household. This article examines the hypothesis that discrimination against girls is not generalised, but rather is closely related to individual parents' family-building strategies. It goes on to explore the mechanisms--allocation of food, clothing, and medical expenses--whereby these differentials in mortality are brought about. Finally, it examines the reasons why son preference is so strong in Punjab society. The data support the hypothesis that sex bias is not generalised, but focused on higher birth order girls. Sex differentials by birth order are far stronger than those by socioeconomic status. Moreover, these differentials show a remarkable persistence in the face of socioeconomic development, mortality decline, and fertility decline. In fact, fertility decline appears to heighten such selective discrimination. Interestingly, women's education is associated with reduced child mortality but stronger discrimination against higher birth order girls. This strong underlying preference for sons appears to be the outcome of women's structural marginalisation in this culture, which results in their being of low value to their parents.

*Keywords:* Female discrimination, Food allocation, Gender, South Asia, India

**Ejrnaes, M. and Pörtner, C. (2004). 'Birth order and the intrahousehold allocation of time and education'. *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 86 (4), 1008-1019.**

Available at: <http://www.econ.ku.dk/CAM/Files/workingpapers/2002/2002-09.pdf>

A potential determinant of intrahousehold distribution is the birth order of children. While a number of studies have analysed birth order effects in developed countries there are still only a few dealing with developing countries.

This paper develops a model of intrahousehold allocation with endogenous fertility, which captures the relation between birth order and investment in children and shows that a birth order effect in intrahousehold allocation can arise even without assumptions about parental preferences for specific birth order children or genetic endowments varying by birth order. The important contribution is that fertility is treated as endogenous, something which other models of intrahousehold allocation have ignored despite the large literature on determinants of fertility. The implications of the model are that children with higher birth orders have an advantage over siblings with lower birth orders and that parents who are inequality averse will not have more than one child. The model furthermore shows that not taking account of



the endogeneity of fertility when analysing intrahousehold allocation may seriously bias the results. The effects of a child's birth order on its human capital accumulation are analysed using a longitudinal data set from the Philippines. Contrary to most longitudinal data sets this data set covers a very long period. We are, therefore, able to examine the effects of birth order on both number of hours in school during education and completed education. The results for both are consistent with the predictions of the model. (Author's own)

*Keywords:* Birth order, Allocation of time, Education, Endogenous fertility

**Fafchamps, M., Quisumbing, A.R. (2003). 'Social roles, human capital, and the intrahousehold division of labor: evidence from Pakistan'. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 55 (1), 36–80.**

Available at: <http://www.economics.ox.ac.uk/research/WP/PDF/paper011.pdf>

Using detailed data from rural Pakistan, this paper investigates whether human capital, learning-by-doing, gender, and family status affect the division of labour within households. Results suggest the presence of returns to individual specialisation in all farm, non-farm, and home-based activities. The intrahousehold division of labour is influenced by comparative advantage based on human capital and by long-lasting returns to learning-by-doing, but we also find evidence of a separate effect of gender and family status. Households seem to operate as hierarchies with sexually segregated spheres of activity. The head of household and his or her spouse provide most of the labour within their respective spheres of influence; other members work less. When present in the household, daughters-in-law work systematically harder than daughters of comparable age, height, and education. Other findings of interest are that there are increasing returns to scale in most household chores, that larger households work more off farm, and that better educated individuals enjoy more leisure. (Author's own)

This paper is an effort to test Becker's theory of the intrahousehold division of labour. Through rich ethnographic data from rural Pakistan, it is found that allocation of tasks is not solely driven by comparative advantage and learning-by-doing considerations, but also by social roles determined by age, gender and family status.

*Keywords:* Economics of the family, Social norms, Labour

**Oni, J.B. (1996). 'Qualitative exploration of intra-household variations in treatment of child illness in polygynous Yoruba families: the use of local expressions'. *Health Transition Review*, 6 (1), 57-69.**

Available at: <http://dspace.anu.edu.au/handle/1885/40189>

The drastic cut in government expenditure on health with the extension of the 'user pays' principle to health care utilisation in Nigeria following the adoption of the Structural



Adjustment Program is probably having its greatest effect on the family. Contrary to what happened in the past, when the cost of treatment was usually borne by the mother of a sick child, the role of the father is becoming increasingly significant. Before the introduction of the 'user pays' principle to health care, treatment in many government hospitals was free. Intra-household variations in response to and treatment of child illness, especially in polygynous Yoruba households in Nigeria, occurred for a number of other reasons. Probably because the mother and her children usually form a social unit within a polygynous union, meeting the cost of treatment and some other minor daily needs of the child has always been the responsibility of the mother, although the economic independence of most senior wives seems to have waned as a result of current economic difficulties. In the past, a woman's ability to meet the cost of treatment of her children was partly explained by her separate income from that of her husband, but with the persistent rise in cost of treatment, many mothers now have to look to their husbands or other sources for assistance in paying for treatment of their children. This paper examines treatment behaviour under the present circumstances and explores how common expressions of the Yoruba can be used to explain differences in a polygynous husband's responses to the treatment of illness of his wives' children. Although we cannot conclusively say which of the wives in polygynous marriages will be more favoured by the husband than others, the qualitative evidence suggests that junior wives and their children have a greater chance of enjoying both the moral and financial support of husbands than senior wives, and this is also true for the treatment of illness.

One important aspect of treatment of child illness that could be greatly affected by the differing husband-wife relationships in polygynous unions is that of meeting the cost of treatment. The favoured wife and her children are more likely to enjoy both moral and financial support from the husband in paying health costs within the family. On the other hand, the neglected senior wife is now obliged to pay for treatment alone or seek for support from her grown-up children or from her own relations. Such treatment poses a great risk of child morbidity and mortality now that the role of the father has become important in meeting the current high cost of treatment in many Yoruba families.

(Adapted from author's abstract and conclusion)

*Keywords:* Conjugal contract, Polygyny, Marriage, Child illness, Yoruba

**Wolf, D.L. (1997) 'Daughters, decisions and domination: an empirical and conceptual critique of household strategies'. In Visvanathan, N., Duggan, L., Nisonoff, L. and Wiegersma, N. (Eds.) (1997) *The Women, Gender and Development Reader*. London: Zed Books.**

See chapter 3.1 (Concepts, definitions and research issues)



### 3.3.4 *Beyond the household*

**Bhargava, P., Mathur, K. and Rajagopal, S. (2005).** 'Understanding chronic poverty in Rajasthan'. *Childhood Poverty Research and Policy Centre Report 16*. London: Childhood Poverty Research and Policy Centre.

See chapter 2 (IGT, chronic poverty and poverty dynamics).

**Bruce, J. and Lloyd, C. (1997)** 'Finding the ties that bind: beyond headship and household'. In Haddad, L., Hoddinott, J., and Alderman, H. (Eds.) (1997) *Intrahousehold Resource Allocation in Developing Countries: Models, Methods, and Policy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Available at: <http://www.ifpri.org/pubs/jhu/intrahhres.asp>

In this chapter, the literature dealing with households and headship is reviewed to lay the foundations for a new research and policy focus on the family. Specifically, it is argued that the family is a more important resource allocation arena to understand than is the household, at least when it comes to designing public policy for improving child welfare in developing countries. In addition, it is argued that the gender of the household head has proved to be a useful window of convenience into the workings of the family and household, but it has provided an incomplete picture. In this chapter we provide a reason for going beyond headship and household to the design of data collection instruments that focus on the real interest – family survival strategies and intrafamily resource allocation as they affect child welfare. In the first half of the chapter we assess recent literature on female-headed and -maintained families and newly available data on the family circumstances and living arrangements of women and children to answer three broad questions with important implications for research and policy: What is the operational meaning of headship? Is the household concept a useful guide for understanding the family relationships that determine children's welfare? Is the household a sufficient context for understanding women's economic roles and vulnerabilities? In the second half of the chapter we draw lessons from these conclusions for both population and economic development policy. A case is built for a new research focus on the family that transcends the physical and temporal boundaries of the household, and for a policy focus that inquires into meaningful family relationships. The specification and support of parenting roles — particularly fathering roles — in fulfilling the social and economic needs of children are emphasised. (Author's own)

*Keywords:* Intrahousehold allocation, Household headship, Gender, Family relationships

**Chen, J. (2006).** 'Migration and imperfect monitoring: implications for intra-household allocation'. *The American Economic Review*, 96, (2), 227-231.

Available at: <http://ideas.repec.org/a/aea/aecrev/v96y2006i2p227-231.html>





Studies on the impact of migration remittances on intrahousehold resource allocation have neglected the fact that certain allocations can only be imperfectly monitored when household members are not coresidence. This article explores, from a neoclassical economic approach, the effects of remittances on household cooperative and non-cooperative behaviour. It is found that, in the absence of noncooperative behavior, the effect of migration on intrahousehold allocation consists of three components: a reduction in fathers' household labour, and an increase in mother's household labour; an increase in household income; and a shift in bargaining power within the household. In contrast, in a noncooperative model of household, because time and resource allocation are difficult to monitor, mothers may decrease their household labour and shift expenditures towards preferred goods. It is argued that increasing opportunities for international migration will exacerbate information asymmetries, and this will affect the subjective value of remittance flows for the migrant because an increase in remittances will increase the migrant's bargaining power in the household but at the same time remittance flows will effectively be taxed due to imperfect monitoring of allocations.

*Keywords:* Non-cooperative behaviour, Migration, Remittances, Imperfect monitoring

**Folbre, N. (1997) 'Gender coalitions: extrafamily influences on intrafamily inequality'. In Haddad, L., Hoddinott, J., and Alderman, H. (Eds.) (1997) *Intrahousehold Resource Allocation in Developing Countries: Models, Methods, and Policy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.**

Available at: <http://www.ifpri.org/pubs/jhu/intrahhres.asp>

Over the past ten years, the microeconomics of the household has experienced a paradigmatic transformation. It is no longer acceptable to ignore inequalities of power and welfare among household members, or to assume that the household itself can be treated as an undifferentiated optimising unit. Though no paradigmatic shift can be settled once and for all by a barrage of evidence, the burden of proof has been shifted to those who stand by the conventional assumption of familial altruism (Kuhn 1974; Alderman *et al.* 1995; Hart 1995). Today the microeconomics of household bargaining seems better developed than the macroeconomics of gender- and age-based inequalities. Many economists are modeling the consequences of differences in bargaining power, but few are exploring the causes. This imbalance is evident in policy discussions. Evidence of gender bias in development planning has been accumulating for decades (Moser 1993; Kabeer 1994). The specific ways in which intrahousehold inequalities can limit and distort public policies have been carefully explained (Haddad and Kanbur 1992; Alderman, Haddad, and Hoddinott, Chapter 17, this volume). But there has been remarkably little discussion of why certain policies have been biased not only against women but also against equality in the household. Policymakers themselves are often described as if they were benevolent heads of that larger household known as the state. In this chapter I argue that it is important to analyse the ways in which gender coalitions seek to influence institutions that affect intrafamily allocation. Individuals do not



restrict their pursuit of self-interest to bargaining on the microeconomic level. They also seek to influence public policies and social norms, engaging in forms of collective action designed to protect and advance their position in the family as well as the labour market. (Author's own)

*Keywords:* Intrahousehold allocation, Extrafamily relations, Gender coalitions, Collective action

**Guzmán, J., Morrison, A.R., Sjöblom, M. (2007). 'The impact of remittances and gender on household expenditure patterns: evidence from Ghana'. In Morrison, A.R., Schiff, M. and Sjöblom, M. (Eds.) (2007) *The International Migration of Women*. New York: World Bank.**

The overall objective of this paper is to explore the relation between gender and remittances. Building on the adjusted Working-Leser curve, we use the nationally representative Ghana Living Standard Survey 1998/99 to investigate how the sex of the household head and remittances affect the household budget allocations, as well as how the sex of the remitter affects these allocations. The results indicate that the sex of the household head and whether or not the household receives remittances both separately and jointly affect household expenditure allocations.

Consistent with findings from the intra-household bargaining literature, we find that female-headed households spend a larger percentage of expenditures on food and education and a lower percentage on consumer and durable goods, housing and other goods. When headship is interacted with receipt of remittances from abroad or from within Ghana, more interesting results emerge; controlling for expenditure differences between female and male-headed households, we find that female-headed households that receive international remittances spend a lower share of their budgets on food and a greater share on consumer and durable goods, housing and other goods than do female-headed households that not receive these remittances.

We find that the sex of the remitter is a significant determinant of the household's expenditure pattern only when we control for the remitter's ability to monitor how the remittances receiving household allocates its resources. Once these factors are controlled for, households that receive remittances from female remitters (as opposed to male remitters) allocate a larger expenditure share to spending on health and other goods, but a lower share on food. Based on these results, we conclude that the literature on remittances would benefit from including a gender analysis. (Author's own)

*Keywords:* Remittances, Gender, Migration, Ghana



**Heywood, P. (1990). 'Multiple group membership and intra-household resource allocation'. In Rogers, B.L. and Schlossman, N.P. (Eds.) (1990) *Intra-Household Resource Allocation: Issues and Methods for Development Policy and Planning*, Tokyo: United Nations University Press.**

Available at: <http://www.unu.edu/unupress/unupbooks/80733e/80733E00.htm#Contents>

The field of anthropology is responsible for much of what we know about how families and households function in different cultural settings. However, defining the household is far from straightforward ... Often a member of a household is also a member of several other reference groups, depending on the task at hand. Can these multiple group memberships be taken into account in studying the household unit? Household composition, structure, and function vary among and within cultures and within individual households over time. In many cultures, the functions we associate with 'the household' in a Western context are divided among several reference groups. This means that defining the household, no easy task in any setting because of the fluidity of boundaries over time, also depends on the particular household function of interest. Thus, recognising that there is no single definition of 'household' which will serve all purposes, this paper addresses the particular problem of assigning, to a given individual, membership in a variety of reference groups, each of which may be considered a household for some purposes. Examples are taken from our work and experience in the subsistence cultures of Papua New Guinea. (Adapted from author's introduction)

*Keywords:* Intrahousehold allocation, Multigroup membership, Anthropology, Papua New Guinea

**Hoff, K. and Sen, A. (2005). 'The kin system as a poverty trap?'. *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 3575*.**

Available at:

[http://econ.worldbank.org/external/default/main?pagePK=64165259&piPK=64165421&theSitePK=469372&menuPK=64216926&entityID=000012009\\_20050503101120](http://econ.worldbank.org/external/default/main?pagePK=64165259&piPK=64165421&theSitePK=469372&menuPK=64216926&entityID=000012009_20050503101120)

An institution found in many traditional societies is the extended family system (kin system), an informal system of shared rights and obligations among extended family for the purpose of mutual assistance. In predominantly non-market economies, the kin system is a valuable institution providing critical community goods and insurance services in the absence of market or public provision. But what happens when the market sector grows in the process of economic development? How do the members of kin groups respond, individually and collectively, to such changes? When the kin system 'meets' the modern economy, does the kin system act as a 'vehicle of progress' helping its members adapt, or as an 'instrument of stagnation' holding back its members from benefiting from market development?



In reality, the consequences of membership in a kin group have been varied for people in different parts of the world. Hoff and Sen characterise the conditions under which the kin system becomes a dysfunctional institution when facing an expanding modern economy. The authors first show that when there are moral hazard problems in the modern sector, the kin system may exacerbate them. When modern sector employers foresee that, they will offer employment opportunities on inferior terms to members of ethnic groups that practice the kin system. These entry barriers in the market, in turn, create an incentive for some individuals to break ties with their kin group, which hurts members of the group who stay back in the traditional sector.

The authors then show in a simple migration model that if a kin group can take collective action to raise exit barriers, then even if migrating to the modern sector and breaking ties increases aggregate welfare (and even if a majority of members are expected to gain ex post, after the resolution of uncertainty about the identity of the winners and losers), a majority of agents within a kin group may support ex ante raising the exit barrier to prevent movement to the modern sector. This result is an example of the bias toward the status quo analysed by Raquel Fernandez and Dani Rodrik in the context of trade reform. The authors do not claim that all kin groups will necessarily exhibit such a bias against beneficial regime changes. But they provide a clear intuition about the forces that can lead to the collective conservatism of a kin system facing expanding opportunities in a market economy-forces that can lead the kin group to become a poverty trap for its members. (World Bank Summary)

*Keywords:* Kin System, Poverty Trap

**Malone, M. (2007). 'Migrants' remittances and investments in children's human capital: the role of asymmetric preferences in Mexico'. Santa Cruz: Job Market Paper.**

Available at: <http://repositories.cdlib.org/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1077&context=cgirs>

This paper evaluates the ability of migrants' remittances to spur development via investments in children's human capital. Findings reveal that this depends largely on the gender of the de facto household head, as remittances sent by migrant fathers to mothers are those most likely to be invested in education. Assuming that mothers and fathers have asymmetric preferences, I present a two-stage model of migrants remittances. In stage one, migrants decide how much to remit, and in stage two this remittance is received and allocated by the de facto household head. I show that remittances sent by migrant fathers are spent differently from other income sources and have the potential to benefit children via two effects. The first is the change in allocative power of the mother and the second is her revealed preference for investments in children's education. The model is then tested using data provided by the Mexican Migration Project.



Empirical results here confirm that remittances have the potential to effect household level development, as they are received by households that are neither extremely poor nor extremely rich, and that remittance allocation decisions differ for mothers and fathers. Mothers are in fact more likely to report that migrant income was spent on education. Finally, I analyse the effect of parental absences on children's education, using an innovative measure for educational attainment. Fathers' absences due to migration during all age ranges of the child's life have positive effects on educational attainment, while variables denoting the number of months the mother was absent are insignificant.

*Keywords:* Remittances, Migration, Parental preferences, Human capital, Education, Mexico

### 3.4 Access to and control of assets

**Fafchamps, M. and Quisumbing, A. (2001). 'Control and ownership of assets within rural Ethiopian households'. FCND Brief 120. United Kingdom: International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI).**

Available at: <http://www.ifpri.org/divs/fcnd/dp/papers/fcndp120.pdf>

This paper investigates how the control and devolution of productive assets are allocated among husband and wife. Theory predicts that bargaining power within marriage depends on the division of assets upon divorce (exit option) and on control over assets during marriage (noncooperative marriage). In empirical applications, bargaining power is typically proxied by variables such as dowry payments, assets brought to marriage, and ownership of assets within marriage. Using detailed household data from rural Ethiopia, we show that assets brought to marriage, ownership of assets, control within marriage, and disposition upon death or divorce are only partly related (strictly speaking, surveyed households do not 'own' land since all agricultural land is legally owned by the state). In rural Ethiopia, control over productive resources is centralised into the hands of the household head, be it a man or a woman, irrespective of ownership at or after marriage. Disposition upon death or divorce only loosely depends on individual ownership during marriage but control over assets is associated with larger claims over these assets upon divorce, a finding consistent with the presence of incentive problems. Assets brought into marriage have little impact on disposition upon death, but matter in case of divorce.

*Keywords:* Asset dynamics, Rural households, Conjugal contract, Ethiopia

**Bhargava, P., Mathur, K. and Rajagopal, S. (2005). 'Understanding chronic poverty in Rajasthan. Childhood Poverty Research and Policy Centre (CHIP) Report 16. London: Childhood Poverty Research and Policy Centre (CHIP).**

See chapter 2 (IGT, chronic poverty and poverty dynamics)



**Bird, K. (2007). 'The intergenerational transmission of poverty: an overview'. Chronic Poverty Research Centre Working Paper, forthcoming.**

See chapter 2 (IGT, chronic poverty and poverty dynamics)

### 3.4.1 *Agriculture and land*

**Bhargava, P., Mathur, K. and Rajagopal, S. (2005). 'Understanding chronic poverty in Rajasthan. Childhood Poverty Research and Policy Centre (CHIP) Report 16. London: Childhood Poverty Research and Policy Centre (CHIP).**

See chapter 2 (IGT, chronic poverty and poverty dynamics).

**Bird, K. (2007). The intergenerational transmission of poverty: an overview. Chronic Poverty Research Centre Working Paper, forthcoming.**

See chapter 2 (IGT, chronic poverty and poverty dynamics)

**Kevane and Gray, (1999). 'A woman's field is made at night: gendered land rights and norms in Burkina Faso'. *Feminist Economics*, 5, (3), 1-26.**

Available at: <http://ideas.repec.org/a/taf/femeco/v5y1999i3p1-26.html>

Gendered social norms and institutions are important determinants of agricultural activities in southwestern Burkina Faso. This paper argues that gendered land tenure, in particular, has effects on equity and efficiency. The usual view of women as holders of secondary, or indirect, rights to land must be supplemented by a more nuanced understanding of tenure. Women's rights are in fact considerably more complex than the simple right to fields from their husbands. First, women's rights to property obtained from men may be coupled with other rights and obligations. In many ethnic groups, women have share rights to the harvest of their husbands. Second, despite land scarcity and rises in land value, certain types of rights are strengthening. Specifically, women are more and more able to obtain land through the market. Finally, government intervention in the gendering of tenure seems to have eroded women's individual rights to land even when government projects explicitly try to incorporate women as 'partners' in land-use programs. (Author's own)

*Keywords:* Land rights, Gender, Women, Burkina Faso



**Larson, B.A., Barnes, G., Rogers, G. and Larson, J.G. (1996). 'Forests, agriculture and child health in Zaire: a household modelling approach'. *Forest Science*, 42 (1), 3-9.**

Available at:

<http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/saf/fs/1996/00000042/00000001/art00003>

In the Kwilu subregion of Zaire, where malnutrition rates are among the highest in rural Zaire, farm households depend directly on forested land for agricultural production and harvesting of nontimber forest products. A nonseparable model of an agricultural household is developed in this paper based on several specific characteristics of the Kwilu, in order to investigate the effects of resource degradation on household production, consumption, and labour allocation decisions (and as a result child care). Both forested valleys and savanna lands on the plateaus are used for shifting cultivation, and forested areas are regarded to be more productive in terms of agriculture than savanna areas. Shifting cultivation on forest land may require 15-20 yr for forest regeneration and a minimum of seven years for re-establishment of soil fertility, but fallow periods have declined to as little as three years in high population density areas. Availability of fertile forested land for crop production is becoming a problem in the region, although low quality savanna lands are abundant even in the Kwilu subregion. Yields and labour productivity drop substantially when households are forced to use savanna soils due to a shortage of forest soils. The model is used to examine the internal nonmarket and external market adjustments that rural households can make when forested land becomes less available to households because of, for example, population growth and deforestation. When forested land becomes less available, the specific conditions are identified where farmers (women) work harder for less return while allocating less time to child care activities. The end result is poorer child health. These negative health effects provide one empirically observable measure of the opportunity costs of resource degradation in an economy where markets function poorly at best. (Cambridge Scientific Abstracts)

*Keywords:* Zaire, Environment, Child health, Malnutrition, Rural Areas

**Messer, E. (1990) 'Intrahousehold allocation of resources: perspectives from anthropology'. In Rogers, B.L. and Schlossman, N.P. (Eds.) (1990) *Intra-Household Resource Allocation: Issues and Methods for Development Policy and Planning*, Tokyo: United Nations University Press.**

See chapter 1 (Introduction)



**Paolisso, M.J., Hallman, K., Haddad, L. and Regmi, S. (2002). Does cash crop adoption detract from child care provision? evidence from rural Nepal'. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 50 (2), 313-337.**

available at: <http://www.ifpri.org/divs/fcnd/dp/papers/fcndp109.pdf>

Using data from fieldwork conducted in Nepal, the impact of a project designed to commercialise vegetables and fruits — the Vegetable and Fruit Cash Crop Program (VFC)—on male and female time allocation is examined. Using a rigorous time collection methodology, activity patterns in households that adopt and do not adopt the new technology are profiled. Very few studies examine changing activity patterns of both men and women in response to commercialisation of agriculture. Though women's time is valuable in agriculture, it is also valuable in the production of child nutrition. The recent evolution in thinking as to the causes of child malnutrition—the three pillars being food intake, health, and time to care—warrants further analyses of the time trade-offs that women and men face when adopting new agricultural technologies. The VFC program was successful at targeting both men and women farmers in the sense that household participation resulted in increased head male and head female time spent growing vegetables and fruits. The responses varied, however, by the number of preschool children in residence. In households with more than one preschooler, the time trade-offs associated with VFC participation were not sizeable for the care of children under five years. In households with just one preschooler, the trade-offs were more important. In these households, preschoolers received less care from the male and female heads, who spent more time in both the cash crop and in the food crop. In these same households, the nonwork (leisure) time of men increased as a result of VFC participation, but for women, leisure time was unaffected. Thus in the short run, there is perhaps scope for protecting childcare time by reducing time to leisure. In the medium run, benefits may well accrue to unborn preschoolers if VFC participation empowers women. (Author's own)

*Keywords:* Cash Crops, Childcare, Nepal

**Quisumbing, A. (2003). *Household Decisions, Gender and Development*. Washington: International Food Policy Research Institute.**

See section 3.2 (Gender inequality and the conjugal contract)

**Quisumbing, A.R., Estudillo, J.P. and Otsuka, K. (2004). *Land and Schooling: Transferring Wealth across Generations*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.**

In rural societies, passing down land and providing an education are the main ways parents assure the future welfare of their children. If, however, parents educate their sons and not their daughters and only sons inherit land, women will be worse off compared to men. Is the





distribution of income and welfare between men and women changing? While many studies have documented that education of women is increasing in developing countries, evidence on changes in women's land rights is scarce. Knowing how men and women acquire land and human capital is the basis for determining the extent of this gender problem and how to solve it.

The authors of this book identify the factors affecting land inheritance and schooling across generations in the Philippines, Indonesia, and Ghana--countries with very different social and cultural traditions. Based on household surveys at each site, the authors examine how these factors affect the distribution of income and spending in the household as a whole and among its individual members. They look at how these differences in land holdings and education affect what sons and daughters will earn over their lifetimes. To help right gender imbalances, the authors consider policies to encourage adoption of labour-intensive agricultural technologies, to extend and strengthen school systems in rural areas, to promote competition in off-farm labour markets, and to eliminate discrimination against women. The authors conclude that there is no conflict between policies to enhance the efficiency of investments in land and human capital and policies to promote gender equity. (Abstract from IFPRI webpage, available at: <http://www.ifpri.org/pubs/jhu/landschooling.htm>)

*Keywords:* Education, Land, Gender, Ghana, Indonesia, Philippines

**Udry, C. (1996). 'Gender, agricultural production and the theory of the household'. *Journal of Political Economy*, 104 (5), 1010–1046.**

Available at: <http://www.econ.yale.edu/~cru2/pdf/gender.pdf>

Virtually all models of the household have the minimal implication that the equilibrium allocation of resources is Pareto efficient. Within many African households, agricultural production is simultaneously carried out on many plots controlled by different members of the household. Pareto efficiency implies that variable factors should be allocated efficiently across these plots. This paper provides a simple test of this weak implication of household models using an extremely detailed agronomic panel data set from Burkina Faso. I find that plots controlled by women have significantly lower yields than similar plots within the household planted with the same crop in the same year, but controlled by men. The yield differential is attributable to significantly higher labour and fertiliser inputs per acre on plots controlled by men. These results contradict the Pareto efficiency of resource allocation within the household. Production function estimates imply that about six percent of output is lost due to the misallocation of variable factors across plots within the household. The paper concludes with suggestions for a new model of intra-household allocations consistent with the empirical results. (Author's own)

This article questions the unitary household theory by testing the hypothesis that households behave as though they were single individuals and that resource allocations within



households is Pareto-efficient. The first section introduces the topic of study and area of research. The second section explores the implications of Pareto efficiency in resource allocation across plots farmed by a single household. The third section provides background information on farming systems in Burkina Faso, as well as an overview of the data used in the analysis. The results of the paper are exposed in Section 4, where it is demonstrated that yields are significantly lower on plots controlled by women, contradicting the Pareto efficiency of resource allocation within the household. Section 5 concludes the paper with an estimation of production functions and a calculation of the losses due to misallocation of factors of production. It is concluded that a new approach to modeling intrahousehold allocation which is consistent with the findings of the paper be sought.

*Keywords:* Gender, Unitary household –critique, Pareto efficiency

### 3.4.2 *Health and nutrition*

**Bird, K (2007).** ‘The intergenerational transmission of poverty: an overview’. **Chronic Poverty Research Centre Working Paper, forthcoming.**

See chapter 2 (IGT, chronic poverty and poverty dynamics)

**Bruce, J. (1989).** ‘Homes divided’. *World Development*, 17 (7), 979-992.

See section 3.2 (Gender inequality and the conjugal contract)

**Das Gupta, M. (1987).** ‘Selective Discrimination against female children in rural Punjab, India’. *Population and Development Review*, 13 (1), 77-100.

See section 3.3 (Other factors influencing intrahousehold dynamics)

**Choe, M.K., Hongsheng, H. and Feng, W. (1995).** ‘Effects of gender, birth order, and other correlates on childhood mortality in China’. *Social Biology*, 42 (1-2), 50-64.

See section 3.3 (Other factors influencing intrahousehold dynamics)

**Christiaensen, L and Alderman, H. (2004).** ‘Child malnutrition in Ethiopia: can maternal knowledge augment the role of income?’. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 52 (2), 287-312.

Available at: <http://www.worldbank.org/afr/wps/wp22/wp22-1.pdf>

Over the past decades, Ethiopia has consistently faced severe pre-school child malnutrition problems, with malnutrition rates ranking amongst the worst in Sub Saharan Africa. While this has been sufficiently documented – by case studies and national official surveys – the



reasons behind it are still poorly understood. This paper addresses this gap by applying the conditional or quasi-reduced nutrition demand approach to household data from three consecutive welfare monitoring surveys over the period 1996-1998. Particular attention is devoted to the role of nutritional knowledge in reducing child growth faltering.

Our estimated results identify household resources, parental education, food prices and maternal nutritional knowledge, proxied by the community's diagnostic capability of growth faltering, as key determinants of chronic child malnutrition in Ethiopia. Though largely consistent with findings from other malnutrition studies, our empirical results with respect to the community sanitation, health and communication infrastructure are less robust, possibly because of confounding factors such as the quality of health care or lack of variation in the variables.

Actions to expand access to schooling and to promote food security and income growth, are already part of Ethiopia's development program. However, as indicated by the simulation results, they will leave child malnutrition at unacceptably high levels. Moreover, it will take a considerable amount of time before they will affect pre-school child malnutrition which may contribute to a substantial reduction in lifetime earnings (Behrman and Hoddinott, 2000). In particular, the results imply that enhancing awareness of growth faltering in communities and their capability to spot it may be an effective, complementary and timely response to address growth faltering in Ethiopia. For example, increasing the community's ability to rightly diagnose stunted and non stunted children respectively as stunted and non stunted by 25 percentage points has similar effects as providing at least one female adult per household with primary education. When implemented in addition to the more general development interventions such as income growth and increased access to primary schooling described above, we find that chronic child malnutrition in Ethiopia could be reduced by up to 43 percent. (Adapted from author's conclusion)

*Keywords:* Child malnutrition, Education, Maternal knowledge, Ethiopia

**Haddad, L. (1994). 'Strengthening food policy through intra-household analysis'. *Food Policy*, 19 (4), 347-356.**

Available at: <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/B6VCB-45GSC07-3Y/2/398bf2093b73de572ad84a9fc4f284f3>

This paper argues that food policy can be strengthened through an improved understanding of how rights, responsibilities and resources are allocated among household members. The limitations of the standard unitary economic model of intrahousehold allocation are discussed. Alternative economic models of the household — and the data needs they imply — are outlined. A number of examples are provided as to when intrahousehold resource allocation patterns and processes have proved important for policy/project effectiveness. Finally, the cross-cutting nature of the intrahousehold approach is emphasised in terms of



the potential benefits for policy design. Promising areas include: irrigation and deforestation management, labour-intensive public works, credit, the eradication of micronutrient deficiencies, and agriculture-human fertility linkages. To date, policy makers have not been well served by intrahousehold analyses. Researchers have yet to demonstrate convincingly that intrahousehold issues are more than academic intrigues. A few studies, however, illustrate the potential pay-offs for a policy of understanding the patterns and determinants of intrahousehold resource allocation. In order to establish the potential of these pay-offs to policy, recent advances in model building and data collection have to be harnessed to a multi-instrument, multi-country research program that has the capacity to establish a dialogue with policy-makers. Only when models, data and policy dialogue can be combined in a multi-count, multi-instrument setting can we test the relevance of intrahousehold analyses for policy formulation. Either way, this type of work has value; if intrahousehold issues prove to be important, then we can provide policymakers with ways to improve food and development policy. On the other hand, if intrahousehold issues prove not to be particularly important for policy they must not be allowed to divert us from the more relevant dimensions of development policy formulation. (Adapted from author's abstract and conclusions)

*Keywords:* Household modelling, Intrahousehold data, Policy design, Food policy

**Harper, C., Marcus, R. and Moore, K. (2003). 'Enduring Poverty and the conditions of childhood: lifecourse and intergenerational poverty transmissions'. *World Development*, 31 (3), 535-554.**

See chapter 2 (IGT, chronic poverty and poverty dynamics).

**Huss-Ashmore, R. (1996). 'Livestock, nutrition, and intrahousehold resource control in Uasin Gishu district, Kenya'. *Human Ecology*, 24 (2), 191-213.**

**Available at:** <http://www.springerlink.com/content/u12r8605360p1m4u/>

Increased livestock production in developing countries is seen as one way to improve world food supply. However, the impact of increased livestock production on household health and nutrition is unknown. This paper examines linkages between commercialisation of livestock production and household nutrition. Linkages include income, resource allocation, food consumption, and human disease risk. Data from Uasin Gishu district, Kenya, show higher consumption of animal products for large commercialised farms, along with greater control of milk sales by men. Effects of livestock development may thus differ by gender, and may include both positive and negative impacts. (Author's own)

*Keywords:* Development, Livestock, Nutrition, Gender

**Messer, E. (1997). 'Intra-household allocation of food and health care: current findings and understandings'. *Introduction Social Science and Medicine*, 44 (11), 1675-1684.**

Available at:

<http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/els/02779536/1997/00000044/00000011/art00370>

This work offers an anthropological analysis of intra-household processes underlying gender- and age-specific differences in individual nutritional and health care allocations and outcomes in particular cultures. Based on recent ethnographic studies in India, Nepal, Madagascar, Mexico, and Peru, correspondences are analysed between local cultural ('emic') and scientist-policy maker-practitioner ('etic') understandings of nutrition, health, and human development, and the relative 'values' of females, males, and children of different ages. The data and analyses clarify specific epidemiological and demographic findings on age and gender bias in nutrition and health and highlight the multiple cultural, economic, and biological factors that contribute to gender- or age-based discrimination or neglect. Recent advances in nutrition policy have argued for a broader concept of nutritional security, one that incorporates both food quantity and quality, and of nutrition as 'food, health, and care' (International Conference on Nutrition, *World Declaration and Plan of Action for Nutrition*, FAO/WHO, Rome, 1992). These ethnographic findings lend strong support for such broader nutrition concepts and associated nutrition policies. The studies also suggest ways in which anthropological questions, methods, and data and community-based research can help predict or identify the nutritionally vulnerable within households and help other social and medical scientists design more effective interventions. (Author's own)

**Keywords:** Allocation of food, Allocation of healthcare, Nutritional security, Research methodology

**Miller, B.D. (1997). 'Social Class, gender and intra-household food allocations to children in South Asia'. *Social Science and Medicine*, 44 (11), 1685-1695.**

Available at:

[http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/sites/entrez?cmd=Retrieve&db=PubMed&list\\_uids=9178412&dopt=Citation](http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/sites/entrez?cmd=Retrieve&db=PubMed&list_uids=9178412&dopt=Citation)

In the 1980s, research on gender-biased food distribution to children within the household in South Asia yielded important findings. Many studies report evidence of substantial discrimination against daughters, but others do not. This paper reviews research of the 1980s with attention to social differentiation in gender bias. My hypothesis is that different results concerning gender bias in intrahousehold allocations are expectable, given variations in gender hierarchy throughout South Asia. Results of the review indicate that seemingly 'contradictory' results are often accurate reflections of social status differences within South Asia that create varying female health and nutritional outcomes. (Author's own)



In this paper, several studies of the 1980s from different regions in India are reviewed, to conclude that nutritional disadvantages among daughters and biased food allocations toward sons are more apparent in the propertied or upper strata than among the lower strata. This finding seems contrary to the common assertion amongst health specialists that excess female mortality in developing countries is associated exclusively with poverty. Instead, discrimination against daughters is related with the future costs of marriage as compared to the future benefits in the case of sons.

*Keywords:* Intrahousehold food allocation, Gender, Female discrimination, Nutritional anthropology, Child survival, South Asia

**Oni, J.B. (1996). 'Qualitative exploration of intra-household variations in treatment of child illness in polygynous Yoruba families: the use of local expressions'. *Health Transition Review*, 6 (1), 57-69.**

See section 3.3 (Other factors affecting intrahousehold dynamics)

**Pitt, M.M. and Rosenzweig, M.R. (1990). Estimating the intra-household incidence of illness: child health and gender inequality in the allocation of time'. *International Economic Review*, 31 (4), 969-989.**

Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/view/00206598/di008366/00p0033t/0>

In this paper we develop and implement a method for estimating the effects of infant morbidity on the differential allocation of time of family members based on discrete indicators of health and activity participation, commonly available in survey data, and within the context of a household model in which health is determined endogenously. Our estimates that take into account the 'simultaneity' of health-activity associations indicate that increased levels of infant morbidity significantly exacerbate existing differentials in the accumulation of human capital across teenage boys and girls in Indonesia. (Author's own)

Within a household, illness of a member is likely to evoke adjustments by other members of the household in time allocation. Thus, estimate of the effects of health initiatives on health understate the potential beneficial role of such policies. This paper proposes, from an economic perspective, a model to produce better estimates of the effects of child morbidity on the allocation of time among family members. Through an empirical analysis of household and community level data from Indonesia, the authors demonstrate that existing gender differences in the division of time between household, labour-force and schooling increase among teenagers where high morbidity is at a higher level. When infant morbidity occurs, teenaged daughters are more likely to increase their participation in domestic work, decrease their participation in market activities and drop out of school. This approach, it is argued, takes into account the integrated nature of households, producing a greater awareness of the differentiated effects of health-oriented interventions.



*Keywords:* Time allocation, Child health, Gender inequality, Health policy, Indonesia

**Pfeiffer, J. (2003). 'Cash income, intrahousehold cooperative conflict, and child health in Central Mozambique'. *Medical anthropology*. 22 (2), 87-130.**

Available at:

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~content=a713739583~db=all~jumptype=rss>

This study presents qualitative data on individual cash income generation and intrahousehold bargaining in a sample of 100 households in central Mozambique. It is now recognised that intrahousehold resource allocation patterns can be critical determinants of children's health in the developing world. Recently developed 'bargaining-power' models suggest that individual incomes are often not pooled in households and that decisions are the result of a bargaining process that involves cooperation and conflict between men and women. Women's income, many believe, is more often spent on child welfare. Development projects should target benefits to women for greater impact on child health. Some argue that households consist of separate, gendered spheres of economic responsibility that intersect through a 'conjugal contract' that defines the terms of cooperation. The findings here support the 'separate-spheres' depiction of the household and reveal women's subordinated position in the external cash economy, which undermines their intrahousehold bargaining power. (Author's own)

In this article, Pfeiffer approaches the study of child malnutrition from an anthropological perspective, using ethnographic data from a rural village in Mozambique to analyse how social and cultural norms affect the distribution of resources amongst household members. He finds that within the 50 households' sample selected for the study, eight cash-decision making patterns can be distinguished, and within each pattern there is always room for a certain degree of negotiation. In general, men are in charge of long term expenditures like housing, crops and certain kinds of food, while women are responsible for managing the day-to-day welfare of their children and monitoring their diet and health. For this, women depend on their husband's allowances or, in some cases, on their own minimum salaries. However, while these decision-making patterns are deeply affected by socio-cultural norms, these norms should not be understood as static and unchanging structures. It is concluded that the increasing importance of cash due to the introduction of market economies has in fact created a new situation in which both men and women are extremely vulnerable to the commoditised economy. In an environment where cash income is necessary for both men and women to meet their duties, poverty intensifies the gender conflict as priorities clash.

*Keywords:* Intrahousehold Resource Allocation, Child Nutrition, Income, Gender, Commoditisation, Mozambique



**Quisumbing, A. (2003). *Household Decisions, Gender and Development*. Washington: International Food Policy Research Institute.**

See section 3.2 (Gender inequality and the conjugal contract)

### 3.4.3 *Human capital and education*

**Bhargava, P., Mathur, K. and Rajagopal, S. (2005). 'Understanding chronic poverty in Rajasthan'. Childhood Poverty Research and Policy Centre (CHIP) Report 16. London: CHIP.**

See chapter 2 (IGT, chronic poverty and poverty dynamics).

**Case, A. and Ardington, C. (2004). *The impact of parental death on school enrolment and achievement: longitudinal evidence from South Africa*'. Centre for Social Science Research Working Paper 97. Princeton: Princeton University.**

Available at: [http://www.princeton.edu/~rpds/downloads/case\\_ardington\\_parentaldeath.pdf](http://www.princeton.edu/~rpds/downloads/case_ardington_parentaldeath.pdf)

We analyse longitudinal data from a demographic surveillance area (DSA) in KwaZulu-Natal, to examine the impact of parental death on children's outcomes. We find significant differences in the impact of mothers' and fathers' deaths. The loss of a child's mother is a strong predictor of poor schooling outcomes. Maternal orphans are significantly less likely to be enrolled in school, and have completed significantly fewer years of schooling, conditional on age, than children whose mothers are alive. Less money is spent on their educations on average, conditional on enrolment. Moreover, children whose mothers have died appear to be at an educational disadvantage when compared to non-orphaned children with whom they live. We use the timing of mothers' deaths relative to children's educational shortfalls to argue that mothers' deaths have a causal effect on children's educations. The loss of a child's father is a significant predictor of household socioeconomic status. Children whose fathers have died live in significantly poorer households, measured on a number of dimensions. However, households in which fathers died were poor prior to fathers' deaths. The death of a father between waves of the survey has no significant effect on subsequent household economic status. While the loss of a father is correlated with poorer educational outcomes, this correlation arises because a father's death is a marker that the household is poor. Evidence from the South African 2001 Census suggests that the estimated effects of maternal deaths on children's school attendance and attainment in the Africa Centre DSA reflect the reality for orphans throughout South Africa. (Authors' Own)

**Keywords:** AIDS, Orphanhood, Education, South Africa





**Castañeda, T. and Aldaz-Carroll, E. (1999) The Intergenerational Transmission of Poverty: Some Causes and Policy Applications. Discussion Paper March 14, 1999.**

See chapter 2 (IGT, chronic poverty and poverty dynamics)

**Glick, P. and Sahn, D.E. (2000). 'Schooling of girls and boys in a West African country: the effects of parental education, income, and household structure'. *Economics of Education Review*, 19.**

Available at: [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=440949](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=440949)

In this paper we investigate gender differences in the determinants of several schooling indicators—grade attainment, current enrollment, and withdrawal from school—in a poor urban environment in West Africa, using ordered and binary probit models incorporating household-level random effects. Increases in household income lead to greater investments in girls' schooling but have no significant impact on schooling of boys. Improvements in father's education raises the schooling of both sons and daughters (favoring the latter) but mother's education has significant impact only on daughters' schooling; these estimates are suggestive of differences in maternal and paternal preferences for schooling daughters relative to sons. Domestic responsibilities, represented for example by the number of very young siblings, impinge strongly on girls' education but not on boys'. Policies such as subsidised childcare that reduce the opportunity cost of girls' time in the home may therefore increase their ability to get an education. (Author's own)

*Keywords:* Gender, Education, West Africa

**Kabeer, N. (2003). 'Past, present and future: child labour and the intergenerational transmission of poverty.' Conference Paper presented at Staying Poor: Chronic Poverty and Development Policy, IDPM, Manchester.**

Available at: <http://www.chronicpoverty.org/pdfs/2003conferencepapers/Kabeer.pdf>

This paper explores the failure to invest in children's education as an aspect of the intergenerational transmission of poverty. The focus is on investment in the human capital of children through education and its relevance for IGT poverty processes. It is argued that a decline in mortality will lead to a decline in fertility, because it reduces the 'insurance motivation' for having children (having enough children to ensure that a certain number will survive to adulthood). As child survival becomes increasingly assured, parents take a more active role in deciding how many children they have. This creates a different form of decision-making which permits the consideration of new forms of investments in children. Data from the South Asian context suggests that in fact declines in mortality and fertility directly and indirectly increase the value placed on education. However, this process is uneven across social and geographical spaces, suggesting that different forms of intergenerational contracts exist.



Key sets of factors identified as operating against children's educational attainment include: Vulnerability (defined as the conditions and concerns of individuals and households who are at constant risk of sliding into greater poverty from a position characterised by high levels of deprivation); social exclusion (defined as the interlocking of forms of disadvantage reflecting economic factors, resource based disadvantage, social identity, and the issue of recognition); endemic insecurity; and marginalisation in everyday life.

It is concluded that the idea of the inter-generational transmission of poverty suggests a degree of path-dependence in the life-trajectories of those who have been disadvantaged from childhood. In this sense, the author emphasises that the parents of the current generation of children had often themselves experienced some of the same disadvantages, even if in different contexts. However, it is also acknowledged that these pathways can be broken through a change in norms and values around education.

*Keywords:* Education, IGT Poverty, Demographic Transition, Human Capital, South Asia

**Moore, K. (2001). 'Frameworks for understanding the inter-generational transmission of poverty and well being in developing countries'. Chronic Poverty Research Centre Working Paper 8. Manchester, UK: IDPM/Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC).**

See chapter 1 (IGT poverty)

### 3.5 Social norms and cultural contexts

**Carter, M., Barrett, C. (2006). The economics of poverty traps and persistent poverty: an asset-based approach'. *Journal of Development Studies*, 42 (2), 178–199.**

See chapter 2 (IGT, chronic poverty and poverty dynamics)

**Duflo, E. and Udry, C. (2004). 'Intrahousehold resource allocation in Cote d'Ivoire: social norms, separate accounts and consumption choices. Working paper 10498. Massachusetts: National Bureau of Economic Research.**

Available at: <http://econ-www.mit.edu/files/764>

We study resource allocation and insurance within households in Cote d'Ivoire. In Cote d'Ivoire, as in much of Africa, husbands and wives farm separate plots, and there is some specialisation by gender in the crops that are grown. These different crops are differentially sensitive to particular kinds of rainfall shocks. We test whether two rainfall configurations that have the same effect on total expenditure have different effects on the types of goods consumed by the household, depending on which crops they affect most. We reject the hypothesis of complete insurance within the household, even with respect to these publicly



observed exogenous shocks. In particular, we find that rainfall shocks that increase the output of yams, a crop whose proceeds must traditionally be used to purchase public goods are associated with strong shifts in the composition of expenditures toward education, staples, and overall food consumption and away from adult goods and private goods. In contrast, rainfall shocks that increase the output of crops cultivated individually by either men or women are associated with strong expenditure shifts toward adult private goods. Shocks that increase the output of crops predominantly cultivated by women shift expenditures toward food consumption, while similar shocks affecting cash crops cultivated by men have no effect on the purchases of food. (Author's own)

*Keywords:* Intra-household allocation, Insurance, Social norms, Mental accounts

**Ferguson, J. (1992). 'The cultural topography of wealth: commodity paths and the structure of property in rural Lesotho'. *American Anthropologist*, 94, 55-73.**

See chapter 1 (Introduction)

**Jelin, E. (1990) 'Household organization and expenditure in a time perspective: social processes of change'. In Rogers, B.L. and Schlossman, N.P. (Eds.) (1990) *Intra-Household Resource Allocation: Issues and Methods for Development Policy and Planning*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press.**

Available at: <http://www.unu.edu/unupress/unupbooks/80733e/80733E00.htm#Contents>

This paper addresses methodological and conceptual issues concerning the analysis of processes of social and political change and their effects on household dynamics. The objective is to illustrate the potential of qualitative studies for uncovering patterns of social organisation and mechanisms of change in the investigation of intrahousehold dynamics. The paper is based on an in-depth, longitudinal study of fifteen working-class households in Buenos Aires (Argentina) from 1976 to 1983, during a period of economic recession, political repression, and profound social transformations.

Consumption theory suggests that households follow orderly patterns when adapting to declining income. This study, however, shows that during periods when money is very scarce, daily consumption is the result of unrelated, on-the-spot decisions, more than of a premeditated consumption plan. Investigating apparently illogical purchases provides a key to understanding the coping strategies families and individuals develop to mitigate the constraints and uncertainty of a recessive economy. Two items stand out in this study: electrical appliances and clothes for the young members of the household. Electrical appliances are a means to resist the radical change in living conditions; in the face of basic needs, families would purchase this 'luxury goods' as a means to show that the situation was not 'so deplorable'. Teenagers' clothing equally constituted a mechanism of 'public



presentation'. That a son or daughter would 'have nothing to wear' for lack of money would be a very obvious manifestation of failure.

The conclusion to be drawn from this paper points to the importance of studying household organisation in and of itself, rather than having assumptions made about it that are based simply on household composition. It also points to the necessity to introduce a time perspective into household studies, as this brings to light processes that otherwise remain hidden and invisible. Finally, this study demonstrates the importance of the interrelationship between households and their environment. Any study concentrating its analytical efforts inside the household must also study the specific ways in which households as units and their individual members enter into significant relationships with other institutions. (Adapted from author's text)

*Keywords:* Social norms, Expenditure patterns, Consumption theory, Argentina

**Kevane (2001). 'Social norms and the time allocation of women's labor in Burkina Faso'. *Review of Development Economics*, 5 (1).**

Available at: <http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/abs/10.1111/1467-9361.00111>

This paper proposes that major determinants of allocation of women's time are social norms that regulate the economic activities of women. The emphasis on norms contrasts with approaches that view time allocation as determined by household-level economic variables. Using data from Burkina Faso, it is shown that social norms significantly explain differences in patterns of time allocation between two ethnic groups: Mossi and Bwa. Econometric results show women from the two groups exhibiting different responses to changes in farm capital. Implications are that policies changing social norms may have more permanent effects on altering women's behavior. (Author's own)

Empirical findings of this paper are as follows: whereas the labour input of women in their husband's fields of the Bwa is responsive to the level of their husband's farm capital, the labour input of Mossi women is relatively invariant with respect to the farm capital of their husbands. This finding is consistent with the hypothesis that emerges from a review of the anthropological literature that Mossi women are more economically and socially constrained than Bwa women. Mossi women are constrained by norms about working on the fields of their husbands, while Bwa women are most influenced by norms rewarding the market-oriented activity of making and selling *dolo*. Moving away from classical econometric analysis, this paper draws on anthropological literature which suggests that there are significant socio-cultural differences in norms that regulate activities and norms that influence threat-points in intrahousehold bargaining.

*Keywords:* Allocation of time, Social norms, Ethnic differences, Burkina Faso



**Oni, J.B. (1996). 'Qualitative exploration of intra-household variations in treatment of child illness in polygynous Yoruba families: the use of local expressions'. *Health Transition Review*, 6 (1), 57-69.**

See section 3.3 (Other factors affecting intrahousehold dynamics)

### 3.6 Conclusion

**Booth, D. M. Leach and Tierney, A. (1999). 'Experiencing poverty in Africa: perspectives from anthropology'. Background Paper for Status of Poverty in Africa Report, 1999. Sussex: Insitute of Development Studies.**

See chapter 3.1 (Concepts, definitions and research issues)

**Carter, M. and Barrett, C. (2006). ;'The Economics of poverty traps and persistent poverty: an asset-based approach. *Journal of Development Studies*, 42 (2), 178–199.**

See chapter 2 (IGT, chronic poverty and poverty dynamics)

**Messer, E. (1990) 'Intrahousehold allocation of resources: perspectives from anthropology'. In Rogers, B.L. and Schlossman, N.P. (Eds.) (1990) *Intra-Household Resource Allocation: Issues and Methods for Development Policy and Planning*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press.**

Available at: <http://www.unu.edu/unupress/unupbooks/80733e/80733E00.htm#Contents>

This chapter introduces the various anthropological frameworks used to predict the effects of socio-economic interventions on households and their members. Economists generally evaluate the effects of development projects based on income or consumption outcome measures, education, health, and nutrition indicators. Yet, attempts to improve these socio-economic indicators may not always work as expected. This paper analyses the unexpected impacts of development policies which do not take into consideration crucial socio-cultural factors. Anthropologists can evaluate project impacts by assessing the resources available to a social unit (land, labour time, skills, energy, and potentially productive materials); analysing its rules for classifying, using, and distributing these resources; and establishing the nutritional and health-related consequences of these rules for resource allocation and use.

Anthropological approaches are particularly suited to identifying the perceptions of individuals about the appropriate uses, rights, and obligations regarding household resources. Some of the changes brought about by development projects are less tangible; for instance, the 'value' of being female, a mother, a member of a particular group or the possessor of a particular cultural skill. Anthropologists are sensitive to such concerns.



Information on these perceptions is needed so that some reasonable assessment of what people are likely to accept in terms of time commitments to a given project can be made in advance of scheduling participation. (Adapted from author's text)

*Keywords:* Anthropology, Development policy, Social norms

**Osmani, S. (2007). 'When endowments and opportunities don't match: understanding chronic poverty'. Chronic Poverty Research Centre Working Paper 78. Manchester, UK: Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC).**

See chapter 2 (IGT, chronic poverty and poverty dynamics)

**Pfeiffer, J. (2003). 'Cash income, intrahousehold cooperative conflict, and child health in Central Mozambique'. *Medical Anthropology*, 22 (2), 87-130.**

See section 3.2 (Health and Nutrition)



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### **The Chronic Poverty Research Centre**

(CPRC) is an international partnership of universities, research institutes and NGOs, with the central aim of creating knowledge that contributes to both the speed and quality of poverty reduction, and a focus on assisting those who are trapped in poverty, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia.

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