

Chronic Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia:

A select annotated bibliography with
special reference to remote rural areas

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Background Paper 1
Chronic Poverty Research Centre
ISBN Number: 1-904049-00-1

Acknowledgements

This bibliography was guided and supported by members of the Remote Rural Areas Project team within the CPRC. Special thanks to the administrative staff at the School of Public Policy, University of Birmingham – Avril Clark, Audrey Lukwago, Kim Tan, and Zahir Mahmood – for their support in producing this bibliography.

**Chronic Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia
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Introduction

This bibliography is the first of a series of background papers from the Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC). It has a specific focus on chronic poverty in remote rural areas, one of several cross-cutting research themes to be pursued by the CPRC. The bibliography is primarily intended as a working document for the partners working within the Centre, although it will hopefully be of use to researchers of poverty and development more widely.

In its broadest sense, the term 'chronic poverty' refers to a sub-group of the poor who experience poverty over a lengthy time period, and at a particular depth. At the policy level there is a perceived need to distinguish between the chronically and transiently poor, in order to ensure that the targeting and sequencing of poverty alleviation measures are appropriate to the specific type of poverty involved. The Centre's specific focus on chronic poverty is driven by growing concerns that current development strategies and patterns of growth have failed to alleviate the hard-core poverty experienced by certain categories of poor people.

Remote rural areas – such as semi-arid, coastal, deep forests, borders and mountainous areas – are a particular focus as they are likely to experience poverty along several dimensions, including low incomes, low rates of literacy, and political marginality. They are likely to have underdeveloped and highly imperfect markets, limited non-farm livelihood opportunities, poor social and physical infrastructure, and weak social and political institutions. Some of these areas will be particularly vulnerable to 'risk', particularly environmental shocks such as drought or flooding.¹

A guide to the contents and structure

As the Internet is now an established resource for poverty research, a concise selection of useful web-sites is included directly after this *Introduction*. This section is entitled *Poverty Research Online*, and includes a specific section on spatial aspects of poverty. Where individual entries can be directly accessed via the internet, web addresses have been included within the reference details of individual entries.

The most specific literature on chronic poverty has been fore-grounded in the form of a *Chronic Poverty Toolbox* (Section 1). The Toolbox opens with material that is directly related to chronic poverty, and includes sources on poverty alleviation that refer specifically to chronic poverty. This sub-section is completed by some studies of chronic poverty carried out in the Americas, Russia and Eastern Europe.² In spite of an increased research interest in chronic poverty over the past ten years, the level of conceptualisation and geographical coverage of this specific concept remain limited. Only three African countries (Cote d'Ivoire, Rwanda and South Africa) and three Asian countries (India, China and Pakistan) have had their experience with chronic poverty explicitly investigated. There is little grasp of the global scale of chronic poverty. Existing research tends towards a descriptive focus on the characteristics of the chronically poor, with an inadequate emphasis on underlying explanatory factors.

Given this bibliography's concern with chronic poverty in remote rural areas, the next sub-section of the Toolbox focuses on the spatial dimensions of poverty. This growing field of poverty research has uncovered evidence of 'spatial poverty traps' in developing countries [Jalan and Ravallion 1997, 2000], while more general work reports that the highest levels of poverty will be found in areas that are 'tropical, landlocked, and distant' [Gallup et al 1998]. Spatial poverty mapping techniques have an important role to play in identifying remote rural areas characterised by low levels of 'geographical capital'.

¹ See Kate Bird, David Hulme and Andrew Shepherd, 'Chronic Poverty and Remote Rural Areas', a forthcoming CPRC Working Paper.

² A future CPRC bibliography will focus on the links between poverty alleviation and chronic poverty.

Conceptualising poverty identifies a selection of conceptual approaches to poverty that could underpin efforts to develop a clearer analytical understanding of this relatively un-theorised concept. One established approach is John Iliffe's distinction between 'structural' and 'conjunctural' poverty [1987]. This conceptualisation mirrors the current dichotomy between 'chronic' and 'transient' poverty, and underpins works cited elsewhere in this bibliography [e.g. Good 1999; Anderson and Broch-Due 1999]. Another is conceptual work that emphasises the multi-dimensional aspects of poverty, an approach well-captured in the early work of Robert Chambers [1983]. In addition, Chambers' five key clusters of poverty include an emphasis on 'isolation', which resonates with the focus adopted here on remote rural areas. Finally, social exclusion offers a potentially fruitful approach to researching chronic poverty. Social exclusion takes a multi-dimensional approach to poverty, and encompasses both residual and relational aspects of impoverishment [de Haan 1999]. It also focuses on political dimensions of impoverishment [Bhalla and Lapeyre 1997]. Sources relating to social exclusion contribute the majority of entries in this sub-section.

Significant problems exist in terms of measuring, as well as conceptualising, chronic poverty. Given that chronic poverty is distinguished from transient poverty by its duration, and particularly by low variation in income over a period of several years, there is a need to move beyond static poverty indicators. Panel data is essential to this task, especially datasets with more than two or three waves, but not always available. That chronic poverty comprises deprivation along several dimensions further limits the usefulness of many poverty surveys that are confined to data on income/consumption variables. *Measuring poverty* compiles the latest thinking on this topic, and focuses specifically on longitudinal measures of poverty [e.g. Appleton 1996], the use of panel data [May et al 2000], and the geographical and spatial aspects of poverty measurement [Hentschel et al 1998; Minot 2000]. Some databases of statistical and household data are also included [KIDS].

Section 2 contains a selection of more general sources on *Rural Poverty*, although this is far from being a comprehensive selection of sources. Some general overviews of rural poverty are included, but the main aim is to provide a selection of material from a number of key strands within current poverty research – such as conflict, risk, politics, and globalisation – that is likely to assist research into chronic poverty. For example, although 'risk' is generally seen as a problem specific to the transiently rather than the chronically poor, one study speculates that high income risk may cause persistent poverty if households are forced to forgo higher returns for more stable consumption, even at low levels [Dercon 1999]. Given the strong likelihood that chronic poverty will have a political dimension, an understanding of the political factors and processes that underpin impoverishment is required. These include exploitation [Good 1999], the political roots of civil conflict [Douma 1999], 'bad' governance [Moore et al 1999], the character of state-formation in rural areas [Bernstein 1998; Mamdani 1996], and inequality and discrimination [Brockerhoff and Hewett 2000; Betancourt and Gleason 2000]. Some sources on rural poverty are included because they are specific to the countries in which the CPRC will undertake research. The material is broken down by the geographic regions that CPRC is focused on, namely sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia.

A selection of the groups who are likely to be particularly vulnerable to chronic poverty are the focus of Section 3. The *Vulnerable Groups* considered here are women, people with disabilities, older people and pastoralists, although children will also form an important focus for the Centre's research.

Sources are arranged alphabetically within each sub-section. Not all entries carry abstracts, although particular efforts have been made to provide abstracts for those entries that the members of the remote rural areas project team deemed to be of particular importance. The paper reflects the incipient stage at which the Centre's work currently stands. Any analysis in this introduction or the annotated abstracts is the author's and should not be taken to represent the views of the CPRC.

Poverty Research Online: selected sites

Spatial Aspects of Poverty

Consortium on Spatial Information: FAO, UNEP-GRID and the CGIAR

Mapping indicators of poverty in West Africa.

<http://www.grida.no/prog/global/poverty/pub/mipwa/index.htm>

Mapping and geographic analysis of human welfare and poverty - review and assessment. Henninger, N. 1998. Washington D.C.: World Resources Institute.

Methodological information; poverty map of Uganda; rural remoteness maps of West Africa; lists household surveys in Africa since 1985; categorises regions into types of poverty.

http://www.grida.no/prog/global/poverty/pub/pov_fin.pdf

International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development

On the aspects of mountainous/hilly regions that contribute to poverty generation and/or obstruct poverty alleviation.

http://www.icimod.org.sg/focus/poverty/pov_toc.htm

World Bank

Geographic Aspects of Inequality and Poverty Website

Focuses on the issues, techniques and results of mapping spatial poverty traps.

<http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/inequal/povmap/>

Poverty Research: general

Centre for the Study of African Economies (CSAE)

Working Papers series, including several with a poverty focus.

<http://www.csae.ox.ac.uk/>

Institute of Development Studies

ID21: searchable database with abstracts on the latest development research

<http://www.id21.org>

IDS Poverty Research Programme, with online access to Working Papers

<http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/pvty/pvprp.html>

Eldis: development information gateway. Select Poverty as an 'Issue'.

<http://nt1.ids.ac.uk/eldis.htm>

Key Websites on Poverty

<http://nt1.ids.ac.uk/eldis/pov/pov.htm>

International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)

Includes the 2001 Rural Poverty Report

<http://www.ifad.org/>

International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED)

See the *Drylands Programme* for papers on semi-arid areas in West Africa.

<http://www.iied.org/>

The International Labour Office

Surveys and academic articles on issues such as social exclusion and child labour.

<http://www.ilo.org>

Overseas Development Institute (ODI)

Poverty Briefings

<http://www.odi.org.uk/publications/poverty.html>

OECD/DAC

Economic well-being indicators: detailed poverty data and survey OECD DAC.

<http://www.oecd.org/>

Poverty Research Unit, University of Sussex

<http://www.sussex.ac.uk/Units/PRU/>

United Nations Development Programme: Poverty Programme

For the full UNDP 2000 *Human Poverty Report*, and the background papers, with a specific focus on measuring poverty.

<http://www.undp.org/poverty/>

World Bank

Poverty Site

<http://www.worldbank.org/poverty>

World Development Report 2000/2001, Attacking Poverty

<http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/wdrpoverty/report/index.htm>

Background Papers

<http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/wdrpoverty/background>

Research web site

<http://econ.worldbank.org/>

Policy Research Working Papers

<http://econ.worldbank.org/resource.php?type=5>

Directory of household surveys and participatory poverty assessments

<http://wbln0018.worldbank.org/dg/povertys.nsf/>

Journals, including the World Bank Research Observer

<http://www.worldbank.org/research/journals>

Section One

A Chronic Poverty Toolbox

Chronic poverty

Spatial dimensions of poverty

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Chronic poverty

Bane, M.J. and D. Ellwood. 1986. 'Slipping in and out of Poverty: The Dynamics of Spells', *Journal of Human Resources*, Vol.21, Vol.1, 1-23.

This paper examines the dynamic of poverty. Previous analyses have examined either fluctuations in the male heads' earnings or the frequency of poverty periods over a fixed time frame. Our approach depends on a definition of spells of poverty. Using this methodology we find that the majority of poor persons at any time are in the midst of a rather long spell of poverty. The methodology allows us to estimate that less than 40% of poverty spells begin because of a drop in the heads' earnings, while 60% of the spells end when the heads' earnings increase. Thus, researchers must focus on household formation decisions and on the behaviour of secondary family members. (Author's abstract).

Barrett, C. B. and Carter, M. C. 2000. Can't get ahead for falling behind: new directions for development policy to escape relief and poverty traps. *BASIS Brief 2*.

<http://www.wisc.edu/lrc/live/basbrief02.pdf>

To stimulate new directions in development assistance policy, we explore the trap of reactive aid, which recent research suggests is costly, of limited effectiveness, and commonly crowds out efforts to address underlying structures that create and perpetuate vulnerability. We then consider the related micro-level poverty traps emerging analysis attributes largely to dysfunctional factor markets compounded by social exclusion. Both traps can be escaped only through a simultaneous effort to firm up factor markets and crowd-in investment. Foreign aid must be properly targeted toward remedying market deficiencies that set vulnerability traps both for the poorest and for development assistance. [From brief].

Baulch, Bob and J.D. Hoddinott. 2000. 'Economic Mobility and Poverty Dynamics in Developing Countries', *Journal of Development Studies*, Vol.36, No.6, 1-24.

This study provides an introduction to this special issue of The Journal of Development Studies on economic mobility and poverty dynamics in developing countries. In addition to providing a conceptual framework, it outlines how the contributions fit into the extant literature. A series of regularities emerge across these studies. The poor consist of those who are always poor – poor at all dates – and those who move in and out of poverty, with the latter group tending to be strikingly large. Such movements in and out of poverty are apparent when looking at poverty in either absolute or relative terms. Changes in returns to endowments can be a potent source of increased incomes. Finally, seemingly transitory shocks can have long-term consequences. The study concludes by drawing out the policy implications of these regularities. [Frank Cass & Co. Ltd].

Baulch, Bob and Neil McCulloch. 1998. 'Being Poor and Becoming Poor: Poverty Status and Poverty Transitions in Rural Pakistan'. *IDS Working Paper, 79*. Sussex: Institute of Development Studies. <http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/pvty/pvprp.html>

Conventional poverty profiles and poverty status regressions are often criticised by policy makers for telling them a lot about who the poor are, but very little about what to do to combat poverty. Essentially this is because the correlates of poverty status are distinct from the dynamic processes that lead households to fall into or escape from poverty. This paper contrasts the results of conventional poverty status regressions with an alternative approach, the analysis of poverty transitions, using a five year longitudinal household survey from rural Pakistan. The results show that while the incidence of income poverty in the sample villages was high, turnover among the poor was also rapid. In each year of the survey between 21 per cent and 29 per cent of households had incomes below the poverty line, but 46 per cent to 51 per cent of poor households exited poverty from one year to the next. Only 3 per cent of households were poor in all five years of the panel. Furthermore, the correlates of entries and exits from poverty were found to differ in important but unexpected ways from those of poverty status. The dependency ratio and geographic variables were important correlates of poverty status, but neither had much impact on entries into or exits from poverty. Other variables, such as education and livestock ownership, had asymmetric impacts on poverty transitions: increasing exit or reducing entry probabilities without influencing transitions in the opposite direction. Further analysis, however, is necessary to identify the events which preceded households moving into or out of poverty. The policy implications of these findings, if confirmed elsewhere, indicate that targeting anti-poverty policies using the characteristics of the currently poor is highly problematic. If governments care primarily about reducing the poverty headcount, they should focus their efforts on increasing exits from and decreasing entries into poverty. Focusing anti-poverty efforts on the correlates of poverty status means that it is the symptoms rather than the causes of poverty that are being addressed.

Braun, J. von. 1995. *Employment for poverty reduction and food security*. Washington, D.C.: International Food Policy Research Institute.

Current situation and literature in relation to poverty, food security and employment is reviewed. The following issues are discussed: employment-poverty links in theory and strategies; past experiences and reviews; and, conceptual framework and research questions. A table presents a guide to the reviewed experience of countries with poverty-reducing and food-security-enhancing employment programmes, given the incidence of disasters, crises, and famines, and levels of chronic poverty and food insecurity. [Social Science Abstracts]

Carter, M. R. and May, J. 1999. *One kind of freedom: poverty dynamics in post-apartheid South Africa*. IFPRI/University of Natal/University of Wisconsin. <http://www.wisc.edu/lrc/live/bassaf9912a.pdf>

The legacy of apartheid had much to do with the extraordinary levels of inequality and human insecurity found by the first ever nationally representative living standards survey undertaken in South Africa in 1993. Drawing on a 1998 re-survey of households in the 1993 study, this paper explores whether this legacy has been superseded, or whether apartheid's end has been only one kind of freedom that has left households in a poverty trap from which they cannot escape. The evidence indicates that significant numbers of South African poor are trapped in chronic, structural poverty, lacking the assets and entitlements needed to successfully escape poverty over time. [Author's abstract].

Chaudhuri, S. and M. Ravallion. 1994. 'How Well Do Static Indicators Identify The Chronically Poor?', *Journal of Public Economics*, Vol.53, No.3, 367-394.

We investigate how well the most widely used static welfare indicators perform in identifying the chronically poor. We propose a normative measure of performance: the cost of a given impact on chronic poverty when transfers are contingent, upon a

purely static indicator. Using longitudinal household data from rural India, we find that current consumption is not always a better indicator of chronic poverty than current income. Both, however, perform much better than other common indicators, such as food share and access to land. [Authors' abstract].

Dercon, S. 1999. 'Income Risk, Coping Strategies, and Safety Nets'. Background Paper for the *World Development Report 2000/2001*. Washington D.C: World Bank.

<http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/wdrpoverty/background/dercon.pdf>

Rural and urban households in developing countries face substantial idiosyncratic and common risk, resulting in high income variability. Households in risky environments have developed sophisticated risk management and risk-coping strategies, including self-insurance via savings and informal insurance mechanisms. Formal credit and insurance markets appear to contribute only little to reducing income risk and its consequences. Despite these strategies, vulnerability remains high, and is reflected in fluctuations in consumption. It is clear therefore, that the further development of safety nets will be necessary. Fluctuations in consumption usually imply relatively high levels of transient poverty. High income risk may also be a cause of persistent poverty. The failure to cope with income risk is not only reflected in household consumption but affect nutrition, health and education and contribute to inefficient and unequal intra-household allocations. Targeting assistance to the vulnerable population requires specific types of information. Analysing the characteristics of households experiencing chronic or transient poverty, or in general, their consumption fluctuations, can provide this information. Panel data are required for this analysis. [World Bank].

Dessallien, Renata Lok. 1999. *Review of Poverty Concepts and Indicators*. UNDP Poverty Programme. http://www.undp.org/poverty/publications/pov_red/

This paper presents an overview of different concepts of poverty and approaches to its measurement. The variation in concepts reveals the multidimensional nature of poverty. Poverty can be conceived as absolute or relative, as lack of income or failure to attain capabilities. It can be chronic or temporary, is sometimes closely associated with inequity, and is often correlated with vulnerabilities and social exclusion. The concepts used to define poverty determine the methods employed to measure it and the subsequent policy and programme packages to address it. The paper reviews the main types and families of indicators that have emerged over time, highlighting their strengths and weaknesses. It concludes with practical guidance to inform the choice of poverty indicators at country level. [UNDP Website].

Dreze, J. et al. 1992. 'Economic Mobility and Agricultural Labour in Rural India': A case study'. STICERD, London School of Economics, mimeo.

Gaiha, R., Deolalikar, A.B. 1993. 'Persistent, expected and innate poverty - estimates for semi- arid rural South India, 1975-1984', *Cambridge journal of economics*, Vol.17, No.4, 409- 421

"Disillusionment with agricultural growth trickling down to the rural poor is reflected in greater emphasis on *direct* anti-poverty interventions in recent years...In designing anti-poverty interventions, it is, therefore, necessary first to distinguish between the hardcore of poor from those who are temporarily poor...Briefly, persistent poverty may be due to a lack of assets while temporary (or transitory) poverty may result from adverse price-movement...Despite its obvious policy significance, the empirical analyses of persistent poverty in rural India are few and far between" (p409). "It is sometimes also argued that changes in income over time can give a misleading picture of the change in poverty status, mainly because of a random component in income. Instead, a less precise and subjective, but more comprehensive, measure of the standard of living – designated 'apparent prosperity index' – might be more

appropriate (Dreze et al 1992)...Using a panel survey of households in the semi-arid region of rural South India covering the period 1975-6 to 1983-4, alternative estimates of persistent poverty are constructed...it is demonstrated (contra Dreze et al 1992) that income purged of a random component yields useful measures of persistent poverty. That persistence of poverty is closely linked not just to a lack of assets but also to certain innate disadvantages (e.g. lack of industriousness and managerial ability) is illustrated" (p410).

Gaiha, R. 1992. 'On the chronically poor in rural India', *Journal of international development*, Vol.4, No.3, 273-289.

Despite a voluminous literature on, and a growing concern for, alleviation of poverty in rural India, few analyses of chronic poverty are available. Utilising a panel survey of rural households a characterisation of the chronically poor is presented here. Contrary to some assertions in the literature, a logit analysis shows that moderately poor households face a high risk of chronic poverty, and a subset of those were more prone to this risk than the poorest. The effect of adverse weather conditions on the risk of chronic poverty was positive but weak, while that of technological advancement was negative. The claim that the chronically poor are distinguishable not so much by low income in a year as by low variation in income over a period of time is supported by two decompositions. On the basis of the first decomposition it is shown that the chronically poor recorded the lowest variation in household income, and the bulk of this variation was due to the variation in wages over the survey period. The second decomposition, while confirming the lowest variation in per capita income among the chronically poor over the survey period, emphasises the critical role of earnings per worker. Considering the differences in earnings per worker reflect the combined influence of differences in endowments, and in the ability to augment earnings from them, it follows that effectiveness of anti-poverty interventions is conditional on whether the endowments and/or the ability of the chronically poor to augment their earnings from them can be raised substantially. What specific interventions are necessary cannot of course be inferred from this (essentially descriptive) analysis. [Blackwell Publishers].

Gaiha R. 1991. 'Poverty Alleviation Programs In Rural India - An Assessment', *Development and Change*, Vol.22, No.1, 117-154.

The Planning Commission estimated a *sharp* reduction of poverty during the early 1980s, which it attributed largely to the poverty alleviation strategy followed during the Sixth Plan. Specifically, it was claimed that the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IDRP) was responsible for a substantial reduction in rural poverty. This claim is critically evaluated here. Drawing upon the results of an applied general equilibrium model, selected anti-poverty interventions are compared from a macro perspective. Noting the incentive and information-related problems, some key issues in designing anti-poverty interventions are addressed. Section I reviews the changes in rural poverty at the all-India level. Section II explores the relationship between rural poverty, agricultural production and (consumer) prices. Distinguishing between transitory and persistent poverty, alternative measures of persistent poverty are presented in Section III. A case is then made for an interventionist anti-poverty strategy, followed by a brief review (Section IV) of salient features and selected performance indicators of poverty alleviation programmes launched/implemented during the Sixth Plan period. Section V investigates whether these programmes – especially the IRDP – played a significant role in alleviating poverty. Section VI discusses selected anti-poverty interventions and possible design-related reforms; concluding observations are offered in the final section. [Blackwell Publishers].

Gaiha R. 1989. 'Are The Chronically Poor Also The Poorest In Rural India', *Development And Change*, Vol.20, No. 2, 295-322

It has recently been noted that even during years of good agricultural performance, the head-count ration (i.e. poor/rural population) did not drop below 39% at the all-India level. "This suggests that there is a large hard 'core' of poverty which is likely to persist in spite of agricultural growth. The present paper focuses on this hard core of rural poverty" (p295). "Whether poverty is chronic or temporary is an issue which can *only* be addressed with a panel survey over a period of time" (p295-6). "A key question is whether the chronically poor are also the poorest (or its obverse: whether the poorest are also chronically poor). It will be argued that an income/expenditure rank in any year is likely to be a poor predictor of the chronic poverty of a household. What characterises the chronically poor is not so much low per capita income/expenditure in any year as *low variation* in it (in absolute terms) *over time*. An attempt will be made to show that this low variation is due to low/negligible endowments (e.g. cultivatable land, labour power, skills) and/or inability to augment substantially the earnings from them" (p296). "While a majority of the chronically poor belonged to the three bottom (per capita) income deciles...a substantial number belonged to the three higher deciles. A further classification of the chronically poor by (absolute) income intervals in 1968 also suggested that a substantial number were moderately poor. In other words, the chronically poor are not necessarily the poorest. Nor were the poorest necessarily chronically poor...the chronically poor were distinguishable not so much by per capita income in any year as by *low variation in per capita income* (in absolute terms) *over a period of time*" (pp315-6).

Grootaert, C. et al. 1995. 'The Dynamics Of Poverty: Why Some People Escape From Poverty And Others Don't An African Case Study'. *Policy Research Working Paper 1499*. Washington DC: World Bank. <http://econ.worldbank.org/>

In urban areas of Cote d'Ivoire, human capital is the endowment that best explains welfare changes over time. In rural areas, physical capital especially the amount of land and farm equipment owned matters most. Empirical investigations of poverty in developing countries tend to focus on the incidence of poverty at a particular point in time. If the incidence of poverty increases, however, there is no information about how many new poor have joined the existing poor and how many people have escaped poverty. Yet this distinction is of crucial policy importance. The chronically poor may need programs to enhance their human and physical capital endowments. Invalids and the very old may need permanent (targeted) transfers. The temporarily poor, on the other hand, may best be helped with programs that complement their own resources and help them "bridge" a difficult period.

Grootaert, C. and R. Kanbur. 1995. 'The Lucky Few Amidst Economic Decline: Distributional Change in Cote d'Ivoire as Seen Through Panel Datasets, 1985-88', *Journal of Development Studies*, Vol.31, No.4, 603-619.

Gunawardena, P. J. 1982. 'Poverty among labour households in a southern dry zone village in Sri Lanka', *Labour, Capital and Society*. 15/2, 58-85.

As part of the village expansion programme pursued by the Sri Lankan government since the 1940s, small plots of hill land have been distributed to landless families in an attempt to resolve the agricultural problems of overpopulated villages. These plots allow the construction of dwellings but are not easy to cultivate. Thus, the majority of the inhabitants of these villages have been forced to work as temporary labourers. Their situation is characterised by persistent poverty, due to lack of access to cultivable land, underemployment, low income, and exploitation by families with dominant positions in a range of socioeconomic hierarchies. Discusses solutions likely to alleviate poverty in such households both in this village and in other rural areas in the country. [I.Clegg (CDS)]

Herring, R. J. 1999. 'Persistent poverty and path dependency. Agrarian reform: Lessons from the United States and India', *IDS Bulletin*, 30/2, 13-22.

The historical experience of the United States, where aggregate wealth multiplied in abundance but persistent poverty is glaring, offers concrete illustration that growth is not a sufficient condition for poverty alleviation in the transition from agrarian society. In contrast, the State of Kerala in South India abolished an agrarian system based on agrestic serfdom and slavery in a compressed time period and has been notably successful in reducing the incidence of poverty despite income and growth rates well below the Indian mean. Though sometimes romanticised, the 'Kerala model' offers both positive and negative lessons from its thorough agrarian reform. Though less prominent in public discourse after the end of the Cold War, agrarian reform still offers significant poverty reduction advantages in comparison with alternatives. [Social Science Abstracts].

Jalan, J. and M. Ravallion. 2000. Is transient poverty different? Evidence for rural China', *Journal of development studies*, Vol.36, No.6, 82-99

We define 'transient poverty' as the component of time-mean consumption poverty at household level that is directly attributable to variability in consumption; this can be thought of as a measure of vulnerability to falling consumption. The non-transient component then depends solely on mean consumption over time, and we call this 'chronic poverty'. Using robust semi-parametric methods and household panel data for rural China, we test whether transient poverty is determined by a process that is similar to chronic poverty. Commonly identified causes of poverty in this setting have weak explanatory power for transient poverty and some of the factors determining transient poverty do not matter to chronic poverty, or even have the opposite effect. Successful policy responses to chronic poverty may still leave considerable transient poverty. [Frank Cass & Co. Ltd].

Jalan, J. and M. Ravallion. 1999. *Do Transient and Chronic Poverty Share the Same Common Causes ?*. Washington DC: World Bank.

Jalan, J. and M. Ravallion. 1998a. 'Determinants of Transient and Chronic Poverty: Evidence from Rural China'. *Policy Research Working Paper 1936*. Washington DC: World Bank. <http://econ.worldbank.org/>

Both chronic and transient poverty are reduced by greater command over physical capital, and life-cycle effects for the two types of poverty are similar. But there the similarities end. Most policies aimed at reducing chronic poverty may have little or no effect on transient poverty. Are the determinants of chronic and transient poverty different? Do policies that reduce transient poverty also reduce chronic poverty? Jalan and Ravallion decompose measures of household poverty into chronic and transient components and use censored conditional quantile estimators to investigate the household and geographic determinants of both chronic and transient poverty, taking panel data for post-reform rural China. They find that a household's average wealth holding is an important determinant for both transient and chronic poverty. Although household demographics, levels of education, and the health status of members of the household are important for chronic poverty, they are not significant determinants of transient poverty. Both chronic and transient poverty are reduced by greater command over physical capital, and life-cycle effects for the two types of poverty are similar. But there the similarities end.

Smaller and better-educated households have less chronic poverty, but household size and level of education matters little for transient poverty. Living in an area where health and education are better reduces chronic poverty but appears to be irrelevant to transient poverty. Nor are higher foodgrain yields a significant determinant of transient poverty, although they are highly significant in reducing chronic poverty.

These findings suggest that China's poor-area development program may be appropriate for reducing chronic poverty but is unlikely to help reduce variations in consumption that households typically face in poor areas - the exposure to uninsured income risk that underlies transient poverty will probably persist. Other policy instruments may be needed to deal with transient poverty, including seasonal public works, credit schemes, buffer stocks, and insurance options for the poor. [World Bank].

Jalan, J. and M. Ravallion. 1998b. 'Transient poverty in postreform rural China' *Journal of comparative economics*, Vol.26, No.2, 338-357.

In a new, relatively high-quality, panel-data set on household consumptions for postreform rural China we find that consumption variability accounts for a large share of observed poverty and is likely to be a severe constraint on efforts to reach the long-term poor. Half of the mean squared poverty gap and over a third of the mean poverty gap is transient in that it is directly attributable to year-to-year fluctuations in consumption. There is enough transient poverty to treble the cost of eliminating chronic poverty when targeting transfers according to current consumptions and to tilt the balance in favor of untargeted transfers. Anti-poverty policies in China may have to give greater emphasis to the problem of transient poverty.

Jalan, Jyotsna. and Martin Ravallion. 1997. 'Are the Poor Less Well-Insured? Evidence on Vulnerability to Income Risk in Rural China'. *Policy Research Working Paper 1863*. World Bank: Washington DC. <http://econ.worldbank.org/> (Also *Journal of development economics*, Vol.58, No.1, 61- 82).

In rural China, those in the poorest wealth decile are the least well-insured, with 40 percent of an income shock being passed on to current consumption. By contrast, consumption by the richest third of households is protected from almost 90 percent of an income shock. Jalan and Ravallion test how well consumption is insured against income risk in a panel of sampled households in rural China. They estimate the risk insurance models by Generalized Method of Moments, treating income and household size as endogenous. Insurance exists for all wealth groups, although the hypothesis of perfect insurance is universally rejected. Those in the poorest wealth decile are the least well-insured, with 40 percent of an income shock being passed on to current consumption. By contrast, consumption by the richest third of households is protected from almost 90 percent of an income shock. The extent of insurance in a given wealth stratum varies little between poor and nonpoor areas. [Publisher's abstract].

Makhanya E. M. and Ngidi M. M. 1999. 'Poverty and rural livelihoods in Umzumbe', *South African Geographical Journal*, Vol. 81, No.1, 44-51.

Peasant agricultural activities in Umzumbe contribute only a small fraction to household income. This is associated with ecological and socio-economic constraints with which the peasants could not cope due to their weak financial position and lack of appropriate technology. The failure of agriculture to provide a livelihood for the peasants in Umzumbe has resulted in persistent poverty. The aim of this study was to examine the nature and extent of material poverty, and to ascertain the relationship between material poverty and rural livelihoods among the peasants of Umzumbe. It was found that the different Wards of Umzumbe were characterised by high population densities, low literacy rates, high unemployment rates, low per capita incomes and high dependency ratios. The peasants survived from petty cash income from diverse sources such as migrant remittances, pensions, welfare payments and petty commodity production. Although there is general poverty in the district, it has been found that the peasants in Umzumbe were not homogeneous, and that their level of well-being differed mainly according to their access to land and off-farm income. [Social Science Abstracts]

McCulloch, N, Baulch, B. 2000. 'Simulating the impact of policy upon chronic and transitory poverty in rural Pakistan', *Journal of development studies*, Vol.36, No.6, 100- 130

Anti-poverty programmes often seek to improve their impact by targeting households for assistance according to welfare measures in a single time period. However, a growing literature shows the importance to poor households of fluctuations in their welfare from month to month and year to year. This study uses a five-year panel of 686 households from rural Pakistan to investigate the magnitude of chronic or transitory poverty making an explicit adjustment for measurement error. The impact of two types of policies (those designed to 'smooth' incomes and those designed to promote income growth) on the severity of chronic and transitory poverty is examined. Since the largest part of the squared poverty gap in our sample is transitory, large reductions in poverty can be achieved by interventions designed to 'smooth' incomes, but reducing chronic poverty in the long-term requires large and sustained growth in household incomes. The level and variability of incomes is then modelled as a function of household characteristics, education and assets. The resulting model of the income generation process is used to simulate the impact that a range of transfer and investment policies would have upon chronic and transitory poverty. [Frank Cass & Co. Ltd].

McCulloch, N. and Bob Baulch. 1999. 'Distinguishing the Chronically from the Transitorily Poor: Evidence from Pakistan'. *IDS Working Paper 97*. Sussex: Institute of Development Studies. <http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/pvty/pvprp.html>

Anti-poverty programs often seek to improve their impact by targeting households for assistance according to one or more criteria. These are, however, often based upon measurements of key welfare indicators, such as income or consumption, in a single time period. This paper investigates whether it is possible to improve the accuracy of targeting by distinguishing between the chronically and transitorily poor on the basis of household characteristics. Using the IFPRI household food security panel data for 686 households in rural Pakistan between 1986/87 and 1990/91, the authors show that most of the characteristics which distinguish the chronically poor from the transitorily poor are similar to those which distinguish the poor from the non-poor. The paper then compares the poverty impact of policies designed to increase mean incomes and those designed to even out fluctuations of income over time. It concludes that large reductions in transitory poverty can be achieved by interventions designed to even out incomes whereas reducing chronic poverty in the long term will require large and sustained growth in household incomes. [Authors' abstract].

Muller, C. 1997. *Transient seasonal and chronic poverty of peasants: evidence from Rwanda*. Centre for the Study of African Economies (CSAE), Oxford. <http://www.csae.ox.ac.uk/>

Using panel data from Rwanda, we estimate seasonal transient and chronic poverty indices, for different poverty line, poverty indicators, equivalence scale, and with and without the corrections for price variability and for the sampling scheme. Most of the severity of poverty comes from the seasonal transient component of annual poverty, while the seasonal component of the incidence of poverty is much smaller. Thus, the actual differences of the severity of poverty either between developing and industrial countries or between rural and urban areas in LDCs, may be much worse than what is shown by usual chronic annual poverty measures or by measures of seasonal incidence of poverty. The importance of the transient component suggests a need for income stabilisation policy. However, the contribution of the global transient seasonal poverty is important for household clustered around the poverty line but low for the poorest part of the chronically poor. Thus, policies fighting seasonal transient poverty are likely to concern the moderately poor rather than the very poor, as compared with

policies against chronic poverty, which affect the very poor. A "safety net" policy aimed at the poor and the non-poor at this period would then be appropriate. [Authors' abstract].

Riddell, R.C and M. Robinson, et al. 1995. *Non-Governmental Organizations and Rural Poverty Alleviation*. London: ODI/Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Based on sixteen case-studies of NGO projects from India, Bangladesh, Uganda and Zimbabwe. Chapter 5 reports that: "Many projects failed to reach the poorest, and even in cases where poverty alleviation occurred, improvements in economic status was modest. There was little evidence to suggest that many beneficiaries had managed to escape from poverty on a permanent basis" (60). The 'chronically poor' – defined here as those lacking the means to satisfy their basic food requirements (65) – included the sick, elderly and others not generally active, "together with a small number of people who will be reluctant or unable to participate in projects due to suspicion, lack of motivation, or pressure from dominant social groups. Such people tend to constitute a minority of the rural population; they are usually beyond the reach of most economic interventions and stand to benefit more from improved social services rather than through development projects designed to promote self-reliance" (66). However, NGOs also failed to reach a larger group of the rural poor: the landless labourers, marginal farmers, those with few durable assets and little or no education, and female headed-households. NGOs failed to reach them due to constraints in human and financial resources; the tendency for the poorest to be ("almost by definition") scattered, disorganized and living in resource-poor areas, or heavily dependent on the non-poor for employment and credit. Those programmes that did manage to reach the poorest took this commitment very seriously; included all members of the community in the project area and consulted closely with the poor themselves (66). Successful projects were related to beneficiary participation, effective management, and skilled and committed staff (59), along with external factors such as expansion of the local economy, plentiful resources and support from local elites.

Roberts, B. 2000. 'Chronic and transitory poverty in post-Apartheid South Africa'. *University of Natal CSDS Working Paper No. 28*.

Sahn, D.E. and D.C. Stifel. 2000. 'Poverty Comparisons Over Time and Across Countries in Africa', *World Development*, Vol. 28, No. 12, 2123-2155.

Samal, K. C. 1998. 'Poverty alleviation after post-liberalization. Study of a tribal block in Orissa', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.33, No.28, 1846-1851.

A study is presented of programmes that tackle chronic poverty and hunger in a tribal block in Orissa, India. It is shown that empowerment through local democracy, land reform and education along with better credit delivery and growth of the rural non-farm sector are necessary to help the poorest of the poor. [Social Science Abstracts].

Sharp, J.S. and A.S. Spiege. 1985. 'Vulnerability to impoverishment in South African rural areas: the erosion of kinship and neighbourhood as social resources', *Africa*, Vol.55, No.2, 133-152.

The process of relocation of several millions of Africans to 'homelands' in South Africa "has generally resulted in increased poverty and misery for its victims" (p133). The Bantustans "From having been sub-subsistence dormitory areas for labour migrants, they are rapidly becoming places to which the structurally unemployed are being permanently consigned...It is also apparent that poverty – although general – is not experienced to an equal degree throughout the rural periphery" (p133). A comparison of two widely different Bantustans reveals marked contrasts in "current density of population, in form of settlement, in availability of local agricultural

resources and most significantly, in the prior social experiences of their respective populations” (p134).

Yaqub, Shahin. 2000. *Intertemporal Welfare Dynamics: Extents and Causes*. Conference paper given at Brookings Institution/Carnegie Endowment Workshop, Globalization: New Opportunities, New Vulnerabilities, November 9. http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/shahin_dynamics.pdf

This paper synthesises the evidence on intertemporal welfare dynamics in developing and industrial countries. The paper relates economic dynamics to two welfare issues: insecurity and opportunity (section 1.1.1), and human development, as defined by UNDP (section 1.1.2). The paper also brings microeconomic evidence on mobility to bear on chronic and transitory poverty (sections 2.3 and 2.4). International comparisons on these issues are cautioned by some important measurement issues related to choices over data, models, and methodology (section 1.2). Turning to explanations of intertemporal welfare dynamics the paper first assembles evidence on the socio-economic correlates of welfare dynamics (section 3.1). These identify the socio-economic characteristics which are correlated with different kinds of mobility. Explanations of welfare dynamics are mainly of this form, although methodologically they actually explain little, and most studies relate to short-run mobility. The paper then focuses on the determinants of long-run mobility. One event thought to be influential in determining lifetime mobility is being born poor. Intergenerational studies correlate parental and offspring welfare, and sibling studies examine welfare divergences between siblings (section 3.2.1). This paper interprets these two types of studies as ways of measuring the impact of childhood background on subsequent lifetime mobility. Several types of results exist from quite different areas of research which identify specific channels by which lifetime mobility may be determined by pre-adult experiences (section 3.2.2). Finally as elsewhere, the assumption of the unitary household is imperfect. So a closing section presents intrahousehold issues in determining long-run dynamics (section 3.3). [From author’s introduction].

Insights from the Americas, East and Central Europe, and Russia

Aigner, S.M, Flora, C.B, Tirmizi, S.N, Wilcox, C. 1999. ‘Dynamics to sustain community development in persistently poor rural areas’, *Community development journal*, Vol.34, No.1, 13-27.

In confronting the problem of persistent rural poverty, scholars and practitioners of rural development have increasingly questioned the utility of previous antipoverty approaches that emphasize individually oriented cash transfer programs or policies guided by a modernization/development model. Instead, to design a recent ten-year policy initiative, the 1994 US empowerment zone/enterprise community initiative, policy framers chose a new approach, locality-based rural development. Using rural census tracts with persistently poor profiles, the selection process emphasized the primary outcome goals of (1) sustainable community development and (2) economic opportunity for all residents, and two process goals of (3) citizen participation in the construction of a locally defined strategic vision and (4) the formation of community-based partnerships to implement benchmark activities to achieve the two primary outcome goals. [Oxford University Press].

Blee, K.M. and D.B. Billings. 1996. ‘Race differences in the origins and consequences of chronic poverty in rural Appalachia’, *Social Science History*, Vol.20, No.3, 345-373.

Commander S., Tolstopiatenko A. and Yemtsov R. 1999. 'Channels of redistribution, inequality and poverty in the Russian transition', *Economics of Transition*, Vol.7, No.2, 411-447.

Contrary to popular perception, Russia entered the transition with significant inequality. Using the large Russian Longitudinal Monitoring Survey dataset, we demonstrate that inequality has subsequently risen yet further and by end-1996 was roughly comparable to inequality in Mexico, Colombia or Malaysia. Driving this increase has been not only wealth transfers through privatisation but also changes in government expenditure and a sharp growth in earnings dispersion. There has been a large, associated shift in the structure of income. The paper also looks at the incidence and depth of poverty over the period 1992-96. At the start of transition, roughly half the population of households fell below the poverty line. While this has subsequently declined, at end-1996 nearly 40 per cent of households were below the poverty line and a substantial stratum of households were locked in chronic poverty. [GEOBASE].

Corcoran, M. 1985. 'Myth and reality: the causes and persistence of poverty', *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, Vol.4, 516-36.

Argues that poverty programs do not generate dependency. Rejects the proposition that the primary causes of persistent poverty are the types of motivational and personal qualities that characterize the "culture of poverty". US-focussed. [Social Science Abstracts].

Devine JA, Plunkett M, Wright JD. 1992. 'The Chronicity Of Poverty - Evidence From The Psid, 1968-1987', *Social Forces*, Vol.70, No.3, 787-812.

An essential result from the poverty research of the 1970s was an indication that much poverty was episodic, in contrast to then-conventional stereotypes about the poor. However, recent treatments of poverty in the U.S. have emphasized the increase of chronic poverty. This study tests the hypothesis of increasing intragenerational chronicity by using a series of multiyear windows that track income experiences of households from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) from 1968 to 1987. Results show an increase in the incidence of chronic poverty after 1973, with an acceleration in the early 1980s. Thereafter, as the annual poverty rate begins to decline, chronicity levels off at rates consistent with the heightened chronicity observed during the late 1970s. As expected, the trends are sharper among blacks and women than among whites and men, and are sharpest of all among black female-headed households.

Duncan, C. and N. Lamborghini. 1994. 'Poverty And Social-Context In Remote Rural Communities', *Rural Sociology*, Vol.59, No.3, 437-461.

Many urban analysts studying poor inner city communities argue that social isolation in poor neighborhoods perpetuates poverty. This paper extends analysis of social context to rural areas, comparing a chronically poor coal-dependent Appalachian community with a more diverse, resource-rich community in northern New England. The Appalachian community has more limited job opportunities and over time the scarcity of jobs in a volatile coal economy generated a divided social context. In contrast, the community in northern New England offers both more opportunities for work and has a stable, working middle class that invests in and uses public goods; the poor are not deliberately segregated. These differences in communities' socioeconomic context are reflected in poor women's experiences and aspirations.

Helwege, A. 1995. 'Poverty in Latin America: back to the abyss?', *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, Vol.37, 99-123.

Part of a special issue on neoliberal economic restructuring in Latin America. The writer discusses recent trends in poverty in Latin America and explores the prospects

for continued alleviation of poverty should the region's economic growth continue to decline. Data on changes in the structure and extent of poverty since the debt crisis started in the early 1980s, the extent of the recovery made in the early 1990s, and the impact that recession has had on the poor are discussed. A distinction is made between those who are likely to become poor in a recession and those who face long-term extreme poverty. The limited effect of redistributive policies on the decline in poverty in the 1990s is outlined, and the changes in intellectual thinking that have been occurring in this area are reviewed. The dilemmas facing regimes that are attempting to devise policies that both advance growth and ensure an equitable distribution of the benefits of economic development are discussed. [Social Science Abstracts].

Lokshin, Michael and Popkin, Barry M. 1999. The emerging underclass in the Russian Federation: income dynamics, 1992-1996. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol.47, No.4, 803-29.

The writers examine the income dynamics of the underclass in the Russian Federation between 1992 and 1996. The reform process that has occurred in Russia has affected all groups, but selected groups have experienced varied patterns of earning. The steep increase in poverty that occurred from 1994 to 1996 explains the shift from the relatively stable percentage of persistently poor in a 1992-93 sample to the declining share of the persistently poor in a 1994-96 sample. The group facing persistent poverty should be the target of a system of programs intended to eliminate the causes of their poverty. Intervention should combine financial assistance to households through subsidies with measures aimed at altering the structure of the labour market to allow more job opportunities for those in poor households. The problems of the poor in Russia cannot be solved without the implementation of policies that target that group. [Social Science Abstracts].

Nord, Mark. 1997. 'Overcoming persistent poverty--and sinking into it: income trends in persistent-poverty and other high-poverty rural counties, 1989-94'. *Rural Development Perspectives*, Vol.12, No.3.

Examines changes in per-capita income in high-poverty counties in the United States, by region and ethnic group, 1969-94. [Social Science Abstracts].

Rodgers Jr, Rodgers JL. 1993. 'Chronic Poverty In The United-States, *Journal Of Human Resources*, Vol.28, No.1, 25-54.

This paper proposes a method of measuring chronic and transitory poverty using an axiomatically sound, additively decomposable index of aggregate poverty. Our approach is contrasted with alternative methods of measuring poverty persistence. We use our method to measure chronic and transitory poverty in the United States during the 1980s and late 1970s and find that chronic poverty is a more serious problem than previously thought. Between the late 1970s and mid 1980s poverty not only increased, it became more chronic and less transitory in nature. This is true for the population as a whole and for some, but not all, of the subpopulations we considered. The latter were defined according to race, type of social unit, and educational qualifications of the head of the social unit. All empirical analyses are based on data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics.

Ruggles, P. and R. Williams. 1989. 'Longitudinal Measures of Poverty: Accounting for Income and Assets over Time', *Review of Income and Wealth*, S.35, No.3, 225-243.

This paper uses data from the Survey of Income and Program Participation to estimate durations of poverty spells and to determine whether temporarily poor families have sufficient assets to cover shortfalls of their income below poverty – their personal poverty gaps. If poverty is measured using monthly rather than annual income data, four times as many persons enter poverty, but most spells are short;

the median duration is between four and six months. More than one-third of all poverty spells are eliminated if financial assets are used to fill poverty gaps, but remaining poverty spells are longer. Separate estimates are made for the elderly or for families with children. [Authors' abstract].

Spatial dimensions of poverty

Airey A. 1985. 'Rural Road Improvements - Their Economic-Impact in Sierra-Leone', *Singapore Journal Of Tropical Geography*, Vol.6, No.2, 78-90.

A case-study of a U.S. CARE programme in Sierra Leone on the construction and maintenance of feeder roads. The primary objective was to optimize the productive capabilities of farmlands. One finding disputes the classical assumption that the lower transport costs associated with feeder road improvements will result in higher produce prices being paid to farmers, who will respond in capitalist fashion by increasing their production (80). Communities did not benefit as "transport costs only fall when there are enough vehicle operators plying a road to compete for travellers or farmers and their loads" (80). The study compared on-road communities with "inaccessible" communities and found that they were as involved in cocoa and coffee farming as their more accessible neighbours, in spite of the marked difference in costs per km for head-loading vis-à-vis a lorry or *poda poda* (80-1). The explanation is that head-loading occurs during the dry season and is thus virtually costless during this slack period. However, other agricultural activity is sensitive to road accessibility, particular feeder roads. Extensionists from the government IRD programme preferred to work with farmers from on-road communities "because it is easier and quicker to supervise them" (81). Fertiliser useage is positively correlated to good road accessibility, being strongly linked to extension projects. A similar 'tarmac bias' is shown in terms of the number of primary schools (84). Population growth occurred much more rapidly in on-road than inaccessible communities (83). However, there was little income difference between households in on-road communities compared to those in inaccessible communities.

Antle J. 1983. 'Infrastructure And Aggregate Agricultural Productivity - International Evidence', *Economic Development And Cultural Change*, Vol.31, No.3, 609-619.

Behnke, R. and C. Kerven. 1994. 'Redesigning for risk: tracking and buffering environmental variability in Africa's rangelands.' *ODI Natural Resource Perspectives*, No. 1. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Bigman D, Fofack H. 2000. 'Geographical targeting for poverty alleviation: An introduction to the special issue', *World Bank Economic Review*, Vol.14, No.1, 129-145.

In the face of rising public deficits and shrinking public resources, geographical targeting may be a viable way to allocate resources for poverty alleviation in developing countries. Efficiency can be increased and leakage to the nonpoor reduced substantially by targeting increasingly smaller areas. This article, and more generally the symposium on geographical targeting for poverty alleviation, proposes several techniques for augmenting data to produce more detailed poverty maps. It focuses on practical considerations in the design of geographically targeted poverty alleviation programs. In particular, it assesses the advantages and disadvantages of geographical targeting and describes how geographic information systems can be applied to improve poverty mapping. [World Bank Website].

Binswanger, H. J. McIntire and C. Udry. 1989. 'Production Relations in Semi-arid African Agriculture'. In P. Bardhan (ed) *The Economic Theory of Agrarian Institutions*. Clarendon Press. 122-144.

This chapter provides an analytical basis for understanding the economics of production in certain 'remote rural areas'. It does not focus specifically on poverty, but does usefully focus on land and labour, and examines the role of migration and trade in RRAs. It is "designed to extend the economic analysis of production relations in agriculture to semi-arid environments, with special reference to semi-arid Africa. We place particular emphasis on describing how the diverse institutions that organize the exchange (or lack thereof) of outputs and factors of production in an initially land-abundant, isolate area are affected by population growth, migration, and the introduction of external trading relations...Along with considerations of risk, risk aversion and information problems, we incorporate into our analysis the technical features of agricultural production" (122). "We describe the 'base case' of an isolated, land abundant, semi-arid economy with simple technology and where slavery is banned. We describe...land, labour and credit markets...we show that agricultural production will be characterized by specialization in herding or farming, and we discuss the economic interactions between specialized herders and farmers, and the role of livestock in capital accumulation and an insurance substitute (122)." "We examine the consequences of opportunities for external migration and trade, again assuming a low-population density...remittances from migrants play an important role in restructuring the risks faced by households, and thus induce a variety of changes in institutional arrangements" (123).

Bloom, D.E., Sachs, J.D. 1998. 'Geography, demography, and economic growth in Africa', *Brookings papers on economic activity*, No.2, 207-295.

Bohle, HG. 1993. 'The Geography of Vulnerable Food Systems'. In Bohle et al, (eds.) *Coping with vulnerability and criticality: case studies on food- insecure people and places*. Breitenbach, Saarbrücken, Fort Lauderdale. 15-29.

Bohle's opening chapter stresses the need to link the social and the spatial in analyses of vulnerable food systems, implying a social geography of crisis-prone places and regions, and also a regional geography of vulnerable social groups (p26). Also, "The long-term structural and short-term conjunctural need to be linked in order to decode the social, spatial and temporal "logic" of food crises" (p26).

Bond, P. 1999. 'Basic infrastructure for socio-economic development, environmental protection and geographical desegregation: South Africa's unmet challenge', *Geoforum*, Vol.30, No.1, 43-59.

Bryceson, D.F. and J.Howe. 1993. 'Rural household transport in Africa - reducing the burden on women?', *World development*, Vol.21, No.11, 1715-1728.

Clynick, T. 1998. 'Agro-pessimism and agro-realism: land, labour, and livelihoods in South Africa's poorest and most northern province', *Canadian journal of African studies*, Vol.32, No.1, 146-154.

Cole, DC., Huntington, R. 1997. *Between a swamp and a hard place: developmental challenges in remote rural Africa*. Harvard Institute for International Development: Cambridge MA.

Duncan, C.M., Lamborghini, N. 1994. 'Poverty and social context in remote rural communities', *Rural sociology*, Vol.59, No.3, 437-461

FAO, UNEP-GRID and the CGIAR Consortium on Spatial Information. *Mapping indicators of poverty in West Africa*.

<http://www.grida.no/prog/global/poverty/pub/mipwa/index.htm>

Includes maps and charts relating a set of indicators to accessibility, land degradation and agro-ecological zone.

Gallup, J.L.Sachs, J.D. and A.D. Mellinger. 1998. 'Geography and Economic Development', *International Regional Science Review*, Vol.22, No.2, 179-232.

Location and climate have large effects on income levels and income growth through their effects on transport costs, disease burdens and agricultural productivity, among other channels. Geography also seems to affect economic policy choices. Many geographic regions that have not been conducive to modern economic growth have high population densities and are experiencing rapid increases in population. At particular disadvantages are regions located far from coasts and ocean-navigable rivers, for which the transport costs of international trade are high, and tropical regions, which bear a heavy burden of disease. Moreover, a large proportion of population growth over the next thirty years is expected to occur in these geographically disadvantaged regions. [Authors' abstract].

Although the level of analysis by Gallup et al is generally national rather than local, some useful points can be gleaned. The authors' point out that "Regions where geography supports high population densities but not economic growth are the sites of the most severe and intractable poverty. Inland China, north-central India, central Asia, and inland Africa are all far from world trade and dependent on labour-intensive agriculture, with significant disadvantages for modern economic growth" (208). This is because "The geographic conditions conducive to dense agrarian populations are often very different from those conducive to economic growth" (207), given that agriculture is more dependent on fresh water than the ocean. "Over time this has led to high concentrations of inland populations that are now substantially cut off from international trade" (207). The article calls for the development research agenda to be re-shaped in the light of the importance of geographical variables. Research gaps are identified in terms of data on transport costs that are comparable across countries or even between hinterlands and urban areas within countries, and also the burden of disease on economic development (212). In spite of the neo-Malthusian focus on population, one of the main findings of this research is that "being tropical, landlocked, and distant was already bad in 1950 and that it adversely affected growth between 1950 and 1995" (198), irrespective of population density. "High levels of growth are associated with low transport costs, a coastal population, a large endowment of hydrocarbons per capita, and the absence of malaria" (199).

Gersovitz, M. 1991. *Agricultural pricing systems and transportation policy in Africa*. Infrastructure and Urban Development Department, The World Bank, Washington, D.C.

Gould, J, Mickels, G. 1990. 'Regional development in marginal Africa - Luapula Province, Zambia', In Baker, J. (ed.). *Small town Africa - studies in rural-urban interaction*. Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala. 228-246.

During the last decades, the failure of capitalism to make significant advances in the transformation of most African economies has become more than obvious. Many of the 'dependent' social formations of 15 years ago have undergone rapid deterioration as a number of factors in the development of the world market have combined to further weaken the revolutionizing impact of capital on the periphery. The economies that were defined as "dynamically stagnant economies" (Mudimbe 1988: 46), have lost much of the paradoxical dynamism that more intense market involvement stimulated in the past. These economies are coming to approximate

more clearly than ever a situation which Y.V. Mudimbe has recently described as 'marginality'. In the abstract, marginality defines the intermediate ground between the modern and the traditional generated by colonialism (Mudimbe 1988: 4-5). In more concrete terms, marginality describes a specific relationship with the world system characterized by the involuntary delinking of commodity production in Africa from former international markets. [Author's introduction].

Grepperud, S. 1997. 'Poverty, land degradation, and climatic uncertainty', *Oxford economic papers*, Vol.49, No.4, 586-608

Henninger, N. 1998. *Mapping and geographic analysis of human welfare and poverty - review and assessment*. Washington D.C.: World Resources Institute.

http://www.grida.no/prog/global/poverty/pub/pov_fin.pdf

This includes a lot of useful methodological information, plus a poverty map of Uganda; rural remoteness maps of West Africa in both rainy and dry seasons, as well as vulnerability, stunting/aridity and economic diversification maps of West Africa; lists of household surveys in African countries since 1985 (and census surveys in all countries); and a long table categorising particular regions of each country into types of poverty (peripheral, traumatic, endemic, overcrowding, and interstitial).

International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development

http://www.icimod.org.sg/focus/poverty/pov_toc.htm

This site deals specifically with an important subsection of RRAs, and discusses the specificities of mountainous/hilly regions that contribute to poverty generation and/or obstruct poverty alleviation: inaccessibility, fragility, marginality, diversity, and 'niche'.

Jalan, J. and M. Ravallion. 2000. *Geographic poverty traps? A micro model of consumption growth in rural China*. Global Development Network.

http://www.gdnet.org/files.fcgi/580_Jyotsna.pdf

What is the importance of neighborhood endowments of physical and human capital in explaining diverging fortunes in a developing rural economy? To answer this question the authors develop an estimable micro model of consumption growth allowing for constraints on factor mobility and externalities, whereby geographic capital can influence the productivity of a household's own capital. The paper suggests that mapping poverty and its correlates could hold the key to understanding why poverty persists in some areas, even with robust aggregate growth. Findings include: there were areas in rural China in the period studied which were so poor that the consumptions of some households living in them were falling even while otherwise identical households living in better off areas enjoyed rising consumptions; living in a poor area lowers the productivity of a farm-household's own investments, which reduces the growth rate of consumption, given restrictions on capital mobility; prospects for growth in poor areas depend on the ability of governments and community organizations to overcome the tendency for under-investment that geographic externalities are likely to generate. [Eldis].

Jalan, J. and M. Ravallion. 1997. 'Spatial Poverty Traps?'. *Policy Research Working Paper 1862*. World Bank: Washington DC. <http://econ.worldbank.org/>

Can location make the difference between growth and contraction in living standards for otherwise identical households? Apparently so. Evidence of spatial poverty traps strengthens the case for investing in the geographic capital of poor people. Can place of residence make the difference between growth and contraction in living standards for otherwise identical households? Jalan and Ravallion test for the existence of spatial poverty traps, using a micro model of consumption growth incorporating geographic externalities, whereby neighborhood endowments of physical and human capital influence the productivity of a household's own capital.

By allowing for nonstationary but unobserved individual effects on growth rates, they are able to deal with latent heterogeneity (whereby hidden factors entail that seemingly identical households see different consumption gains over time), yet identify the effects of stationary geographic variables. They estimate the model using farm-household panel data from post-reform rural China. They find strong evidence of spatial poverty traps. Their results strengthen the case-both for efficiency and equity-for investing in the geographic capital of poor people. [World Bank].

Ker, Andrew. 1995. *Farming systems of the Africa savanna: a continent in crisis*. International Development Research Centre.

The aim of this book is to highlight some of the problems facing farmers in the African savanna and to suggest some possible approaches toward solutions. Farmers in the parts of Africa where population growth is near, or has exceeded, the carrying capacity of the land at present technological levels face a serious crisis. This crisis is the result of the breakdown of traditional farming systems, which is causing environmental deterioration on a massive scale; widespread poverty, malnutrition, and famine; and, in some countries, is contributing to political instability and civil war.

Krings, T. 1993. 'Structural Causes of Famine in the Republic of Mali'. In Bohle et al, (eds.) *Coping with vulnerability and criticality: case studies on food- insecure people and places*. Breitenbach, Saarbrücken, Fort Lauderdale. 129-143.

Krings notes that famine is a regional and seasonal phenomenon, and that "Socio-economic and ethnic factors play an important role in the degree of people's vulnerability to famine" (p129). "Regions which are not very accessible to any kind of transport" are disproportionately represented among Mali's famine-prone regions (p129), and a map reveals the range of critical places in relation to the transportation network (p130). In addition to the absence of permanent roads between the cereal producing southern regions and pastoral areas in the north, the arterial Niger river is often impassable due to seasonal fluctuations in water levels (p134). Food scarcity in the north, and food prices three or four times higher than in the south, are due to problems of inaccessibility and high transportation costs in these remote areas (pp134-5). As a result, pastoral economies have declined and nomadic and agropastoral groups have become marginalized; landless tenants and fishermen are the other most vulnerable groups (p136-7). "Political instability in the northern Sahel of Mali has produced a severe nutrition crisis", and "famine has become a political weapon against the Twareg", the rebellious nomadic group (p139).

Leinbach, T.R. 1982. 'Towards an improved rural transport strategy: the needs and problems of remote Third World communities', *Asian Profile*, Vol.10, No.1, 15-23.

Rural transport is a key issue for Asian nations, where a significant proportion of the rural populations live in remote areas, with isolated communities defined as those lying over 15 km from a motorable road (p15). Transport is formulated as a linkage connecting the system of basic needs such as food, water and health (p16). A case-study of Indonesia reveals that between 50-80% of road usage in remote areas is connected to villagers travelling to and from market and walking to fields, revealing "the tremendous importance of on-farm and off-farm transport needs in rural areas" (p17). Well-worn footpaths next to roads served with mini-vans pointed to the importance of walking as a transport strategy for very poor people (p18). "Twenty vehicles per week can make the difference between stagnation and development if they carry out the first surplus crops to be marketed or bring in the first medical team" (p22).

McCall, M. 1985. 'The Significance Of Distance Constraints In Peasant Farming Systems With Special Reference To Sub-Saharan Africa', *Applied Geography*, Vol.5, No.4, 325-345.

Moriarty, P. and C. Beed. 1989. 'Transport In Tropical Africa', *Journal Of Modern African Studies*, Vol.27, No.1, 125-132

Njiro, El. 1998. 'Human development in the African mountains', *Social dynamics*, Vol.24, No.1, 1-33.

Many people living on Africa's mountains have to cope with semi-arid environments, as revealed by case-studies of the inhabitants of Laikipia and Thataka-Nithi in Kenya, although other mountainous areas are characterised by high agricultural potential wetlands (p1). In the semi-arid environments, food availability is scarce and unpredictable. Within households, women and children are particularly vulnerable to malnutrition. Out-migration further weakens such areas, leaving the old, the women and the disabled (p12). In-migration as a result of land-shortages and conflict place increasing pressure on services. Agro-pastoralism is a common income generating strategy, as the environment cannot support a solely agricultural livelihood (p26). There is a need for political decentralisation to include people living in marginal areas in decision-making (p8). It is important to understand the culture of peoples living in Africa's mountainous regions, and a cultural policy is advocated.

Platteau, J-P. 1996. 'Physical Infrastructure as a Constraint on Agricultural Growth: The Case of Sub-Saharan Africa', *Oxford Development Studies*, Vol.24 No.3.

Porter G. 1997. 'Mobility and inequality in rural Nigeria: The case of off-road communities', *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie*, Vol.88, No.,1, 65-76.

This article draws attention to the specific problems faced by off-road communities on the Jos Plateau, Nigeria. It contends that many members of off-road communities have become more isolated, more unequal, at least in part because of road construction in their region, and that the structural adjustment programme in place between 1986 and 1994 has exacerbated their problems. Economic, social welfare and political issues are examined in turn. Suggestions are made regarding ways off-road communities could be assisted at limited cost. However, the study concludes that there will have to be much greater political commitment to poverty-focused development before the needs of off-road communities are adequately addressed. [Social Science Abstracts].

Pouliquen, Louis. 1999. 'Infrastructure and Poverty'. Background Paper for the *World Development Report 2000/2001*. Washington D.C: World Bank.
<http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/wdrpoverty/background/pouliquen.pdf>

Prakash, S. 1997. 'Poverty and Environmental Linkages in Mountains and Uplands'. Collaborative Research in the Economics of the Environment and Development, *Working Paper Series No. 12*. London: IIED.

The central premise of the poverty trap thesis claims that there is a mutual and spiralling relationship between poverty and environmental degradation. The argument maintains that, mainly due to inherent short time horizons and risk, poverty encourages overexploitation of the physical environment which results in further impoverishment. Using both conceptual and empirical material, this paper examines some of the major linkages that are believed to exist between the processes of poverty and environmental degradation, with a focus on the Western Himalayan Regions of India - the state of Himachal Pradesh and the hill districts of Uttar Pradesh. In particular, the paper investigates whether the relationship is functional or causal, and assesses the role of other factors, particularly institutions and social and cultural influences. The concern with poverty in rural mountain areas reflects the importance of these regions internationally: mountains and uplands represent the

majority of the Food and Agricultural Organisation's (FAO) "critical zones" - those areas of the world that are not able to grow enough food to feed their inhabitants adequately. Hence some of conclusions reached here will be of relevance to similar geographic regions of the world. [IIED].

Ranasinghe, TT. 1998. 'Geography of rural poverty and implications for agricultural technology transfer: cases from Sri Lanka', *Science, technology & development*, Vol.16, No.1, 137-147

Ravallion, M. and Q. Wodon. 1999. 'Poor Areas or Only Poor People?', *Journal of Regional Science*, Vol.39, 689-711.

Anti-poverty programs often target poor areas even when there is seemingly free migration. Should such programs focus instead on households with personal attributes that foster poverty, no matter where they live? Possibly not; there may be 'hidden' constraints on mobility, or location may reveal otherwise hidden household attributes. Using survey data for Bangladesh we find significant and sizable geographic effects on living standards after controlling for a wide range of nongeographic characteristics of households, as would typically be observable to policy makers. The geographic structure of living standards is reasonably stable over time, consistent with observed migration patterns, and robust to testable sources of bias. [Blackwell Publishers].

Renkow M. 2000. 'Poverty, productivity and production environment: a review of the evidence', *Food Policy*, Vol.25, No.4, 463-478

This paper reviews the state of knowledge about the key issues needing to be understood to satisfactorily resolve a long-standing debate within the Consultative Group for International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) system. The debate revolves around the effects on various populations (particularly the poor) of different allocations of research effort between marginal and favoured production environments. This paper specifically focuses on what is known about the geographical distribution of the rural poor, across agro-ecological zones and over time. Variations in the income-generating activities-including non-agricultural activities-engaged in by the poor are examined and the ways in which specific technology packages affect the economic well-being of different types of households, both directly and indirectly.

Scoones, I. 1992. 'Coping with Drought: Responses of Herders and Livestock in Contrasting Savanna Environments in Southern Zimbabwe.' *Human Ecology*, Vol.20, No.3, 293-314.

This paper examines the contrasting responses to short- and long-term droughts shown by cattle populations in two different savanna ecosystems in a communal area in southern Zimbabwe. It illustrates how ecological responses are modified by differential management inputs – herding, transhumant movement, and supplementary feeding. The impacts of drought on cattle herds can thus be understood only with insight into this interaction of ecological and socioeconomic factors. Such detailed study of drought response can most effectively inform development planning. [Author's abstract].

Scoones, I. 1997. 'Hazards and opportunities: Farming livelihoods in dryland Africa. Lessons from Zimbabwe', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol.23, No.4, 668-669.

Setty, ED. 1990. 'Developing entrepreneurship in remote rural-tribal communities', *Indian journal of social work*, Vol. LI, No.1, 87-97.

Entrepreneurship development, chiefly comprising small-scale enterprises, is the most meaningful, viable and productive way of utilising the material and human resources with which a community is endowed. The paper focuses on what may be called the field approach or a total systems approach to the development of material and human resources, one supporting and sustaining the other. It looks into the physical, economic and socio-cultural factors and their inter-relationships in a community and how these factors are to be recognised, studied, assessed, harnessed and utilised for the generation of employment and increase of income, outlining the phases and the steps that may be followed. [Author's abstract].

Singh, J. 1989. *Banks, gods, and government - institutional and informal credit structure in a remote and tribal Indian district (Kinnaur, Himachal Pradesh) 1960-1985*. Steiner-Verlag Wiesbaden, Stuttgart.

An in-depth study of rural credit infrastructure in Kinnaur District, a remote rural region that is affected by harsh climactic conditions for much of the year (p6). However, it does have a well-developed informal credit sector, based on the village deity. Loaning patterns from 'official' banks are strongly affected by the difficulty in reaching some communities across valleys, as opposed to up and down valleys, with climactically-affected access rather than distance being the key factor (p10). Climactic conditions have made state development work very difficult, as had the tendency towards red-tapism, and the efficacy of administrative structures in this remote district has depended on the personality of the District Commissioner (p44). The area has little political organisation, and "remoteness has made the political scene in Kinnaur devoid of passion and dominated by the higher caste groups to the detriment of the Scheduled Castes...Political influence and moneylending operations coexist in many cases" (pp36-7). The lower castes have harsher lending terms imposed on them than others (p327), with moneylenders nearly all belonging to the more influential families in each village (p330).

Slee, RW. 1981. 'Agricultural policy and remote rural areas', *Journal of agricultural Economics*, Vol.32, No.2, 113-121.

This paper examines the interface between agricultural policy and other planning policies affecting development and change in rural areas with specific reference to one remote rural area Britain. Differences between conventional agricultural policy approaches and planning approaches to rural problems are examined in the context of policy instruments that have affected the rural economy of Orkney. It is suggested that the policies are not entirely congruent and that the economic and social costs of pursuing sectional and contradictory policies may be considerable. [Author's abstract].

Thapa, N, Chongsuvivatwong, V, Geater, AF, Ulstein, M, Bechtel, GA. 2000. 'Infant death rates and animal-shed delivery in remote rural areas of Nepal', *Social science and medicine*, Vol.51, No.10, 1447-1456.

Thomson M. et al. 1996. 'Geographical perspectives on bednet use and malaria transmission in the Gambia, West Africa', *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol.43, No.1, 101-112.

UNSO. 1994. *Poverty alleviation and land degradation in the drylands: Issues and action areas for the international convention on desertification*. Office to Combat Desertification and Drought.

Van Renen, E. 1997. 'The BATAT marketing drive: improving market access for small scale farmers', *Agrekon*, Vol.36, No.4, 648-652.

Wanmali, S, Islam, Y. 1997. 'Rural infrastructure and agricultural development in Southern Africa: a centre-periphery perspective', *Geographical journal*, Vol.163, No.3, 259-269.

Watts, M.J, Bohle, H.G. 1993. 'The space of vulnerability - the causal structure of hunger', *Progress in human geography*, Vol.17, No.1, 43-67.

World Bank. *Geographic Aspects of Inequality and Poverty Website*.

<http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/inequal/povmap/>

Focuses on the issues, techniques and results of mapping spatial poverty traps.

Conceptualising poverty: with a particular focus on social exclusion

Appasamy, P., S. Guhan, R. Hema, M. Majumdar and A. Vaidyanathan. 1996. *Social exclusion from a welfare rights perspective in India*. Geneva, Switzerland: IILS Research Series, No.106.

Bhalla, A. and F. Lapeyre. 1997. 'Social exclusion: towards an analytical and operational framework'. *Development and Change*, Vol.28, 413-433.

This article economic, social and political dimensions of social exclusion. After comparing the concept with conventional notions of poverty and marginalization, we argue that social exclusion overlaps with poverty broadly defines, but goes beyond it by explicitly embracing the relational as well as distributional aspects of poverty. It is shown that the concept has universal validity although it has not gained much attention in developing countries. Indicators to measure different aspects of social exclusion are discussed; in this context, the article considers how appropriate it might be to use precariousness of employment as a measure. Finally, methodological problems involved in operationalising the concept as a tool of policy formulation to fight exclusion are underlined. [Blackwell Publishers].

Bhalla and Lapeyre interpret the political dimension of social exclusion in terms of a Marshallian concept of citizenship, involving civil, political and socioeconomic rights, and suggests that exclusion can be seen as a denial of these rights or as 'incomplete' citizenship (p420). They go on to suggest that the UNDP's political freedom index, which incorporates personal security, rule of law, freedom of expression, political participation and equality of opportunity, may serve as a proxy indicator for this political dimension of exclusion (p426).

Bourgignon, Francois. *Absolute poverty, relative deprivation and social exclusion*. Article from the Policy Dialogue on Inclusion, Justice, and Poverty Reduction, Berlin, February 2-4, 1999. <http://www.dse.de/ef/poverty/bourgign.htm>
Includes section on 'exclusion' as absolute poverty.

Chambers, R. 1983. *Rural Development: Putting the Last First*. Essex, UK: Longman. Although this book is predominantly focussed on challenging misconceptions within poverty research, Chapter 5 delineates one of the first multidimensional or 'integrated' approaches to poverty. Rural poverty is conceptualised in terms of five "clusters of disadvantage": income poverty, physical weakness, isolation, vulnerability and powerlessness. The poorest households are found where these clusters interlock to form a "deprivation trap" (p112). 'Isolation', which is also termed "lack of education, remoteness, being out of contact" (p113), refers to the spatial location of households, and also their socioeconomic isolation from centres of trading, discussion and information (p110). "Remote marginal areas are more liable to crop failures, and are less well provided with services to handle contingencies like famine

or sickness...isolation means lack of contact with political leaders or with legal advice, and not knowing what the powerful are doing" (p113).

de Haan, A. 1999. *Social exclusion: towards an holistic understanding of deprivation*. DFID.

Paper makes a strong plea for the use of the concept of social exclusion. This is not because the concept describes a new reality, or because it is the only appropriate or a radically innovative concept to describe deprivation. The concept's advantage is that it focuses attention on central aspects of deprivation, equally relevant to analysis and policies: deprivation is a multidimensional phenomenon, and deprivation is part and parcel of social relations. The concept of social exclusion can help to ground the understanding of deprivation firmly in traditions of social science analyses. The concept has made a rapid ascent onto the stages of debates on deprivation and policies that combat deprivation. The paper aims to:

- briefly review this ascent, and discusses some of the uses of the concept
- clear up some confusions around the concept, and discuss its central elements
- compare the concept with poverty, emphasising the overlaps and differences
- argue that social exclusion can be measured but that the type of research is likely to be different from measurement of income poverty
- discuss the policies in which social exclusion has been central, particularly in France and more recently in Britain. Also points at policies in developing countries that operate with similar understandings of poverty. (Eldis).

de Haan, A. 1998. 'Social Exclusion: an alternative concept for the study of deprivation', *IDS Bulletin*, Vol.29, No.1, 10-19.

de Haan, A. 1995. *Bibliographical review on social exclusion in South Asia: annotated*. IILS/ILO.

<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/inst/papers/1994/dp77/index.htm>

The regional report starts with a description of basic indicators of the five South Asian countries Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Section II discusses some basic concepts of poverty. In Section III, the so-called direct and indirect approaches to poverty alleviation and economic growth are described. Sections IV till VII discuss different dimensions of poverty and exclusion: gender and the exclusion of women (4); the questions of landlessness and peasant differentiation (5); followed by a brief discussion of the influence of population growth on poverty (6); and the labour market and migration as mechanisms of exclusion (7). Section VIII gives a brief overview of poverty alleviation programmes and, in the concluding section, draws some conclusions about the concept of exclusion. [ILO website].

Figuroa, Adolfo. *Social Exclusion and Rural Underdevelopment*. Paper from the Conference on Social Protection and Poverty, Washington D.C., February 4-5, 1999. http://www.iadb.org/sds/POV/publication/publication_21_454_e.htm

Gaventa, J. 1998. 'Poverty, Participation and Social Exclusion in North and South', *IDS Bulletin*, Vol.29, No.1, 50-57.

Gore, C. and J.B. Figueiredo. (eds.) 1997. *Social Exclusion and the anti-poverty policy: A debate*. Research Series 110. Geneva, Switzerland: International Institute of Labour Studies/UN Development Programme.

Iliffe, J. 1987. *The African Poor: a history*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Poverty can be either "structural, which is the long-term poverty of individuals due to their personal or social circumstances, and conjunctural' poverty, which is the temporary poverty into which ordinarily self-sufficient people may be thrown by crisis"

(p4). The second key distinction is between structural poverty in societies where resources (especially land) are relatively ample, and societies in which they are scarce. "In land-rich societies, the very poor are characteristically those who lack access to the labour needed to exploit land...In land scarce societies the very poor continue to include such people but also include those among the able-bodied who lack access to land (or other resources) and are unable to sell their labour power at a price sufficient to meet their needs" (p4). The structural poor in precolonial Africa were those lacking access to labour (pp5-6). This remained the case throughout the colonial era, and also in independent Africa, whereby "the incapacitated, the aged, unsupported women, and the young were still the bulk of the structural poor" (p230). Other groups such as pastoralists were among the poor: "In pre-colonial Africa...pastoralists provided some of the continent's clearest evidence of poverty", with livestock being a scarce resource compared to land (p65). Poor pastoralists were either incorporated into inegalitarian societies (e.g. Tuareg in West Africa) or excluded from ostensibly egalitarian ones (East and Southern Africa).

"Only slowly during the twentieth century did Africa – and chiefly southern Africa – see numerous able-bodied men lacking land, work, or wages sufficient to maintain physical efficiency" (p6). This was particularly the case on South Africa's 'homelands', where land alienation occurred on a massive scale (260-277). Here, Southern Africans began to suffer the land-scarce family poverty long predominant in more densely-populated continents. They suffered it especially because the South African government sought, with considerable but incomplete success, to remove and confine the poor to the most remote countryside" (p260). Over the same period, conjunctural poverty changed more rapidly as a result of broad increases in wealth, more effective government, better transport, wider markets, and improved hygiene and medicine...epidemic starvation for all but the rich gave way to endemic undernutrition for the very poor. Conjunctural and structural poverty converged" (p6).

Family systems are crucial to poverty in Africa. On the one hand, "in several African languages the common word for 'poor'...implies lack of kin and friends", while on the other "each kind of family had its particular points of weakness and exuded its particular categories of unsupported poor – orphans in one case, barren women in another, childless elders in a third" (pp7-8).

ILO. 1996. *Social Exclusion and Anti-Poverty Strategies: A Synthesis of Findings*. Geneva: International Labour Organization.

Gore, C. 1994. *Social exclusion and Africa south of the Sahara: A review of the literature*. International Institute for Labour Studies.
<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/inst/papers/1994/dp62/index.htm>

Grant, E., Blue, I., and Harpham, T. 2000. 'Social exclusion: a review and assessment of its relevance to developing countries'. *Journal of developing societies*, Vol.16, No.2, 201-222.

Social exclusion is a relatively new term currently used in Europe to describe both the circumstances of marginalisation and the processes that lead to marginalisation. Social exclusion tends to be rooted in multiple forms of deprivation, related to issues such as employment status, housing, rights, education, gender or race, and is thus comprehensive in nature. There is an ongoing debate regarding the relevance of the concept to developing countries: given the differences in social and economic development between developed and developing countries, some critics argue that social exclusion is not an exportable concept. This paper seeks to review these arguments and analyse the policy implications, suggesting a possible way forward using the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework, involving multi-dimensional programs

that prioritise human development and welfare, and which address exclusionary processes. [Author's abstract].

Kaijage, F. and A. Tibaijuka. 1996. *Poverty and social exclusion in Tanzania*. Geneva, Switzerland: ILS Research Series, No.109.

Loury, G.C. 2000. 'Social Exclusion and Ethnic Groups: The Challenge to Economics', *Discussion Paper Series No.106*. Boston University, Institute for Economic Development.

Rodgers, G. 1999. 'Poverty, exclusion and insecurity: issues and policy frameworks', *Indian journal of labour economics*, Vol.42, No.3, 327-340

Silver, H. 1994. 'Social exclusion and social solidarity: Three paradigms', *International Labour Review*, Vol.133, Nos.5-6, 531-578.
The most significant effort to date to trace the intellectual and empirical origins of the social exclusion paradigm.

Sindzingre, Alice N. 1999. *Exclusion and Poverty in Developing Countries: Some Issues*. Article from the Policy Dialogue on Inclusion, Justice, and Poverty Reduction, Berlin, February 2-4, 1999. <http://www.dse.de/ef/poverty/sindzing.htm>

Measuring poverty

Appleton, S. 1996. 'Problems of Measuring Poverty over Time: The Case of Uganda', *IDS Bulletin*, Vol.27, No.1, 43-55.

Ardington, Elisabeth M. 1995. 'Return to Nkandla: the third survey in a longitudinal study of a rural community in KwaZulu-Natal'. *University of Natal Research Report 7*.

Ardington, Elisabeth M. 1988. 'Nkandla revisited: a longitudinal study of the strategies adopted to alleviate poverty in a rural community'. *University of Natal Working Paper No. 16*.

Baulch, B. 1996. 'Neglected trade-offs in poverty measurement'. *IDS Bulletin*, Vol.27, No.1, 36-42.

Discussions of the conventional income/consumption and participatory approaches to poverty measurement have focused on the trade-off between 'objective, and subjective measures of poverty. The trade-offs between the identification and aggregation of the poor and between static and dynamic measurement have been neglected. Although the income/consumption approach may sometimes misidentify the poor, its well understood aggregation properties make it extremely useful for regional and national level policy making. In contrast, participatory methods are most valuable for identifying the other, more subjective, dimensions of poverty at the project or village level. In order to be able to distinguish between chronic and transitory poverty, both approaches need to pay more attention to dynamic issues and the ability to track the poverty status of households and individuals over time. [Author's abstract].

Bevan, P, Joireman, SF. 1997. 'The perils of measuring poverty: identifying the 'poor' in rural Ethiopia', *Oxford development studies*, Vol.25, No.3, 315-344.

Boltvinik, Julio. *Poverty Measurement Methods - An Overview*.
http://www.undp.org/poverty/publications/pov_red/

In this paper two aspects of poverty measurement are reviewed. First, some conceptual issues regarding the definition of poverty and its different dimensions are explored. Second, based on this discussion, a three-way classification of poverty measurement methodologies is introduced: income poverty line (a unidimensional, indirect approach); unsatisfied basic needs (a multidimensional, direct approach), and combinations of the two approaches. Within each of these groups, different variants are presented and assessed. [UNDP Website].

Dessallien, Renata Lok. 1999. *The Data: Where to Find Them*. UNDP Poverty Programme. http://www.undp.org/poverty/publications/pov_red/

This paper looks at where to find poverty-related data, the characteristics, strengths and weaknesses of different data collection methodologies, and data gaps. Tips are then provided on how to get around some of the data gaps. It is important to note from the outset that...there are a great many facets of poverty that the data do not capture. Clear understanding of what types of information various data sources can and cannot convey is therefore essential, and this section attempts to highlight this point. Data on poverty at the country level come primarily from two sources: service or administrative records and surveys. [Adapted from UNDP Website].

Dessallien, Renata Lok. 1999. *Poverty Profiles: Interpreting the Data*. UNDP Poverty Programme. http://www.undp.org/poverty/publications/pov_red/

Poverty profiles are analytical tools that summarize poverty-related information and attempt to answer the following questions: who are the poor?; where do they live?; what are the main characteristics of their poverty?; and why are they poor? A poverty profile should provide both a snapshot of poverty within a country at a specific point in time (the snapshot may in fact span several years, since some of the data may not be current) and an indication of poverty trends. Ideally, it should be updated on a regular basis. Poverty profiles should provide information on the extent, depth and severity of poverty. They should identify the relevant subgroups of the poor by their distinguishing characteristics and circumstances, highlighting priority issues and concerns. Poverty profiles should also serve as a guide in the formulation of poverty assessments and in the design of national poverty reduction strategies. In addition, they should provide a basis for assessing the possible impact of policy proposals prior to their adoption. A poverty map is part of a poverty profile. It highlights the concentration of different forms of poverty across the country. Poverty maps can be based on a number of different criteria, including geography, gender, ethnicity, political factors, urban or rural settings, etc., depending on the main characteristics of poverty within a country. [UNDP Website].

Dessallien, Renata Lok. 1999. *Poverty Assessments*. UNDP Poverty Programme. http://www.undp.org/poverty/publications/pov_red/

This paper discusses how to use the poverty profile, in conjunction with other inputs, to formulate a poverty assessment. It covers all major analyses required for a poverty assessment: the national policy framework; the institutional framework and service delivery systems; opportunities for empowering the poor; and external causes of poverty. It concludes with pointers on formulating a poverty assessment. Although many existing poverty profiles cover a broad range of characteristics of the poor, most poverty assessments tend to be based largely on income/consumption data, to the neglect of other poverty-related data. The result is often a biased and incomplete assessment of poverty. [Adapted from the UNDP Website].

Foster, J.E. and Shorrocks, A. 1988. 'Poverty Orderings', *Econometrica*, Vol.56, No.1, 173-177.

Foster, J.E. and Shorrocks, A. 1988. 'Inequality and Poverty Orderings', *European Economic Review*, Vol.32, 654-662.

Hentschel, J.; Lanjouw, J.O.; Lanjouw, P.; Poggi, J. 1998. 'Combining Census and Survey Data to Study Spatial Dimensions of Poverty'. *Policy Research Working Paper 1928*. Washington DC: World Bank. <http://econ.worldbank.org/>

Combining sample survey data and census data can yield predicted poverty rates for all households covered by the census. This offers a means to construct detailed poverty maps. But standard errors on the estimated poverty rates are not negligible. Poverty maps, providing information on the spatial distribution of living standards, are an important tool for policymaking and economic research. Policymakers can use such maps to allocate transfers and inform policy design. The maps can also be used to investigate the relationship between growth and distribution inside a country, thereby complementing research using cross-country regressions. The development of detailed poverty maps is difficult because of data constraints. Household surveys contain data on income or consumption but are typically small. Census data cover a large sample but do not generally contain the right information. Poverty maps based on census data but constructed in an ad-hoc manner can be unreliable. Hentschel, Lanjouw, Lanjouw, and Poggi demonstrate how sample survey data and census data can be combined to yield predicted poverty rates for all households covered by the census. This represents an improvement over ad hoc poverty maps. However, standard errors on the estimated poverty rates are not negligible, so additional efforts to cross-check results are warranted. [World Bank Website].

Klasen, S. 2000. 'Measuring poverty and deprivation in South Africa', *Review of income and wealth*, Vol.46, No.1, 33-58.

KwaZulu-Natal Income Dynamics Study (KIDS), 1993-1998.

<http://www.ifpri.cgiar.org/data/southafrica01.htm>

This dataset combines the KwaZulu-Natal portion of the first South African national household survey, the Project for Statistics on Living Standards and Development (PSLSD), which was undertaken in the last half of 1993 under the leadership of the Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit at the University of Cape Town with a re-survey of the same households from March to June 1998. Combining these two surveys yields a panel dataset in which the same individuals and households have been interviewed at two points in time. In 1993, the KwaZulu-Natal portion of the PSLSD sample was representative at the provincial level, conditional on the accuracy of the 1991 census and other information used for the sampling frame, and contained 1558 households of all races. It was decided not to re-survey the small number of white (112) and coloured (53) households in 1998. So the 1998 sample includes only African and Indian households. The 1993 survey was an integrated household survey similar in design to a World Bank Living Standards Measurement Survey. The main component was a comprehensive household survey that collected a broad array of information on the socio-economic condition of households and included sections on household demographics, household environment, education, food and non-food expenditures, remittances, employment and income, agricultural activities, health, and anthropometry. The 1998 household questionnaire largely followed the 1993 version with a few important changes: (1) greater focus on individual ownership of assets and control over their use; (2) expanded emphasis on those individuals not living in the household but economically linked to it; (3) four new sections on economic shocks, social capital, assets brought to marriage, and household decision-making. Community surveys were also completed in both years; the 1998 community questionnaire included new sections on economic shocks and social capital in addition to sections on local economic activity, infrastructure, and prices. [From IFPRI].

Lanjouw, Jenny Olson. 1999. *Demystifying Poverty Lines*. UNDP Poverty Programme. http://www.undp.org/poverty/publications/pov_red/

Poverty lines are widely perceived as occupying a central role in poverty analysis. In fact, setting a poverty line often receives the bulk of attention and intellectual effort in studies of poverty. This paper reviews the uses to which poverty lines are put. It discusses the different methods for constructing a poverty line and the implicit and explicit assumptions in each approach. The choice between various methods of construction is related to the intended use of the poverty line. The paper suggests that some of the attention paid to finding a "precise" location of the poverty line is misplaced. All poverty lines will retain an element of arbitrariness, and a convincing analysis of poverty is built on a whole sequence of steps with the poverty line being just one of them. [UNDP Website].

Maxwell, Simon. 1999. 'The Meaning and Measurement of Poverty', *ODI Poverty Briefing No.3*: February. <http://www.odi.org.uk/publications/poverty.html>

May, J., Carter, M. R., Haddad, L., and Maluccio, J. 1999. KwaZulu-Natal income dynamics study (KIDS) 1993-1998: a longitudinal household data set for South African policy analysis'. *University of Natal CSDS Working Paper No. 21*.

This paper introduces both the *KwaZulu-Natal Income Dynamics Survey* (KIDS; 1993-8) and its cross-sectional forerunner the 1993 *Project for Statistics on Living Standards and Development* (PSLSD), the first national household survey in South Africa. A discussion on the relative merits and drawbacks of cross-sectional versus longitudinal data is included, with discussion and analysis of the problem of attrition.

McCulloch, N. and B. Baulch. 1999. 'Assessing the Poverty Bias of Growth: Methodology and an Application to Andhra Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh'. *IDS Working Paper 98*. Sussex: Institute Of Development Studies.

<http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/pvty/pvprp.html>

Minot N. 2000. 'Generating disaggregated poverty maps: An application to Vietnam', *World Development*, Vol.28, No.2, 319-331.

Previous research shows that geographic targeting in poverty programs is not accurate unless the geographic units are small. Household surveys, however, can rarely estimate poverty rates for more than 5-10 regions. This study uses data from Vietnam to illustrate a method for generating disaggregated poverty maps. First, the relationship between poverty and household indicators is estimated using survey data. Then, census data on those same indicators are used to estimate poverty rates for each of the 543 rural districts. The results indicate that Vietnamese poverty is concentrated in the north and in districts furthest from the coast and cities. [Elsevier].

Moser, C. 1996. 'Confronting crisis: a comparative study of household responses to vulnerability in four poor urban communities', *Environmentally Sustainable Development Studies and Monographs Series, No. 8*. World Bank.

These studies present the findings of a comparative study of four poor urban communities in countries experiencing economic difficulties during the 1980s. While the optimal data set for analysing longitudinal trends is a panel in which the same people are reinterviewed using a standardised methodology, such studies are enormously expensive. This study represents a compromise: it is a panel of communities rather than of households. A Longitudinal Community Panel Database was constructed for three of the four communities: Chawama, Lusaka, Zambia (1978, 1992); Cisne Dos, Guayaquil, Ecuador (1978, 1988, 1992 with anthropological work also undertaken in 1981-2); Commonwealth, Metro Manila, Philippines (1988, 1992). [From source].

Muller, C. 1998. *The Measurement of Dynamic Poverty with Geographical and Intertemporal Price Variability: Evidence from Rwanda*. Centre for the Study of African Economies (CSAE), Oxford. <http://www.csae.ox.ac.uk/>

Noponen, Helzi. 1991. 'The dynamics of work and survival for the urban poor: a gender analysis of panel data from Madras', *Development and change*, Vol.22, No.2.

Posel, D. 1997. 'Counting the poor: who gets what in which households', *Agenda*, No.33, 49-60

OECD/DAC. *Economic well-being indicators: detailed poverty data and survey OECD DAC*. Development Indicators, OECD/DAC <http://www.oecd.org/>

Statistical indicators on country-level poverty. Covers: Population below the poverty line (rural, urban, national) and population below \$1 and \$2 per day. Available as tables or as Excel spreadsheets.

Ruggles, P. 1990. *Drawing the line: Alternative poverty measures and their implications for public policy*. Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute Press.

Explores the effects of variations in several specific dimensions of poverty measurement for estimates of the size and characteristics of the poverty population, and in each case considers the implications for public policy analysis. Reviews three major conceptual approaches used in defining poverty: absolute poverty, relative poverty, and subjective poverty. Considers the level of the U.S. poverty thresholds, focusing on methods of adjusting thresholds for changes in income and consumption patterns over time. Discusses a wide variety of methods that could be used to adjust poverty thresholds for differences in family needs. Discusses the issue of time in measuring resources and looks at short-term versus long-term poverty. Discusses the unit of analysis in measuring poverty (persons, families, households). Considers problems in the measurement of economic resources, discussing the definition of income and topics such as noncash income, the treatment of taxes, and various sources of nonmarket income. [Social Science Abstracts].

Ruggles, P. and R. Williams. 1989. 'Longitudinal Measures of Poverty: Accounting for Income and Assets over Time', *Review of Income and Wealth*, Series 35, No.3.

Saith, R. and B. Harriss-White. 1999. 'The Gender Sensitivity of Well-being Indicators', *Development and Change*, Vol.30, No.3, 465-497.

This article assesses the gender sensitivity of indicators of health, nutrition, education, and composite indices which are relevant to developing countries, using the analytical framework of 'functionings'. It finds that a disaggregated under-10 female-male ratio (0-4 years and 5-9 years) appears to be a suitable indicator for health. Difficulties with data collection and interpretation reduce the reliability of indicators of morbidity and nutrition intake. Nutrition outcome indicators like anthropometric measures are potentially useful, if genetic differences between population groups as well as between males and females are controlled for. In assessing gender gaps in education, enrolment and drop-out ratios are more useful than adult literacy or mean years of schooling, but micro-level research is required to decide which of these two is better. Composite indices like the Physical Quality of Life Index and Gender-related Development Index are potentially useful, given some alterations to increase their relevance to developing countries. (Blackwell Publishers).

Scoones, I. 1995. 'Investigating Difference: Applications of Wealth Ranking and Households Survey Approaches Among Farming Households in Southern Zimbabwe', *Development and Change*, Vol.26, No.1, 67-88.

Serra, Renata. 1999. 'Putnam in India': Is Social Capital a Meaningful and Measurable Concept at Indian State Level?, *IDS Working Paper 92*. Sussex: Institute of Development Studies. <http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/pvty/pvprp.html>

In a seminal and provocative book, Putnam argues that levels of trust, interest in public affairs and political participation are the most important explanatory features of the differential institutional performance across Italian regions over time. Despite the long-standing debate this work has generated on the concept of social capital, there is a surprising lack of attempts to test his thesis empirically in other contexts. This paper examines the possibility of replicating Putnam's argument in the context of Indian states, by discussing available data at Indian state level, constructing new indicators, and attempting some preliminary statistical analysis of the relationship between social capital and state performance. At each step of the process, a number of factors are identified that restrict the validity of the exercise. Far from discounting Putnam's research question and methodology, this paper points out the specific empirical and conceptual issues one needs to pay attention to, when addressing the important topic of the roots of differential institutional performance in the Indian context. Recommendations for future research in this area are to interpret data and design surveys very carefully; shift the focus from states as units of analysis, to either clusters of states identified according to historical and cultural features, or to selected areas for fieldwork comparison; and, finally, pay attention to the theoretical framework, in particular to the dynamics of the institutions – social capital relationship and to the role of education as a fundamental intervening variable in a country with widespread illiteracy such as India.

Wodon QT. 1997. 'Targeting the poor using ROC curves', *World Development*, Vol.25, No.12, 2083-2092.

This paper compares the performance of targeting indicators to identify the poor. If the ROC curve of one indicator lies above that of another, the first indicator dominates the second for all social welfare functions based on the two types of errors involved in targeting. The method is applied to Bangladesh. Fifteen indicators are used, including location, land ownership, education, occupation, demographics, age, family structure, and housing. The analysis is applied at the national, urban, and rural levels with two poverty lines. Education dominates land ownership in urban areas. The ranking is reversed in most cases in rural areas. [Elsevier].

World Bank. *Directory of household surveys and participatory poverty assessments*. <http://wbi018.worldbank.org/dg/povertys.nsf/>

World Bank. 1996. *African development indicators*. World Bank, Washington DC.

Section Two

Rural Poverty

General

Sub-Saharan Africa

South Asia

India

General

Bale, M. 1999. *The Rural Poor: A Thematic Approach*. Washington DC: World Bank, East Asia and Pacific Region.

Bester, BJ, Belete, A, Kelembe, SG. 1998. 'Assessing peasant farmers' risk attitudes and factors that influence decisions on risky alternatives: a case study in the border region of South Africa', *Agrekon*, Vol.37, No.3, 268-280

Bowles, Samuel. 1999. *Wealth Inequality, Market Exclusion, and Economic Performance*. Article from the Policy Dialogue on Inclusion, Justice, and Poverty Reduction, Berlin, February 2-4, 1999. <http://www.dse.de/ef/poverty/bowles.htm>

Chen, S. and M. Ravallion. 2000. 'How Did The World's Poorest Fare in the 1990s'. *Policy Research Working Paper 2409*. Washington DC: World Bank. <http://econ.worldbank.org/>

Between 1987 and 1998, the incidence of poverty fell in Asia and the Middle East and North Africa, changed little in Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa, and rose in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. Too little economic growth in the poorest countries and persistent inequalities (in income and other measures) are the main reasons for the disappointing rate of poverty reduction. Drawing on data from 265 national sample surveys spanning 83 countries, Chen and Ravallion find that there was a net decrease in the total incidence of consumption poverty between 1987 and 1998. But it was not enough to reduce the total number of poor people, by various definitions. The incidence of poverty fell in Asia and the Middle East and North Africa, changed little in Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa, and rose in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. The two main proximate causes of the disappointing rate of poverty reduction: too little economic growth in many of the poorest countries, and persistent inequalities (in both income and other essential measures) that kept the poor from participating in the growth that did occur. [World Bank].

Collier, P. and J.W. Gunning. 1999. 'Explaining African Economic Performance', *Journal of Economic Literature*, 37, 64-111.

Cornia, G.A. 1999. 'Liberalization, Globalization and Income Distribution'. *WIDER Working Paper 157*. World Institute for Development Economics Research. Helsinki: UN University. <http://www.wider.unu.edu/publications/wp157.pdf>

Recent mainstream analyses of changes in income distribution over the post World War II period have concluded that income inequality within countries tends to be stable, that there is no strong association between growth and inequality and that, therefore, poverty is best reduced through growth-oriented, rather than distributive, policies. This paper challenges this view. It argues that while income inequality declined in several nations between the 1950s and 1970s, this trend has been reversed during the last twenty years in two-thirds of the countries with adequate data. This paper also suggests (without testing formally) that the traditional causes of income inequality (land concentration, unequal access to education, urban-rural gap,

and so on) are unlikely to explain its rise over the last two decades. Such an increase is more likely to be related to shifts towards skill-intensive technologies and, even more so, to the adoption of the unfettered liberalization of domestic and international markets. Since the early 1990s, the international community has made the eradication of poverty its foremost development objective. Yet, the decline of poverty in the years ahead depends also on trends in income inequality, a fact which still attracts little concern by the policymakers. Much of the recent rise in income inequality must thus be viewed with alarm, as it may well prove to be incompatible with poverty reduction objectives. [Eldis].

Gurr, T.R. et al. 1993. *Minorities at Risk: a Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts*. Washington DC: Institute of Peace Press.

Haddad, L. et al (eds). 1997. *Intrahousehold Resource Allocation in Developing Countries: Models, Methods and Policy*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press/London: IFPDI.

Haggblade and Leidholm. 1991. 'Agriculture, Rural Labor Markets, and the Evolution of the Rural Nonfarm Economy.' *GEMINI Working Paper* No. 19, Bethesda, Maryland.

Hanmer, L, Healey, J, and Naschold, F. 2000. 'Will Growth Halve Global Poverty by 2015?', *ODI Poverty Briefing No.8*. <http://www.odi.org.uk/publications/poverty.html>

International Fund for Agricultural Development. 2001. *Rural Poverty Report 2001 – The Challenge of Ending Rural Poverty*. IFAD

<http://www.ifad.org/poverty/index.htm>

Progress in reducing rural poverty has stalled. In the 1990s, it fell to less than one third of the rate needed to meet the United Nations' commitment to halve world poverty by 2015. Although three quarters of the world's 1.2 billion extremely poor people live and work in rural areas, aid to agriculture, their main source of income, has fallen by two thirds. [IFAD website].

Jacoby, H. and E. Skoufias. 1997. 'Risk, Financial Markets and Human Capital in a Developing Country', *Review of Economic Studies*, Vol.64, No.3, 311-335.

This paper explores the link between financial market incompleteness and human capital accumulation. We examine how child school attendance responds to seasonal fluctuations in the income of agrarian households using panel data from rural India. To pinpoint market imperfections, we study the responses to aggregate and idiosyncratic, as well as anticipated and unanticipated, income shocks. Our main finding is that seasonal fluctuations in school attendance are a form of self-insurance, but one which does not result in a substantial loss of human capital on average. [Author's abstract].

Jazairy, I. et al. 1992. *The State of World Rural Poverty: an inquiry into its causes and consequences*. London: ITP.

Khan, H.M. 2000. *Rural poverty in developing countries: issues and policies*. IMF Working Papers.

A review of rural poverty, and suggested policy framework. Policy options considered include: stable macroeconomic management; transfer of assets; investment in and access to physical/social infrastructure; access to credit and jobs; safety nets.

Kinsey, B., Burger, K., and Gunning, J.W. 1998. 'Coping with drought in Zimbabwe: Survey evidence on responses of rural households to risk.' *World Development*, Vol.26, No.1, 89-110.

Lamjouw, P. and M. Ravallion. 1995. 'Poverty and Household Size', *Economic Journal*, 105, November, 1415-1434.

The widely held view that larger families tend to be poorer in developing countries has influenced research and policy. The scope for size economies in consumption cautions against this view. We find that the correlation between poverty and size vanishes in Pakistan when the size elasticity of the cost of living is about 0.6. This turns out to be the elasticity implied by a modified version of the food share method of setting scales. By contrast, some measures of child nutritional status indicate an elasticity of unity. Consideration of the weight attached to child versus adult welfare may help resolve the non-robustness of demographic profiles of poverty. [Authors' abstract].

Lipton, M. 2000. *The Changing Face of Rural Poverty, International Development Assistance, and IFAD's Role: The Issues*. Poverty Research Unit. Brighton: University of Sussex. <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/Units/PRU/>

Lipton, M. 2000. *Ending rural poverty in the 21st Century: A preview of IFAD's Rural Poverty Report 2000-2001: themes and issues*. Poverty Research Unit. Brighton: University of Sussex. <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/Units/PRU/>

Moore, Mick, Jennifer Leavy, Peter Houtzager and Howard White. 1999. 'Polity Qualities: How Governance Affects Poverty'. *IDS Working Paper 99*. Sussex: Institute Of Development Studies. <http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/pvty/pvprp.html>

For a large sample of 61 developing countries, over the period 1980-95, we calculate a measure of efficiency with which national political-economic systems convert a given volume of material resources (GNP per capita) into human development (longevity, education and literacy) for their citizens. This we label RICE (relative income conversion efficiency). Four main variables explain variations in RICE. The first, population density, works largely in technical fashion. It is easier and cheaper to provide health and education services to densely-clustered populations. The second variable is geographical: all else being equal, location in West Africa lower the rate at which material resources are converted into human development. This probably reflects West Africa's highly disease-prone natural environment. The third and fourth variables relate to governance. They however correlate with RICE in strikingly contrasting ways. A composite measure of the quality of government institutions, produced for international investors and lenders, turns out to be significantly but negatively correlated with RICE. In other words, countries with governance institutions that are attractive to international investors tend to perform badly at converting material resources into human development. By contrast, a variable relating to state-society relations – the extent to which governing elites are financially independent on their own citizens – is significantly and negatively correlated with RICE. Governments that are dependent on their own citizens for critical resources appear more effective at converting material resources into human development. Democracy appears neither to strengthen this particular accountability nor to play an independent role in raising RICE scores: we could find not statistical connection between RICE and the degree of democracy. [IDS Website].

Morduch, J. 1999. *Issues on Risk and Poverty*. Paper from the Stiglitz Summer Research Workshop on Poverty, Washington D.C., July 6-8.

Mullen, J. (ed.) 1999. *Rural poverty, empowerment and sustainable livelihoods*. Ashgate.

Narayan, D. et al. 2000. *Voices of the Poor: Can Anyone Hear Us?* New York: Oxford University Press.

Naylor R.L. Falcon WP. 1995. 'Is the locus of poverty changing?', *Food Policy*, Vol.20, No.6, 501-518.

Urbanization is now a dominant demographic phenomenon in low- and middle-income countries, By the year 2000, half of the world's population will live in urban areas; of this half, two thirds will be in developing countries, predominantly in Asia, Whether there will be a corresponding shift of poverty from rural to urban areas is the central question of this analysis, Evidence from cross-sectional, time-series, and case data indicates that the percent of poverty in urban areas is dependent on income levels, income growth, and income distribution, The evidence also indicates that the number of poor in rural areas will exceed those in urban areas well into the 21st century, These poverty and urbanization trends are significant politically, and important also with respect to food policy and required investments in agriculture.

OXFAM. 1999. *Globalisation*. Submission to the Government's White Paper on Globalisation. Oxford: OXFAM.

Oxford Development Studies. 1998. Vol.26, No.1 Special Issue: Globalization.

Posel, D. 1997. 'Counting the poor: who gets what in which households', *Agenda*, No.33, 49-60

Reyes, Celia M. 1999. *Impact of Macroeconomic Crises on the Poor*. Paper from the Conference on Macro Shocks and Poverty and Consultations with Civil Society, Kuala Lumpur, May 10-12.

Siegel, P. and Alwang, G. 1999. 'An Asset-based Approach to Social Risk Management: A Conceptual Framework'. *Social Protection Discussion Paper 9926*. World Bank, Washington DC.

Sinha, S, Lipton, M et al. 1999. 'Damaging Fluctuations, Risk and Poverty: A Review'. Background Paper for the *World Development Report 2000/2001*. Washington D.C: World Bank.

<http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/wdrpoverty/background/sinhaliptn.pdf>

This paper introduces the notion of 'damaging fluctuations' (DFs), which may cause or deepen poverty. DFs are particularly responsible for pushing people who are not usually poor into poverty. The most harmful DFs are those that are unpredictable, i.e. a risk, that being a DF that is not certain in any given future period (p5). The six main types of DF are: disease or injury, violence, natural disaster, harvest failure, terms-of-trade deterioration and reduced access to productive or income-earning work, each of which needs to be explored in terms of its impact of each DF on the poor, and the means of improving DF management for and by poor people. Remote rural areas are referred to briefly in terms of vulnerability to natural disasters (p28). Migrant workers, women and children are particularly vulnerable to labour market-related fluctuations such as retrenchment, increasing demand for skilled labour, decreases in formal sector employment (p49).

Stewart, F. 1995. 'The Social Impacts of Globalization and Marketization'. In U. Kirdar and L. Silk, eds. *People: From Impoverishment to Empowerment*. New York University Press.

Townsend, R. 1994. 'Risk and Insurance in Village India', *Econometrica*, Vol.62, No.3, 539-91.

Udry, C. 1999. 'Poverty, Risk and Households'. Paper from the Stiglitz Summer Research Workshop on Poverty, Washington D.C., July 6-8.

UNDP. 2000. *Overcoming Human Poverty: Human Poverty Report*. New York: UN. <http://www.undp.org/poverty/>

A new global strategy against poverty needs to be mounted - with more resources, a sharper focus and a stronger commitment. Effective governance is often the "missing link" between national anti-poverty efforts and poverty reduction. For many countries it is in improving governance that external assistance is needed - but not with a new set of poverty-related conditionalities imposed on top of the existing economic conditionalities. [UNDP Website].

Webb P, Harinarayan A. 1999. 'A measure of uncertainty: The nature of vulnerability and its relationship to malnutrition', *Disasters*, Vol.23, No.4, 292-305.

Terms such as 'vulnerability' and 'insecurity' are used widely in the general nutrition literature as well as in work on humanitarian response. Yet these words are used rather loosely. This paper argues that more clarity in their usage would benefit those seeking a bridge between development and humanitarian problems. Since vulnerability is not fully coincident with malnutrition, poverty or other conventional indices of human deprivation, public action must be based on a better understanding of the nature of crises and human uncertainty beyond physiological and nutritional outcomes. More attention is needed to be paid to the context-specific nature of risks, the capacity of households to manage such risks and the potential for public action to bolster indigenous capacity through targeted development investments, not just relief. [Blackwell Publishers].

Winters, L.A. 2000. 'Trade Liberalisation and Poverty', *PRUS Working Paper No.7*. Poverty Research Unit. Brighton: University of Sussex. <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/Units/PRU/>

World Bank. *Directory of household surveys and participatory poverty assessments*. <http://wbi0018.worldbank.org/dg/povertys.nsf/Surveys>

World Bank. 2000. *World Development Report 2000-2001: Attacking Poverty*. Washington: WB. <http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/wdrpoverty/report/index.htm>

Includes a political focus: Chapter 7 (117-131) focuses on "Removing Social Barriers and Building Social Institutions", explicitly recognising the importance of sociopolitical factors in causing poverty – including chronic poverty. "Discrimination on the basis of gender, ethnicity, race, religion, or social status can lead to social exclusion and lock people into long-term poverty traps" (p117). Examples include the caste-based system in India and race relations in South Africa. "In the extreme, these social divisions can become the basis of severe deprivation and conflict" (p117).

Sub-Saharan Africa

Ali, A.A.G. and E. Thorbecke. 2000. 'The state and path of poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa: some preliminary results', *Journal of African economies*, Vol.9, No.1, 9-44.

This paper provides estimates on the state and path of poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) using recent information on income distribution. The results are reported for the rural and urban sectors and aggregated for the national level. According to the

results, about 59% of the rural population was living under a poverty line of US\$311 per person per annum and about 43% of the urban population was living under a poverty line of US\$521 per person per annum. Overall, 54% of the population of SSA was living under poverty during the first half of the 1990s. In addition to this widespread poverty, it is also shown that poverty is deep and severe. The paper also looks at changes in poverty over time in terms of growth and distribution components. Revisiting the standard decomposition methodology, four country cases are analysed in which it is shown that poverty has increased (declined) in the countries where inequality increased (declined). More work is called for in this respect, as information over time becomes available. [Oxford University Press].

Appleton, S. 1999. 'Changes in Poverty in Uganda: 1992-1997'. *Working Paper*, 99.22. Oxford University, Centre for the Study of African Economies. <http://www.csae.ox.ac.uk/>

Austin, Gareth. 1999. 'Background Note on Civil Strife and Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa'. Background Paper for the *World Development Report 2000/2001*. Washington D.C: World Bank.

<http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/wdrpoverty/background/austin.pdf>

This short essay surveys the major approaches taken in the literature, identifying gaps in questions asked and research techniques tried. It goes on to discuss the economic sources of violent civic conflict within African states, relating these to the long-term transition from land-surplus to land-scarcity south of the Sahara, to the fiscal weakness of most African states, and to the historically contingent character of ethnic and class differences as the causes of conflict. Finally, it comments on the policy implications, including the need for technological change that takes advantage of the changing factor ratio, and the many specific difficulties on the path to what, in general terms, is the most plausible institutional framework for achieving peaceful solutions to the kinds of conflict that at present not infrequently end in violence: tax-paying democracies. [Author's abstract].

Barnett, T. et al. 1995. 'The social and economic impact of HIV/AIDS on farming systems and livelihoods in rural Africa: some experience and lessons from Uganda, Tanzania and Zambia', *Journal of international development*, Vol.7, No.1, 163-176.

Bernstein H. 1998. 'Social change in the south African countryside? Land and production, poverty and power', *Journal Of Peasant Studies*, Vol.25, No.4, 1-32.

The article examines land and production, poverty and power; as coordinates of the agrarian question in South Africa and uses them to sketch the context of the apartheid legacy, to interrogate the discourses of land and agricultural policy reform, and to investigate the paradox of the apparent marginality of reform in the ANC Government's agenda alongside a widespread and dynamic politics of land and farming. In particular it confronts stereotypical views of large farm and small farm paths of agrarian development in post-apartheid South Africa, and suggests the importance of recent work by Mamdani [1996] on the colonial state in Africa and its legacy to the politics of agrarian reform and its relationship with national democratic revolution. [Frank Cass & Co. Ltd].

Booth, D. et al. 1999. 'Experiencing Poverty in Africa: perspectives from anthropology'. Background Paper for Status of Poverty in Africa Report in Africa, Report. Institute Of Development Studies: Sussex.

Brockhoff M, Hewett P. 2000. 'Inequality of child mortality among ethnic groups in sub-Saharan Africa', *Bulletin Of The World Health Organization*, Vol.78, No.1, 30-41.

Accounts by journalists of wars in several countries of sub-Saharan Africa in the 1990s have raised concern that ethnic cleavages and overlapping religious and racial affiliations may widen the inequalities in health and survival among ethnic groups throughout the region, particularly among children. Paradoxically, there has been no systematic examination of ethnic inequality in child survival chances across countries in the region. This paper uses survey data collected in the 1990s in 11 countries (Central African Republic, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Kenya, Mali, Namibia, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Uganda, and Zambia) to examine whether ethnic inequality in child mortality has been present and spreading in sub-Saharan Africa since the 1980s. The results show remarkable consistency. In all 11 countries there were significant differentials between ethnic groups in the odds of dying during infancy or before the age of 5 years. Multivariate analysis shows that ethnic child mortality differences are closely linked with economic inequality in many countries, and perhaps with differential use of child health services in countries of the Sahel region. Strong and consistent results in this study support placing the notion of ethnicity at the forefront of theories and analyses of child mortality in Africa which incorporate social, and not purely epidemiological, considerations. Moreover, the typical advantage of relatively small, clearly defined ethnic groups, as compared to the majority in the national population, according to fundamental indicators of wellbeing child survival, education, housing, and so forth - suggests that many countries in sub-Saharan Africa, despite their widespread poverty, are as marked by social inequality as are countries in other regions in the world.

Brown, L.R. et al. 1994. 'The role of labour in household food security: implications of AIDS in Africa', *Food policy*, Vol.19, No.6, 568-573.

Carter M.R., May, J. 1999. 'Poverty, livelihood and class in rural South Africa', *World Development*, Vol.27, No.1, 1-20.

Using data from a national living standards survey undertaken in late 1993, this paper disaggregates and explores the economics of livelihood generation and class in rural South Africa in an effort to contribute to the ongoing and vociferous debate in South Africa about poverty and its alleviation. Pursuant to the suggestion of participants in a recent participatory poverty assessment, this paper analyzes what might be termed the class structure of poverty. After exploring the range of claiming systems and livelihood tactics available in rural South Africa, the paper offers a first look at who the poor are by disaggregating the rural population into discrete livelihood strategy classes. Non-parametric regression methods are used to then estimate and graphically explore the nature of the livelihood mapping between endowments and real incomes. In addition to identifying those endowment combinations that map to consumption levels below the poverty line (the asset basis of poverty), the topography of the estimated livelihood mapping helps identify the constraints that limit household's ability to effectively utilize their assets and endowments. These results suggest that poverty is a matter of not only having few assets, but also of constraints which limit the effectiveness with which those assets are used, and poverty and livelihood policy needs to be designed accordingly. [Elsevier].

Cohen, D. 1998. *Poverty and HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa*. HIV and Development Programme, UNDP.

Crewe, M. 2000. 'South Africa: touched by the vengeance of AIDS', *South African journal of international affairs*, Vol.7, No.2, 23-37.

Demery, L. 1999. 'Poverty Dynamics in Africa: An Update'. World Bank, Africa Region, Poverty Reduction and Social Development Region. Washington DC.

Dercon, S. and P. Krishnan. 2000. 'Vulnerability, seasonality and poverty in Ethiopia', *Journal of development studies*, Vol.36, No.6, 25-53.

Devereux, S., and Naeraa, T. 1996. 'Drought and survival in rural Namibia.' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol.22, No.3, pp 421-440.

Douma, P. 1999. *Poverty, Conflict and Development interventions in Sub Saharan Africa*. Global Development Network (GDN).

Argues that the patterns of group poverty and inequality to the in sub-Saharan Africa are linked to the outcome of the political process within many of these countries. Through a multitude of factors states have become weaker, leading to increased competition for scarce resources between contending political elite groups. As a result many stakeholder groups have become disenfranchised, and this enables disgruntled elites to mobilize such groups into violence, leading to protracted internal conflicts. [Eldis].

Good, K. 1999. 'The state and extreme poverty in Botswana: the San and destitutes', *Journal of modern African studies*, Vol.37, No.2, 185-205.

The rise of wealth and power within the cattle-owning economy of Botswana has been accompanied by the creation of poverty and weakness. The impoverishment of the San and 'destitutes' was a structured, comprehensive, and long-term process, caused less by phenomena such as periodic drought than by an elite of economic and political power, and the exploitation which they practiced. The growth economy of recent decades has not ameliorated the situation, but has strengthened the wealthy while neglecting or worsening the plight of the San. The state possesses the financial resources and developmental capacities to alleviate poverty, but its controllers continue to prioritise other matters. [Author's abstract].

Hanmer, L. C., Pyatt, G., and White, H. 1999. 'What do the World Bank's Poverty Assessments teach us about poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa?', *Development and change*, Vol.30, No.4, 795-824.

As part of the World Bank's poverty reduction strategy, Poverty Assessments have been carried out for a number of countries which analyse who the poor are, the causes of poverty and poverty reduction policies. This article reviews what can be learnt from the twenty-five Assessments prepared for countries in sub-Saharan Africa up to 1996. Whilst other factors are acknowledged in identifying the poor, the Assessments over-emphasise income-poverty defined against an inevitably arbitrary poverty line. The Assessments are shown to be weak in addressing the causes of poverty, often ignoring the historical perspective, political context, and international dimensions such as debt and commodity price trends., focusing instead on lack of growth in recent years as the main cause of poverty. Weak understanding of the causes of poverty undermines the basis for country-specific poverty reduction strategies: policy recommendations are usually an uncritical presentation of the World Bank's three-pronged strategy of growth, investment in human capital and social safety nets. Although the Assessments do not explicitly acknowledge the point, they suggest that the number of poor people in Africa will continue to rise; nor is there any bases for confidence that policies are being put in place to redress the situation. [Blackwell Publishers].

Heyer, J. 1996. 'The complexities of rural poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Oxford development studies*, Vol.24, No.3, 281-297.

Rural poverty is an endemic problem in sub-Saharan Africa, with the region faring very badly on most common poverty indicators. After drawing a contrast with the position in South Asia the paper considers the problem from the local level. It is

argued, however, that while the manifestations are local, the causes and potential remedies are found in the nature of the linkages with the wider national and international economies. A framework is adopted to illustrate the complexity of linkage effects. The value of the framework is then demonstrated by considering the success of Machakos District (Kenya) in transforming a weak area into one which has shown distinctive signs of improvement as a result of the expansion of its external linkages and the consequent strengthening of its own local economy. [Blackwell Publishers].

Klasen S. 1997. 'Poverty, inequality and deprivation in South Africa: An analysis of the 1993 Saldru survey', *Social Indicators Research*, Vol.41, Nos. 1-3, 51-94.

This paper analyses poverty and inequality in South Africa based on data from a comprehensive multi-purpose household survey undertaken in 1993 to provide baseline statistics on poverty and its determinants to the new government. The paper shows that South Africa has among the highest levels of income inequality in the world and compares poorly in most social indicators to countries with similar income levels. Much of the poverty in the country is a direct result of apartheid policies that denied equal access to education, employment, services, and resources to the black population of the country. As a result, poverty has a very strong racial dimension with poverty concentrated among the African population. In addition, poverty is much higher in rural areas, and particularly high in the former homelands. Poverty among female-headed households and among children is also higher than average. Moreover, poverty is closely related to poor education and lack of employment. The poor suffer from lack of access to education, quality health care, basic infrastructure, transport, are heavily indebted, have little access to productive resources, and are heavily dependent on remittances and social transfers, particularly social pensions and disability grants. The paper uses an income-based definition of poverty for most of the analysis. In addition, it develops a broad-based index of deprivation including income, employment, wealth, access to services, health, education, and perceptions of satisfaction as its components. While on average the two indicators correspond fairly closely, the income poverty measure misses a considerable number of people who are severely deprived in many of the non-income measures of well-being. This group of severely deprived not identified by the income poverty measure consists predominantly of Africans living in rural areas, concentrated particularly in the province of KwaZulu/Natal.

Lyons, Miriam. 1998 'The Impact of HIV and AIDS on Children, Families and Communities: Risks and Realities of Childhood during the HIV Epidemic'. *Issues Paper No. 30*, HIV and Development Programme, UNDP.

Mamdani, M. 1996. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. (London, UK: James Currey).

The main argument presented here is that the state in rural Africa cannot be democratised because it has never been detribalised from its colonial construction. The legacy of colonialism is "a bifurcated power that mediated racial domination through tribally organized local authorities, reproducing racial identity in citizens and ethnic identity in subjects" (Publisher's note). As such, people living in rural areas are forced to relate to the state as subjects rather than citizens, with implications for their participation in governance. Colonial African polities were divided between a 'civil/urban' and 'customary/rural' society, whereby "Urban power spoke the language of civil society and rights, rural power of community and culture. Civil power claimed to protect rights, customary power pledged to enforce tradition" (p18). In the colonial era, most Africans were racially excluded from civil society. However, Mamdani focuses "on incorporation, not marginalization", and attempts to understand "the specific nature of the power through which the population of subjects excluded from

civil society was actually rules" (p15). It is a bifurcation that remains in evidence today. The territorial basis of administration, drawing of colonial boundaries and policies of settlement particularly disadvantaged pastoralists (165-8). Includes detailed case studies of rural (Uganda) and urban (South Africa) resistance movements.

May, J. (ed.) 2000. *Poverty and inequality in South Africa: meeting the challenge*. London: Zed Books.

May J, Norton A. 1997. "A difficult life": The perceptions and experience of poverty in South Africa, *Social Indicators Research*, 41: (1-3) 95-118

The purpose of this article is to provide a fuller and more integrated understanding of poverty based on the results of a nation wide participatory study recently completed in South Africa. A surprisingly consistent view of poverty emerges from the study which includes social isolation, malnourished children, crowded homes, the use of basic energy sources, no employment, and fragmented households. A clear image of what results from extreme poverty also emerges comprising continuous ill health, arduous and often hazardous work for virtually no income, no power to influence change, and high levels of anxiety and stress. The article concludes that conventional definitions of poverty do not fully describe the experience of poverty as analysed by the poor themselves. Instead, the multidimensional nature of poverty suggests that three basic concepts would be useful in any analysis of extent, nature and persistence of poverty. These are sufficiency, access and vulnerability.

Sahn, D.E, Dorosh. P.A., Younger, S.D. 1997. *Structural adjustment reconsidered: economic policy and poverty in Africa*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, New York.

South Asia

General

Datt, Gaurav; Gunewardena, Dileni. 1997. 'Some aspects of poverty in Sri Lanka, 1985-90', *Policy Research Working Paper 1738*. Washington DC: World Bank.
<http://econ.worldbank.org/>

Poverty in Sri Lanka is still largely a rural phenomenon. Between 1986 and 1991, national poverty rates declined modestly, almost entirely because of a decline in rural poverty. During the same period, urban poverty increased. Poorer households tend to have higher dependency ratios, fewer years of schooling, lower participation in the labor force, and significantly higher unemployment. Datt and Gunewardena characterize poverty in Sri Lanka, using data from two recent household surveys (for 1985-86 and 1990-91). Poverty rates in 1990-91 were highest in the rural sector and lowest in the estate sector, with the urban sector in between. Between 1985-86 and 1990-91, national poverty declined modestly, almost entirely because of a fall in rural poverty (although poverty in the estate sector also declined). Agriculture, forestry, and fishing accounted for about 80 percent of the decline in national poverty. Favorable redistribution and growth in rural mean consumption accounted about equally for the decline in rural poverty. During the same period, urban poverty increased. But poverty in Sri Lanka is still largely a rural phenomenon. Nearly half the poor depend on agriculture for livelihood. Another 30 percent depend on other rural non agricultural activities. Regional variations in poverty are fairly limited. Femaleheaded households are associated with greater poverty only in the urban sector. Poorer households tend to have higher dependency ratios, fewer years of schooling, lower rates of participation in the labor force, and significantly higher rates

of unemployment. Direct transfer benefits from the Food Stamp Program are progressive and have a greater impact on poverty than uniform allocations from the same budget. Economic growth could reduce poverty considerably.

Indra, D.M., Buchignani N. 1997. 'Rural landlessness, extended entitlements and inter-household relations in South Asia: A Bangladesh case', *Journal Of Peasant Studies*, Vol.24, No.3, 25-64.

This article shows how people in one part of Bangladesh rendered landless and impoverished by river bank erosion make innovative use of kinship and other ideologies legitimating reciprocity and mutual aid to re-establish themselves rent-free on the land of others. It thereby addresses a larger empirical issue: where are the fully landless rural poor in South Asia living, and through what means? Theoretically, it extends Dreze and Sen's analysis of entitlements and poverty to instances of inter-household cooperative conflict and mutual aid among extremely poor people. A culturally informed, gender disaggregated analysis of those locally called *uthuli* because they have settled on others' land without monetary payment demonstrates that women's 'extended entitlements' [Dreze and Sen, 1989:10] as daughters, sisters and mothers are often critical assets in establishing residence. Women are also key agents in the establishment and maintenance of *uthuli* residence and in managing the benefits stemming from it. Using this approach, we show how landless women's entitlements are pivotal in securing access to a houseplot for themselves and their families. [Frank Cass & Co. Ltd].

Journal of development studies, 1996, Vol.32, No.4. Special edition: poverty in Asia.

Kabeer, Naila. *Qualitative Perspectives on Quantitative Poverty: 20 Years of Economic Change and Social Development in Rural Bangladesh*.

<http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/pvty/pvprp.html>

Qualitative counterpart to Martin Greeley's 8 village study of poverty trends between 1980 and 1995. Uses individual and focus group interviews with social groups in 3 villages experiencing different trends in poverty to explore how people perceived and explained economic and social change in their villages in the intervening 20 years.

Mehta, Pradeep S. 1999. *Trade Liberalisation & Poverty: What is the Evidence? The Case of India*. Paper from the Conference on Macro Shocks and Poverty and Consultations with Civil Society, Kuala Lumpur, May 10-12.

Miller, B.D. 1997. 'Social class, gender and intrahousehold food allocations to children in south Asia', *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol.44, No.11, 1685-1695.

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 abstract].

Pasha, MK. 1996. 'Globalisation and poverty in South Asia', *Millennium*, Vol.25, No.3, 635-656.

Patel, M. 1998. 'Challenges for engendering rural poverty alleviation in Asia', *Indian journal of economics*, Vol.LXXIX, No.313, 163-186.

This paper analyzes the interplay of gender and poverty in rural Asia. Examining women's relative well-being, together with their participation in rural life, it shows how women contribute to reducing the level and intensity of rural poverty. It reviews women's lack of access to land and resources, resulting in low productivity and income. Considering the impact of market reforms on the extent and intensity of rural women's time use, the paper highlights the challenges facing the policy makers to devise measures which would reduce gender asymmetries in well-being and obligations.

Roy, K., C. Tisdell and M. Alauddin. 1992. 'Rural-Urban Migration And Poverty In South-Asia', *Journal Of Contemporary Asia*, Vol.22, No.1, 57-72.

Analyses the process of rural-urban migration of landless rural families in South Asia using field data from Dattabad slum in Calcutta and from Notuk village in Midnapur District, West Bengal, India, and from Ekdala and South Rampur villages in Bangladesh. Results reveal that diminishing access to non-market goods and lack of employment of females caused a significant fall in family income which forced these rural families to migrate to Dattabad slum. Their migration-decision was linked to the onset of poverty and lack of economic security for them. This suggests the importance of a "push-factor" in their migration-decision. While all family members migrated together and all hoped to find some employment in Calcutta, only female members in all families were employed. This was in unskilled jobs. Males were frequently unemployed and were in a less satisfactory economic situation than was anticipated prior to migration.

Sen, A. 1981. *Poverty and famines: An essay on entitlement and deprivation*. Oxford University Press, Delhi.

Stewart, F. 1998. 'Adjustment and Poverty in Asia: Old Solutions and New Problems'. *QEH Working Paper 28*. Oxford: Queen Elizabeth House.

This paper analyses how adjustment policies affected the poor in Asian economies, focussing on the period up to 1997. It shows that there was a significant reduction in both private income poverty and social income poverty over the previous thirty years. The adjustment policies of the 1980s led to some episodes of rising poverty, but unlike in other regions, there was no substantial increase in poverty. Countries which adjusted on their own, however, did significantly better on poverty than those who adjusted with IMF or World Bank programmes. In both cases, the main basis for the good performance was a sustained growth rate not very high commitments of national income to social expenditure, nor a progressive improvement in income distribution. Social safety nets did not play a big part. As a result when the economic crisis occurred in East Asian countries in 1997-8, there were only limited safety nets, of either a traditional or state supported kind, so that a sharp increase in poverty ensued. [Author's abstract].

Wodon, Q.T. 1999. 'Microdeterminants of Consumption, Poverty, Growth, and Inequality in Bangladesh'. *Policy Research Working Paper 2076*. Washington DC: World Bank. <http://econ.worldbank.org/>

What are the gains from a better education, more land ownership, or a different occupation in Bangladesh? Do the gains differ in urban and rural areas? Have they remained stable over time? Do household size, family structure, and gender affect well-being? Do consumption, poverty, and inequality depend more on characteristics of households or on the areas in which those households are located? Using household data from five successive national surveys, Wodon analyzes the microdeterminants of (and changes in) consumption, poverty, growth, and inequality in Bangladesh from 1983 to 1996. Education, demographics, land ownership, occupation, and geographic location all affect consumption and poverty. The gains in

per capita consumption associated with many of these household characteristics tend to be stable over time. Returns to demographics (variables in household size) have the greatest impact on growth, perhaps because of improving employment opportunities for women. Education (in urban areas) and land (in rural areas) contribute most to measures of between-group inequality. Location takes second place, in both urban and rural areas. Wodon introduces the concept of conditional between-group inequality. Existing group decompositions of the Gini index along one variable do not control for other characteristics correlated with that variable. Conditional between-group Ginis avoid this pitfall. He also shows how to use unconditional and conditional between-group Ginis for simulating policies.

Zaidi, S.A. 1999. 'Is poverty now a permanent phenomenon in Pakistan?', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.34, No.41, 2943-2951.

Around mid-1990s, there was growing awareness and recognition that after two decades of poverty reduction, these positive trends had either slowed down, or worse still, had been reversed. Many studies which analysed and explained these trends, argued that poverty in Pakistan had been reduced due to a combination of factors, including; high and sustained growth over a fairly long period of time, by the role and contribution made by remittances from the West Asia, and by a public policy which was not so much focused upon poverty alleviation per se, but dependent more on overall government spending. Since 1988, when the government started following an IMF and World Bank structural adjustment programme, almost every single macro-economic indicator with some poverty reducing impact, began to worsen. Over the last decade; growth has slowed down markedly, development and social sector spending has been slashed, inflation has increased, manufacturing sector growth has been exceptionally low; and remittances have fallen to their lowest levels in 20 years. Hence, all the factors which may have had a positive influence on poverty alleviation, have deteriorated, possibly explaining why poverty returned to Pakistan and why it has continued to persist. With every government committed to Such a stabilisation and restructuring programme, and with its own poor record of targeting for poverty alleviation, it is more than likely that poverty in Pakistan is going to grow and persist well into the future.

Zaidi, S.A. 1997. "Politics, institutions and poverty – the case of Karachi" *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.32, No.51, 3282-3293.

India³

Betancourt, R. and S. Gleason. 2000. 'The Allocation of Publicly-Provided Goods to Rural Households in India: On Some Consequences of Caste, Religion and Democracy', *World Development*, Vol.28, No.12, 2169-2182.

Currie, B. 2000. *The politics of hunger in India: a study of democracy, governance and Kalahandis poverty*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Datt, G. 1999. 'Has Poverty in India Declined since the Economic Reforms?', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.34, No.50.

³ Also see de Haan, A. and P. Nayak. 1995. *Social exclusion and South Asia: A regional bibliographical review and India case study*. International Institute for Labour Studies, ILO. Full text available at: <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/inst/papers/1994/dp77/index.htm>

Datt, G. 1998. 'Poverty in India and Indian States: An Update'. *Discussion Paper 47*. Washington DC: International Food Policy Research Institute, Food Consumption and Nutrition Division.

Datt, G. and M. Ravallion. 1998. 'Farm Productivity and Rural Poverty in India', *Journal of Development Studies*, Vol.34, 62-85.

Datt, Gaurav; Ravallion, Martin 1996. 'Why have some Indian states done better than others at reducing rural poverty?', *Policy Research Working Paper 1594*. Washington DC: World Bank. <http://econ.worldbank.org/>

Experience in India suggests that reducing rural poverty requires both economic growth (farm and nonfarm) and human resource development. The unevenness of the rise in rural living standards in the various states of India since the 1950s allowed Datt and Ravallion to study the causes of poverty. They modeled the evolution of average consumption and various poverty measures using pooled state-level data for 1957-91. They found that poverty was reduced by higher agricultural yields, above-trend growth in nonfarm output, and lower inflation rates. But these factors only partly explain relative success and failure in reducing poverty. Initial conditions also mattered. States that started the period with better infrastructure and human resources --- with more intense irrigation, greater literacy, and lower infant mortality rates --- had significantly greater long-term rates of consumption growth and poverty reduction. By and large, the same variables that promoted growth in average consumption also helped reduce poverty. The effects on poverty measures were partly redistributive in nature. After controlling for inflation, Datt and Ravallion found that some of the factors that helped reduce absolute poverty also improved distribution, and none of the factors that reduced absolute poverty had adverse impacts on distribution. In other words, there was no sign of tradeoffs between growth and pro-poor distribution. [World Bank].

de Haan, A. 1995. *Social exclusion and South Asia: A regional bibliographical review*. International Institute for Labour Studies, ILO. <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/inst/papers/1994/dp77/index.htm>

Deshpande, A. 2000. 'Does Caste Still Define Disparity? A Look at Inequality in Kerala, India', *American Economic Review*, 90, 322-25.

Dreze, J. and A. Sen. (eds). 1997. *Indian Development: Selected Regional Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dube, S. 1998. *In the land of poverty: memoirs of an Indian family, 1947-1997*. Zed Books, London.

Dushkin, L. 1972. 'Scheduled Caste Politics'. In M. Mahar. ed. *The Untouchables in Contemporary India*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Ghosh, M. 1998. 'Agrarian structure and rural poverty in India', *Journal of contemporary Asia*, Vol.28, No.2, 175-184.

Jayaraman, R. 1999. 'Kerala and Uttar Pradesh: A Case Study'. Background Paper for the *World Development Report 2000/2001*. Washington D.C: World Bank.

Jayaraman, R.; Lanjouw, P. 1999. The Evolution of Poverty and Inequality in Indian Villages. *World Bank Research Observer*, Vol.14, No.1.

Examines the evolution of poverty and inequality in rural India by reviewing longitudinal village studies. It explores the main forces of economic change—

agricultural intensification, changing land relations, and occupational diversification—from a wide range of disciplinary perspectives, and it considers the roles of various institutions as conduits of change. Although most village studies support the survey-based judgment that rural poverty declined in India during the 1970s and 1980s, they find that progress has been slow and irregular and that inequalities within villages have persisted. These continued inequalities may constrain both the scope for further poverty reduction from economic growth and the impact of policy interventions.

Kozel, Valerie and Barbara Parker. 1999. 'Poverty in Rural India: The Contribution of Qualitative Research In Poverty Analysis'. Paper from the Stiglitz Summer Research Workshop on Poverty, Washington D.C. July 6-8.

Kurian NJ. 2000. 'Widening regional disparities in India - Some indicators', *Economic And Political Weekly*, Vol.35, No.7, 538-550.

Inter-state economic and social disparities in India have been increasing in spite of various governmental measures to develop backward areas. This article assesses disparities in terms of demographic indicators, female literacy, state domestic product and poverty, development and non-development expenditure by state government, shares in plan outlay, investments, banking activities and infrastructure development.

Lanjouw, P. and N. Stern. (eds.). 1998. *Economic Development in Palanpur over Five Decades*. Oxford: Clarendon.

A study of socioeconomic change in Palanpur, a village in Moradabad District of Uttar Pradesh. The study covers a series of five surveys (1957-8, 1962-3, 1974-5, 1983-4 and 1993). Palanpur has experienced substantial economic and social change since the late 1950s, with real incomes rising by 50% at the same time as the population has doubled. Three driving forces are identified: population growth, changing technology (irrigation, seeds and fertilisers) and expanding employment opportunities outside the village (due to urban growth in nearby towns). The benefits have been unevenly distributed, and agricultural labourers remain a vulnerable group. The chapter by Peter Lanjouw and Nicholas Stern on 'Poverty in Palanpur' (313-370) notes that absolute poverty declined from around 40-50% in the 1950s and '60s to around 20-30% in the 1970s and '80s (369). However, there were fluctuations during this period, especially in bad years such as 1983-4 where levels reached 42% - suggesting the vulnerability of some groups. Landlessness was found to be linked to poverty but the link was not profoundly strong. Outside jobs, remittances and traditional occupations helped protect households from poverty. The strong association of agricultural labour with poverty is compounded by their lack of mobility out of that occupation and out of poverty. The other group with highest poverty risk is the Jatav caste, which ranks lowest in the caste hierarchy of Palanpur (370). "Whilst education in Palanpur is unevenly distributed and illiteracy is common, it is striking that the Jatavs are almost entirely illiterate" (370).

McCulloch, N. and Bob Baulch. 1999. 'Assessing the Poverty Bias of Growth: Methodology and an Application to Andhra Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh'. *IDS Working Paper*, 98. Sussex: Institute of Development Studies.
<http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/pvty/pvprp.html>

Mearns, R. 1999. 'Access to Land in Rural India'. *Policy Research Working Paper 2123*. Washington DC: World Bank. <http://econ.worldbank.org/>

Access to land is deeply important in rural India, where the incidence of poverty is highly correlated with lack of access to land. Mearns provides a framework for assessing alternative approaches to improving access to land by India's rural poor. He considers India's record implementing land reform and identifies an approach that includes incremental reforms in public land administration to reduce transaction costs

in land markets (thereby facilitating land transfers) and to increase transparency, making information accessible to the public to ensure that socially excluded groups benefit. Reducing constraints on access to land for the rural poor and socially excluded requires addressing five key issues: restrictions on land-lease markets, the fragmentation of holdings, the widespread failure to translate women's legal rights into practice, poor access to (and encroachment on) the commons, and high transaction costs for land transfers. [Eldis].

Mearns, R.; Sinha, S. 1999. 'Social Exclusion and Land Administration in Orissa, India'. *Policy Research Working Paper 2124*. Washington DC: World Bank.

<http://econ.worldbank.org/>

Examines—from the perspective of transaction costs—factors that constrain access to land for the rural poor and other socially excluded groups in India. They find that:

- Land reform has reduced large landholdings since the 1950s. Medium-size farms have gained most.
- Formidable obstacles still prevent the poor from gaining access to land.
- The complexity of land revenue administration in Orissa is partly the legacy of distinctly different systems, which produced more or less complete and accurate land records. These not-so-distant historical records can be important in resolving contemporary land disputes.
- Women's access to and control over land, and their bargaining power with their husbands about land, may be enhanced through joint land titling, a principle yet to be realized in Orissa.
- Land administration is viewed as a burden on the state rather than a service, and land records and registration systems are not coordinated. Doing so will improve rights for the poor and reduce transaction costs—but only if the system is transparent and the powerful do not retain the leverage over settlement officers that has allowed land grabs.
- Land in Orissa may be purchased, inherited, rented (leased), or—in the case of public land and the commons—encroached upon. Each type of transaction—and the state's response, through land law and administration—has implications for poor people's access to land.
- Land markets are thin and transaction costs are high, limiting the amount of agricultural land that changes hands.
- The fragmentation of landholdings into tiny, scattered plots is a brake on agricultural productivity, but efforts to consolidate land may discriminate against the rural poor. Reducing transaction costs in land markets will help.
- Protecting the rural poor's rights of access to common land requires raising public awareness and access to information.
- Liberalizing land-lease markets for the rural poor will help, but only if the poor are ensured access to institutional credit. [Eldis].

Nayak, P. 1995. *Social exclusion and South Asia: an India case study*. International Institute for Labour Studies, ILO.

<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/inst/papers/1994/dp77/Ch2.htm>

Explores the processes that give rise to the phenomenon of "social exclusion" in India, and explores the ways in which social exclusion may be combated.

Ravallion, M. 1996. *Poverty and Growth: Lessons from Forty Years of Data on India's Poor*. Development Economics Vice Presidency (DEC), World Bank.

<http://www.worldbank.org/html/dec/annual/india.htm>

New research shows how India and other developing countries can reduce poverty faster. States in India that have reduced poverty have used one of two approaches. Some had higher rates of rural economic growth, funded in part by government

investments in infrastructure. Others invested more heavily in education and health. Some did neither, and saw little gain to the poor over a long period. None did both. If they had, poverty could have fallen much faster, as it did in Indonesia. The research used new data on 40 years of poverty reduction efforts in India.

Ravallion, Martin. and Datt, Gaurav. 1995. 'Growth and poverty in rural India'. *Policy Research Working Paper 1405*. Washington DC: World Bank.

<http://econ.worldbank.org/>

Higher agricultural yields reduced absolute poverty in rural India, both by raising smallholder productivity and by increasing real agricultural wages. But gains to the poor were far smaller in the short run than in the long run. Unlike most developing countries, consistent poverty measures for India can be tracked over a long time. Ravallion and Datt used 20 household surveys for rural India for the years 1958-90 to measure the effects of agricultural growth on rural poverty and on the rural labor market and to find out how long it takes for the effects to be felt. They found that measures of absolute rural poverty responded elastically to changes in mean consumption. But agricultural had no discernible impact --- either positive or negative --- on the share of total consumption going to the poor. For the rural poor, Ravallion and Datt attribute the long run gains from growth to higher average farm yields, which benefited poor people both directly and through higher real agricultural wages. And the benefits from higher yields were not confined to those near the poverty line --- the poorest also benefited. The process through which India's rural poor participate in the gains from agricultural growth takes time, although about half of the long run impact comes within three years. Inflation adversely affected the rural poor by eroding their real wages in the short run. [World Bank].

Shenggen Fan; Hazell, P.; Sukhdeo Thorat. 1999. *Linkages between government spending, growth, and poverty in Rural India*. International Food Policy Research Institute. <http://www.ifpri.org/pubs/abstract/abstr110.htm>

Best way to reduce poverty and increase agricultural productivity is more government spending on rural roads and on agricultural research/extension. Investigates the causes of the decline in rural poverty in India and particularly to determine the specific role that government investments have played. The research aims to quantify the effectiveness of different types of government expenditures in contributing to poverty alleviation. Such information can assist policymakers in targeting their investments more effectively to reduce poverty. More efficient targeting has become increasingly important in an era of macroeconomic reforms in which the government is under pressure to reduce its total budget. The research uses state-level data to estimate an econometric model that permits calculation of the number of poor people raised above the poverty line for each additional million rupees spent on different expenditure items. The results from the model show that government spending on productivity enhancing investments, such as agricultural research and development, irrigation, rural infrastructure (including roads and electricity), and rural development targeted directly to the rural poor, have all contributed to reductions in rural poverty, and most have also contributed to growth in agricultural productivity. But differences in their poverty and productivity effects are large. [Eldis].

Tomlinson B. 1988. 'The Historical Roots Of Indian Poverty - Issues In The Economic And Social-History Of Modern South-Asia - 1880-1960', *Modern Asian Studies*, 22: 123-140, Part 1.

Section Three

Vulnerable groups

Women: *General; Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia*

People with disabilities

Older people

Pastoralists

Women

General

Beneria, L. and Feldman, S. (eds.) 1992. *Unequal burden: economic crises, persistent poverty, and women's work*. Boulder: Westview Press.

"This volume, through country-based studies of the debt crisis and persistent poverty, provides a rethinking of the consequences of the economic crisis and the debt crisis from the point of view of changing state practices, household and family organisation and patterns of negotiating resource endowments, and women's work. The book examines the diverse ways in which communities, households, and intrahousehold relations are being transformed in light of the reallocation of national, local, and household resources. It also identifies the ways in which extant social relations structure national policy formation and mediate the expression of the crisis within specific national contexts. The comparative-historical perspective employed in the case studies included in the volume illuminates the recursive relations that shape the interaction between different levels of social organisation and between policy changes and the creation of new behavioural practices. The intrahousehold division of labour and the division of labour in the workplace are especially salient in the case studies as these divisions are recast during times of crisis and change. The empirical chapters also examine how new normative behaviours and the ideology that is used to legitimate appropriate female interactions are re-created during times that place new demands on people's lives." (p. 1-2) Case studies include: Bangladesh, South Asia and Tanzania, as well as Bolivia, the Caribbean, Mexico, Nicaragua and Italy.

Buvinic, M. et al. Eds. 1983. *Women and Poverty in the Third World*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Fierbleck, K. 1995. 'Getting representation right for women in development', *IDS Bulletin*, Vol.26, No.3, 23-30.

Filmer, D. 1999. *The Structure of Social Disparities in Education: Gender and Wealth*. Gendernet, World Bank.

Uses a set of internationally comparable household datasets (the Demographic and Health Surveys) to investigate the ways in which gender and wealth interact in generating within country inequalities in educational enrollment and attainment. In addition, a multivariate analysis is carried out to assess the partial relationship between educational outcomes and gender, wealth, household characteristics and community characteristics (including the presence of schools in the community). There are four main findings: a large female disadvantage in education is found in countries in Western and Central Africa, North Africa, and South Asia; while gender gaps are large in a subset of countries, wealth gaps are large in almost all the countries studied. In addition, in some countries the interaction of gender and wealth result in large gaps in educational outcomes the education of adults in the household has a significant impact on the enrollment of children in all the countries studied, and

the effect of female adult education is larger than that of males in some, but not all, of the countries studied the presence of a primary and a secondary school in the community has a significant effect on enrollment in some countries only (notably the Western and Central African countries) and the effect does not appear to systematically differ by gender of the child.

Jackson, C. 1996. 'Rescuing Gender from the Poverty Trap', *World Development*, Vol.24, No.3, 489-504.

The New Poverty Agenda is seen as incorporating gender within a new broader concept of poverty (Lipton and Maxwell, 1992) capable of measuring, evaluating and redressing gender bias along with poverty-reduction policies based on labor-intensive growth, targeted social services and safety nets. Multilateral positions on gender and development (GAD) for their part also stress the poverty of women as a primary justification for development interventions designed to improve the position of women. It is argued here however, that the concept of poverty cannot serve as a proxy for the sub-ordination of women, that antipoverty policies cannot be expected to improve necessarily the position of women and that there is no substitute for a gender analysis, which transcends class divisions and material definitions of deprivation. The instrumental interest in women as the means to achieve development objectives such as poverty reduction may ultimately undermine GAD. Gender appears to have collapsed into a poverty trap; this essay raises a call for help, or at least a discussion about the relative benefits of captivity vs. escape. [Elsevier].

Jackson, C. and R. Palmer-Jones. 1999. 'Rethinking Gendered Poverty and Work', *Development and Change*, Vol.30, No.3, 557-583.

Kabeer, N. 1997. 'Editorial: Tactics and Trade-Offs: Revisiting the Links Between Gender and Poverty', *IDS Bulletin*, Vol.28, No.3, 1-13.

Kabeer, N. 1994. *Reversed Realities: Gendered hierarchies in development thought*. London: Verso.

Krishnaraj, M. et al, eds. 1998. *Gender Population and Development*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ravasi, S. 1999. 'Gendered Poverty and Well-being: Introduction', *Development and Change*, Vol.30, No.3, 409-433.

Ravasi, S. 1997a. 'Fitting gender into development institutions', *World Development*, Vol.25, No.7, 1111-25.

Ravasi, S. 1997b. 'From rags to riches: looking at poverty from a gender perspective', *IDS Bulletin*, Vol.28, No.3, 49-62.

Sender, J, Johnston, D. 1996. 'Some poor and invisible women: farm labourers in South Africa', *Development Southern Africa*, Vol.13, No.1, 3-16

Shaffer P. 1998. 'Gender, poverty and deprivation: Evidence from the Republic of Guinea', *World Development*, Vol.26, No.12, 2119-2135.

The article examines the relationship between gender and consumption poverty and between gender and deprivation in the Republic of Guinea. National household survey data reveal that women are not more likely than men to be consumption poor or to suffer greater consumption poverty. Participatory Poverty Assessment data from the village of Kamatiguia reveal that women are "worse off" than men when

deprivation includes, inter alia, excessive work load and reduced decision-making authority. When consumption poverty poorly correlates with other dimensions of deprivation, it should not be the sole guide for equity-based policy intervention. [Elsevier].

Varley A. 1996. 'Women heading households: Some more equal than others?', *World Development*, Vol.24, No.3, 505-520.

This paper explores the validity of the statement that one-third of the world's households are headed by women. It examines the implications of using economic criteria to define household head-ship and of recent interest in woman-maintained households and concealed woman-headed households. There is a danger of underplaying the diversity of woman-headed households and of marginalizing older women by identifying woman-headed households with single mothers of dependent children. Ultimately, too narrow a focus on particular household types undermines our ability to further a truly gendered analysis of the household in development research and practice. [Elsevier].

Whitehead, A. and M. Lockwood. 1999. 'Gendering Poverty: A Review of Six World Bank Poverty Assessments', *Development and Change*, Vol.30, No.3, 525-555.

Since the late 1980s, Poverty Assessments have emerged as the most important statements by the World Bank about poverty in particular countries. This article examines, in some depth, a set of Assessments from four sub-Saharan African countries from a gender perspective. These Assessments display an enormous variation in the extent to which gender is present, and they also show a sharp contrast between the treatment of gender issues in the measurement of poverty, particularly in the participatory elements of the Assessments, and their absence in the policy sections of the documents. The article goes on to analyse why the inclusion of gender in these World Bank country-specific poverty documents has been so problematic. In the absence of a clear analytical framework in the Bank for understanding gender, its treatment in the Assessments is driven on the one hand by a set of epistemological and methodological choices about measuring poverty, and on the other hand, by a set of prescriptions for reducing poverty which originate in the Bank's 1990 World Development Report. The key conclusion of the paper is that it is impossible to integrate gender into an understanding of poverty unless the reading of evidence, analysis and policy are all based on relational processes of impoverishment or accumulation. [Blackwell Publishers].

Sub-Saharan Africa

Appleton, S. et al. 1999. 'Are Women the Fairer Sex? Looking for Differences in Gender Bias in Uganda'. Centre for the Study of African Economies, Oxford.

Cheater, A. 1981. 'Women and their participation in agricultural production: the case of medium scale freehold in Zimbabwe', *Development and Change*, Vol.12, No.3, 340-77.

Due, J. and C. Gladwin. 1991. 'Impacts of Structural Adjustment Programs on African Women Farmers and Female headed Households', *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, Vol.73, No.5, 1431-39.

Gray, L. Kevane, M. 1999. 'Diminished access, diverted exclusion: women and land tenure in sub-Saharan Africa', *African studies review*, Vol.42, No.2, 15-39

Klasen, S. 1996. 'Nutrition, health and mortality in sub-Saharan Africa: is there a gender bias', *Journal of Development Studies*, Vol.32, No.6, 913-32.

Lockwood M. 1997. 'Reproduction and poverty in sub-Saharan Africa', *IDS Bulletin*, Vol.28, No.3, 91-100.

O'Laughlin, B. 1998. 'Missing men? The debate over rural poverty and women-headed households in southern Africa', *Journal Of Peasant Studies*, Vol.25, No.2, 1-48.

Migrant labour in Southern Africa is associated historically with rural poverty and a high incidence of women-headed households. Poverty alleviation approaches to social policy ask whether in this context rural women-headed households are poorer than those headed by men. Ample research from the region shows that the answer is not always, a finding once more confirmed here in an analysis of Botswana. This case suggests, however that the wrong question is being asked. The incidence of both women-headed households and rural poverty has increased with the polarisation of agrarian production and the exclusionary restructuring of the migrant labour system. We need to ask not whom to target, but what should be done when capital no longer needs the labour that it pulled from rural households over so many generations. [Frank Cass & Co. Ltd].

Shaffer, P. 1998. 'Gender, poverty and deprivation: Evidence from the Republic of Guinea', *World Development*, Vol.26, No.12, 2119-2135.

The article examines the relationship between gender and consumption poverty and between gender and deprivation in the Republic of Guinea. National household survey data reveal that women are not more likely than men to be consumption poor or to suffer greater consumption poverty. Participatory Poverty Assessment data from the village of Kamatiguia reveal that women are "worse off" than men when deprivation includes, inter alia, excessive work load and reduced decision-making authority. When consumption poverty poorly correlates with other dimensions of deprivation, it should not be the sole guide for equity-based policy intervention. [Elsevier].

Sender, J. and D. Johnston. 1996. 'Some poor and invisible women: farm labourers in South Africa' *Development Southern Africa*, Vol.13, No.1, 3-16

South Asia

Agarwal, B.A. 1994. *A field of one's own: Gender and land rights in South Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Basu, A.M. 1988. 'The status of women and quality of life among the poor', *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, Vol.16, No.3, 249-67.

Batliwala, S. 1993. *Empowerment of Women in South Asia: concepts and practices*. New Delhi: FAO-FFCH/AD.

Behrman, J. 1988. 'Intrahousehold allocation of nutrients in rural India: are boys favoured? Do parents exhibit inequality aversion?', *Oxford Economics Papers*, Vol.40, No.1, 32-54.

Chatterjee, M. 1990. 'Indian Women: their health and economic productivity'. World Bank Discussion Paper 109. Washington DC: World Bank.

Dasgupta, M. 1986. 'Selective discrimination against female children in rural Punjab, India', *Population and Development Review*, Vol.13, No.2, 77-100.

George, S. et al. 1992. 'Female infanticide in rural South India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 27, 1153-6.

Harriss-White, B. 1997. 'Gender Bias in the Intra-family Distribution of Hunger in South India: Unpacking Households and the Policy Process', in L. Haddad et al (eds), *Intrahousehold Resource Allocation in Developing Countries: Models, Methods and Policy*. 194-212. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press/London: IFPDI.

Harriss-White, B. 1990. 'The Intra-family Distribution of Hunger in South Asia'. In Dreze and Sen eds. *The Political Economy of Hunger: Vol.1* Oxford: Clarendon Press. 351-424.

Miller, B. 1997. 'Social class, gender and intrahousehold food allocations to children in South Asia', *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol.44, No.11, 1685-1695.

Miller, B. 1981. *The Endangered Sex: neglect of female children in Rural North India*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Shah, B. et al, eds. 1996. *Social Structure and Change Vol.2: Women in Indian Society*. New Delhi: Sage.

Varghese, N.V. 1991. 'Women and Work: an examination of the 'Female Marginalization Thesis' in the Indian context', *Indian Journal of Labour Economics*, Vol.34, No.3, 203-9.

Wadley, S. 1993. 'Family Composition Strategies in Rural North India', *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol.37, No.11, 1359-66.

Older people

Barrientos, A. 2000. 'Work, retirement and vulnerability of older persons in Latin America: what are the lessons for pension design?', *Journal of International Development*, Vol.12, No.4, 495-506.

Cain, M. 1991. 'Welfare institutions in comparative perspective: the fate of the elderly in contemporary South Asia and pre-industrial Europe'. In Pelling, M. and R.M. Smith eds. *Life, Death and the Elderly: Historical Perspectives*. Routledge: London. 222-243.

Chand, S.K. and A. Jaeger. 1996. 'Aging Populations and Public Pension Schemes'. *IMF Occasional Paper 147*. IMF, Washington DC.

Disney, R. 1996. *Can we afford to grow older: a perspective on the economics of ageing*. Cambridge, MA: MIT press.

Ekpenyong, S.O. et al. 1986. 'Reports on Study of Elderly Nigerians'. Birmingham UK: Centre for West African Studies, University of Birmingham.

Ferreira, M. 1999. 'The generosity and universality of South Africa's social pension system', *The ACP-EU Courier*, No.176, 55-56.

Flanagan, K. 1999. 'Aging and Poverty: A Policy for the Elderly Poor'. World Bank, Social Protection Department, Washington DC.

HelpAge International. 1999. *The Ageing and Development Report: Poverty, Independence and the World's Older People*. London: Helpage International/Earthscan.

Hurd, M.D. 1990. 'Research on the elderly: economic status, retirement, and consumption and saving', *Journal of Economic Literature*, Vol. 28, 565-637.

Jackson, W.A. 1994. 'The economics of ageing and the political economy of old age', *International Review of Applied Economics*, *International Review of Applied Economics*, Vol.8, No.1, 31-45.

James, E. 1995. 'Averting the Old-Age Crisis', *Finance and Development*, Vol.30, 499-524.

Johnson, P. and J. Falkingham. 1992. *Ageing and Economic Welfare*. London: Sage.
Journal of International Development, Vol.12, No.4. Special edition on The Intergenerational Bargain.

Kendig, H. et al. 1992. *Family Support for the Elderly: the International Experience*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lloyd-Sherlock, P. and P. Johnson. Eds. 1996. *Ageing and Social Policy: Global Comparisons*. London: STICED. London School of Economics.

Mason, A. 1988. 'Saving, Economic Growth and Demographic Change', *Population and Development Review*, Vol.41, No.1, 113-44.

Messkoub, M. 1999. 'Crisis of Ageing in Less Developed Countries: Too Much Consumption or Too Little Production', *Development and Change*, Vol.30, No.2, 217-235.

Mirer, T.W. 1980. 'The Dissaving Behaviour of the Retired Aged', *Southern Economic Journal*, Vol.46, No.4, 1197-205.

Nair, S.B. and M.B. Tracy. 1989. 'Pensions for women in the third world: a case-study of Kerala, India', *International Journal of Contemporary Sociology*, Vol.26, Nos.3-4.

OECD. 1988. *Ageing Populations: the social policy implications*. Paris: OECD.

Orzag, P.R. and J.E. Stiglitz. 1999. 'Rethinking pension reform: ten myths about social security systems', presented at conference on *New Ideas About Old Age Security*. World Bank: Washington DC.

Peachey, K. 1999. Ageism: a factor in the nutritional vulnerability of older people?, *Disasters*, Vol.23, No.4, 350-358

Unlike other population groups, the rights, needs and contributions of older people in developing countries are not well understood. With the absence of information about how to assess the nutritional status and vulnerability of older people. Although older people are increasingly acknowledged as a vulnerable group in emergencies, NGO responses often fail to meet their needs. The question is whether there are real difficulties in service adaptation or whether ageism is one of the greatest barriers to the provision of appropriate services for older people. [Blackwell Publishers].

Phillips, D.R ed. 1992. *Ageing in East and South-East Asia*. London: Edward Arnold.

Sen, K. 1995. *Ageing*. London: Zed Press.

Steyn, H.P. 1994. 'Role and position of elderly !XÀÇÀ in the Schmidtsdrift Bushman community', *South African journal of ethnology*, Vol.17, No.2, 31-37

During 1990, South Africa's dwindling indigenous Bushmen population drastically increased when the South African Defence Force moved some 4,000 military personnel and their dependents from Namibia to Schmidtsdrift, near Kimberley. Their settlement at Schmidtsdrift confronted them with considerable changes and challenges of adaptation. Elderly people in particular constituted a category which had been negatively affected by these changes, as many were unemployed, dependent, bored and marginalized, sharply contrasting with the role and position of the elderly in 'traditional' bushmen communities. (Author's abstract). Thrust into an unfamiliar environment, the elders of this community have lost property, food, security and labour (33). "Perhaps even more acutely, they had become economically marginalised by the rapid monetisation of their economic situation" (33): whereas old people had previously been important because they gathered food and could teach the children something, here they were dependent on soldier's wages, particularly those lacking a pension. It was found that the elderly had a tendency to exaggerate the seriousness of the problems they faced, partly as a means of reminding care-givers of their duties. There was substantial differentiation in the socioeconomic status of the elderly, according to the number of dependent offspring, the earning power of their offspring, and pension (33-4).

Tout, K. 1989. *Ageing in Developing Countries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

World Bank. 1994. *Averting the Old Age Crisis: Policies to Protect the Old and Promote Growth*. Poverty and Human Resources Division, Policy Research Department, World Bank, Washington, DC.

People with disabilities

Berthoud, et al. 1993. *The economic problems of disabled people*. Policy Studies Institute.

Brock, K. 1999. *A review of Participatory Work on Poverty and Illbeing*. Consultations with the Poor, Prepared for Global Synthesis Workshop, September 22-23, Poverty Group, PREM. Washington DC: World Bank.

Elwan, Ann. 1999. 'Poverty and Disability: a review of the literature'. Background Paper for the *World Development Report 2000/2001*. Washington D.C: World Bank. <http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/wdrpoverty/background/elwan.pdf>

This review summarises the literature on disability and its relationship to poverty, including education, employment, income, and access to basic social services. Despite the dearth of formal analysis, it is clear that in developing countries, as in more developed areas, disabled people (and their families) are more likely than the rest of the population to live in poverty. It is a two-way relationship: disability adds to the risk of poverty, and conditions of poverty increase the risk of disability. Disability in developing countries stems largely from preventable impairments associated with communicable, maternal and perinatal disease and injuries, and prevention has to remain a primary focus. An increasing emphasis on community based participatory rehabilitation reflects the growing recognition of the inadequacy of past official

programs, particularly involving specialized and exclusionary institutions. [Author's abstract].

Erb, S. and B. Harris-White. 1996. 'Outcasts from social welfare: adult disability in rural South India'. Report to the ODA. London and Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford.

Evans, T. 1989. 'The Impact of Permanent Disability on Rural Households: River Blindness in Guinea', *IDS Bulletin*, Vol.20, No.2.

Harris-White, B. 1996. 'The Political Economy of Disability and Development with Special Reference to India', *UNRISD Discussion Paper 73*. Geneva.

Helander, E. 1995. *Sharing Opportunities: A guide on disabled people's participation in sustainable human development*. Inter-Regional Programme For Disabled People, UNDP. Geneva: UNDP.

Iliffe, J. 1987. *The African Poor: a history*. New York: Cambridge University Press. See Chapter 12, 'Leprosy'.

ILO. 1989. *Dispelling the Shadow of Neglect*. A survey on women and disabilities in six Asian and Pacific countries. Geneva: ILO.

Levkoff, S. et al. 1995. 'Elderly mental health in the developing world', *Social Science Medicine*, Vol.41, No.7, 983-1003.

Metts, R.L. 1999. *Disability Issues, Trends and Recommendations for the World Bank*. September.

Metts, R.L. and T. Oleson. 'Assisting disabled entrepreneurs in Kenya: Implications for developed countries'. Partners for independence: Models that work, Proceedings, North American Regional Conference of Rehabilitation International, Atlanta, Georgia. 313-22.

Miles S. 1996. 'Engaging with the disability rights movement: The experience of community-based rehabilitation in southern Africa', *Disability & Society*, Vol.11, No.4, 501-517.

This paper argues that unless community-based rehabilitation (CBR) programmes enter into genuine consultation with the disability rights movement they are in danger of repeating the mistakes of institution-based rehabilitation. Partnership between CBR programmes, and disabled people's and parents' organisations in southern Africa has led to the development of a more consumer focused approach to CBR. Where disabled adults and parents have been fully involved in the design and implementation of programmes, CBR workers have a clearer understanding of disability as a development issue. Education, employment and poverty alleviation have been given a higher priority than medical rehabilitation in these programmes. The evolving concept of CBR and its relationship with the disability rights movement has been observed and documented by The Save the Children Fund, and forms the basis of this paper.

Motes, A. 1981. *One in Ten: Disability and the very poor*. Oxford: OXFAM Public Affairs Unit.

Murray, C. and A. Lopez. 1996. *The Global Burden of Disease: A comprehensive assessment of mortality and disability from diseases, injuries and risk factors in 1990*

and projected to 2020. Vol.1 of the Global Burden of Disease and Injury Series, WHO.

Parker, M. 1992. 'Re-assessing disability: the impact of schistosomiasis on daily activities among women in Gezira Province, Sudan', *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol.37, No.4, 481-92.

Reith, L. 1994. 'Exploring the links between poverty and disability', in Combat Poverty Agency, Papers from a National Conference 'Disability, Exclusion and Poverty: A Policy Conference" Dublin.

Shirley, O. (ed.) 1983. *A Cry for Health: Poverty and Disability in the Third World*. Somerset: The Third World for Disabled People, the Appropriate Health Resources and Technologies Action Group.

UNDP. 1995. *Human Development Report 1995*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

United Nations, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, Statistical Office. 1990. *Disability Statistics Compendium*, Statistics on Special Population Groups, Series Y, No.4. New York.

Wellbourn, A. 1991. 'The Social and Economic Dimensions of Poverty and Illhealth', *A Review of Participatory Work on Poverty and Wellbeing*. Dept. of International Community Health, Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine.

WHO. 1999. *International Classification of Functioning and Disability (ICIDH-2)* Note for the Press, No.19, Aug.20.

Zinkin, P. H. McConachie. (eds.) 1995. *Disabled Children and Developing Countries*. MacKeith Press/Cambridge University Press.

Pastoralists

Anderson, DM, Broch-Due, V (eds.) 1999. *The poor are not us: poverty and pastoralism in Eastern Africa*. Oxford: James Currey.

The starting point for this study is Iliffe's division of pastoralist societies into those who accommodate their poor within overtly inegalitarian social structures and those who slough off the poor into non-pastoralist, socially excluded categories [Iliffe 1987: 65]. East Africa's herding societies are located firmly in the latter category: "Among eastern Africa's pastoralists, 'the poor are not us'" (Broch-Due and Anderson, 'Poverty and the Pastoralist: Deconstructing Myths and Reconstructing Realities' 3-19. p3). These pastoral societies tend to draw links between poverty and sedentary lifestyles, obscuring the real socioeconomic processes that lead to exclusion from the pastoral economy itself, and revealing a tendency to idealize pastoral identity in opposition to other livelihoods. Drought, famine, raiding or warfare are identified the key dangers to pastoralists, although other less extreme processes are also at work. "The political marginalization of pastoralists across much of the region is nothing new, but it has resulted in increasing economic marginalization since the early 1980s, as states, hard pressed to impose sterner fiscal measures, elect to deliver resources to other sectors of the economy and to areas other than the semi-arid rangelands occupied by herders (5). Rapid advances in the commoditization of rangeland have weakened the economic position of a majority of herders, and shifts toward group ranches and individual tenure have made inroads into the commons (5). John

Waller's chapter on 'Pastoral Poverty in Historical Perspective' (20-49) makes further use of Iliffe to suggest that structural poverty amongst the Maasai only appeared to be absent because of the exclusion of persons falling into this category. This raises the issue of how pastoralists marginalize their own poor. The structurally poor are now more visible because they cannot be so easily excluded. Some Maasai have moved from a state of conjunctural poverty to structural poverty as a result of the 'ratchet effect' of successive environmental crises compounded by restrictions on access to pastoral resources.

Azarya, V. et al, eds. 1999. *Pastoralists under pressure: Fulbe societies confronting change in West Africa*. Leiden: EJ Brill.

This collection deals specifically with the pressures – ecological, economic and political – faced by the Fulbe pastoralist group. The contributions are from a variety of disciplinary perspectives: anthropology, history, political science, geography and linguistics. There is a focus on the links between political marginality, the southwards drift of pastoralists in West Africa and resulting environmental degradation of pastures (pp10-18). Yousouf Diallo's chapter explores the politics of the Fulbe pastoralists' movement into northern Cote d'Ivoire, at the encouragement of the government and urban elites keen to establish a meat-production industry, and to the increasing anger of northern farmers and politicians. The chapter centres on the question of citizenship, in terms of the rights to be given to non-citizen Africans working in Cote d'Ivoire, and notes that the Fulbe have tended to 'withdraw' from this conflictual area, moving away from the region and making do with diminished opportunities. Han van Dijk's study of three different areas of Mali and Burkina Faso finds that the differential ability of given Fulbe groups to cope with economic and ecological hazards depends, to a very large extent, on the political positions they occupy. Political hierarchies mediate access to natural resources and determine the differential vulnerability of various groups to hazardous environmental conditions. Political factors change over time in line with conflicts, the drawing of colonial and postcolonial boundaries, the rise and fall of states and other types of political transformation.

In terms of poverty, Mirjam de Bruijn's research focuses on the extreme poverty and recurrent crises faced by pastoralists in the Hayre region of Central Mali, and the subsequent breakdown in social bonds, disintegration of family ties, abandonment of one's kin and community, insanity, illness and death. De Bruijn focuses on the most destitute segments of society, who can no longer find relief in hierarchical bonds with patrons and masters, or mutual sharing within families due to social disintegration.

Azarya, V. 1996. *Nomads and the State in Africa: The Political Roots of Marginality*. Africa Research Centre Research Series, 9. Hants, UK: Ashgate Publishing.

In analysing of the political status of pastoral groups across Africa, the author distinguishes between those that were 'state-forming' during the precolonial era (e.g. Tutsi in Rwanda) and those that were 'stateless' (e.g. Maasai, Karamajong, Dinka). State-forming groups have generally fared better than their stateless counterparts, even where they were part of the same ethnic/racial group. Those pastoralists who had formed pre-colonial states "also became the principal collaborators of the colonial governments" (p52), while stateless groups continued to be marginalised from political power. Few stateless pastoral groups took part in colonial innovations, and colonial governments did little to incorporate their decentralised and fragmentary political systems into systems of 'native administration' (p59). They were considered difficult to control and were often pushed away from their grazing lands, either to be relocated in close reserves or to move away to more arid and less accessible areas (p60). In postcolonial Africa, formerly stateless pastoralists continued to fare badly, and "the general picture is one of political and economic deterioration and continuing

marginalisation" (p75). Settlement was encouraged and more land appropriated (p76), sometimes by conservation initiatives (p84). "As the nomadic pastoralists who had not engaged with state-formation in the pre-colonial period were the ones most likely to have been pushed away to areas with harshest environmental conditions, they were also the main victims of the severe drought and famine that struck Africa in the 1970s and again in the mid-1980s" (p85). "It is also to be stressed, however, that pastoralists are not to be seen simply as passive elements acted upon by external forces but have their own active and differential involvement in macro-social movements in the past has to be taken into account in considering their current situation" (p87).

Bernus, E. 1990. 'Dates, dromedaries, and drought - diversification in Tuareg pastoral systems', *The world of pastoralism - herding systems in comparative perspective*. The Guilford Press /Belhaven. Press, New York /London, 1990. 149-176

Bradburd, D. 1982. 'Volatility of animal wealth among southwest Asian pastoralists', *Human Ecology*, 1982, Vol.10, No.1, 85-106

de Bruijn, M.E. and H. J.W.M. van Dijk. 1999. 'Insecurity and Pastoral Development in the Sahel', *Development and Change*, Vol.30, 115-139.

In this article it is argued that conventional agro-ecological and organizational concepts used in pastoral development are strongly biased towards the formulation and enforcement of norms. This leads development experts to attempts to control pastoralists and their herds. The policies and development interventions based on these assumptions have been largely unsuccessful. As a consequence attention for dryland areas and pastoral development has declined among researchers and development agencies. An important reason for this failure is the fundamental misfit between these normative concepts and the reality of dryland ecosystems and pastoral society. In order to show this, an alternative view on rangeland ecology and pastoral society is presented, supported by a case study of Fulbe pastoral society in dryland Central Mali. The authors argue that approaches to pastoral development must be revised in the direction of the dynamics inherent in the pastoral way of life. (Blackwell Publishers).

Dietz, T. 1993. 'The State, the Market, and the Decline of Pastoralism: Challenging some Myths, with Evidence from Western Pokot in Kenya/Uganda', in Markakis, J. (ed.) 1993. *Conflict and the Decline of Pastoralism in the Horn of Africa*. (Hampshire: Macmillan). 83-99.

Hendrickson, D., J. Armon and R. Mearns. 1998. *Conflict and vulnerability to famine: livestock raiding in Turkana, Kenya*. Issue Paper No. 8, International Institute for Environment and Development, Drylands Programme (London: IIED).

It is now widely recognised that violent conflict plays a decisive role in the creation of conditions leading to famine in Africa today. This is especially true in dryland pastoral environments where violence magnifies trends already discernible as a result of natural events such as drought. None the less, the links between drought, violence and famine are complex and remain poorly understood. Drawing on a case study of Turkana district, Kenya, this paper examines one specific form of conflict: livestock raiding. Although raiding is an age-old feature of pastoral relations, it is still often viewed as superimposed on pastoral life rather than as an intrinsic feature of competition between groups in harsh environments. The key problem is not livestock raiding per se. Rather, it is the way in which raiding has been transformed over the years, from a quasi-cultural practice with important livelihood-enhancing functions, into a more predatory activity. Predatory raiding occurs on a very large scale, is extremely violent and is sponsored by actors from outside the pastoral sector with

criminal motives. Turkana herders are at constant risk today of being violently dispossessed of their livestock. With their mobility already constrained by generalised insecurity, the impact on livelihoods is devastating. [IIED].

Iliffe, J. 1987. *The African Poor: a history*. New York: Cambridge University Press. See Chapter 5, 'Poverty and pastoralism'.

Kituyi, M. 1985. *The State and Pastoralists: The Marginalization of the Kenyan Maasai*. Development Research and Action Programme Working Papers. (Dept. of Social Science and Development, Norway: DERAP).

This work traces the main causes of the declining viability of the Kenyan Maasai to the different stages in the penetration of commodity relations into the pastoral sector during the colonial and postcolonial periods, and the contradictions of public policy which is grounded in superficial interpretation of pastoral production rationality. By appreciating the diverse strategies employed by the Maasai, the author contend that any government attempts at developing range productivity have to be compatible with the socio-economic concerns of the pastoralists inhabiting such areas. (Author's abstract).

Krings, T. 1993. 'Structural Causes of Famine in the Republic of Mali'. In Bohle et al, (eds.) *Coping with vulnerability and criticality: case studies on food- insecure people and places*. Breitenbach, Saarbrücken, Fort Lauderdale. 129-143.

Krings notes that famine is a regional and seasonal phenomenon, and that "Socio-economic and ethnic factors play an important role in the degree of people's vulnerability to famine" (p129). "Regions which are not very accessible to any kind of transport" are disproportionately represented among Mali's famine-prone regions (p129), and a map reveals the range of critical places in relation to the transportation network (p130). In addition to the absence of permanent roads between the cereal producing southern regions and pastoral areas in the north, the arterial Niger river is often impassable due to seasonal fluctuations in water levels (p134). Food scarcity in the north, and food prices three or four times higher than in the south, are due to problems of inaccessibility and high transportation costs in these remote areas (pp134-5). As a result, pastoral economies have declined and nomadic and agropastoral groups have become marginalized; landless tenants and fishermen are the other most vulnerable groups (p136-7). "Political instability in the northern Sahel of Mali has produced a severe nutrition crisis", and "famine has become a political weapon against the Twareg", the rebellious nomadic group (p139).

Lane, C.R. (ed.) 1998. *Custodians of the Commons: Pastoral Land Tenure in East and West Africa*. (London, UK: Earthscan). Chapter 8 on Uganda.

Markakis, J. (ed.) 1993. *Conflict and the Decline of Pastoralism in the Horn of Africa*. (Hampshire: Macmillan).

A key "problem associated with the decline of pastoralism in the Horn of Africa... is the endemic nature of violent conflict that has claimed the pastoralist realm for the past three decades. Most often pastoralists fight each other...to establish rights over pastureland and water, and raiding to replenish depleted herds. However, in the Horn of Africa in recent times, conflict among pastoralists has taken on new, exaggerated dimensions. A shrinking resource base has provoked a desperate struggle for survival, in which the existence of some groups is threatened" (p13). "Pastoralists are also fighting against the state" as in "the Eritrean revolution, the Anya-nya rebellion in southern Sudan in the 1960s, and its sequel in the 1980s..." (p13). "Often, they have been victims of state violence" (p12), and sometimes "when it suits their interests, pastoralists also fight on behalf of the state. Recruited into paramilitary units and armed, they are let lose, most often against rival pastoralist groups" (p14).

“Protracted violent conflict has accelerated the decline of pastoralism. Entire groups have been forced to leave their homelands and seek refuge across borders, where they huddle, destitute and miserable, in sprawling refugee camps...The economy of some of the largest pastoralist groups in the region has been destroyed, their homelands depopulated, and the rival armies battling over what is gradually becoming no-man's land” (p14).

Majok, A.A., Schwabe, CW. 1996. *Development among Africa's migratory pastoralists*. Bergin & Garvey, Westport CT.

Naerman, A. 1990. 'Pastoral peoples and the provision of educational facilities - a case study from Kenya', *Nomadic peoples*, Vol.25-27, 108-121.

Potkanski, T. 1997. *Pastoral Economy, Property Rights and Traditional Assistance Mechanisms among the Ngorongoro and Salei Maasai of Tanzania*. Pastoral Land Tenure Series Monograph 2, International Institute for Environment and Development, Drylands Programme. (London, UK: IIED.)

Based on anthropological research between 1991-1993, this paper offers a detailed description of the system of property rights in relation to basic pastoral resources, including pastures, water and livestock. It is also a detailed description of the pastoral economy, herd dynamics, alternative subsistence strategies, and finally mutual assistance networks which include the redistribution of livestock to needy families. The study shows how Maasai mutual assistance, based on individual and clan-based obligations, is made to work according to herd problems faced by different local communities. It is also argued that this institution, together with several alternative survival strategies, still operates to alleviate poverty in pastoral society. However, if the process of impoverishment continues over the next few years the Ngorongoro Maasai will cease to be pastoralists, switching instead to full time cultivation that could threaten conservation of this unique area. A set of separate proposals are presented as part of a development project. [IIED].

Scoones, I. (ed.) 1995. *Living with Uncertainty: New directions in pastoral development in Africa*. (London, UK: Intermediate Technology Publications).

In the past, pastoralists have been blamed for the assumed environmental destruction of drylands. But new ecological thinking highlights how this is most unlikely...Most traditional pastoral management can now be seen to be environmentally benign, and indeed customary institutions for land management are potential models for the future. But this does not mean all is well in the drylands of Africa. Recurrent drought, civil war and economic decline characterize too many pastoral areas. The appalling record of previous attempts to support pastoral development has convinced governments and donors alike that development investment in the pastoral drylands offers little hope. The contributions to this book argue that this is misplaced pessimism. Not only are there major costs to ignoring areas which support significant human and livestock populations, but there also appears to be a growing consensus on the basic ingredients of a new approach. (Author's Preface, ix).

Unruh, JD. 1993. 'Restocking refugee pastoralists in the Horn of Africa', *Disasters*, Vol.17, No.4, 305-320.

Repeated and lingering famine in the Horn of Africa has produced enormous pastoralist refugee problems in a region where livestock production is a major form of land use. Permanently settling destitute pastoralists has a record of failure. It can disrupt host land-uses, causing social and ecological problems, and prevent the utilization of very large grazing areas where pastoralism may be the only ecologically and economically sustainable land-use. Herd reconstruction should be considered an

option in relief and rehabilitation programmes for pastoralists. This paper examines a design where the most proven and immediate way of sustaining stockless pastoralists – farming – can be used to facilitate restocking objectives. Using data gathered in Somalia, estimates of livestock carrying capacity are linked with forage resources, livestock units, and the frequency of good, average, and poor (drought) water years, to explore the possibilities of restocking rehabilitation efforts. (Blackwell Publishers).

White, C. 1997. 'The Effect of Poverty on Risk Reduction Strategies of Fulani Nomads in Niger', *Nomadic Peoples* (New Series), Vol.1, No.1, 90-107.

The effects of poverty on the efficacy of pastoral risk-reduction strategies were investigated using 5 years of fieldwork in Niger with Fulani nomads. Risk reduction strategies among the WoDaaBe include mobility, reciprocity in loaning animals, herd management, and well construction. After the 1968-1973 Sahelian drought, livestock herds became insufficient for family subsistence, leading to labor shortages and, in turn, a restriction on risk reduction strategies. In a chronic poverty situation, economic vulnerability now plays into uncertainty for the WoDaaBe. Recent national and international developments have added to the uncertain conditions. [Social Science Abstracts].

Woodburn, J. 1997. 'Indigenous discrimination: the ideological basis for local discrimination against hunter-gatherer minorities in sub-Saharan Africa', *Ethnic and racial studies*, Vol.20, No.2, 345-361.