

DIALOGUE

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Editorial

In this issue, we present the first results of the research project “Dynamics of Rural Poverty in Madagascar”. The studies are based on data collected via the Rural Observatories Network (RON) which, although they are not representative, are at present the only source of longitudinal data collected in rural Madagascar and the only African database compiled over such a long period. The network is the result of a major investment in data collection by DIAL through the MADIO project.

The first observations to be made from these studies are that households’ consumption in current terms increased in most observatories during the period under concern and that poverty fell, although there are large disparities between agro-ecological regions. With regard to demographic issues, follow-up surveys reveal frequent changes in households’ structure (splits, re-marriages, etc.), that often give rise to child “fostering”. Most fostered children are found to live with their grandparents. The causes and economic consequences of such an instability will be the subject of future research. As for risk management, we find that the shocks suffered by the parents have an impact on their decisions to send children to school. More precisely, exogenous income shocks have a significant impact on the probability of dropping out from school, but not on the probability of entering into school. Whereas the parents seem to favour girls with respect to education, school dropout is more frequent among elder children. Finally, on the question of intergenerational wealth transfers, the results show strong gender inequalities in terms of inheritance, with sons being favoured overall for transfers of land. In addition, the positive assortive matching of spouses on the marriage market (“rich” marrying “rich”, “poor” marrying “poor”) is not a means for women with low land endowments to escape poverty.

In September 2006, DIAL was co-organiser of the 7th meeting of the Economic Analysis and Development network of the *Agence Universitaire de la Francophonie* on the theme: “*Institutions, economic development and transition.*” Nearly 100 papers were presented at the conference, held at the IRD headquarters in Paris, half by researchers from the Maghreb and sub-Saharan Africa and 20 by DIAL researchers.

Jacky Fayolle took over as head of the DIAL economic interest group in January 2007, succeeding Jean-Pierre Cling, who is joining the DIAL team in Vietnam. A new DIAL research sub-unit was opened there in mid-2006, when two researchers, Mireille Razafindrakoto and François Roubaud, were posted to the Statistical Research Centre of the GSO (General Statistics Office). The programme studies the current economic and social transition in Vietnam.



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DYNAMICS OF RURAL POVERTY IN MADAGASCAR

Multilateral aid agencies have made the fight against poverty a key priority and it is a central component of current economic policies in many developing countries. The refocusing of development policies on the question of poverty is to a great extent related to the persistence, and even the growth of the phenomenon in certain regions of the world, particularly in many countries in sub-Saharan Africa. This has led to renewed scientific debate on the persistence of poverty, on the strategies adopted by the populations to increase their living standards and on the effectiveness of pro-poor public policies.

Based on the case of Madagascar and using dynamic, multi-disciplinary approaches, in the following pages we will present a few results from the research project “Dynamics of Rural Poverty in Madagascar”. The project is designed to analyse the factors involved in the persistence of poverty in rural areas through three main areas of research:

1. The measurement and analysis of poverty dynamics in rural areas;
2. The study of micro-economic risk management behaviour;
3. The study of intergenerational transfers of physical and human capital.

In doing so, the project aims at improving methodologies for observing and analysing poverty and to provide useful information for designing poverty reduction policies in rural areas.

We chose to study Madagascar for two main reasons. The first relates to the specific nature of the Malagasy economy, which is characterised by a backward primary sector, with a far lower growth rate than for industry or services (Razafindrakoto and Roubaud, 2002). This poor performance can partly be explained by the fact that the farming sector is highly dependent on unforeseeable natural hazards. It also reflects the more structural problem of the lack of dynamism in country areas, the causes of which must be identified. The second reason relates to the fact that the researchers involved in the project wish to put to good use the heavy statistical investment made by DIAL in Madagascar since 1995 through the MADIO project (Roubaud,

2003). The Rural Observatories are the results of this investment. They provide a longitudinal database that is unique in Africa today (Table 1).¹

The Rural Observatories Network, an original concept for collecting data in rural areas

Despite considerable conceptual and methodological progresses in poverty analysis, most empirical studies on poverty simply carry out an analysis of the well-being of individuals or households at a given point in time, measured with respect to their income or consumption. The shortage of studies on poverty dynamics, which can be explained to a great extent by the scarcity of panel data, makes it impossible to make a diagnosis of the evolutions currently taking place, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. The role of the Rural Observatories consists in building panels of households and individuals that can serve for dynamic poverty analysis.

Data from the Rural Observatories are collected through an original survey system designed and introduced, in 1995 by researchers from DIAL, in partnership with the National Statistical Institute of Madagascar (INSTAT), through the MADIO project (Droy, Ratovoariny and Roubaud, 2000). The initial aim of the project was to produce data to allow research on many different themes: cash crops for the Antalaha observatory (North-East), mixed farming for the Antsirabe observatory (High Plateau Region), irrigated ricefields for the Marovoay observatory (West) and problems relating to aridity and fishing for the coastal observatory in Tuléar (south). After an experimental stage (from 1995 to 1999) limited to 4 “historical” sites, the number of Rural Observatories was extended in order to give a better picture of the diversity of Madagascar.

¹ Since the beginning of 2004, the research project “Dynamics of Rural Poverty” has received financial support from the French Ministry of Research under the ACI initiative, “Sociétés et cultures dans le développement durable”. The project groups several IRD researchers and researchers from Madagascar. This financial support has enabled us to design and carry out three surveys in Madagascar, to add to the existing data. It also enabled us to organise a conference on “Rural Poverty in Madagascar”, which will be held in Antananarivo in spring 2007 (more information on the DIAL website: www.dial.prd.fr).

The data collection system, which is now called the Rural Observatories Network (RON), currently includes about fifteen Observatories in which 500 households are surveyed each year. Although they are not representative, the Rural Observatories are at present the only source of longitudinal data collected in rural Madagascar.

Several complementary surveys were also added to the existing system for the purposes of the research project. The content of these surveys is described in more detail in the presentation of the project and the results.

Poverty trends in rural areas: contrasting results

The first phase of the project was mainly methodological and descriptive. A large amount of work was done to build a database from the existing data. Long-term series on household expenditure and income had to be drawn up, which meant matching households over the whole period and harmonising annual data files in order to build a coherent indicator of well-being over the period (Robilliard, 2001). The first results showed that households' consumption in current terms increased over the 1996-2003 period in most Observatories (Graph 1). However, this general trend hides large disparities between agro-ecological regions. The second methodological phase consisted in building regional price indexes and poverty lines (i.e. specific to each observatory). This enabled us to identify the poor and the non poor households in the sample, taking into account regional variations in prices and in households' food preferences. The poverty lines also helped calculate indicators of transitory and chronic poverty.

We then carried out an econometric analysis of the determinants of chronic and transitory poverty at the household level (Gubert, Robilliard and Roubaud, 2003). The first results show that the households' demographic structure and production factors (land and labour) are important determinants of the chronic and transitory components of poverty. These findings raise several questions. Among them, the question of what explains the transitions into and out of poverty is essential.

Why are certain categories of the population poor and why do they stay poor? Why do some of them manage to escape and others, who were not poor to begin with, fall into poverty? In order to provide some answers to these questions, we are currently working on a study aimed at measuring the impact of local geographical capital on the growth of well-being of rural households in order to test for the existence of spatial poverty traps in Madagascar.

The question of poverty dynamics is also strongly linked with that of family composition changes over time. If poverty is measured through a monetary indicator (consumption or income per capita, for example), changes in the denominator (household size) must be taken into account. In particular, it is important to know whether or not these changes are endogenous. Having made this observation, we decided to look at the characteristics of family composition changes. In this perspective, we designed and carried out a survey on individual trajectories in order to add data that were lacking in the Rural Observatory surveys². The idea of the survey was to interview at least one member of all the households surveyed in 1995 and to question them about all the arrivals and departures of individuals in the household over the period 1995-2005 (births, deaths, marriage, migration, fostering, etc.). These data were collected for 350 households during the summer of 2005. Several qualitative observations were made during this field work. First, households in the village of Bepako seem to be characterised by a high degree of instability, particularly strong marital instability. Second, this instability seems to be partly responsible for another phenomenon, the fostering of children, particularly with their grandparents. Finally, there are many exchanges between families in the village. In this way, due to marriages, divorces or fostering, certain individuals successively "appear" in different households in the sample during the period under concern.

In a second phase, we tried to track down

² Given the exploratory nature of this type of investigation and restrictions in terms of budgets and human resources, the survey was only carried out in one of the villages in the Marovoay Observatory, Bepako. This village was chosen because a large, exhaustive sample was made in 1995 during the first phase of the survey.

individuals who had been surveyed in 1995 but had since left the village to live elsewhere in the region. Of the 1,512 individuals surveyed in 1995, this tracking phase enabled us to find 864 individuals still living in the village (i.e. 57.1%), whereas 265 individuals (i.e. 17.5%) were found in the neighbouring region. The remainder had either died or could not be found (Table 2).

The data from the two data collection systems (individual trajectories and tracking) are currently being studied. They will enable us, first, to make a more detailed investigation of trends in family structures in relation to poverty dynamics on the timescale of the panel and, second, to study poverty trends in Bepako from 1995 to 2005 based on a sample of individuals still living in the village but also living elsewhere. This sample will help characterise the situation of “migrants” compared with individuals who have stayed in the village.

Risk and schooling decisions

Following on from the study of household consumption dynamics, we decided that it would be interesting to study the questions of risk sharing and informal insurance in farming households. More precisely, the idea was to test the hypothesis of complete risk insurance at the village level and, if this proved to be the case, to identify the mechanisms or institutions to which households turn to protect against risk (crop diversification, family solidarity, migration, credit or informal insurance, farming contracts, etc.). This work was based on econometric estimations of household behaviour models (Gubert et Robilliard, 2002). It enabled us to robustly refute the hypothesis of complete insurance with respect to various specifications. Classifying the households with respect to poverty did not reveal any evidence of significant differences between poor and non poor households with respect to risk insurance. On the contrary, the study suggests that sharecropping and access to credit offer better protection against risk.

Following on from this observation that households do not have perfect insurance cover against the shocks they suffer, we studied the impact of these shocks on decisions to send children to school (Gubert and Robilliard,

2006). The results indicate that transitory income shocks have a significant impact on the probability of dropping out from school, but not on the probability of entering into school. These results are in line with the observation that children’s participation in household tasks and farming activities increases with age: parents who need to put their children to work are more likely to call on elder children (see Graph 2). The probability of going to school appears to be sensitive to demographic shocks suffered by the family: it is negatively correlated with the death or departure of the elder members of the household. Our results also show that parents favour girls in terms of education as their probability of entering into school (resp. of dropping out) is higher (resp. lower) than that of boys. Finally, certain results suggest that there is competition between siblings for access to educational resources. The study of the impact of income shocks on decisions to send children to school therefore suggests that taking the eldest children out of school is used as a risk management mechanism by rural households.

Legacies and marriages: key events in inter-generational wealth transfers

As is the case in most African countries, the acquisition of the assets required for farm production, particularly land, mainly takes place on marriage or when handed down to children by their parents. As a result, the way in which men and women are matched in the “marriage market” determines, to a great extent, the productive capital ultimately available to the family production units. Whether positively assortative or not, the way people match is therefore a determining factor in the transfer of wealth (or poverty) from one generation to the next. The same is true for legacies.

The issue of inter-generational transfers of poverty was addressed in the scope of the project by mobilising data collected during the RON campaign in 2004, with a module devoted to transfers of physical and human capital. More precisely, the module questions heads of households and their spouses on the material situation of their parents and on the legacies received from them, particularly when they got married.

The first study based on these data deals with gender inequalities in terms of land inheritance and investment in human capital, and on the determinants of legacies received by the individuals (Senne, 2006). The results show that the schooling rates and levels of education have increased regularly in Madagascar for the recent generations. However, due to growing pressure in terms of demographics and land, the scarcity of available land has resulted in a reduction in the size of the legacies made and in the surface areas of rice fields owned by the households. Girls seem to have taken advantage of the overall increase in education levels and the gap compared to men has been closing. Nonetheless, they are still greatly disadvantaged in terms of endowments of assets, as men hold the greater part of the household's land assets. The parents' habits in terms of inheritance encourage the persistence of these inequalities given that the male descendants are still greatly favoured when wealth is transferred. As an extension of this descriptive analysis, several hypotheses concerning parents' preferences concerning transfer decisions were tested econometrically. Although boys are still favoured overall when land is transferred, in particular rice fields, due to their comparative advantage for farm work but also a probable "pure preference" for men, fathers and mothers show preference for children of their own sex. Hence, the mothers' endowments in land have a positive impact on the legacies of land received by girls whereas the fathers' endowments in land have a positive impact on the legacies of land received by boys.

The second study dealt with matrimonial strategies, with the aim of examining the determinants of the capital provided by the spouses when they marry, focusing in particular on the rice growing land, which is still a key wealth factor in rural households in Madagascar (Senne, Gubert and Robilliard, 2006). Based on a model of intergenerational transfers at the time of marriage (Fafchamps and Quisumbing, 2005), we were able to distinguish three possible cases with respect to matching on the marriage market. First, the matching of the spouses can be positively assortative: rich men marry rich women, poor men poor women. This process, strengthened by reciprocal gifts between the families to seal the union, results in a positive correlation

between the wealth provided by the two spouses. On the contrary, the match can be compensatory if the parents decide to reduce the amount of the transfer made to a child with a rich spouse. In this case, once we have controlled for the effect of initial, individual and family endowments, the correlation observed between the wealth provided the groom and that provided by the bride is potentially negative. Finally, the parents can adopt a strategic behaviour and try to improve their child's prospects on the marriage market by increasing the amount of their transfer. The results of the estimations show that different approaches come into play in the behaviour of men and of women. The major effect observed is a positive assortative matching of the spouses (Table 3). On the other hand, it is shown that the women's parents can adopt strategic behaviour in order to attract more richly endowed men and make a "better" marriage.

Finally, a third econometric study will soon be made using the same retrospective data to test the unitary household model. The idea is to use the endowments in land of each of the spouses at the time of their marriage as a measure of their bargaining power within the household in order to see whether, in households where women have a greater bargaining power, girls are relatively better educated and/or in better health than in households where their bargaining power is low.

Conclusion

The results presented here are proof of the complexity of the phenomenon of poverty in rural areas and of the richness of the data collected through the Rural Observatories Network. These data enable us to analyse the microeconomic behaviour of rural households, and consequently, to identify the phenomena at the origin of trajectories of impoverishment, and also the means by which poverty is transferred over the long term.

Households that inherit little capital find themselves in a durable situation, if not of poverty, at least of vulnerability to shocks. In addition, the incompleteness of the credit and insurance markets that characterises most rural areas in developing countries, does not seem to

be entirely compensated for by informal insurance mechanisms at the community level. Households must therefore set up individual risk management mechanisms, for example putting children to work, in order to face up to shocks they may suffer. Some of these mechanisms also contribute to intergenerational transfers of poverty. For instance, parents who take their children out of school following a negative income shock contribute to the impoverishment of the following generation.

On a different timescale - the life of a household - we have set up a system of surveys that should enable us to study the relationships between family composition changes and poverty dynamics. This analysis of the relations between the demographic and the economic spheres is designed to shed a new light on the question of poverty dynamics.

Flore Gubert
Anne-Sophie Robilliard

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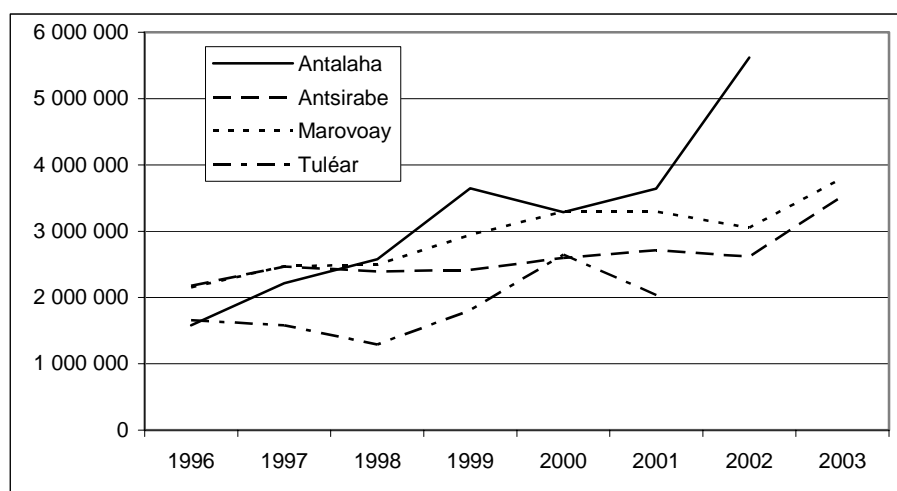
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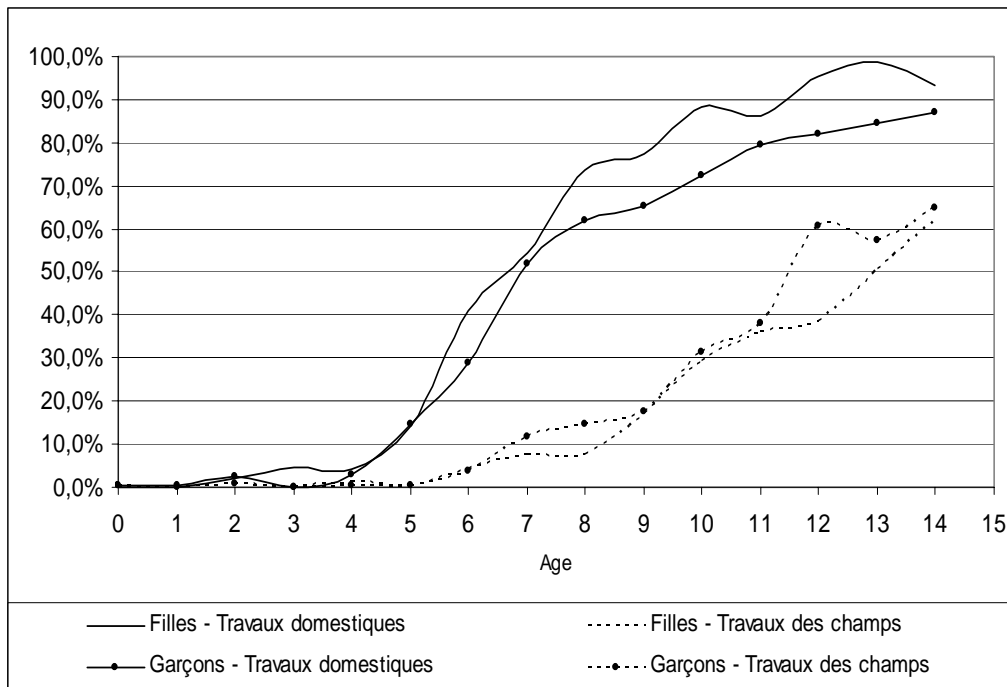
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Graph 1: Trends in household consumption, 1996-2003 (constant Malagasy francs)



Source: RON data 1996-2003, authors' calculations.

Note: the data collected in 1995 did not enable household consumption to be properly measured and is therefore not included in this graph.

Graph 2: Children's participation in household tasks and farm work

Source: RON data 2004, authors' calculations.

Table 1: Longitudinal databases in Africa

Country	Years studied	Number of points	Sample size
Ghana	1987/88-1988/89	2	1600 households
Côte d'Ivoire	1985/86-1986/87-1987/88	2 (rotating panel)	700 households
Egypt	1977-1999	2	347 households
Ethiopia	1994-1995	3	1411 households
Uganda	1992/93-1995/96	2	818 households
		4	344 households
South Africa	1993-1998	2	1200 households
Madagascar (Rural Observatories)	1995-2002	8	415 households (*)

(*) This number is multiplied by two if one considers the 1998-2002 panel (5 observation points) –

Source : Oduro A.D., "La dynamique de la pauvreté", Centre for Policy Analysis, 2002, mimeo.

Table 2: Situation of individuals surveyed in 2005 in Bepako (Marovoay Observatory)

	From tracking file	Found	DCD	Not found	HZ	Duplicate	% success
Still lives in Bepako	864						
Lives in village in district of Marovoay	154	103	3	38	9	1	68.7%
Lives in town of Marovoay	72	53	2	17			75.7%
Lives in rural area outside the district	67	40	1	15	11		60.6%
Lives in urban area outside the district	96	69	1	25		1	73.4%
Deceased	122						
Place of residence unknown	74						
Lives outside the tracking zone	60						
Duplicates	3						
Total	1512						

Source: « Individual trajectories » and « Tracking » surveys, July-August 2005.

Notes : DCD = deceased; HZ = outside tracking zone.

Table 3: Correlation between respondents' characteristics and their parents' characteristics by cohorts of marriage dates

Date of marriage	Age	Education	Rice fields contributed by the spouses	Legacies of rice fields	Parents' rice fields	Mother's education	Father's education
1935-69	0.41	0.54	0.36	0.31	0.16	0.55	0.60
1970-74	0.52	0.51	0.14	0.01	0.18	0.38	0.39
1975-79	0.46	0.61	0.22	0.03	0.36	0.50	0.48
1980-84	0.66	0.61	0.16	0.06	0.25	0.44	0.38
1985-89	0.55	0.58	0.41	0.09	0.32	0.40	0.38
1990-94	0.57	0.57	0.24	0.12	0.37	0.38	0.33
1995-99	0.62	0.54	0.10	0.01	0.31	0.40	0.43
2000-04	0.67	0.50	0.17	0.14	0.38	0.27	0.22
Ensemble	0.61	0.58	0.23	0.10	0.27	0.40	0.38

Source: Senne, Gubert and Robilliard, 2006.

Note: all the coefficients mentioned are significant at the 1% threshold

COMMUNICATIONS 2nd SEMESTER 2006

AUF/DIAL/IRD/PEP. 7th scientific meeting of the Agence Universitaire de la Francophonie (Paris, 7-8 September). Communications by:

- Philippe Antoine and Donatien Béguy « *Evolution des conditions économiques et constitution de la famille à Dakar et Lomé* » ;
 - Philippe Bocquier and Jean-Noël Senne « *A new methodology for the analysis of exchange networks* » ;
 - Thomas Bossuroy, Denis Cogneau and Victor Hiller « *Tendances et structures de la mobilité sociale dans cinq pays africains* » ;
 - Lisa Chauvet, Philippe De Vreyer, François Roubaud and Gilles Spielvogel « *Inégalités spatiales et marchés du travail urbains en Afrique francophone* » ;
 - Lisa Chauvet and Paul Collier « *Helping Hand? Aid to Failing States* » ;
 - Lisa Chauvet and Sandrine Mesplé-Somps « *FDI and Aid in Africa: Can FDI Substitute for Foreign Aid?* » ;
 - Denis Cogneau and Jean-Christophe Dumont « *Inégalité mondiale des chances de rémunération et migrations internationales* » ;
 - Denis Cogneau, Charlotte Guénard, Sandrine Mesplé-Somps, Gilles Spielvogel and Constance Torelli « *Développement aux frontières de la Côte d'Ivoire – Une étude des idiosyncrasies nationales en Afrique de l'Ouest* » ;
 - Philippe De Vreyer, Flore Gubert and François Roubaud « *Migration, Self-Selection and Returns to Education in the WAEMU* » ;
 - Alioune Diagne « *L'insertion professionnelle des jeunes à Dakar* » ;
 - Marie-Hélène Durand « *Les enfants non scolarisés dans sept capitales ouest africaines* » ;
 - Flore Gubert and Anne-Sophie Robilliard « *Risk and Schooling Decisions in Rural Madagascar: a Panel Data Analysis* » ;
 - Flore Gubert and Christophe J. Nordman « *Déterminants économiques et non-économiques des migrations Sud-Nord. Analyses empiriques* » ;
 - Elise Huillery « *Colonisation et développement dans l'ancienne Afrique Occidentale Française* » ;
 - Mathias Kuepie, Christophe J. Nordman and François Roubaud « *Education and Labour Market Outcomes in Sub-Saharan West Africa* » ;
 - Mohamed Ali Marouani « *L'impact de l'Accord Multifibres sur le chômage en Tunisie* » ;
 - Christophe J. Nordman, François-Charles Wolf « *Is there a Glass Ceiling in Morocco? Evidence from Matched Worker-Firm Data* » ;
 - Anne Olivier « *Evaluation de l'impact sur les ménages de la hausse du tarif de l'eau à Manaus, Brésil* » ;
 - Mireille Razafindrakoto and François Roubaud « *Peut-on se fier aux bases de données internationales sur la corruption ? Une confrontation entre enquêtes-experts et enquêtes-ménages en Afrique subsaharienne* » ;
 - Jean-Noël Senne, Flore Gubert, Anne-Sophie Robilliard « *Stratégies matrimoniales et legs à l'occasion du mariage. Application au cas des ménages ruraux malgaches* ».
- AFD.** Seminar of AFD economists. Communication by Flore Gubert « *L'impact des envois de fonds des migrants sur le développement des pays d'origine : le cas de l'Afrique* ». (Paris, 20 November).
- AFD/EUDN/CEPR** 3rd Academic Conference. Communication by Denis Cogneau, Charlotte Guénard, Sandrine Mesplé-Somps, Gilles Spielvogel and Constance Torelli « *Development at the Border – A study of post-colonial national idiosyncrasies in West-Africa* ». (Paris, 6 November).
- AFRISTAT.** Workshop on the preparation of non definitive, provisional National Accounts. Communication by Blaise Leenhardt « *Lecture des comptes économiques rapides...du point de vue de la statistique africaine* ». (Bamako, Mali, 18-22 September).
- AFRISTAT.** Internal AFRISTAT seminar. Communication by Mathias Kuepie, Christophe J. Nordman, François Roubaud « *Education et marché du travail en Afrique de l'Ouest Sub-Saharienne* ». (Bamako, Mali, 14 December).
- AFSE.** 15th annual conference of the Association Française de Sciences Economiques (Paris, France, 14-15 September). Communications by:
- Lisa Chauvet and Paul Collier « *Helping Hand? Aid to Failing States* » ;
 - Lisa Chauvet and Sandrine Mesplé-Somps « *FDI and Aid in Africa: Can FDI Substitute for Foreign Aid?* » ;

- Emmanuelle Lavallée « *Corruption et concurrence : une analyse à l'échelle des entreprises* »,
- Emmanuelle Lavallée « Gouvernance et ouverture commerciale »,
- Philippe De Vreyer, Flore Gubert and François Roubaud « *Migration, Self-Selection and Returns to Education in the WAEMU* ».

AIDELF. International conference on population and work. Demographic dynamics and activities. (Aveiro, Portugal, 18-23 September). Communications by:

- Philippe Antoine « *Le travail après la retraite ? Comparaison de la situation dans 7 capitales africaines* » ;
- Donatien Béguy « *L'effet du travail féminin sur l'espacement des grossesses à Dakar et à Lomé, Population et travail* ».

Association Française de Sociologie. Second conference of the AFS, *Dire le monde social*. Sociologists faced with political, economic and media dialogues. Communication by Jean-Michel Wachsberger « *Le quartier à Antananarivo : enfermement et attachement* ». (Bordeaux, 05-08 September).

Congreso de Americanistas, Symposium « Las democracias en América Latina ». Communication by Javier Herrera « *Gobernabilidad y adhesión a la democracia en Bolivia, Ecuador y Perú* ». (Seville, Spain, 16-21 July 2006).

Ecole d'Economie de Paris, ENS-Jourdan. Conference on the Economic History of Inequalities. (Paris, 14 novembre). Communications by :

- Thomas Bossuroy, Denis Cogneau and Victor Hiller « *Intergenerational Mobility in Five African Countries* » ;
- Denis Cogneau « *L'Afrique des inégalités : où conduit l'histoire ?* » ;
- Elise Huillery « *Colonisation and Development: The long-term impact of the colonial public policy* »..

Economic Research Forum. 13th Annual Conference. « Oil: its impact on the global economy. » Communication by Christophe J. Nordman and François-Charles Wolff « *Is there a Glass Ceiling in Morocco? Evidence from Matched Worker-Firm Data* ». (Koweït, 16-18 December).

International Water Association. 5th World Conference. Communication by Anne Olivier « *Water and the Poor : Who benefits from Utility Subsidies* » (Beijing, China, 11 September).

Cheikh Anta Diop University, Dakar. Symposium on Population Strategies and Development Strategies: convergence or divergence ? Institut de formation et recherche en population, développement et santé de la reproduction de Dakar. Communication by Alioune Diagne « *Le passage à l'âge adulte à Dakar* ». (Dakar, Senegal, 24-27 July).

Université de Lille. Study on inter-individual solidarity: support, mutual aid, social support, assistance. Communication by Jean-Michel Wachsberger « *Que faire du soutien social en sociologie ou du soutien social aux supports sociaux* ». (Lille, 18 September).

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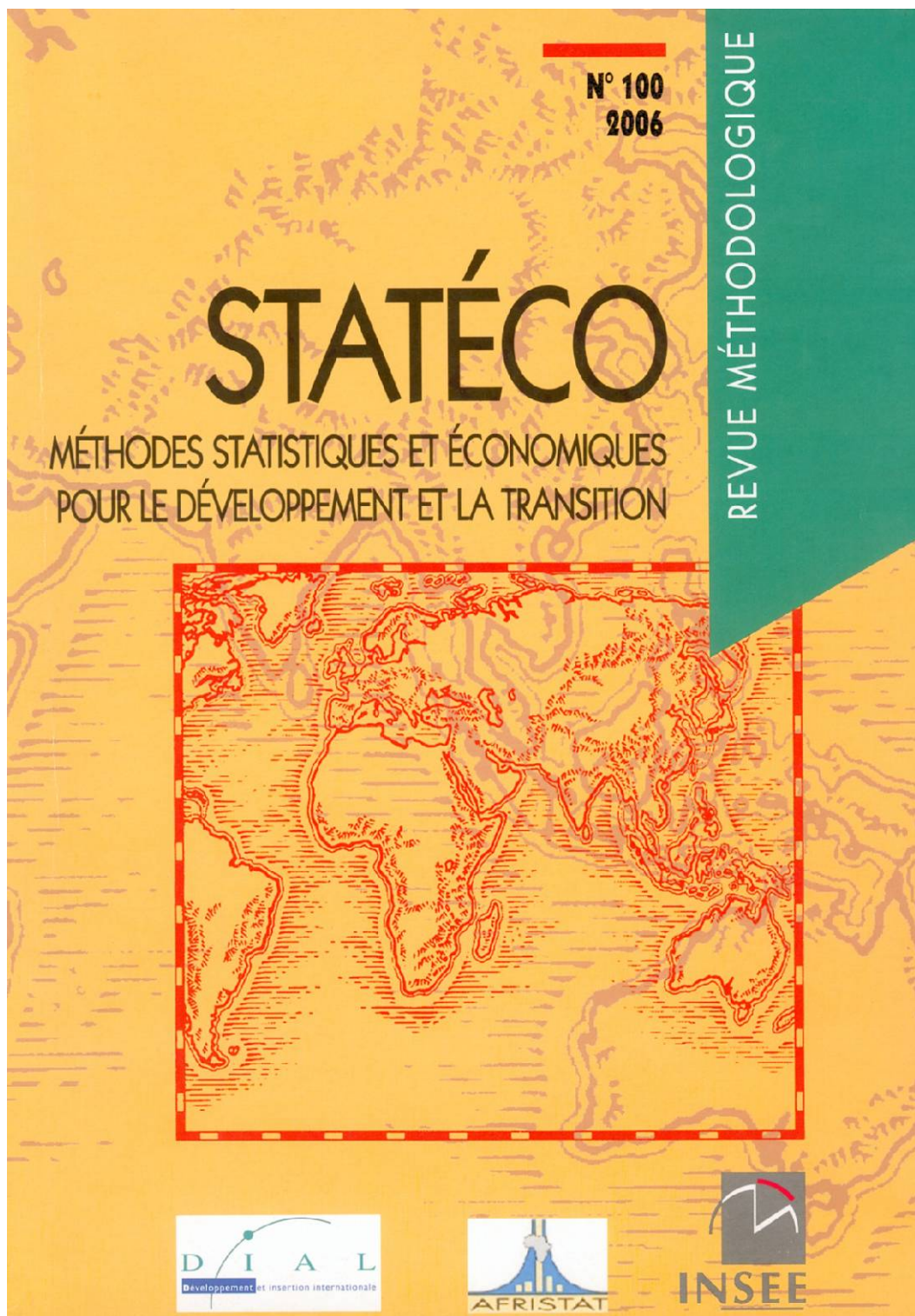
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