GPRG

E·S·R·C ECONOMIC & SOCIAL RESEARCH COUNCIL

Global Poverty Research Group

Research Summary

2005/06

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GPRG

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List of abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
CERDI	Centre d'Etude et de Recherche sur le Développement International, Clermont-Ferrand
CPRC	Chronic Poverty Research Centre
CSAE	Centre for the Study of African Economies
DALYs	Disability Adjusted Life Years
DFID	Department for International Development
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GPRG	Global Poverty Research Group
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICPD	International Conference on Population and Development
IDPM	Institute for Development Policy and Management
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ITC	International Trade Centre
JDS	Journal of Development Studies
LSE	London School of Economics
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
NCAER	National Council of Applied Economic Research
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PRSPs	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
RPED	Regional Programme on Enterprise Development
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
IMF	International Monetary Fund
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organisation
WHO	World Health Organization
WIDER	World Institute for Development Economics Research
WTO	World Trade Organization

Directors' report

The Global Poverty Research Group is a multidisciplinary research collaboration funded by the Economic and Social Research Council. The Group began in August 2002, and in this summary of our research during 2005, we highlight our progress towards understanding the determinants of poverty and the quality of life using a much wider range of disciplinary approaches than is usual in this field.

A major concern of the Group is that its work be seen to have an impact on society. This is both hard to measure and difficult to evaluate, because in order for research to have an impact, several conditions need to be met. Research must be focused on questions of policy relevance; quantitative methods are a necessary, but not sufficient, component of the research strategy; relevant data need to be either available or acquired, and sufficient resources of personnel and time are needed to provide the necessary analysis of the data. In addition, the results need to be made available not simply to policy makers – who may well have strong incentives not to change policy – but also to civil society, so that the range of choices can be both extended and better understood.

During the year we have undertaken research that meets these criteria, and we can point to a range of outputs which have led to potentially important initiatives, both at a local level and in a wider context. The effects of human capital are a major part of our research agenda. This research has been used as a basis for policy advice to DFID on how its work in the area of education can be most effectively implemented. Given that the second of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) is to ensure that all children will be able to complete primary education, this can be seen as a direct link from the research – requiring detailed analysis of micro data of various forms – to one of the central policy issues facing the international community.

As on present trends Africa will not meet at least some of the MDGs, there is increasing urgency in understanding how African economic performance can be improved. In December 2005 there was a one-day seminar in London, 'Africa after 2005: From promises to policy', organised jointly by the ESRC and the Development Studies Association, and reporting on a range of ESRC research focused on Africa. The papers presented at the seminar came from three of the ESRC's leading research investments on international development: the Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation at the University of Warwick, the Wellbeing in Developing Countries Research Group at the University of Bath, and the GPRG. Each Centre offered an insight into why it has been so difficult to reduce poverty in Africa. The research that the ESRC has funded has advanced our understanding of that issue substantially, and this report summarises our contribution.

David Hulme, University of Manchester
Francis Teal, University of Oxford

Section 1: Inter-disciplinary research on poverty

Introduction

The Global Poverty Research Group (GPRG) was set up in August 2002 as a response to the perceived need for a more multi-disciplinary approach to the problems faced by developing countries, and has now been in operation for over three years. The objective of the Research Group is to bring together a range of researchers diverse both in their disciplinary backgrounds and their range of expertise across countries. At the core of the Research Group is a collaboration between two institutions: the Centre for the Study of African Economies at Oxford (CSAE), and the Institute for Development Policy and Management at Manchester University (IDPM).

The collaboration between the CSAE and the IDPM has enabled the Research Group to link economists, sociologists, political scientists, human geographers and anthropologists who have many research interests in common. The IDPM has a long and respected record of work in the sociology and social anthropology of development and poverty and in 2005 became part of the University of Manchester's School of Environment and Development. A particular emphasis of the Manchester researchers is their use of qualitative and participatory research methods. They have played a major role in tracking the multiple livelihoods of the poor by means of life histories, and have developed methods that allow concepts of capabilities to be assessed empirically, particularly in relation to the poor.

The Centre for the Study of African Economies (CSAE) is part of the Department of Economics at Oxford University. From 1991 to 2001 it was a Designated Research Centre of the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC). The CSAE has sought to develop the application of quantitative methods to African economies by building new data sets, developing comparative ones, and exploring new methods for understanding the very poor performance of African economies. In the process, it has become part of an international network of researchers – in Africa, Europe and the United States – engaged in the analysis of the problems facing policy makers concerned with the future of Africa. Several key research staff have research interests outside of Africa – in India, China and South East Asia – so while the CSAE interprets its function as understanding the problems facing Africa, it views comparable work on other societies as an important means to that end.

In this Research Summary we highlight some of the key areas of research being undertaken by the Global Poverty Research Group and provide a more detailed overview of our activities of the last year.

Objectives

The overall objective of the research programme is both substantive and methodological: to carry out a multi-disciplinary programme of work which will investigate poverty, inequality, and the quality of life. To meet that objective we have held a series of seminars focusing on both methodological and empirical issues. We have set up a website which uses the framework of the themes from the research to allow the presentation and integration of a large range of diverse

work on the central research issue: what are the factors determining poverty, inequality and the quality of life in poor countries?

The first two of those themes focus on **outcomes**:

- Poverty, intra-household allocation and well-being
- Income opportunities, inequality and the poor

The last three themes focus on **means**:

- Human capital, institutions and well-being
- Social capital, the provision of public services, and social safety nets
- Governance, social norms and social outcomes

The activities of the Group comprise the following:

- Publishing significant theoretical and empirical findings
- Collecting data to feed into both research and policy outcomes
- Establishing itself as a focus of collaboration between researchers and users
- Seeking co-sponsorship
- Engaging with users
- Engaging in the training of post-graduate students

Meeting our objectives

The objectives set by the ESRC for the Research Group were to establish and pursue a multi-disciplinary programme of work on development. In carrying out this task we have learned a number of things about how an inter-disciplinary approach can be made to work. The first is the necessity of establishing a process of engagement by which conversations across disciplines can take place. This has not led to agreement, but it has shaped the process and the outcomes of the research. The second is the necessity of recognising diversity not simply across disciplines but within them. Sociologists and economists can disagree amongst themselves at least as much as they disagree with each other. The third is in the value of identifying differences of approach which in effect condition the kind of research that different disciplines wish to undertake. The process itself is productive in clarifying what can be learned from different approaches.

In these conversations across disciplines – conversations that have been a key part of our research process – it has become very clear that there are no advantages in seeking to merge disciplinary approaches. Qualitative approaches cannot answer quantitative questions; and the quantitative approach is almost certainly going to omit some considerations which those approaching the problem from a qualitative perspective think important. The solution is not to adopt one approach, but to recognise their different areas of application. Qualitative work cannot, by its nature, address questions such as 'has poverty fallen?', if the question refers to some measure of poverty. The reason such a question is so contentious is that it is a matter of dispute as to whether poverty can be measured at all, and even if there is agreement that it can, how this measurement is to be effected. The second result that has emerged from these conversations is that substantive research questions can often prove difficult to pose as concepts, and definitions become a source of dispute. While definitions, in a substantive sense, do not matter, if researchers discussing poverty all mean something quite different by the term, it is unlikely much progress is going to be

made on any question that is substantive.

Within the research programme of the GPRG we have seen the value of these conversations in three areas where research has been active during the year. The first of these is **social capital**. Abigail Barr and numerous collaborators have been investigating a range of issues relating to the role of social norms in development. In this research, the approach adopted uses both survey and experimental data. In contrast to this approach is the one adopted by Tony Bebbington and his collaborators, which consists of detailed case studies as to how institutional aspects of organisations impinge on development outcomes. The methodological issues raised by these different approaches demonstrates exactly the divide between the quantitative and qualitative approach. The use of experimental and survey data means that local institutional context is at best very coarsely measured, while the use of case studies by their nature preclude any general conclusions.

The second area is work on **livelihoods and lifetime outcomes**. During the course of the year, researchers in Oxford completed several major pieces of work assessing the changing lifetime opportunities open to young people in African societies, where job growth is far lower than the growth of those seeking work. In parallel with this work on Africa has been work on India, asking closely related questions as to how farmers can exit poverty. The third main focus of work has been on **NGOs**. Tony Bebbington was the co-convenor of the GPRG funded 'Reclaiming development: Assessing the contribution of NGOs to development alternatives' conference in June 2005, which built on the earlier work of David Hulme (see details below). A particularly innovative aspect of GPRG work has been the quantitative analysis of NGO activity. To date virtually all work on NGOs has been case studies. It has been a key part of the research agenda set by the GPRG to pursue alternative methodologies across the same subject matter, and the work in the areas of NGOs is a good example of what has proved possible.

Dissemination highlights

The winners and losers from the rights-based approach to development conference

A conference was held in February 2005 at IDPM at the University of Manchester which offered an opportunity to assess the effectiveness of a rights-based approach to development. The rights-based approach gives greater recognition to political relationships than more standard approaches, and represents a convergence between the mainstream political issues of good governance and social issues of exclusion and participation. The discussions of 'rights' in the development debate reflect a greater confidence in the depth of democratisation in developing countries, supported by the growing interest in international human rights conventions and the establishment and extension of rights-based constitutions in developing countries.

The meeting opened with a presentation by Robert Archer of the International Council on Human Rights Policy, who emphasised the value that human rights bring to development. Sheela Patel from the Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC) in India then raised some

questions about the implications of a legal and development campaigning orientation, and in respect of some of the realities on the ground. She explained how the National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF), a grassroots organisation which works closely with SPARC, was at present struggling to respond to the large-scale demolitions taking place in Mumbai (India). Whilst many other grassroots organisations and NGOs were opposing and protesting against this policy, NSDF were continuing with their work with pavement dwellers and other vulnerable groups to identify, elaborate and negotiate for alternatives with the state. Women pavement dwellers were reluctant to challenge the state because their experience suggested that this would not be effective in advancing their development interests. Professor John Gledhill ended the opening session with a consideration of experiences in Latin America. He noted the ways in which rights-based approaches fitted with neo-liberal conceptualisation of the relationship between state and citizen, while also recognising the alternative perception of some groups that the rights-based approach helps to deepen democracy and develop more inclusive forms of citizenship.

Conference sessions followed a number of themes, including the relationship of the rights-based approach to other development discourses such as aid policy and religion, the ways in which rights affect the direction and dimensions of social change, and the inclusion of rights within broader issues of political and economic governance.

Reclaiming development? Assessing the contribution of NGOs to development alternatives conference

In June 2005, the GPRG sponsored a conference on NGOs at the IDPM in Manchester. If NGOs are seeking development alternatives, they are seeking, for the most part, more inclusive, pro-poor development. The debate about NGOs and their contributions to development has been wide-ranging. As NGOs have become more embedded within the development programmes of the official agencies, and as NGO activities have grown in scale, many have challenged NGOs, arguing that they are no longer able to provide leadership on development alternatives. A full range of papers is available on http://www.sed.manchester.ac.uk/idpm/research/events/ngo2005/index.htm.

Particularly strong presentations were offered by plenary speakers: Mary Racelis (a lifetime of work with Philippine NGOs); Rose Molokoane and Sonia Fadrigo (from homeless people's Federations in South Africa and the Philippines); Evelina Dagnino (a university professor working with civic movements in Brazil); Pim Verhallen (from ICCO in the Netherlands); Michael Edwards (Ford Foundation); and Firoze Manji (providing through Fahamu an essential news service for all those following development in Africa).

The conclusions of the final plenary session point to the overwhelming concern of NGOs that they be more effective in addressing poverty. Participants recognised that, whilst service delivery may be important, there is a need to go beyond such programmes to secure structural change. In this closing session, participants also recognised that NGOs have been active in the political arena with diverse and (in some cases) longstanding campaigns. There was recognition that such work needs to continue, but the discussions confirmed a change in approach. Rather than NGOs being the major and/or leading agency in this

work, there was an acknowledgement of the need to establish partnerships with local communities and their associations. NGOs, it was suggested, need to be facilitators rather than leaders, adding value to a range of local actions defined by the poor themselves.

South African economic policy under democracy: A ten year review

Janine Aron and Geeta Kingdon organised a conference, together with Stan Du Plessis of Stellenbosch University, on 'South African Economic Policy under Democracy: a Ten Year Review', held in late October 2005, in Stellenbosch, SA. Local and international experts reviewed South African economic policy since 1994, and the invited audience of about 65 persons included senior government representatives from the Treasury, the South African Reserve Bank (SARB), the Presidency and Statistics South Africa; country representatives of the World Bank, the IMF and DFID; the Chief Economists of Anglo American and more than six private sector banks; and academics from several local universities and business schools, and abroad. Professor Vito Tanzi, formerly the Director of the Fiscal Affairs Department at the IMF, delivered the keynote address; and the conference culminated with reflections on SA's future by distinguished invited panellists. The *Journal of African Economies* at Oxford University aims to publish a selection of the papers in a special conference issue. The conference website is: http://academic.sun.ac.za/econ/econconf/index.htm

Redesigning the state: Political corruption in development policy and practice conference

This conference was held at the University of Manchester on 25 November 2005, and was attended by a wide range of expert and eminent delegates – academic, professional and practice based – from across the world. Institutionally represented were the Commonwealth Secretariat; the Overseas Development Institute; Transparency International (Africa and Latin America); the ESRC; the British Council; DFID; the Buganda Centre – AFRICA WOCPAP; the Big Lottery Fund; the Belgium Directorate General of Development Cooperation; PEPSE - Espace Europe Institute, France; World Vision, UK; the Royal African Society; and Corner House.

The keynote speakers of the first session provided an expansive overview of the magnitude, measurability and policy frame of contemporary corruption which set the tone for a fast-paced and intellectually challenging conference. Paul Collier (University of Oxford) headed off the conference with a robust statement on how corruption retards growth and development, on a continental scale. Deryck Brown (Commonwealth Secretariat), then provided a historical overview of institutional and political change in Africa, providing a refreshing antidote to the Afro-pessimism and ahistoricism of some development publications. It was evident from Deryck's introduction that real progress is being made: a generation of dictators has gone, and institutional anti-corruption bodies are springing up across the continent. The last keynote speaker, Dr John Githongo (Transparency International), underscored this mixed but progressive picture of a group of 'ex-African leaders enjoying their retirement', and spoke of the varied and contextual work of anti-corruption intervention. A book of conference proceedings is planned, to publish these excellent contributions to a wider audience.

Africa after 2005: From promises to policy seminar

During the early part of 2005, two major reports appeared which had reducing poverty as their central focus. One by the Millennium Project was entitled 'Investing in Development: a practical plan to achieve the Millennium Development Goals'; the second was the publication of the Report of the Commission for Africa – 'Our Common Interest' – setting out policies that need to be implemented if Africa is to meet the goals. Since on present trends Africa will not meet the Millennium Development Goals, there is increasing urgency in understanding how African economic performance can be improved. In December 2005 there was a one-day seminar in London, 'Africa after 2005: From promises to policy', organised jointly by the ESRC and the Development Studies Association, reporting on a range of ESRC research focused on Africa.

The papers presented at the seminar came from three of the ESRC's leading research investments on international development: the GPRG; the Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation at the University of Warwick; and the Wellbeing in Developing Countries Research Group at the University of Bath. Each Centre offered an insight into why it has been so difficult to reduce poverty throughout the developing world, and what it is that keeps people poor. Francis Teal presented work from the GPRG programme, making the case for a strong association between globalisation, growth and poverty reduction. Africa needs to grow by seven per cent a year if its targets for poverty reduction are to be met. To do this, it will need to foster successful businesses, especially in manufacturing, which can thrive in a competitive global market.

Brooks World Poverty Institute (BWPI)

In seeking co-sponsorship during the past year, we have attracted funding from UNIDO, the World Bank and DFID. However, by far the largest initiative in which GPRG researchers have been very closely involved is the setting up of the new Brooks World Poverty Institute (BWPI) by the University of Manchester**,** a project that will see substantial involvement from staff in the IDPM. Nobel Laureate Professor Joseph E. Stiglitz, who has been appointed to chair the Institute, announced the creation of the BWPI in Whitehall on Wednesday 30 November 2005. The BWPI will be a multidisciplinary centre of global excellence researching poverty, poverty reduction, inequality and growth. The Rory and Elizabeth Brooks Foundation in the US has agreed to support the BWPI with a gift of £1.3m over three years.

GPRG website and publications

The GPRG website redesign which began last year has continued. The GPRG working paper series is now available online, and several in-depth project guides have been added. We are also working on developing the data set resources available online.

The Group publishes a newsletter twice a year and Issue Five will be available from May 2006. All GPRG publications are available on the website at http://www.gprg.org.

Section 2: Highlighted research

Understanding poverty and well-being

David Clark

Work on poverty and well-being remains a central part of the GPRG research agenda. Two different strands of this research are considered in this section. The first builds on the case for cross-disciplinary social science research on poverty, inequality and well-being and broadens the analysis to consider some of the more general challenges facing development studies in the twenty-first century. The second is concerned with the conceptualisation and measurement of poverty. In both cases the integration of different disciplines, methods and perspectives has generated new insights and created new avenues for research.

Development studies: Nature, dilemmas and challenges

Over the course of 2005, David Hulme and John Toye have finalised a collection of papers on 'Understanding Poverty and Well-Being: Bridging the Disciplines' for a special issue of the *Journal of Development Studies*, which is due to appear late next year. These papers draw on a wide range of innovative contributions from GPRG researchers and make the case for cross-disciplinary research on poverty, inequality and well-being (see Hulme and Toye, 2005).[1]

The case for cross-disciplinary development research is a unifying element in a major new reference book, *The Elgar Companion to Development Studies* (Clark, forthcoming). In a substantial introductory essay 'Development Studies in the Twenty-First Century', the relative merits of the different forms of cross-disciplinary research identified by Hulme and Toye (2005) are considered. These are:

- Multi-disciplinarity – refers to work in which individual discipline-based researchers (or teams) do their best, within their disciplinary confines, to examine an issue and subsequently collaborate to develop together an overall analytical synthesis and conclusions.
- Inter-disciplinarity – refers to research that attempts a deep integration of two or more disciplinary approaches from the beginning and throughout an entire research exercise.

It is argued that multi-disciplinary forms of research involving *large* and *diverse* groups of people are more likely to succeed than similar inter-disciplinary research groups. On the other hand, inter-disciplinary forms of research – if successful – are likely to yield higher returns, as the goal of the project is to integrate disciplines as far as possible in order to create a new perspective and generate a whole that is greater than the sum of the parts. While a combination of adverse incentives, institutional constraints and human failings can hamper cross-disciplinary research, there are grounds for optimism, and it is shown that

[1] Drafts of these papers are available as *GPRG Working Papers Nos. 1–9* and can be accessed online at http://www.gprg.org/pubs/workingpapers/default.htm

many of the barriers and constraints that have discouraged 'trespassing' in other disciplines in the past are gradually being eroded.

This analysis of the case for cross-disciplinary development research feeds into a more general discussion of the dilemmas and challenges facing contemporary development studies. Three key challenges are identified. The first of these challenges is to promote intellectual freedom and a supportive research environment, which are vital ingredients of a healthy research environment. As John Stuart Mill passionately argued almost one hundred and fifty years ago, 'Who can compute what the world loses in the multitude of promising intellects combined with timid characters, who dare not follow out any bold, vigorous, independent train of thought, lest it should land them in something which would admit of being considered irreligious or immoral?' Both intellectual freedom and a supportive research environment are crucial ingredients for success.

A second challenge for development studies relates to the longstanding accusation that it is 'eurocentric'. In particular, many of the concepts and frameworks it uses (the emphasis on 'good governance' for example) are derived largely from European or North American perspectives. In addition, many of the thought leaders in development studies are citizens of OECD countries, and especially Western Europe and North America. Development studies – like all branches of academia – clearly has such a bias, and this bias is reinforced by those in Western institutions underutilising the ideas and writings of colleagues in developing countries. Where Africans, Asians and Latin Americans make a major contribution, they commonly migrate to the Universities of the USA and Europe.

A third challenge for development studies – especially in the North – lies elsewhere. Scholars must not only be able to talk to each other and relate their work to other social science disciplines. They must also be able to detach from intellectual disciplines in an effort to engage with the views and experiences of ordinary people. Credible development research cannot be conducted in the vacuum of a university or library. A key challenge for development studies is to respect the voices of the poor. As researchers, we must recognise that we have at least as much to learn from the poor as they have to learn from us. Research that does not engage with the poor and disadvantaged in a coherent and logical fashion may end up damaging the interests and prospects of the very people it is supposed to help.

The Elgar Companion to Development Studies represents an ambitious attempt to address the dilemmas and challenges facing development studies at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The book is carefully tailored to provide a volume with more breadth, depth and diversity than the standard reference book or encyclopaedia. From its inception, the book has strived to embrace different disciplines, methodologies and schools of thought. It includes contributions that can be characterised as inter-disciplinary, multi-disciplinary and single-disciplinary; it has tried to include different balances between theory and practice; and it has sought to provide detailed commentaries on each of the 136 topics reviewed. Above all it has tried to embrace different points of view. In particular, the content and structure of the book evolved in close consultation with the development studies and social science community. While all papers, without exception, were peer reviewed to ensure rigour and clarity, contributors were left with the flexibility and freedom to define the boundaries of their topics, to focus

on the questions and issues that matter for them and, crucially, to express their own point of view. Arguably, the philosophy behind the book has preserved rather than stifled intellectual freedom, spurred academic vigour and ingenuity and generated a much more interesting and provocative book.

Conceptualisation and measurement of poverty

The second strand of research, concerned with the conceptualisation and measurement of poverty, has also been continuing over the last year. The developments in this area are closely related to previous work on concepts and perceptions of human well-being (e.g. Clark, 2002), as well as work on Sen's Capability Approach and well-being, which continued over the course of 2005 and resulted in two new publications (Clark, forthcoming).[2] Two different strands of work on poverty are briefly considered. The first relates to a longstanding research project on 'poverty and vagueness' by Clark and Qizilbash (2003), which focuses on the conceptualisation and measurement of core poverty and vulnerability. The second strand of research – led by Clark and Hulme – involves ongoing research that aims to incorporate time into the conceptualisation and measurement of poverty. Together these strands of research have generated several new research papers in 2005 (Clark and Qizilbash, 2005; Clark and Hulme, 2005; Qizilbash and Clark, 2005) as well as interesting new avenues for future research.

Core poverty and extreme vulnerability

Clark and Qizilbash (2005) have attempted to apply a framework that can deal with the fact that poverty is a vague or imprecise concept, which can plausibly be specified in a variety of different ways. To apply the framework, Sen's capability approach is used in conjunction with results from a survey on *The Essentials of Life* in South Africa, which effectively asked people from different communities to identify the dimensions of poverty and the corresponding minimal thresholds for each of these dimensions. The 'core poor' are those who classify as 'unambiguously poor'. The results suggest that South Africans set tough standards for someone to qualify as poor. Even by these standards, Clark and Qizilbash's lower bound estimate of core poverty in South Africa is higher than existing estimates of the 'most deprived' and 'ultra poor'. While this result is sensitive to the criteria used in applying the framework, other results are more robust.

In related work, Qizilbash and Clark (2005) have used their framework in conjunction with their results from *The Essentials of Life* survey to measure vulnerability (understood as proximity) to definite poverty in specific dimensions using different fuzzy set theoretic measures. They found that using 'totally fuzzy and relative' poverty measures (such as Cheli and Lemmi's) with their framework and approach for specifying poverty thresholds can lead to incoherence, but might be useful when social indicators have a relativist component. While absolute fuzzy poverty measures (such as Cerioli and Zani's) do not lead to incoherence, they have other weaknesses.

[2] Earlier aspects of Clark's work on human well-being are described at length in last year's GPRG Research Summary, which is available online at http://www.gprg.org/pubs/researchsum/GPRGResearchsum2004.pdf

Time and poverty

Over the last year, Hulme and Clark have made the case for incorporating time into the conceptualisation, measurement and analysis of poverty. In particular, they have argued that there are three overarching 'meta-dimensions' of poverty: depth, breadth and duration. The last of these three meta-dimensions – duration – has been neglected until relatively recently, but has the potential to greatly enhance our understanding of poverty (see Clark and Hulme, 2005, pp. 18-22).

Clark and Hulme (2005) call for a unified framework for understanding poverty, which can simultaneously incorporate breadth, depth and duration. To show how such a framework might be constructed, they consider various ways of extending Qizilbash and Clark's poverty and vagueness methodology. These approaches involve incorporating a new layer of vagueness into Qizilbash and Clark's framework (vagueness about the admissible time periods associated with a given dimension/threshold of poverty), and lead to the identification of several new analytical categories (such as the *chronically core poor* and *transitory vulnerable*), which combine categories from Qizilbash and Clark's framework and the chronic poverty approach pioneered by Hulme and others (see Box 1). It is shown that the extended framework combines and enriches policy insights from the core poverty and chronic poverty approaches.

New avenues for research

So far Clark and Qizilbash have been primarily concerned with the disaggregated picture of poverty across dimensions. In part this is because constructing a headcount of core poverty is riddled with conceptual, methodological and practical difficulties (although there are also powerful arguments for not relying too heavily on a single aggregate measure of poverty, which might not adequately capture the breadth or complexity of development and could conceal important forms of deprivation[3]). Among other things, in order to arrive at an estimate of core poverty, information is required about the overlap between individuals (households) that are poor in terms of one core dimension, two core dimensions, and so on (see Clark and Qizilbash, 2005, p. 6). Without this information (which does not exist in published form for the South African LSMS), it is only possible to arrive at a lower bound estimate of core poverty. This is roughly 30 per cent in South Africa, which is equivalent to the highest headcount for a core dimension of poverty – in this case the unemployment rate (Clark and Qizilbash, 2005, p. 22). A crucial new avenue of research over the coming year – which will be carried forward by Geeta Kingdon and David Clark – will involve generating more precise estimates of core poverty using STATA and a digital version of the South African LSMS. The aim of the project is to generate estimates of core poverty by province, race, gender and age; and to look at the intersection and characteristics of people who are poor in terms of one core dimension of poverty, two core dimensions, etc. Later work using other data sets may consider the dynamics of core poverty and vulnerability over time.

[3] See for example Amartya Sen's piece on the 'Human Development Index', which is due to appear in *The Elgar Companion to Development Studies*. See also Clark and Hulme (2005).

Box 1: Integrating the core poverty and chronic poverty frameworks

	Non poor	**Vulnerable***	**Poor in a non-core dimension**	**Core poor**
Never Poor	Non poor and secure	N/A	N/A	N/A
Transitory poor**	*Transitory Vulnerable Type I*, i.e. people that are not definitely poor at the moment, but have either experienced poverty or vulnerability in the past and/or are likely to experience it in the near future.	*Transitory Vulnerable Type II*, i.e. people that are sometimes vulnerable to poverty in a given dimension that may or may not be core.	Sometimes poor in non core dimension(s)	*Transitory core poor*, i.e. people who sometimes experience poverty in at least one core dimension.
Chronically Poor	N/A	*Chronically vulnerable*, i.e. persistently vulnerable to definite poverty in a given dimension, which may or may not be core.	Persistently poor in non core dimension(s).	*Chronically Core Poor*, i.e. persistently poor in terms of at least one core dimension of poverty.

Source: Clark and Hulme (2005)

One potentially serious worry about Clark and Qizilbash's methodology relates to the possibility of adaptation. In particular, survey responses to questions about the essentials of life may be distorted or depressed, accustomed to their living conditions and have learned to be satisfied with their deprivation and to desire little in order to avoid bitter disappointment. Preliminary tests for adaptation – based on a few simple tabulations – suggest that in most cases poverty does not significantly reduce aspirations (see Clark and Qizilbash, 2005, pp. 23-26), although more work remains to be done. This is the focus of a new research initiative led by Abigail Barr and David Clark, which will use sophisticated econometric techniques (such a multi-variant analysis) to test for adaptation in a multi-dimensional context. (To date, most existing studies of adaptation have focused exclusively on income using European rather than developing country data sets). The results of this study will not only inform our work on poverty and vagueness, but will have important implications for Sen's capability approach for assessing poverty, inequality and well-being as well as the more general case for participatory development and listening to the voices of the poor.

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Policy issues in education

Geeta Kingdon

Work on human capital and its role in the determination of well-being is one of the major themes of the GPRG research agenda. In this section some of the major policy issues which flow from the research which has been undertaken on education are briefly outlined.

While the economics of education encompasses both theoretical and applied aspects, applied work has become increasingly important over time. This reflects in part the increased scrutiny of the education sector and its problems in various developing countries, sponsored by country governments and donor agencies. However, it also reflects the progressively greater availability of data to analyse education issues. As a result, education economics is currently the subject of a

great deal of applied research and lively discussion. Some of the topics of current research include:

- Does education enhance economic growth?
- Can the effect of education on earnings be separated from the effect of ability on earnings?
- Should policy makers be concerned with expanding schooling supply or improving the quality of existing schools?
- What factors determine schooling participation/achievement of students? How do the relative efficiency and cost-effectiveness of alternative delivery mechanisms in education compare; and
- Impact evaluation of educational policy interventions, using new methods such as randomised experiments and statistical techniques that permit causal inferences.

Rationale for public funding of education

Consideration of recent literature suggests that the economic rationale for public funding of education remains strong, based on market failure. Two particular forms of market failure – beneficial externalities of education and absent, or thin, credit markets to provide finance for profitable educational investments – tend to lead to underinvestment in education if left to individuals or families. There is also an important rights-based rationale for the public sector's role in ensuring access to basic education for all. If the large and growing private provision of primary education in many developing countries implies an increasing abdication of the state's role in basic education in these countries, this is of concern for equity reasons and indicates a need to buttress the case for continued state involvement in the education sector.

External efficiency of schooling

Much of the literature on the economics of education is concerned with the measurement of and evidence on returns to education, also termed the 'external efficiency' of schooling. Studies using sophisticated methods confirm that estimates of returns to education obtained from the commonly used simple regression method are usually not too far from the true estimates. Estimates of returns to education from a large number of countries (using the simple Mincerian method) do not over-estimate the return to education much due to omitted ability bias. Thus, economic returns to different types of education can be estimated relatively easily, and can help to inform public policy on education issues such as budgetary allocations to different levels of education and fee rates for different university courses.

There is evidence, using recent data, that the wage return to primary schooling has fallen and is now lower than that to secondary education and higher education in many developing countries (Kingdon, 2006). Policies for poverty reduction have generally, if not always, emphasised the attainment of primary schooling. For instance, the Millennium Development Goals adopt universal primary school completion as the major educational goal in support of the broader aim to halve world poverty by 2015. However, if the pattern of returns to schooling has changed over time, so that economic returns to primary

education are now the lowest and to higher education the greatest, this has profound implications for poverty reduction policies. In particular, it means that the poor need to go well beyond primary schooling if they are to obtain high labour-market returns. Any collapse in the wage return to primary education does not imply the end of an efficiency-based rationale for government action in primary education, because of the non-market externalities of primary education and because it is a necessary input into further education which has higher wage returns.

On a more positive note, if returns to education are indeed the greatest for higher education, then public subsidy to higher education is not needed to motivate students to enrol in this level of education. Since students of higher education generally tend to come from well-off homes, this provides a basis for greater private sector provision of higher education and releases scarce public education resources for lower levels of education. However, if credit market failures prevent poor students' access to high-return tertiary education, there will still be a role for the state in addressing that market failure.

Internal efficiency of schooling

Much attention in recent applied research in education economics has focused on the internal efficiency of the schooling system. While there are many measures of school sector performance in terms of both access and achievement indicators, learning achievement is often regarded as the ultimate measure of the performance of the schooling system. The general lack of comparable data on cognitive achievement linked to school characteristics within many developing countries hinders analysis of factors associated with learning. Unfortunately, most developing countries also do not participate in the international studies of achievement such as the IEA's Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS).

Controversy continues in 'school effectiveness research' over which school and teacher factors raise school participation and student achievement, and whether input-based policies are effective means of improving school quality. Nevertheless, careful empirical studies and studies based on randomised evaluations show that higher inputs and resources in schools do matter, even in advanced countries where resource levels are already high (e.g. class-sizes are already low), though the size of the effects may not be large. It seems likely that the size of the resource effects will be larger in developing countries where schools are typically very poorly resourced and often over-crowded. There is also evidence that other types of interventions, such as attendance-contingent cash subsidies, performance-related pay for teachers and cooked school meals, raise school attendance and achievement. Studies based on randomised experiments are increasingly recognised by leading education economists as more reliable in permitting causal inferences.

Role of the private sector in education

The role of the private sector is an important policy issue in education. While state-run schooling may be free in the restricted sense that tuition fees are negligible, accessing state schools often involves substantial non-fee private costs, such as books, slates, clothes, transport and non-tuition fees. The major financial

burden these impose on poor parents can deter them from sending children to school. The importance of private financing of education in seemingly state-run systems has important implications for public policy. Some countries have sought to compensate for these burdens by giving cash subsidies to poor households for each child that attends school, e.g. in the PROGRESA programme in Mexico, and similar programmes in some Latin American countries. Evaluations suggest that these programmes have a substantial impact on school attendance rates.

It is not possible to make universal generalisations about the relative effectiveness of private and public schools. The context seems all-important. In many if not most countries, fee-charging private schools are considered the elite school system and (from the sparse research) seem to be more effective in imparting learning than state schools. However, in some countries public school systems are deemed elite, are generally better endowed with resources and admit students on merit. Research that is most useful is not whether private or public systems are better, but rather what makes a system good. Analysts have often concluded that while both private and public schools can provide physical resources and inputs, public schools cannot mimic the qualities, arrangements and conditions that make private schools effective, such as the ability to discipline absentee teachers, pay teachers according to performance, be accountable to parents and make decisions at the level of the school rather than in centralised ways.

This has led some countries to choose other ways of introducing accountability within schools, namely through school voucher schemes. The objective is to seek to introduce competition between public and private schools. Voucher schemes are a radical intervention in the schooling system and there is evidence that they improve school accountability and quality. However, they are not feasible in all circumstances, may be prone to corruption under weak monitoring, and their equity effects raise concerns.

Funding of education

Government priority for education expenditures among competing other expenditures, intra-sectoral allocation of public education expenditure as between the different levels of education, and the equity implications of the pattern of allocations, are all important issues of policy concern in the area of education finance. Evidence suggests that while public expenditure on education as a percentage of the GDP rose by 0.6 percentage points in high human-development or 'high HDI' countries (a very considerable increase in the resources devoted to education), it actually *fell* by 0.12 percentage points in the 'low HDI' countries between 1990 and 2000. This indicates a pernicious divergent trend: countries that need investment in education the most have suffered a *decline* in the share of GDP devoted to publicly funded education, while countries that are already educationally advanced have enjoyed increased shares of GDP devoted to public education. This development is especially worrying in light of the Education For All (EFA) goal as part of the Millennium Development Goals. The low commitment to education in domestic allocations means that if EFA goals are to be met by 2015, international aid for education in the low-HDI countries will need to increase greatly. Despite commitments by

various donors, the EFA Fast-Track Initiative which aims to address the issue of resource shortages for primary education has not been adequately funded. Donors need to make greater commitment to this initiative for improving investment in education in the poorest countries.

Evidence shows that state subsidy for education, especially for secondary and tertiary education, is typically very poorly targeted. While the poorest quintile gains around 20 per cent of the subsidy at the primary level in most countries on which evidence is presented, they gain only about one-tenth of the subsidy at the secondary level and almost nothing from the subsidy at the tertiary level. Thus, the more governments spend on primary education, the more the poor tend to benefit. Benefit incidence analyses in countries where such analyses do not exist can help to make governments more aware of how pro-poor is their public education expenditure, a necessary precursor to any policy shifts.

The average share of salaries in total expenditure at the primary education level in 2001 in South and West Asia, sub-Saharan Africa and the Arab states was around 95 per cent. Only about 5 per cent of total recurrent primary school spending went to non-salary costs! This compares with 18–24 per cent in Europe and North America. Where available, evidence shows a secular rise in the share of salaries in total education spending since 1960. While the dominance of salary expenditures in total education expenditures is explained by teachers being the main input into schooling, the *rising* share of salaries in total education spending over time is explained either by the fact that as average teacher age or qualifications rise, salary costs increase if public pay scales provide age-related and qualifications-related increments; or by successful teacher lobbying for increased salaries and the lack of a lobby to demand corresponding increases in non-salary education expenditures; or both (Kingdon and Muzammil, 2001; 2003).

Interventions for access and quality in education

Education policy makers ultimately want to know which interventions improve access to and quality of education in pro-poor ways. While there is a good degree of consensus about the access and quality *outcomes* that need to be improved, there is less agreement on which particular *inputs* have the most impact on outcomes, and on the appropriate mix of inputs for any given country (Kingdon et al., 2004; Kingdon, 2005a). Although metastudies of educational production functions find no consistent effect from school expenditures to student achievement, carefully conducted individual studies using robust methods do find important effects. Thus, research does provide some concrete directions, which bear acting on by government education departments and donors. While it is accepted that higher resources will not in all circumstances lead to better educational outcomes, they do help in poor countries where absolute resource levels are extremely low.

There is a very high degree of international inequality in terms of per pupil expenditures on primary education, the ratio of the highest to the lowest in purchasing power parity terms being 260:1. This is worrying, both from equity and efficiency angles. Per pupil expenditures are closely related to per capita GNP and, across countries, there is a positive correlation between per capita GNP and student achievement in mathematics scores in the TIMSS studies,

suggesting that lower per pupil education expenditures may translate into poorer learning achievement.

Designing incentives for *teachers* is not easy, and raising teacher salaries across the board is unlikely to be a cost-effective investment (Kingdon and Teal, forthcoming 2006). While use of contract teachers, sometimes posted to schools in small habitations, is increasingly popular, its efficiency and equity effects have not been studied much. Again, while performance-related pay for teachers is increasingly considered in advanced countries, there is little knowledge about its use and effects in developing countries.

Designing better incentives in the financial grants to publicly funded *schools* is another potential way of raising the efficiency of education systems *within* existing resources. Government grants to schools provide a way through which the state can improve the efficiency of use of public resources. The idea is that by linking grants to various performance indicators, the government (the principal) can encourage schools (the agent) to raise quality in cost-effective ways. There is little research on what type of performance incentives in the grant formula work best, yet a more rational grant structure could be a policy intervention that has potentially the biggest pay-offs in terms of improved quality and cost-efficiency in education in many developing countries.

Public private partnerships (PPPs) in education aim to improve the quality and accountability of schools. However, few developing countries have even considered PPPs and school-choice schemes as potential reforms. This may be because such far-reaching decentralising reforms can upset vested interests, or simply because of lack of awareness of experimentation with such schemes in other countries. But informed national debate about these various issues of school quality/access can hone the educational policy choices a country makes. A climate of discussion and debate about issues such as reform of teacher incentives, school funding formulae, consideration of PPPs, school meals and attendance-contingent cash subsidies is desirable. Lessons from countries where such reforms have been tried, can provide a useful starting point for extensive in-country discussion about the merits and drawbacks of such schemes to improve educational outcomes (Kingdon, 2005b).

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Section 3: Policy issues in development

Trade and the rapid reduction of poverty in Africa

Francis Teal

The first Millennium Development Goal (MDG) is to halve extreme poverty by 2015. On present trends, Africa is not going to meet this goal. If there is to be any hope of reversing this trend, we must begin to comprehend not only the factors that determine poverty and quality of life in Africa, but what will most effectively – and rapidly – improve the lives of the poorest people on the continent.

Answering these questions is a core part of the research agenda that the ESRC set for the Global Poverty Research Group (GPRG). In addressing these questions, the group focuses first on who needs to be the target of policy: who are the poor, where are they, how best to measure and analyse poverty? And secondly, on which policies can most effectively bring about change.

As the various initiatives of 2005 – the Report of the Millennium Project, G8, and Commission for Africa among them – move into implementation phases, outcomes from the GPRG are able to shed valuable insight into how to translate good intentions into development impact. In this paper, I will use the Group's work to address specifically the implementation of the agenda set by the Commission for Africa.

Commission for Africa: The importance of growth

According to the Commission for Africa Report, growth is the key to poverty reduction. The mechanisms for increased growth are:

- more trade and aid
- an improvement in the investment climate
- a doubling of expenditure on infrastructure
- an emphasis on agriculture and on helping small enterprises.

Aid is seen as central. Increases in aid will be the result of changes in multilateral institutions, which will give a 'higher priority to Africa's development' (p. 14), and a commitment from rich nations to a schedule of giving 0.7 per cent of their annual income in aid.

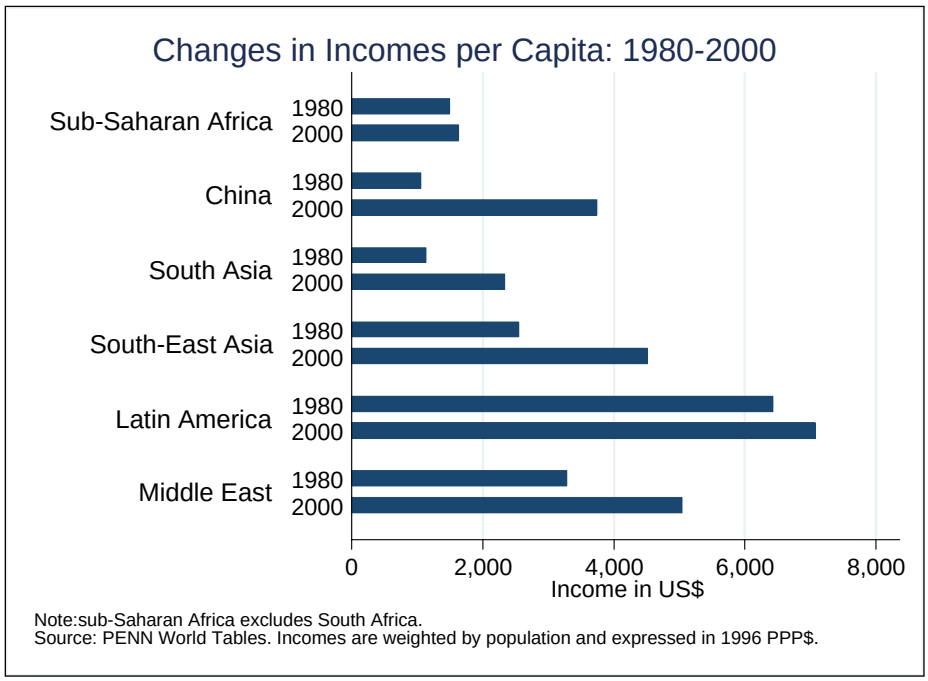
The Commission for Africa Report concludes that a partnership is required between Africa and the developed world. 'For its part, Africa must accelerate reform. And the developed world must increase and improve its aid, and stop doing those things which hinder Africa's progress' (p. 11). The G8 meeting at Gleneagles in July 2005 heralded progress on this aid target, and the impact of both trade and aid has been central to the policy debate.

Reducing poverty by growth

The Commission for Africa Report is very clear that addressing Africa's poverty requires more rapid growth. Given this, it is useful to begin by showing both the magnitude of the task that Africa faces and its solubility. The following figure shows how the level of income across different regions has changed from 1980

to 2000. The success of the Chinese economy is no longer news, but it is possible that the magnitude of its success is still not fully appreciated.

Figure 1



Note:sub-Saharan Africa excludes South Africa.
Source: PENN World Tables. Incomes are weighted by population and expressed in 1996 PPP$.

In 1980, China's income per capita was US$1,069, similar to that of South Asia and lower than Africa. By 2000, this had increased nearly fourfold to US$3,747 – a compound growth rate of six per cent per annum. While China's growth captured the headlines, the achievement of other regions, specifically South Asia, needs to be kept in mind. Its incomes doubled over two decades, taking it from much poorer than Africa to much richer.

The picture from these overall data presents both bad and good news. The bad news is that Africa's position has fallen radically relative to other regions. The good news is that very high rates of growth in very poor economies have proved possible – they have moved China from being one of the poorest regions in the world to being nearly as rich as South East Asia in the space of twenty years.

The Report of the Commission for Africa argues that the goal 'should be to increase the average growth rate to seven per cent by the end of the decade and sustain it thereafter' (p. 211). The implications of the achievements in China and South Asia for Africa are obvious: the target growth can be achieved. Two questions then arise. First, how can the growth rate be raised; and second, how can increases in income impact most effectively on poverty?

The key to growth

So what is the key to growth and how can Africa emulate the experience of rapid development that China has followed? The Report identifies a large number of possible answers to the question as to how the growth rate can be increased. I want to argue that one of these answers is central, and without success in this area all the other possible policies will fail.

The key to growth for Africa is to export more. What are the fundamental reasons why success in exporting is so closely linked to successful growth? African economies are rich in natural resources – the domestic market for these products is negligible, the world market huge. The speed of export growth for these economies is limited only by the speed with which they can increase output. When African economies have grown successfully – and it is often forgotten how frequently in the past this has happened – it has been through this mechanism of using the world marketplace to sell produce for which there is no domestic demand.

Incomes and exports in Mauritius

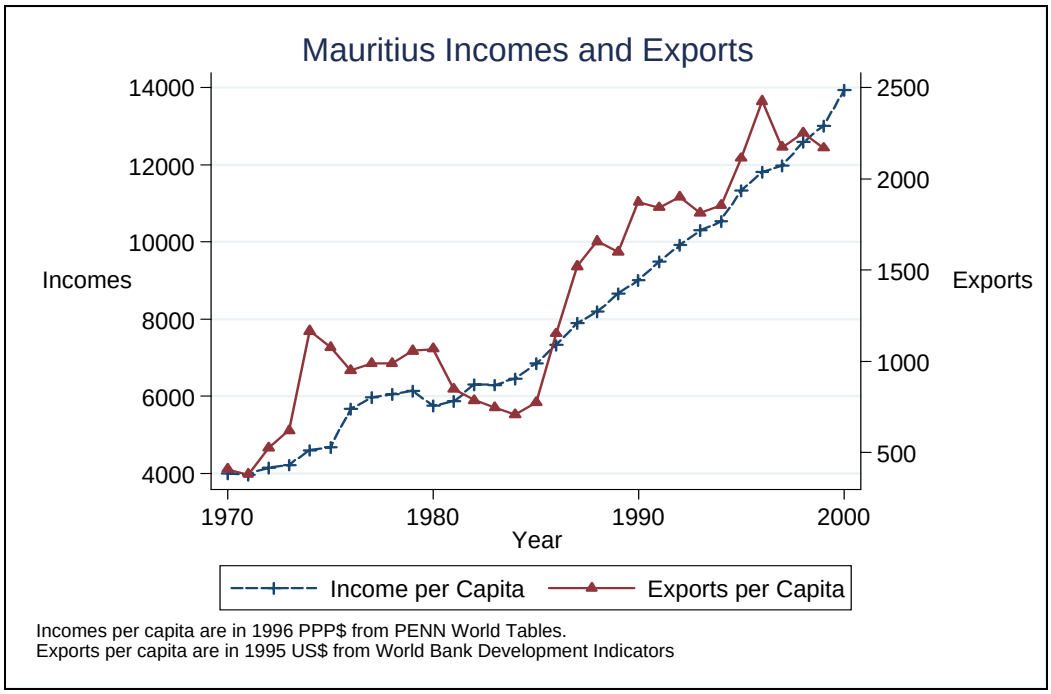
This pattern of exporting natural resources and importing other, particularly manufactured, goods is often described as a colonial pattern of trade. It was and, more to the point, remains the pattern of trade for virtually all African countries. One exception is Mauritius. Mauritius has moved from an economy that was overwhelmingly dependent on sugar to one exporting manufactured goods, and one with a large and growing service export sector in the shape of tourism.

While the pattern of its exports has changed radically over the last 25 years, the principle that underlies Mauritian success is the same as that underlying the success of agricultural exports: the world market is vast, and if firms can enter it successfully then there is no limit to the speed with which they can grow. The Mauritian example is so relevant for other African economies because exporting manufactures creates far more jobs than natural resource exports. In addition, over the past half century Africa's labour force has grown rapidly, to the point where finding jobs for the burgeoning urban population is a major issue. If these workers could find employment in firms linked to exporting – in other words, if exporting could be profitable for such firms – then very rapid growth is possible. Just how rapid can be seen from the Mauritian experience.

How closely related the links are between the rise in incomes and exports in Mauritius is demonstrated in Figure 2. For a continent that has become notorious for economic failure, this success is worth highlighting. Unfortunately Mauritius is an exception within Africa.

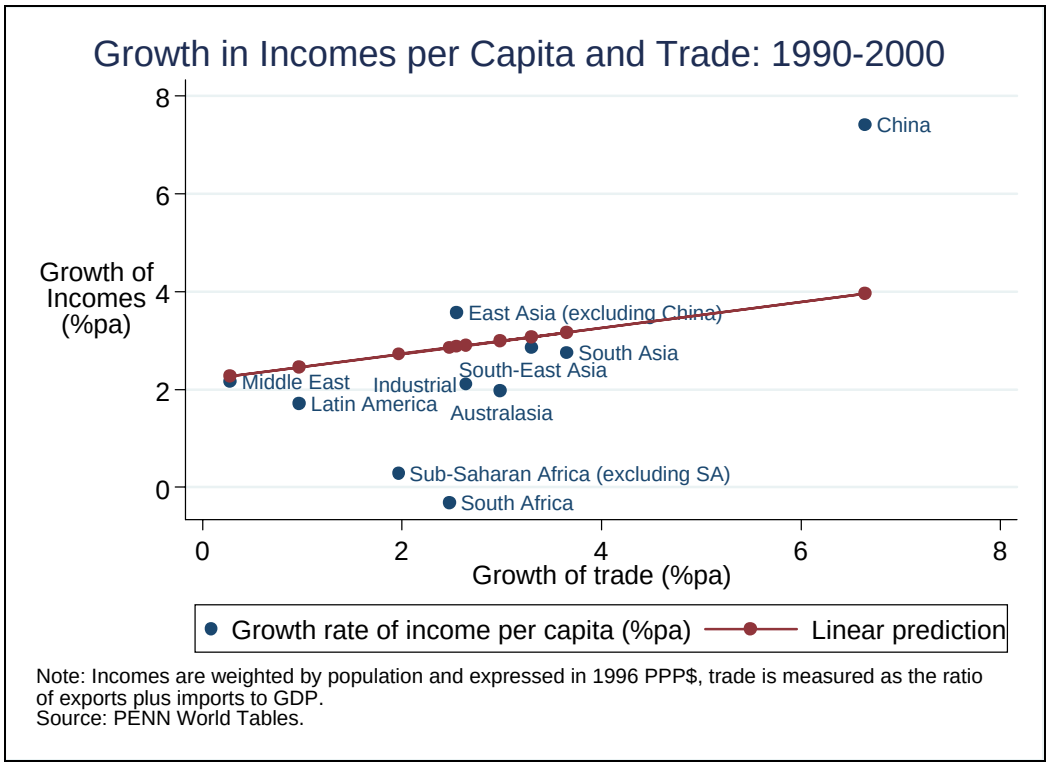
Africa in general exports so little, not because of trade barriers in developed countries as is frequently asserted, but because its own polices have consistently made exporting unprofitable – particularly for its agricultural producers. At present, exporting is not making money for most manufacturing sectors. This is the reason for the lack of jobs, which, in turn, has led to the failure to achieve any significant poverty reduction. While it is true that trade barriers created by developed countries are of some relevance to certain African countries and products, it is an illusion to think that if these barriers were eliminated tomorrow, poor people in Africa would gain very much. They would not. The trade policies which matter for the poor in Africa are policies within Africa. The revival of coffee exports from Uganda in the 1990s was the result of improved domestic policies; the dramatic expansion of cocoa exports from Ghana in the last two years is, in part, due to lower taxes on producers; and the collapse of non-oil exports from Nigeria is the result of their policies toward their exchange rate and tariffs which render farming unprofitable.

Figure 2



Incomes per capita are in 1996 PPP$ from PENN World Tables.
Exports per capita are in 1995 US$ from World Bank Development Indicators

Figure 3



Note: Incomes are weighted by population and expressed in 1996 PPP$, trade is measured as the ratio of exports plus imports to GDP.
Source: PENN World Tables.

Trade as a force for development

Such an assertion contrasts directly with the overwhelming view of campaigners for Africa: that trade harms its peoples. To look at this view dispassionately, it is useful to put Africa in the context of other regions of the world, and in doing so show how exceptional was the achievement of Mauritius.

The figure above presents a summary of what happened to different regions of the world during the 1990s. How closer integration into the world economy is to be measured is a controversial issue. However, here a simple measure is taken of the ratio of trade to income. Essentially, the higher this ratio, the more important trade is becoming as a source of income for the economy. The figure shows a clear positive relationship between changes in trade and changes in income. On average, regions that become more closely integrated into the world economy have seen increases in their incomes. The figure also shows that China in the 1990s grew by nearly eight per cent per annum and trade as a proportion of income expanded by a similar amount. In contrast, African growth was virtually zero and trade growth, while positive, very low relative to the successes in South Asia and China.

It is often argued that growth in income is not nearly enough to solve the problem of poverty. It passes by many of the poorest groups in society, and fails to recognise the difficulty of successful participation in a world economy if you live in areas with little infrastructure, inadequate access to education, and no access to the technology necessary for exporting. For the poorest, trade is an irrelevance.

It is certainly true that trade growth can pass the poorest by. Embezzlement of funds from oil-rich economies is an obvious example. However, it is equally true that policy can make trade work for the poorest. Indeed, the fact that the Millennium Development Goals may on average be met is due to the success of China in reducing poverty. Its growth did lead to a massive reduction in the numbers of people living on less than US$1 per day.

What is China doing so right and Africa so wrong? Integrating into the world economy can do enormous good, but most of Africa is missing something. What is it?

The key to poverty reduction

In China, there has been an explosion in job growth in the urban sector linked to exporting. By contrast, in virtually all African economies growth in private sector wage employment has been very limited. Job creation, where it has occurred, has not been linked to exporting. Most new jobs have been in the urban service sector.

Such a pattern of job creation yields limited income gains: demand is limited by domestic incomes, which are low. With limited demand, and rising supply as numbers in the urban areas expand rapidly, the result is either growing open unemployment as in South Africa, or an increasingly pressurised search for opportunities in an over-supplied small-scale informal sector. With higher incomes there would be a demand for more differentiated products, which would create opportunities for many of the firms currently operating in the small-scale sector. However, the source of these higher incomes can only be from exports.

Can wage jobs be created in the rural export sector? The answer to this question is almost certainly no. Again, GPRG research provides very specific insights. In the last two years, Ghana's major agricultural export – cocoa – has increased dramatically. While some of the increase in production may be the result of smuggling, it seems clear that output has doubled from 350,000 tonnes to over 700,000. Survey work on cocoa farming has shown that while this led to a substantial increase in the number of days worked, it led to a *fall* in the number of workers in the household. Many of these workers migrated to urban areas. This significant rise in labour productivity per person implies that, in the case of cocoa, rising output can still lead to an increase in the number of people seeking jobs in urban areas.

To summarise: it is only in urban-based export industries that the growth of employment can be rapid enough to absorb the rapid growth in labour supply, and such employment creation is how income growth can be directly linked to poverty reduction.

Aid, investment and infrastructure

While trade was one of the sources of growth identified by the Commission for Africa, it certainly did not give it the prominence I have. Given this, it is sensible to examine how the other elements of the Commission agenda – more aid, investment in infrastructure and a better investment climate – fit into a strategy of growth through exporting.

Africa has received far more aid than any other region of the world. As Figure 3 has shown, average growth in the 1990s in Africa was close to zero. If, as its advocates claim, aid has been effective at promoting growth in Africa, the implication of these statistics is that some other factor was offsetting the benefits of aid. Aid certainly has not led to the kind of sustained and rapid export growth that is required.

What then is the path to more rapid export growth? There is really only one, and that is ensuring exporting can be profitable for producers in Africa, whether this be small-scale African farmers producing coffee or cocoa, timber companies felling logs, firms exporting manufactured goods, or hotels serving tourists. The common element across this diverse range of activities on which the profitability of exporting depends, is the efficiency with which farms and firms operate. The stress on infrastructure in the Commission for Africa Report would be justified if it were implicitly an argument that infrastructure costs limit the profitability of exporting. Undoubtedly, there are instances where this is the case; but unless infrastructure investment is linked to exporting, it will fail. The continent of Africa is littered with large infrastructure projects that have failed to produce growth because this link to trade, which is the key to success, has not been understood.

The Commission for Africa Report – echoing the recent World Development Report – also argues the importance of the investment climate. If we take investment climate to mean the complex factors that render exporting unprofitable for so many of Africa's producers then, as I have argued, that is the central problem. Which policies matter most? Almost certainly those that promote manufacturing exports. Specifically, I believe that in order to move

towards a successful pattern of labour-intensive exporting firms, attention should be given to a combination of the following:

- **Larger firms using more labour to produce the output**
  requiring policies that encourage increased flexibility in the labour market

- **Larger firms with higher levels of efficiency than at present**
  requiring policies focused on the costs of doing business, access to better managerial techniques and more competition

- **Relaxing the constraints on entering the export market**
  requiring a combination of policies which make exporting a profitable option for firms, and macro-policies that favour the export sector generally.

If policy can link growth in income to employment creation, then the goals of the Commission for Africa in reducing poverty are achievable. If we get it right, then Africa's problem can be solved in less than a generation. If we get it wrong, then the next Report on Africa will make even grimmer reading than the current one.

Cocoa farming in Ghana: How do farmers increase output?

Andrew Zeitlin

The research programme of the GPRG has as one of its central questions how poor people get richer. Under the programme, work on firms has sought to address the issues of their low productivity and low rates of growth. In Ghana, firm size has contracted dramatically in recent years. In contrast, the work that is being carried out on farms shows evidence of substantial growth. As this growth has been concentrated in rural areas it has the potential to impact very directly on poverty. The question is, how can we explain the recent, dramatic expansion of cocoa output? Total output has risen from 321,321 tonnes to 736,000 tonnes from the 2001/02 to 2003/04 seasons. Given real cocoa prices 112 per cent and 116 per cent greater than their averages for the 1990s in these years, respectively, the expansion seems to demonstrate the sensitivity of cocoa output to price incentives. But important questions remain.

If the *incentives* for cocoa expansion are at least partly understood in terms of prices, the *means* of cocoa expansion are far from obvious. With land in finite supply, it is important to identify what part – if any – of the increase has occurred at the intensive margin. Thus, a fundamental question is whether the increase in total output has implied an increase in land and labour yields. It is also important to recognise that the economic incentives underlying an increase in cocoa production will depend on the costs of expansion as well as the returns to the additional output – the aforementioned price levels. To the extent that inputs such as fertilizer have been intensified during the current period, this will reflect prices and availability. Furthermore, as is perhaps most clear with respect to labour inputs on the farm, any intensification of inputs will also depend on outside opportunities: non-farm or non-cocoa uses for labour, or more generally,

the opportunities to invest working capital in other projects. In this respect – and because it suggests a link between labour demand in the cocoa sector and elsewhere in the economy – particular attention has been paid to the application of labour inputs on the farm. Below, we describe first the nature of the data employed before taking up each of these themes in turn.

Ghana Cocoa Farmers Survey 2002, 2004

The findings discussed here are based on the two waves of the Ghana Cocoa Farmers' Survey (GCFS), collected by the CSAE. Survey rounds took place in the summer of 2002 and in the early autumn of 2004. In each case, questions about cocoa production pertained to the preceding cocoa season – that is, September to August of 2001/02 and of 2003/04. Marcella Vigneri ran the first round. The second round of data collection was funded by the GPRG and carried out by Andrew Zeitlin.

The original 497 farmers surveyed in 2002 were selected as a representative sample of cocoa producers in the Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, and Western Regions of Ghana. Selection was based on those who identify cocoa farming as an income source in the Ghana Living Standards Survey 4 of 1998/99. Farmers come from 25 villages, with the most in the Western Region, followed by Ashanti and Brong Ahafo (see Table 1 below for details). Of the original sample, 443 were successfully re-interviewed in 2004. Additional farmers were added to the sample on the basis of random sampling within the selected villages, in order to allow for consistent geographic weighting in future studies. However, attention here will be focused on the members of the panel, that is, those farmers who were interviewed in both rounds. Analysis of the causes of sample attrition – and migration chiefly among them – is the subject of current work. The resulting geographic distribution is given in Table 1.

Table 1: Regional distribution of interviews

Region	2001/02	2003/04	Panel
Ashanti	125	125	113
Brong Ahafo	102	116	98
Western	265	274	232
Total	**492**	**515**	**443**

Source: GCFS 2002, 2004

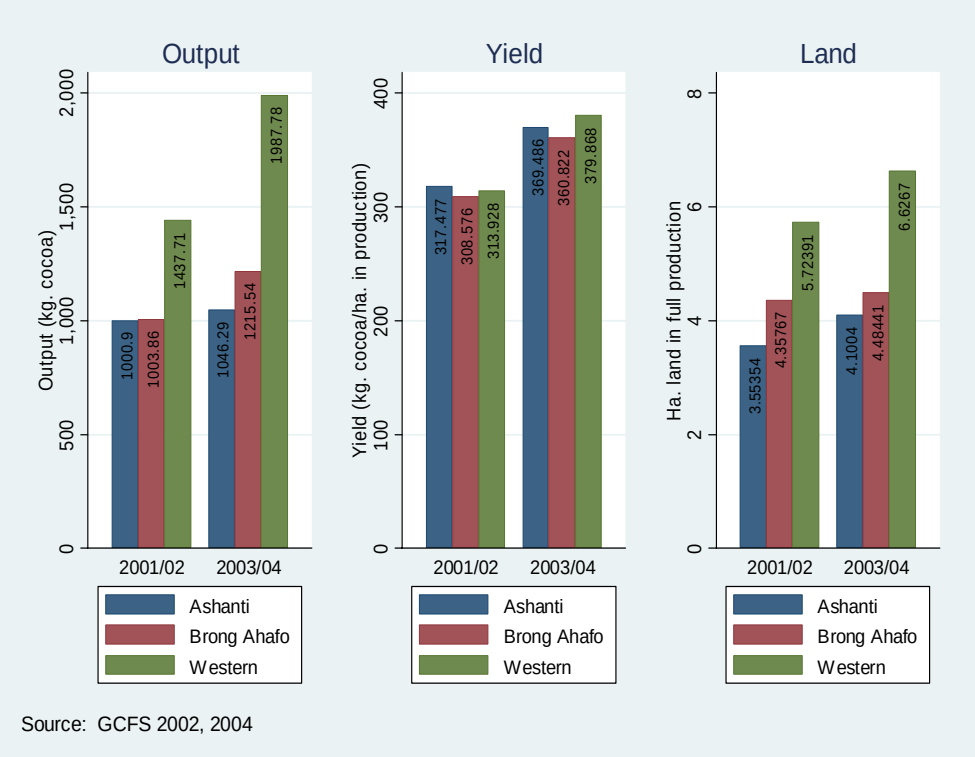
It should be borne in mind that such a sample allows only an investigation of some sources of growth in the cocoa sector. In particular, until the available census data have allowed re-sampling (one aim of a proposed third round of the survey), it is not possible to investigate increases in cocoa production that are due to new farming families, since these would not have been included in the sample of existing cocoa farmers at the time of GLSS 4. Thus, again it is not obvious a priori that merely because there has been increase in cocoa output at the national level, there should have been increases in output among existing farmers.

Outputs and yields

In fact, we do observe such an increase – mean output across the three regions has increased 31 per cent from its level of 1,231 kg in the 2001/02 season to 1,609 kg in 2003/04. The percentage increase in yields (over land in full production) is somewhat more muted: a 19 per cent increase, from 314 to 373 kg per hectare. The difference is accounted for by growth at the extensive margin: mean productive acreage has increased from 4.9 to 5.6 ha per farmer. It should also be noted that there has been only a slight decline in the percentage of cocoa land in full production – this has gone from 77 to 73 per cent of total land devoted to cocoa.

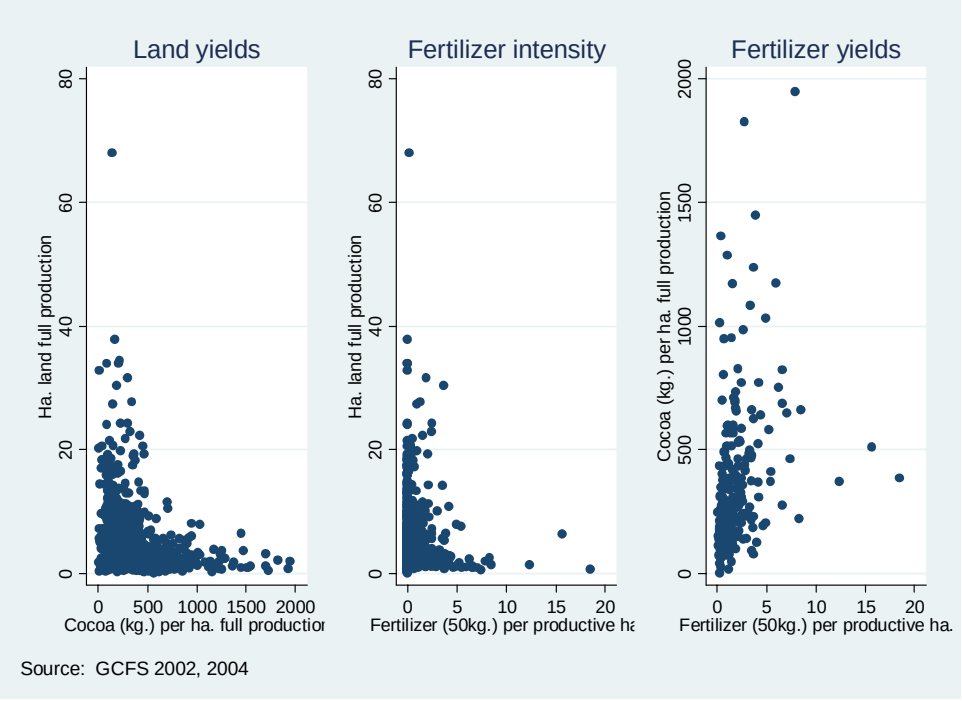
The regional distribution of these changes is illustrated in Figure 1. The three panels suggest that the scale of farming differs across regions. Clearly, farmers in the Western region produce the most, but this difference is accounted for in large part by differences in farm sizes, reflecting the relative abundance of land in this area. With an eye to the long-run prospects of the sector, we may be particularly concerned with sources of increases in yields.

Fig. 1: Mean outputs and yields by region and year



Source: GCFS 2002, 2004

Figure 2: Inverse productivity and fertilizer inputs



Source: GCFS 2002, 2004

In turn, the first panel of Figure 2 reveals striking, negative relationship between farm sizes and yields. This suggests that, at a more fine-grained level of detail than the regional averages, there are significant differences in cultivation methods. Large farms simply are not cultivated as intensively, so one would expect that growth in farm sizes will generally be offset in part by changing cultivation methods. At the other extreme, some small farms are able to achieve yields approaching those of experimental farms. A crucial question, therefore, is what enables these farmers to achieve such a result.

Factor intensities

An important part of the explanation for this inverse productivity relationship lies in the varying application of inputs across farm sizes. Clearly, input intensity is important only insofar as these inputs are effective in increasing production. This is confirmed in (multivariate) production function analysis – whereby instrumental variables approaches are capable of suggesting a causal relationship; and a sense of this relationship can be obtained by looking at the third panel of Figure 2. This displays the positive correlation between fertilizer intensity and yields among those farmers who used a positive amount of fertilizer. The second panel of Figure 2 reveals that there is a negative relationship between fertilizer intensity and farm size. This would be the case if, for example, farmers had access only to a limited amount of working capital, and so had to distribute fertilizer more thinly when farms were larger. Indeed, there is some evidence that in 2003/04 farmers simply distributed a fixed, subsidised bundle of fertilizer across their land, irrespective of farm size. Comparison of the first and second panels of Figure 2, then, is suggestive of the impact that this may have on land yields.

Moreover, increases in fertilizer use across the two rounds of study have been dramatic. Mean fertilizer use has increased from 0.44 bags to 5.14 bags, and the percentage of farmers using any fertilizer has increased from 10 to 48 per cent in this time. In light of the strong positive returns to fertilizer use, and in light of the fact that farmers have responded to changing incentives across the two years by dramatically increasing its application, the suggestion is that there is scope for substantial improvement in the output of the sector if factors constraining the use of fertilizer on large farms can be relaxed.

Labour inputs

Of crucial importance for both the output of the sector and for its relationship to the economy as a whole, is the changing use of labour inputs on the farm during this period. As revealed in Table 2, a striking finding of the GCFS is the 129 per cent increase in adult labour days between 2001/02 and 2003/04. Remarkably, the increase in labour days has been so dramatic that the real average revenue product of labour (per day) has even declined slightly across the two years (11 per cent) in spite of the increase in prices and total output, though this estimated decline is not statistically significant.

Table 2: Labour inputs

	2001/02			2003/04		
	Median	mean	sd	median	mean	sd
Person days						
tot. adult days	141	319.21	607.61	324	626.18	923.01
men days	6	42.05	82.8	86	164.39	500.73
women days	21	43.8	69.5	40	92.55	236.13
annual days	0	36.23	239.82	0	64.57	271.35
contract days	40	160.46	427.83	108.5	265.32	434.39
nnoboa days	0	29.94	146.08	0	22.73	89.29
Worker counts						
tot. adult count	17	24.49	30.82	7	9.46	10.08
men count	1	2.6	3.82	1	1.35	3.26
women count	2	2.86	2.71	1	1.28	3.27
annual count	0	1.42	5.85	0	0.55	1.51
contract count	7	10.9	22.11	3	4.42	5.12
nnoboa count	0	6.71	13.76	0	1.86	5.11
days land prep	0	33.29	215.11	60	149.02	492.56
Days by task						
days planting	0	23.42	68.72	30	75.83	144.50
days maint./weeding	80	196.9	436.78	126	235.13	357.66
days app. inputs	4	12	38.95	16	43.67	110.78
days harvesting	28	57.08	119.32	60	126.59	262.00
days land prep	0	33.29	215.11	60	149.02	492.56

Considering alongside this fact the observed decline in the number of individuals working on the farm ('worker counts' in Table 2), the data are consistent with a story of rural surplus labour. It has been possible for farmers to reduce the number of workers on the farm while increasing the number of days. Further, the decline in average revenue product is not surprising: neither as a productive fact, given diminishing marginal returns to labour; nor as an economic fact, given the possibility of changing outside opportunities, the extent to which labour inputs actually reflect long-term investments such as planting trees, and the possibility that revenue-sharing in the rural sector leaves households more concerned with the average than the marginal product of labour inputs (as in classic dual-economy theories of the rural sector). This finding has stimulated ongoing research into rural–urban migration during this period; and this new work investigates to what extent the price increase actually 'freed' household labour from the rural sector, enabling migration both for employment and for education purposes.

Conclusions

Research to date, presented to the Ghana Cocoa Board this autumn, suggests that there has been a substantial increase in the average output of farmers in the cocoa sector, and that this has only partly occurred at the extensive margin. Understanding the role of productive inputs – labour and non-labour – is crucial to understanding both the factors constraining further improvements in yields, and the linkages between the cocoa sector and the economy as a whole. It is hoped that this research will lay the foundation for future collaborations with the Ghana Cocoa Board, which will further our understanding of the issues uncovered above.

References

Maamah, Haruna, **Francis Teal** and **Andrew Zeitlin**, *Ghana Cocoa Farmers Survey 2004: Report to Ghana Cocoa Board*, http://www.gprg.org/pubs/reports/default.htm, 2005

Section 4: Summary of current research

GPRG research is organised around five themes, and each theme has a number of different projects associated with it. This section outlines the work going on within these themes, in addition to that highlighted in Section 2.

Theme 1: Poverty, intra-household allocation and well-being
Quantitative and qualitative approaches to the measurement of welfare
Anthropological approaches to understanding poverty
Gender bias in the intra-household allocation of educational expenditure

Theme 2: Income opportunities, inequality and the poor
Unemployment, race and poverty in South Africa
Income opportunities and employment in Africa
Impact of remittances on poverty
Inequality in Africa

Theme 3: Human capital, institutions and well-being
Returns to education in low skill economies
Modelling and measuring the impact of educational expenditures
Trajectories of livelihood change

Theme 4: Social capital, the provision of public services, and social safety nets
Social capital and development
Reproductive health and well-being
Social norms and economic man

Theme 5: Governance, social norms and social outcomes
NGOs and development
Governing redistribution: Economic empowerment, informalisation and property regimes
Microfinance and poverty reduction
Conflict, growth and political institutions

Theme 1: Poverty, intra-household allocation and well-being

Quantitative and qualitative approaches to the measurement of welfare

Over the course of 2005, the case for cross-disciplinary research in social science (espoused by Hulme and Toye, 2005) has been taken up by Clark (forthcoming), who focuses on the relative merits of different forms and mixes of cross-disciplinary work and considers some of the other challenges facing development studies in the twenty-first century. The lessons learned from this work have been used to inform ongoing research, most notably on the conceptualisation and measurement of poverty and well-being. One strand of this research makes the case for broadening existing conceptions of poverty and well-being in different ways. For example, Clark and Hulme have attempted to integrate time and multi-dimensionality into the conceptualisation and measurement of poverty. Another strand of research focuses on Sen's Capability Approach, and suggests that in developing and applying this framework, more space needs to be made for utility, subjective well-being and health issues, inter alia (e.g. Clark, 2005; De Jong, 2005; Kingdon and Knight, 2005). A third strand of research considers the pros and cons of different moral theories and schools of thought for evaluating social states (such as tenancy arrangements in India, as well as well-being more generally, e.g. Olsen, 2005; Clark, 2005; 2005a).

Recent publications

Clark, D.A., 'The capability approach: Its development, critiques and recent advances', GPRG Working Paper 32, 2005

Clark, D.A. and Qizilbash, M., 'Core poverty, basic capabilities and vagueness: An application to the South African context', GPRG Working Paper 26, 2005

Clark, D.A., 'Sen's capability approach and the many spaces of human well-being', *Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 41 (8), pp. 1339-1368, 2005

Clark, D.A. and **D. Hulme**, 'Towards a unified framework for understanding the depth, breadth and duration of poverty', GPRG Working Paper 20, 2005

Clark, D.A., 'Development studies in the twenty-first century', in D.A. Clark (ed.), *The Elgar Companion to Development Studies*, Edward Elgar: Cheltenham, forthcoming 2006

Hulme, D. and **J. Toye**, 'The case for cross-disciplinary social science research on poverty, inequality and well-being', *Journal of Development Studies*, forthcoming 2006

Kingdon, G. and **J. Knight**, 'Subjective well-being poverty versus income poverty and capabilities poverty?', *Journal of Development Studies*, forthcoming 2006

Lawson, D., A. McKay and J. Okidi, 'Poverty persistence and transitions in Uganda: A combined qualitative and quantitative analysis', *Journal of Development Studies*, forthcoming 2006

Qizilbash, M. and **D.A. Clark**, 'The capability approach and fuzzy measures of poverty: An application to the South African context', *Social Indicators Research*, Vol. 74 (1), pp. 103-139, 2005

Teal, F., 'Consumption and welfare in Ghana in the 1990s', *Journal of Development Studies*, forthcoming 2006

Anthropological approaches to understanding poverty

Since joining the group in March 2003, Maia Green has taken the lead on the methodological approaches that anthropology can bring to understanding poverty in itself, and as an object of development interventions. This has led to several papers, some dealing with anthropological approaches to 'poverty' as a category in development, and others dealing with how anthropology engages with development institutions and policy. She has undertaken two periods of

field research in Tanzania examining cultural attitudes towards poverty, wealth and ill-being, and the social construction of well-being in rural agricultural communities.

Recent publications

Green, M., 'A discourse on inequality: Poverty, public bads and entrenching witchcraft in post adjustment Tanzania', *Anthropological Theory*, Vol. 5 (3), pp. 247-266, 2005

Green M. and S. Mesaki, 'The birth of the 'salon': Poverty, modernization and dealing with witchcraft in Southern Tanzania', *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 32 (3), pp. 371-388, 2005

Green, M. and **D. Hulme**, 'From correlates and characteristics to causes: Thinking about poverty from a chronic poverty perspective', *World Development*, Vol. 33 (6), pp. 867-879, 2005

Green, M., 'International development, social analysis…and anthropology? Applying anthropology in and to development', in S. Pink (ed.), *Applications of Anthropology: Professional Anthropology in the Twenty-first Century*, London: Berghahn Books, pp. 110-129, 2005

Green, M., 'Representing poverty and attacking representations: Some anthropological perspectives on poverty in development', GPRG Working Paper 9, 2005 (A revised version of this paper is forthcoming in the *Journal of Development Studies*, 2006)

Gender bias in the intra-household allocation of educational expenditure

This project began by addressing the issue of gender bias in India. The gender gap in educational expenditure in Indian households was measured using the 1994 NCAER rural survey data from 33,000 households across 16 major states. Kingdon (2005) examines gender bias in educational expenditures both directly, by inspecting individual level expenditures, and also indirectly, using the household consumption-based (Engel curve) methodology. The paper investigates whether the indirect method confirms gender differences in educational expenditure in states where the direct method using individual-level data shows significant gender differences in educational expenditure. It does not. The research concludes that to reliably measure the gender gap in education expenditure, there is no substitute for individual-level data on expenditures. The study confirms that lower educational expenditures on girls are a within-household phenomenon.

In the current year, this work has been extended to Pakistan. The paper by Kingdon and Aslam (2005) has two objectives. First it tests the hypothesis that, in Pakistan, the allocation of household educational resources favours males over females. Secondly, it investigates possible reasons for the failure of extant studies to detect gender bias in contexts where it is expected to exist. Data from the Pakistan Integrated Household Survey (PIHS, 2001–2002) are used to address both questions.

The results suggest several conclusions. Even using the conventional Engel curve approach, robust evidence of a pro-male bias in educational expenditure is found especially in the 10–14 and 15–19 age-groups. Much of this differential treatment manifests itself in rural areas. The lack of evidence in the 5–9 age group is puzzling, given large gender differentials in enrolment. The Hurdle Models highlight why this is the case. While there is substantial evidence of strong *pro-male* bias in the binary decision whether to spend anything on education (the probit), there is weak *pro-female* bias in the conditional expenditure decision, i.e. the two potential channels of bias often go in opposite directions. In the older age groups, both channels typically work in the same direction, i.e.

reinforce each other. These results hold when using individual level data. Hurdle models are better able to detect gender bias in educational expenditure as compared to the conventional Engel curve approach, especially when using household level data. Controlling for unobserved household preferences by using household fixed effects, confirms that the large and significant pro-male biases in educational expenditures in Pakistan are a *within-household* phenomenon.

Recent publications

Aslam, M. and **G. Kingdon**, 'Gender and household education expenditure in Pakistan', GPRG Working Paper 025, 2005

Kingdon, G., 'Where has all the bias gone? Detecting gender bias in the household allocation of educational expenditure in India', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 53 (2), 2005

Theme 2: Income opportunities, inequality and the poor

Unemployment, race and poverty in South Africa

A new paper produced this year – Kingdon and Knight (2005) – advances the view that developments in the labour market hold the key to South African prosperity or penury. It is from the labour market that the income benefits from growing labour scarcity, or the threat to social and political stability from growing unemployment and underemployment, could emerge. The primary concern in the paper is with unemployment, and the informal employment that often disguises unemployment. However, in order to understand these phenomena it is necessary to consider a range of related indicators, such as the adult population, the labour force, labour force participation, and employment – distinguishing here between formal and informal employment, or between wage- and self-employment, and real wages and incomes.

The central policy problem is that the economy is unable to absorb productively all the current labour force or all the increment to the labour force. In the near-decade after the advent of democracy (1995–2003), the (narrow) labour force grew by 4.6 million and the broad labour force by 6.3 million (both by over 5 per cent per annum). By contrast, over the same period wage employment rose by only 1.3 million (1.8 per cent per annum), self-employment grew by 0.7 million (5.1 per cent per annum), and narrow and broad unemployment grew by 2.6 and 4.3 million respectively (both above 9 per cent per annum). Over that period the unemployment rate rose from 17 to 28 per cent on the narrow definition, and from 29 to 42 per cent on the broad definition. South Africa now has one of the highest rates of unemployment in the world, even on the official narrow (but potentially misleading) definition. Informal sector employment also grew, to absorb some of the increased labour force.

The growing divergence between labour supply and demand inevitably had a depressing effect on market-determined real wages. However, the wage sector, and in particular the formal wage sector, was relatively protected, thus pushing the burden of adjustment onto the self-employment sector, especially that part of it which had relatively free entry. Whereas real wages fell by 1.6 per cent per annum (and formal sector real wages by 0.5 per cent per annum) over the period 1997-2003, self-employment incomes fell dramatically in real terms, by 11.4 per cent per annum (and informal sector real wages by 7.8 per cent per annum over

those six years). The growth of large parts of this sector – with underemployed people eking out a living – is a sign of labour market failure rather than of success.

Recent publications

Kingdon, G. and **J. Knight**, 'How flexible are wages in response to local unemployment in South Africa?', GPRG Working Paper 015, 2005

Kingdon, G. and **J. Knight**, 'The measurement of unemployment when unemployment is high', *Labour Economics*, forthcoming 2006

Income opportunities and employment in Africa

In many African countries, the problem faced by young people of finding jobs has become an increasing focus of policy concern. There is a general trend for many sub-Saharan African countries by which the number of wage jobs in the private and public sector is seen to be increasingly inadequate for those leaving schools and entering the labour force for the first time. The average level of the qualifications of these young people is rising, but the jobs to which they aspire seem to be out of their reach. In the past, a good secondary school qualification would ensure a well-paying wage job. The fact that that is no longer the case is the cause of deep political dissatisfaction. The recent increase in democratic accountability in many African countries means that this is now a major political issue to which their leaders need to respond.

During the course of the last year, researchers at the CSAE have completed a major review of labour markets in Africa with the objective of understanding the factors that underlie the problems for young job seekers. (See 'Patterns of Labor Demand in sub-Saharan Africa: A Review paper' by Geeta Kingdon, Justin Sandefur and Francis Teal, which can be found at: http://www.gprg.org/pubs/reports/pdfs/2005-11-kingdon-sandefur-teal.pdf.) This review paper drew attention to some common features across the countries for which comparable data over the 1990s exist. The first is that while the level of wage employment has increased in absolute terms, the growth has been much lower than that of the labour force. The result of this imbalance between wage job growth and the growth of the labour supply has been either a rapid growth in the share of informal employment in total employment (Ghana, Uganda and Tanzania being the examples used in the Review paper), or high open unemployment (the most prominent example of this being South Africa).

We have been looking at the causes and consequences of this pattern of changing employment opportunities in Africa, focusing on two countries – Ghana and Tanzania. It is clear from the surveys carried out by the Ghanaian and Tanzanian statistical agencies that an increasing number of people, including young people, are finding work in the self-employment sector. The project is addressing several issues that arise from this shift from wage to self-employment activities. How do incomes from self-employment compare with incomes from wage employment? What are the implications for the growth of earnings over the life cycle? How do women fare relative to men in earnings between wage and self-employment?

Recent publications

Fafchamps, Marcel and Måns Söderbom, 'Wages and labor management in African manufacturing', *Journal of Human Resources*, forthcoming 2006

Kingdon, Geeta, Justin Sandefur and **Francis Teal**, 'Patterns of labor demand in sub-Saharan Africa. A review paper', (http://www.gprg.org/pubs/reports/pdfs/2005-11-kingdon-sandefur-teal.pdf), 2005

Kingdon, Geeta, Justin Sandefur and **Francis Teal**, 'Labor market flexibility, wages and incomes in sub-Saharan Africa in the 1990s', GPRG Working Paper 030, 2005

Rankin, Neil, Måns Söderbom and **Francis Teal**, 'Exporting from manufacturing firms in sub-Saharan Africa', GPRG Working Paper 036, 2005

Söderbom, Måns, **Francis Teal** and Alan Harding, 'The determinants of survival among African manufacturing firms', *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* forthcoming

Söderbom, Mans, **Francis Teal** and A. Wambugu, 'Unobserved heterogeneity and the relation between earnings and firm size: Evidence from two developing countries', *Economic Letters* , Vol. 87, pp. 153-159, 2005

Teal, Francis, 'How do the RPED surveys inform the debate on the investment climate', Berlin Workshop Series 2005, the World Bank, 2005

Impact of remittances on poverty

Following on from earlier work on the social–economic effects of international migrant transfers to poverty reduction, Sarah Bracking has developed a household field survey instrument to evaluate the relationship between migrant transfers, poverty reduction and the informalisation of the economy. Researching in Zimbabwe, the survey estimates how much activity in the economy is informalised, which leaves a significant query over the reliability of aggregate economic data, such as the measurability of GDP. There are also a number of other significant findings to emerge from this research: respondents' social networks are highly internationalised; much financial transfer is informal (and illegal); banks and financial institutions only store a small portion of this money; and consumption patterns, even in crisis circumstances, are closely correlated to identity symbols and cultural practice rather than nutritional base requisites (Bracking and Sachikonye, 2006).

Further work is required in order to address the implications of informalisation in the development policy regime, not least that some areas may be receiving development finance for poverty reduction when their aggregate economy, fuelled by informal migrant remittances, is less deserving by income measures than other areas in receipt of less money. The aim now is to expand the household surveys and spatially 'triangulate' between four research sites – Harare, Bulawayo, Limpopo and Gaberone – to map the regional informal financial network.

Recent publications

Bracking, S., 'Sending money home: Are remittances always beneficial to those who stay behind?', *Journal of International Development*, Vol. 15, pp. 633-644, 2003

Bracking, S., 'Impact of remittances on vulnerability - experiences from Zimbabwe', *Field Exchange*, Emergency Nutrition Network, Issue 21, p. 7, 2004

Inequality in Africa

Work on inequality is an important part of the research agenda for the GPRG. Over the last year we have recruited Dr Alexander Moradi, who has undertaken some highly innovative work seeking to measure the extent of changes in inequality in Africa. Reliable information on inequality within countries is extremely scarce, especially for Less Developed Countries (LDCs). Using anthropometric measures, Moradi (2005) extends the inequality database for sub-Saharan Africa to no less than 28 countries over six five-year periods from 1950 to 1980, and to some 200 regions within those countries. In this process, Moradi tests in depth the validity of objections against the derivation of inequality measures from height data. In a second step, he tests the determinants of inequality within and between the 200 regions under study. The set of explanatory variables includes protein supply, cash cropping, industrial structure, mineral resources, distance to the countries' capital, urbanisation, education, population density, and ethnic fractionalisation. It is found that monoculture cash cropping increases inequality, whereas diversified cash cropping has the opposite effect. Dr Moradi is planning to extend the study of heights into the first half of the 20th century and to work further on the problems posed on inferring inequality from height data.

Recent publications

Dercon, Stefan, 'The microeconomics of poverty and inequality: The equity-efficiency trade-off revisited', in AFD, Poverty, Inequality and Growth, Proceedings of the AFD-EUDN Conference, November 2004

Moradi, Alexander and Joerg Baten, 'Inequality in sub-Saharan Africa: New data and new insights from anthropometric estimates', World Development, Vol. 33 (8), pp. 1233-1265, 2005

Theme 3: Human capital, institutions and well-being

Returns to education in low skill economies

There is currently a rapid increase in applied work on the economics of education. This reflects in part the increased analysis of the education sector and its problems in various developing countries, sponsored by country governments and donor agencies. It also reflects the progressively greater availability of data over time to analyse education issues. Within the GPRG we have been working on data that allows comparison across relatively long periods of time for the return to education in both Kenya and Tanzania.

There is now evidence that the wage return to primary schooling has fallen and is now lower than that to secondary education and higher education in many developing countries. Our work at the GPRG has confirmed this for Kenya and Tanzania. Policies for poverty reduction have generally emphasised the attainment of primary schooling. For instance, the Millennium Development Goals adopt universal primary school completion as the major educational goal in support of the broader aim to halve world poverty by 2015. However, if the pattern of returns to schooling has changed over time so that economic returns to primary education are now the lowest, and to higher education the greatest, this has profound implications for poverty reduction policies. In particular, it means that the poor need to go well beyond primary schooling if they are to

obtain high labour-market returns. This project has incorporated DPhil work being undertaken at the CSAE by Godius Kahyarara.

Recent publications

Kahyarara, G., M. Söderbom, **F. Teal** and A. Wambugu, 'The dynamics of returns to education in Kenyan and Tanzanian manufacturing', *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics*, forthcoming 2006

Kingdon, G., 'Education and development', in D.A. Clark (ed.), *The Elgar Companion to Development Studies*, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, forthcoming 2006

Modelling and measuring the impact of educational expenditures

In this part of the GPRG programme we are looking at the factors that influence the effectiveness of schools. In GPRG Working Paper 14, data from a school survey in India is used to ask whether there is evidence for the payment of performance-related pay and whether such pay structures do impact on student achievement. It is shown that – after controlling for student ability, parental background and the resources available – private schools get significantly better academic results by relating pay to achievement; government schools do not. In the paper, possible interpretations of this result are discussed.

Recent publications

Kingdon, Geeta and **Francis Teal**, 'Does performance related pay for teachers improve student performance? Some evidence from India', GPRG Working Paper 014, 2005

Kingdon. G., 'Private and public schooling: The Indian experience', PEPG Working Paper 05-15, Program on Education Policy and Governance, Harvard University, October 2005

Trajectories of livelihood change

This research examines earnings opportunities for poor people in Indian contexts and includes three main sub-areas. Firstly, secondary data is being used to review agricultural productivity differences across farm types in the context of a growing female contribution to the labour of farming. Secondly, primary data from two villages are being collected to examine strategic choices made at household and individual level regarding strategies for exiting poverty, including tenancy as a strategy. Thirdly, the possibility that trajectories for exiting poverty might include attempts to rent land will be considered using detailed case studies and/or life histories. Some implications for agencies which support agricultural development, and which provide inputs, extension, credit and infrastructure will be discussed after the final analysis of the data.

Previous studies show that national data sets understate the extent of tenancy. The literature review conducted in 2003 showed that existing theoretical options for studying tenancy also leave a few gaps. In order to offset these gaps, the research will explore how strategies are negotiated within households; how legal and institutional factors mediate the polarising or other impact of tenancy on income distribution; and how the meanings and impact of tenancy differ between social classes and individuals.

Recent publications

Olsen, W., 'Methodological triangulation and realist research: An Indian case study', in C. New and B. Carter (eds), *Making Realism Work: Realist Social Theory and Empirical Research*, London: Routledge, 2003

Olsen, W., 'Globalisation, liberalisation and a paradox of social exclusion in Sri Lanka', in A.H.

Carling (ed.), *Globalisation and Identity: Development and Integration in a Changing World*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2005

Olsen, W., 'Pluralism, poverty and sharecropping: Cultivating open-mindedness in development studies', *Journal of Development Studies*, forthcoming 2006

Theme 4: Social capital, the provision of public services, and social safety nets

Social capital and development

Both the meaning of the term social capital and its usefulness to social science research have been hotly disputed subjects, and have led to animated debates at GPRG research meetings. This is in part due to the fact that different disciplines have adopted the term, and while in principle it might be thought that it would provide a bridge across disciplines, in practice that has not proved to be the case. The work within the GPRG on this topic reflects the diversity of approach that can be taken. Some of the work approaches the topic from a development studies perspective, in which the use of the term social capital is discussed within the context of how the concept was used as part of the research or policy agenda of actors in the development process. Such an approach stands in marked contrast to how economists have sought to make use of the concept. In their approach, the term is identified with some dimension of the process by which outputs are obtained, and an attempt is made to measure how much this measure affects output. Work within the group has identified areas where this approach has been more or less successful.

The paper by Ayalew, Dercon and Gautam [GPRG-WPS-021] provides evidence from one of the poorest countries of the world that the institutions of property rights matter for efficiency, investment and growth. With all land state-owned, the threat of land redistribution never appears far off the agenda. Land rental and leasing have been made legal, but transfer rights remain restricted and the perception of continuing tenure insecurity remains quite strong. Using a unique panel data set, this study investigates whether transfer rights and tenure insecurity affect household investment decisions, focusing on trees and shrubs. The panel data estimates suggest that limited perceived transfer rights, and the threat of expropriation, negatively affects the long-term investment in Ethiopian agriculture, contributing to the low returns from land and perpetuating low growth and poverty.

Recent publications

Ayalew, Daniel, **Stefan Dercon** and Madhur Gautam, 'Property rights in a very poor country: Tenure insecurity and investment in Ethiopia', GPRG Working Paper 021, 2005

Bebbington, A., L. Dharmawan, E. Farmi and S. Guggenheim, 'Local capacity, village governance and the political economy of rural development in Indonesia', *World Development*, forthcoming 2006

Bebbington, A. and **U. Kothari**, 'Network ethnographies: Life, livelihood and politics in transnational development relationships', *Environment and Planning*, forthcoming 2006

Cox, Donald and **Marcel Fafchamps**, 'Extended family and kinship networks', *Handbook of Agricultural Economics*, Volume 4, forthcoming 2006

Durlauf, Steven and **M. Fafchamps**, 'Empirical studies of social capital: A critical survey', in Steven Durlauf et al. (eds), *Handbook of Economic Growth,* Vol. 3, Oxford: Elsevier, 2005

Fafchamps, Marcel and Bart Minten, 'Crime, transitory poverty, and isolation: Evidence from

Madagascar', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, forthcoming 2006
Fafchamps, Marcel and Agnes Quisumbing, 'Assets at marriage in rural Ethiopia', *Journal of Development Economics*, Vol. 77 (1), pp. 1-25, 2005
Fafchamps, Marcel and Agnes Quisumbing, 'Household formation and marriage markets', Handbook of Agricultural Economics, Vol. 4, forthcoming 2006

Reproductive health and well-being

Dr DeJong has undertaken research on this issue through desk-based conceptual and empirical reviews. Increasing evidence is available to suggest that globally reproductive health problems account for a heavy burden of ill-health as well as preventable mortality, and therefore represent a significant component of the lack of well-being in developing countries. Yet to date, for a number of reasons, there has been insufficient dialogue between advocates or researchers of reproductive health and those within the wider development domain. Historical focus on reducing population growth has been the main area of interface between these two fields. Only recently has there been international recognition of the importance of maternal mortality as the health indicator with greatest discrepancy between North and South, and a move away from promoting population policies to reduce fertility and instead towards policies which recognise the contribution of reproductive health to development (DeJong, 2000). This work has considerable importance in relation to the achievement of the 'maternal mortality' Millennium Development Goal.

Recent publications

DeJong, J., 'La santé reproductive au Moyen-Orient: Un program d'action défini au niveau international?', in Sylvia Chiffoleau (ed.), *Politiques de santé sous influence internationale,* Paris/Lyon: Maisonneuve et Larose/Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, forthcoming
DeJong, J., R. Jawad, I. Mortagy and B. Shepard, 'The sexual and reproductive health of young people in the Arab States and Iran', *Reproductive Health Matters*, Vol. 13 (25), pp. 49-59, 2005
DeJong, J., 'Arab states: Women and sexually transmitted diseases', *Encyclopaedia of Women in Islamic Countries*, forthcoming 2006

Social norms and economic man

Abigail Barr, Magnus Lindelow, Jose Garcia-Montalvo and Pieter Serneels have been investigating a range of issues relating to the role of social norms in development. GPRG Working Paper 18 asks a number of important questions: are new recruits to the development frontline intrinsically motivated in a way that may prevent them from becoming unproductive or corrupt? Are they likely to remain thus motivated as their careers progress? The authors seek answers to these questions using both survey and experimental data relating to a sample of Ethiopian nursing and medical students. They find that, according to four, arguably salient measures, the majority of the students are intrinsically motivated. They also find evidence that intrinsic motivations are socially rather than individually determined, may change as individuals' social contexts change, and may be eroded by exposure to an environment in which unproductive behaviour is endemic.

Another GPRG paper [GPRG-WPS-033] investigates issues related to the delivery of health care in rural areas. Geographical imbalances in the health workforce have been a consistent feature of nearly all health systems, and especially in developing countries. In the paper, they investigate the willingness to

work in a rural area among final year nursing and medical students in Ethiopia. Analysing data obtained from contingent valuation questions, they find that household consumption and the students' motivation to help the poor, which is their proxy for intrinsic motivation, are the main determinants of willingness to work in a rural area. They investigate who is willing to help the poor, and find that women are significantly more likely than men. Other variables, including a rich set of psychosocial characteristics, are not significant. Finally, they carry out some simulations on how much it would cost to make the entire cohort of starting nurses and doctors choose to take up a rural post.

Recent publications

Alvard, M., **A. Barr**, S. Bowles, R. Boyd, C. Camerer, J. Ensminger, E. Fehr, F. Gil-White, H. Gintis, M. Gurven, J. Henrich, K. Hill, F. Marlowe, R. McElreath, J. Patton, N. Smith and D. Tracer, "Economic man' in cross-cultural perspective', *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, Vol. 28 (6), 2005

Barr, Abigail, Magnus Lindelow, Jose Garcia-Montalvo and Pieter Serneels, 'Intrinsic motivations on the development frontline: Do they exist? Do they endure?' GPRG Working Paper 033, 2005

Serneels, Pieter, Magnus Lindelow, Jose Garcia-Montalvo and **Abigail Barr**, 'For public service or money: Understanding geographical imbalances in the Health Workforce' GPRG Working Paper 18, 2005

Theme 5: Governance, social norms and social outcomes

The final theme for the research group is another aspect of well-being which has been the subject of much recent research, that of governance.

NGOs and development

Anthony Bebbington has participated in the GPRG since his appointment at Manchester in 2003. He was the co-convenor of the GPRG funded 'Reclaiming development: Assessing the contribution of NGOs to development alternatives' conference in June 2005, which has built on the earlier work of David Hulme.

A particularly innovative aspect of GPRG work has been the quantitative analysis of NGO activity. The research instruments that have been used to analyse both household and firm data have been developed by GPRG researchers at the CSAE to investigate issues of institutional quality. In Uganda, the NGO sector has been growing in size since the 1980s. As donors and governments try to work more closely with NGOs, there has been a growing need for accurate data on the activities and capacity of the sector. The Ugandan government's motivation for this NGO survey is its desire to upgrade its partnership with the NGO sector. It is the intention of the government to promote this partnership and to enhance and upgrade the capacity of NGOs, in order to enable the NGO sector to participate effectively in service delivery, and raise the pace of development in rural areas and in poverty eradication nationwide.

The World Bank is conducting a study of NGOs as service providers in developing countries. The objectives of the study are to describe the work of development NGOs in Bangladesh and Uganda, assess their effectiveness and efficiency, analyse resource flows to and from NGOs and incentives within the organisations, and understand what factors motivate NGOs and their staff. To that end, the World Bank is collaborating with the GPRG to compile, clean, and

analyse data from surveys of NGOs in Uganda and Bangladesh, and then to co-author academic papers based on the data.

Recent publications

Barr, Abigail, Marcel Fafchamps and T. Owens, 'The resources and governance of non-governmental organizations in Uganda,' *World Development*, Vol. 33 (4), pp. 657-679, 2005

Barr, Abigail and **Marcel Fafchamps**, 'A client-community assessment of the NGO sector in Uganda', *Journal of Development Studies*, forthcoming 2006

Bebbington, Anthony, 'Donor-NGO relations and representations of livelihood in nongovernmental aid chains', *World Development,* Vol. 33 (6), pp. 937-950, 2005

Bebbington, Anthony and Armando Barrientos, 'Knowledge generation for poverty reduction within donor organizations', GPRG Working Paper, 2005

Bebbington, Anthony and S. Hickey, 'NGOs and civil society', in D.A. Clark (ed.), *The Elgar Companion to Development Studies*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, forthcoming 2006

Woodhouse, Phil, 'Local identities of poverty: Poverty narratives in decentralized government and the role of poverty research in Uganda', GPRG Working Paper 013, 2005

Governing redistribution: Economic empowerment, informalisation and property regimes

Earlier theoretical work on social justice and redistribution in southern Africa examined the poverty-reducing limitations of incrementalist development policy, which traditionally leaves historically unjust property regimes sufficiently unaffected by economic policy as to remain determinant in subsequent patterns of income distribution (Bracking, 2004). In this work, Bracking argued for democratic accountability in good economic governance in southern Africa, in the absence of any other ontologically fixed normative measure of economic justice which could regulate the redistribution of resources through empowerment policy.

In recent work, Bracking has further developed the theme of the critical formative power of neo-liberal economics, using new research concerning economic representations of African social reality, juxtaposed to the historical legacy of post-colonialism in that reality. This work performs an 'acts of translation' of IMF research to show how representations of African economies relate to imperatives of operational programming designed for African societies. It also critically assesses the socio-political context of economic calculation and use of statistics in sub-Saharan Africa, how 'numbers' are produced badly, inaccurately and with incomplete parameters, but more critically, how they are produced to fit conceptions of social practice and economic crisis and abjection, despite both ontological and methodological non-correspondence between what is being measured, and that which statisticians assume they are measuring. Further research is planned to examine the process of knowledge production in the making of development policy, and in particular in terms of the use of rather outdated and Eurocentric indicators such as GDP. The relationship between socio-cultural practices and the economic activity measurable by economists, in critical areas such as informal migrant transfers (see Theme 2) and corruption, is critical to the success of development planning and intervention.

Recent publications

Bracking, S., 'Neoclassical and structural analysis of poverty: Winning the 'economic kingdom' for the poor', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 25 (5), pp. 887-901, 2004

Bracking, S., 'Development denied: Autocratic militarism in post-election Zimbabwe', *Review of*

African Political Economy, Vol. 32 (104/5), pp. 341-357, 2005
Bracking, S., 'Guided miscreants: Liberalism, myopias and the politics of representation', *World Development*, pp. 1011-1024, 2005
Bracking, S., 'Contemporary political economies of sub-Saharan Africa: The post-colonial legacy of multiple narratives', *Afriche e Orienti,* forthcoming 2006
Hickey, S. and **S. Bracking** (eds), 'Exploring the politics of poverty reduction: How are the chronically poor represented, *World Development*, Special issue, pp. 1851-1027, 2005
Hickey, S. and **S. Bracking**, 'Exploring the politics of poverty reduction: From representation to a politics of justice?', *World Development*, pp. 851-865, 2005
Hickey, S., 'The politics of staying poor: Exploring the political space for poverty reduction in Uganda', *World Development,* pp. 995-1009, 2005

Microfinance and poverty reduction

Professor David Hulme has continued his work on micro-finance, drafting fresh papers for the 2005 conference of the Canadian International Development Association (Hulme, 2005) and local development journals (Hulme and Moore, forthcoming). During 2005, his work on microfinance has been presented to user groups such as the Microfinance Club of London (a group of 70 businessmen), Canary Wharf, November 2005. Other microfinance presentations have been made to Citigroup, HSBC, and the Standard Chartered Bank, which approached Professor Hulme for advice on their policies and plans to enter the microfinance market in Asia.

Recent publications

Hulme, D., 'Why has microfinance been a policy success?', Canadian Association for International Development (CASID) Conference, *Paradoxes of Citizenship: Environments, Exclusions and Equity*, University of Western Ontario, Canada, June 2005
Hulme, D. and K. Moore, 'Thinking small, and thinking big about poverty: Maymana and Mofizul's story updated', *Bangladesh Development Studies,* forthcoming 2006

Conflict, growth and political institutions

During the course of the year under review, Paul Collier's input into the work of the GPRG has continued to increase. His work on conflict and growth is central to that aspect of the GPRG research agenda which is looking at governance issues. In Africa one of the most important governance issues is how resource rents are used.

In GPRG Working Paper 16, Collier and Hoeffler argue that resource-rich countries have tended to be autocratic and also have tended to use their resource wealth badly. The new democratisation in resource-rich countries might appear to offer the hopeful prospect of a better use of their economic opportunities. Their analysis questions such hopes.

They first set out a simple model of democratic politics in which they distinguish between two dimensions of democracy: electoral competition and the checks and balances that enforce due process. Within the model, in certain conditions politicians find it more effective to compete by providing private patronage than by providing public goods. In the conditions typical of developing countries, resource rents make such patronage politics more likely by reducing the intensity of public scrutiny, and thereby increasing the resources available for patronage. Further, once the political contest comes to be by means of patronage, resource rents are predicted to have perverse effects, actually reducing the provision of public goods. Using new data on the value of resource

rents, they test these propositions.

They find that in developing countries the combination of resource rents and democracy has been significantly growth-reducing. In the absence of resource rents, democracies outperform autocracies; in the presence of large resource rents, autocracies outperform democracies. They were able to trace this adverse effect of democracy, first through a generalised measure of economic policy, and then to the more specific policy errors of insufficient investment and reduced returns on investment. They find that the antidote to these adverse effects of democracy is intensified checks and balances, including, specifically, the freedom of the press. Thus, resource-rich democracies need a distinctive form of democracy, strong on checks and balances with perhaps less emphasis upon electoral competition.

Recent publications

Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler, 'Democracy and resource rents', GPRG Working Paper 016, 2005

Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler, 'Military expenditure in post-conflict societies', *Economics of Goverance*, Vol. 7, pp. 89-107, 2005

Collier, Paul and A. Hoeffler, 'The political economy of secession', in E.F. Babbitt and H. Hannum (eds), *Negotiation Self-Determination*, Lexington Books: Lanham MD, 2006

Appendix A: GPRG Policy Committee

Mr R.A. Annibale, Vice-President, Managing Director, Citigroup, London

Mr C. Badenoch, Chief Executive, World Vision

Professor W. Beinart, Director, Centre for African Studies, St Antony's College

Mr D.L. Bevan, Research Associate, CSAE, and Fellow of St John's College, University of Oxford

Professor P. Collier, Director, CSAE, University of Oxford

Professor S. Dercon, Professor of Development Economics, University of Oxford, and Fellow of Wolfson College

Dr M. Fafchamps, Deputy Director, CSAE, University of Oxford

Mr C. Goodwin, Chair, Global Minerals and Metals Corp.

Sir M. Goulding, KCMG, Warden, St Antony's College, University of Oxford

Professor D. Hulme, Professor of Development Studies, IDPM, University of Manchester, Director, CPRC, University of Manchester, Co-Director, GPRG, Leverhulme Research Fellow (2006–2009)

Mr R. Jones, Manager of Corporate Relations and CSR, Premier Oil

Mr J. Kibazo, Director of Communications and Public Affairs Division, Commonwealth Secretariat

Professor J.B. Knight, Department of Economics, University of Oxford

Sir T. Lankester, President, Corpus Christi College, University of Oxford

Sir M. McWilliam, KCMG, Chair, CSAE Policy Committee

Ms R. Stevenson, Head, Africa Policy Department, Department for International Development

Dr F. Teal, Deputy Director, CSAE, University of Oxford, Co-Director, GPRG

Mr T. Thiam, Director, Group Strategy and Development, AVIVA Plc

Dr P. Woodhouse, Institute for Development Policy and Management, University of Manchester

Appendix B: Staff and their areas of specialisation

Abigail Barr, Research Officer: Behavioural and experimental economics applied to development issues.

Tony Bebbington, Professor of Management in International Development: Rural development and rural livelihoods, nongovernmental organizations, social movements and indigenous organizations, political ecology.

Sarah Bracking, Lecturer in Politics and Development: International political economy, democratisation and governance, southern African political change, politics of poverty reduction.

Admos Chimhowu, Lecturer in Development Studies: Agrarian change and social transformation, land reforms, poverty and livelihoods, migration, remittances and poverty, spatial inequality.

David Clark, Research Associate, GPRG and IDPM: Conceptualisation and measurement of poverty, well-being, capability approach, justice and human development, political economy, economic philosophy and methodology.

Paul Collier, Director, CSAE and Fellow of St Antony's College: Governance in low-income countries, especially the political economy of democracy, economic growth in Africa, economics of civil war, aid, globalization and poverty.

Alessandro Conticini, Research Associate: Specialist in urban studies and child poverty.

Jocelyn DeJong, Lecturer: Health and development.

Stefan Dercon, Professor of Development Economics and Fellow of Wolfson College: Microeconomics, poverty and welfare analysis.

Marcel Fafchamps, Deputy Director CSAE, Reader in the Department of Economics, Fellow of Mansfield College: Microeconomics.

Maia Green, Senior Lecturer: Scenario building/poverty futures, traditional medicine and entrepreneurship.

Sam Hickey, Lecturer in International Development: Politics and poverty reduction, citizenship and participatory development, NGOs and social movements.

David Hulme, Professor of Development Studies: Poverty and poverty-reduction policies, microfinance, social development policy and planning, rural sociology, public sector reform, NGO strategy and performance, environmental management, decentralisation.

Geeta Kingdon, Research Officer: Applied microeconomics of education, labour and gender.

John Knight, Professor of Economics and Fellow of St Edmund Hall: Labour and human resource economics.

Uma Kothari, Senior Lecturer: Social development, gender and development, agrarian change and rural development, processes of migration, industrialisation and export-processing zones, history and theories of development, colonialism and development.

David Lawson, Lecturer: Development economics, poverty, chronic poverty, health, health care, microeconometrics, household economics, pensions.

Alexander Moradi, Research Officer: Economics of undernutrition, biological standard of living in LDCs, nutrition and violent conflicts

Wendy Olsen, Lecturer in Socio-Economic Research: Comparative labour market studies, poverty and inequality, social research methodology.

Rose Page, Administrator, CSAE.

Richard Payne, IT Support Officer, CSAE.

Francis Teal, Deputy Director CSAE: Microeconomics of firms and labour market.

John Toye, Senior Research Associate, Queen Elizabeth House: Development economics and the political economy of development.

Pedro Vicente, Research Officer: Corruption, microeconomics of institutional/political issues in development.

Phil Woodhouse, Lecturer in Environment and Rural Development: Institutional aspects of natural resource use and environmental management, the impact of technological, socio-economic and political change on agriculture and other forms of land and water use.

Appendix C: Visitors

Alastair Greig, School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, October 2004 to January 2005

Abla Safir, France, February 2005

Philippe Lemay Boucher, University of Namur, April to July 2005

Marco van der Leij, Erasmus University, Rotterdam, May to June 2005

Imran Matin, Director of Research, BRAC, Bangladesh, June 2006

Cheryl Doss, Yale, June to July 2005

Doug Gollin, Williams College, June to July 2005

Mohammad Muzammil, Lucknow University, September 2005

Michael Woolcock, World Bank, September 2005

Joseph Stiglitz, Colombia University, October 2005

Rosemary Atieno, University of Nairobi, January to March 2006

Harvard Strand, PRIO, January to May 2006

Ingo Outes, London School of Economics, February to April 2006

Michael Carter, University of Wisconsin, Madison, March 2006

J. Atsu Amegashie, University of Guelph, May 2006

Michael Edwards, Director, Ford Foundation, USA, June 2006

Appendix D: Bibliography

Abigail Barr

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Barr, Abigail and Abena Oduro, 'Ethnic fractionalization in an African labour market', *Journal of Development Economics*, vol. 68 (2), pp. 355-79, 2002.

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Tony Bebbington

Batterbury, S., **Anthony Bebbington**, S. Duvall, D. Lewis, E. Olson, G. Shah and M. S. Siddiqi, 'Practice, power and meaning: frameworks for studying organisational culture in multi-agency rural development projects', *Journal of International Development*, vol. 15, pp. 541-57, 2003.

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Bebbington, Anthony, 'El capital social en el desarrollo: Téoria, concepto, estrategia', in I. Arriagada and F. Miranda (eds), *Capital Social: Potencialidades Analíticas y Metodológicas para la Superación de la Pobreza*. Santiago: United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, 2004.

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Sarah Bracking

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Admos Chimhowu

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David Clark

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