The role of men in the economic and social development of women - implications for gender equality

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July 2012

Abstract
This paper is a critical review of the literature concerned with how male behavior affects female outcomes in promoting gender equality. It employs the family as the main unit of analysis as a large part of the gender interactions occurs within this institution. The survey first summarizes recent studies on the distribution of power within the family, and identifies several factors that have altered the bargaining position of men and women over the last decades. It then revises empirical work on the contribution of men, as fathers and husbands, to the health and socioeconomic outcomes of women both in developed and developing countries. Finally, it discusses a set of economic policies that intentionally or unintentionally have affected men’s attitudes and behaviors and their implications for women’s well-being and gender equality.

Keyword: gender inequality, development
JEL: J16
Introduction

Gender as an interdisciplinary concept refers to women and men, the relations between them, and the institutions that govern these relations. However, most of the literature on gender focuses on women and girls and the factors that affect their socioeconomic outcomes.

For a long time, a commitment to promoting gender equality in economic outcomes, as in other areas of social development and human rights, has emphasized women’s empowerment. There is evidence that expanding woman’s opportunities - in particular health, education, earnings, rights, and political participation - drives down gender inequality and accelerates development.\textsuperscript{1} In developed countries women are also considered to be responsible of the reduction in economic gender disparities.\textsuperscript{2} However, despite important advances towards equality, differences in the socioeconomic outcomes of men and women still persist. Recently, policy makers and social scientists have begun to emphasize the crucial role and responsibility of men and boys in reducing gender disparities.

In both the developing and the developed world, men still wield enormous power over many aspects of women's lives. In the public spheres, as heads of states and government ministers, as leaders of religious and faith-based institutions, as judges, as heads of armies and other agencies of force, or as village heads, men design and implement policies that may or may not favor women's priorities and needs. As public authorities, they also exert control over a large variety of resources such as health, education, transportation or finance. Legal or regulatory barriers which restrict women's access to those resources, perpetuate gender inequality in many parts of the globe.

In the private sphere, as husbands (or partners) and fathers, men can directly affect the economic and social progress of women. In many societies, men still have the final say on issues related to family planning and reproductive health, their wives' and daughters' labor market participation, and the use of family resources, including medical and educational expenditures. In the developed world, men's limited participation on childcare and housework places a great burden on women's educational and professional careers.
Both in the public and the private life, all over the world, men have a significant and undeniable role in the socioeconomic progress of women. Yet ignoring them when designing and implementing gender-oriented policies may not only limit their effectiveness but also exacerbate the existing disparities.

This paper is a critical review of the literature on the contribution of men to the economic and social development of women and its implications for gender equality. It employs the family as the main unit of analysis as it is the institution where gender interactions are likely to be more intense: ranging from marriage and child-rearing decisions to consumption, time allocation to work and human capital investments. The paper identifies situations where men's actions or decisions have affected women's achievements, and discusses the implications of policies designed to bring about gender equality.

The survey is organized as follows. Section 1 reviews the process that governs decisions within the family and the economic factors that can affect this process. Section 2 takes a look at recent studies that investigate the critical role of fathers and husbands for the economic well-being of their wives and daughters. Finally, it concludes with a revision of economic policies that have affected men's attitudes and behaviors towards gender equality.

The distribution of power within the family. Why did men shift it towards women?

Modern economic theory recognizes the presence of multiple agents within the family, with distinct preferences, who are jointly determining the observed outcome. Thus household allocation decisions are the result of a bargaining process in which its members seek to allocate resources, over which they have control, to goods they especially care about (Bourguignon and Chiappori, 1992). Crucial to the final allocation is thus the bargaining strength of each spouse. Relative income clearly influences the intra-household distribution of power (Duflo, 2004; Thomas, 1990, 1994), but it is not the only variable that affects the decisional process. Factors that change the household's economic environment and in particular their members' respective bargaining positions are also important.
Among those factors, the rise in the returns to human capital may have increased men's incentives to share power with women (Doepke and Tertilt, 2008) and made polygyny less affordable (Gould, Moav and Simhon, 2008). The narrowing gender gap in pay partly explains the reduction in gender violence against females (Aizer, 2010). The substantial increase in female labor supply has also affected men's attitudes towards working women and boosted employment among younger generations (Fernández, Fogli and Olivetti, 2004). Others have suggested that offspring's gender influences men's political views and preferences towards redistribution (Warner, 1991; Washington, 2004; Oswald and Powdthavee, 2010). Finally, media exposure has also changed public opinion regarding women in society (La Ferrara, Chong, and Dureyrea, 2007; Jensen and Oster, 2009). All the previous studies identify several factors that have led men to share, or give up, some of their traditional privileges and authority in favor of women. We next carefully revise these studies and derive lessons to be considered in the design of future gender equality policies.

Doepke and Tertilt (2008) show that technological change and its associated increase in human capital may have caused the expansion of women's rights through the nineteenth century in England and the US. Those higher returns raised the importance of education and recalibrated the trade-off between the rights of a man's own wife and those of other men's wives. The authors argue that improvements in married women's economic rights increase females’ bargaining power within the household. As there is evidence that women spend more resources in their children's well-being than men (see Duflo, 2004; Thomas, 1990, 1994), more bargaining power for women means greater investments in their children's human capital.

Though husbands may not benefit directly from their wife’s increase in bargaining power, they might indirectly gain from augmenting other women’s rights in two ways. First, men are altruistic towards their own children, some of which are daughters. Since men want their daughters to be treated well by their sons-in-law and they want their grandchildren to be well educated, men have a motivation to improve their daughters' bargaining position. Second, a father prefers high-quality mates for his children and therefore stands to gain from building the human capital of his future children-in-law through their mothers.
Note that the previous theoretical mechanism suggests that the historical advance of women's rights in the West was driven by old-fashioned self-interest deriving from men's concern about their daughters' welfare and their descendants' education. This result indicates that inducing developing countries to improve women's rights on men's accord may be a more promising strategy than trying to impose gender equality from the outside. Governments can further the cause of women's rights by focusing on policies that increase families' incentives to educate their children, high quality public education, and subsides for families who keep their children in school.

In a context of technological progress with increasing returns to human capital, men's preference for wives with higher skills also seems to be responsible for the transition from polygyny to monogamy. This argument is developed in the theoretical model of Gould, Moav and Simhon (2008). Accordingly, skilled men in modern economies increasingly value skilled women for their ability to raise skilled children. This drives up the value of skilled females in the marriage market to the point where skilled men prefer one skilled wife to multiple unskilled ones. This theoretical argument also highlights that education can improve the well-being of women (and their kids) as they are all better off in monogamous than in polygynous societies.

While previous evidence suggests that education is an important factor for the economic and social development of women, certain social structures may distort this positive relationship. For example, patrilocal marriages (i.e. brides joining the household of grooms and their families upon marriage) that prevail in most parts of South Asia would seem to imply that the husband's family stands to retain the major part of any additional gain an educated woman would generate. Hence, men would seem to have a strong incentive to prefer educated women as brides, especially since returns to women's schooling are significant. Marriage markets in South Asia also exhibit widespread presence of dowry (i.e. payments from the bride's family to that of the groom). Intuition would suggest that parents of educated women should face lower dowry demands. Thus, competitive adjustments in dowry that internalize the returns to schooling should induce parents to educate their daughters. Yet, the persistence of low levels of female enrollment and the available micro evidence on dowry payments both suggest such incentives are neither strong, nor generalized. Dasgupta et al. (2008) argue that marital arrangements may be behind these patterns. In South Asia married sons typically live with their parents in a subordinate capacity. This suggests that when
seeking wives for sons, parents may value characteristics that facilitate the continuation of parental control over sons after marriage. Lack of education on the part of the bride may constitute such a characteristic. Hence, parents may prefer uneducated brides unless educated brides bring in significantly more dowry. This in turn would reduce parental incentive to educate daughters. Therefore the success of the human capital investment policies identified by previous studies will crucially depend on the living arrangement and cultural norms of each society.

In the developed world women have caught up with men in terms of human capital accumulation and the gender gap is also shrinking. This substantial economic empowerment of women has been accompanied by a decreasing trend in female domestic violence. Aizer (2010) proposes an economic theory of household bargaining that incorporates domestic violence. There, an increase in a woman's relative wage increases her bargaining power and lowers the levels of violence by improving her outside options. Using new sources of administrative data for the US, the author finds that the decline in the wage gap witnessed over the past 13 years can explain nine percent of the reduction in violence and the costs associated with it. While Aizer’s model seems appropriate to describe the situation in developed countries, it does not consider the role of culture, which is likely to be crucial in affecting domestic violence in developing countries. There, female economic empowerment may threaten the figure of men as breadwinners, who respond by increasing violence against their wives.

Information and media exposure has proved to be useful in affecting individuals' attitudes towards a variety of issues. Several papers by Fernandez, Fogli and co-authors show that the increase in female labor force participation after the 1950's led successive cohorts of women to enter the market at higher rates. The dramatic increase in female participation shaped men's views towards working women (Fernández, Fogli and Olivetti, 2004), but also the views of the society in general towards the conciliation of work and family life (Fernández, 2007; Fogli and Veldkamp, 2010).

Jensen and Oster (2009) explore the effects of the introduction of cable television on women's status in rural India. They find that the introduction of TV improves the status of women: women report lower acceptability of spousal abuse, lower son preference, more autonomy, and lower fertility. In addition, cable is also found to increase school enrollment, perhaps itself an indicator of similar increased
status and decision-making authority within the household. The authors argue that cable television may affect women's socioeconomic status through several mechanisms. For example, television may affect fertility by providing information on family planning services or changing the value of women's time. Alternatively women may be given more freedom to do things outside the home such as going to the market, because the value of men's leisure is increased by television. It may also be that television exposes rural households to urban lifestyles, values and behaviors that are different from their own and thus these households begin to emulate them. This result is consistent with the evidence in La Ferrara et al. (2007) who find that exposure to soap operas in Brazil reduces fertility. Their argument is that soap operas (novelas) portray families that are much smaller than in Brazil, a country with a high fertility rate. Thus exposure to alternative family compositions seems to alter individuals' preferences for fertility.

The possible change in norms, values, or preferences that lie behind media exposure is particularly intriguing as a contrast to typically proposed approaches to improving education and women's status or reducing fertility. These alternatives imply significant resources and will be effective or achieved over a long time period. The possibility that some of these behaviors can be largely modified because of changes in attitudes, cheaply and quickly supplied by TV, offers a significant promise.

Finally there is evidence that such an exogenous event as it is the gender of the offspring may provide a mechanism for social change where fathers' connection with their daughters undermines patriarchy. An interesting line of research has examined the influence of having daughters on fathers' political views. In this sense, Warner (1991) and Warner and Steel (1999) analyze American and Canadian parents and find that support for policies designed to address gender equity is greater among parents with daughters, and particularly strong for fathers. The authors argue that the anticipated and actual struggles that offspring face, and the public policies that tackle those, matter to their parents since the latter invest a significant amount in their children. Washington (2004) uses data on the voting records of U.S. congresspersons to provide persuasive evidence that congresspersons with female children tend to vote in favor of reproductive right issues such as teen access to contraceptives. In addition, Washington (2008) argues for broader results: congresspersons support a range of measures that favor women, such as flexibility for working families and tax-free education. Oswald and Powdthavee (2010) model the idea that daughters make people more left-wing. Their
model incorporates the presence of pay discrimination and the fact that women derive greater utility from public goods than men. In this scenario, women prefer a larger supply of the public good and a greater tax rate on income: the reason is that their marginal utility from the first is relatively high and the tax penalty they face from the later is relatively low. As men have female children, however, they shift their political stance and become more sympathetic to the "female" desire for a steeper income tax schedule and a larger amount of the public good, so they become more left wing. Similarly a mother with many sons becomes sympathetic to the "male" case for lower taxes and a smaller supply of public goods and becomes more right wing. Their theory is supported by German and UK data.

While it seems that the gender of the offspring affects an individual’s attitudes, previous evidence is only concerned about political views. It would be interesting to investigate whether the gender of the offspring has implications for practices linked to the labor market such as employers’ hiring decisions and wage setting structures.

On the whole, the previous evidence indicates that men's behavior and attitudes toward women are likely to be affected by a range of factors (i.e. technological progress, media exposure, wage gaps, sex ratio, and offspring’s gender). Given the great influence that men exert on the economic development of women, those factors should be considered in the design of public policies addressed at improving women’s well being.

The role of men for the socioeconomic and health outcomes of women

Reproductive health and sexual behavior

Men are important actors who influence the reproductive health outcomes of women. The role of men is even more important in some developing countries or patriarchal structures where husbands or other family members control women's health-related decisions. In those societies female's reproductive health is affected by male policy makers, male health-care administrators, and male service providers, who may perpetuate a dominant "male definition" of what is important and what is not for women's needs. Men also affect women's reproductive health as partners and fathers. Accordingly, understanding men's behavior and beliefs towards fertility and family planning becomes crucial for the design of successful reproductive health policies. Next we review some studies on male reproductive roles. We focus on men's knowledge of
various contraception methods, attitudes towards those methods, couple communication and family planning decisions.

Were we to assume that childbearing and pregnancy are primarily women's concerns, then it would not be surprising to find that men did not know much about contraceptive methods in general (and female-controlled methods in particular). Nor would we expect men to know much about the female reproductive cycle. In fact, poor knowledge of reproductive health issues among males may pose barriers for women to seek care for these problems. However, there is mixed evidence when referring to male-education about contraceptive methods. In general, men are as knowledgeable as women about contraceptive methods (Ezeh et al., 1996), but also better informed than females about male methods (Hulton and Falkingham, 1996; Mbizvo and Adamchack, 1991), and sometimes less informed than women about female methods (Kalipeni and Zulu, 1993). This knowledge is usually defined as men's awareness of contraceptive methods -phrased in surveys as having "heard of" a particular method- and does not refer to other aspects of contraceptive knowledge or how to use a given method.

In some developing countries, the conclusions are less optimistic. The study by Bloom et al. (2000) for Uttar Pradesh, India, shows that men know very little about reproductive health (fertility, maternal health and sexually transmitted diseases STDs) and that while the understanding of these issues is largely driven by socio-demographic characteristics, men’s belief about their ability to control reproduction has its own independent effect on their knowledge in each of these areas. Men’s lack of reproductive health knowledge leaves women particularly vulnerable in this region, as they are dependent on their husbands and other kin members for most types of health-related decision-making. Thus educating men about the reproductive process, disease prevention and the benefits of reproductive health care for both men and women seems an urgent need to reduce, for instance, the growing AIDS epidemic in India.

Not only men's knowledge about contraception is important but also its use and effectiveness depends directly on men's involvement. Several studies have examined the ways in which culture and social organizations may influence contraceptive patterns. Research from Ghana (Ezeh, 1993) and Nigeria (Bankole, 1995) suggests high levels of men’s influence over women's contraceptive decisions; however the converse may not be as true. Bankole’s analysis (1995) for the Nigerian Yoruba shows that the number of offspring has important consequences on the apparent "equality" in spousal desire for
more children. In addition, there is evidence that men's preferences have major direct impact on the first decade of a marriage and the first four children. It seems that men are likely to wish more kids in families with few members and that women's wishes prevail with more surviving children in the family.

The importance of including men in policy design and research related to reproductive health is also highlighted by other researchers. Bankole (1995) and Dodoo (1993) suggest high probabilities of invalid estimates for unmet contraceptive need in sub-Saharan Africa when derived from data collected only for women. In Zimbabwe, despite men report having “the final say” in contraceptive use, women are the ones responsible for obtaining contraceptives (Mbizvo and Adamchack, 1991). These and other studies demonstrate discordance within couples in contraceptive use. The main conclusion in previous research is that men agree on using contraception for birth spacing purposes but not for limiting family size. The fact that men prefer more children than women suggests that reproductive health programs or policies in developing countries should involve both sexes.

Note that most of the conclusions in previous studies are derived from surveys where individuals state their preferences about contraception use and knowledge. Stated preferences may substantially diverge from revealed preferences or actual behavior. Thus additional field works is needed to more accurately measure women’s “unmet need”, that is the difference between women’s fertility preferences and their use of contraception.

There is also scarce evidence about male views on abortion, an important element in fertility control given that an estimated one in four pregnancies worldwide is terminated deliberately. Abortion is perhaps the best example of direct connection between laws and policies and poor reproductive health outcomes, and in most countries, it is men that write, ratify, and enforce abortion. In Turkey, for example, abortion among married women is restricted to those who have their husbands' permission, reflecting conservative interpretations of Islamic law (Gürsoy, 1996). Men, furthermore, may directly affect women's decisions about abortion. For example, in her investigation of amniocentesis and abortion in New York City, Rapp (1999) found that partners' beliefs greatly influenced women's use or refusal of prenatal tests like amniocentesis. According to her results, women who felt that their male partners would
love and help raise a disabled child were less likely to undergo such test, relying heavily on their partner's beliefs about the desirability of a disabled child in their decisions about testing. The study by Browner (1979) for Colombia shows the strong influence that partners have on women's abortion decisions. In instances in which women were told directly or perceived that their partners would abandon them, they sought abortions more frequently and with more resolve.

In many parts of the developing world, women consider childbearing as their only means of gaining status. Thus, women often find themselves in a paradoxical situation: high fertility is their main channel to improving their status, but it also increases their risk of STD, HIV contagion or maternal death. Women's access to contraception use and health services is limited by constraints on their autonomy. In countries such as Nigeria, Ethiopia, Tunisia, India and Korea, studies show that in seeking health care, women do not decide by themselves and depend on decisions made by a spouse or to senior members of the family (Thaddeus and Maine, 1994). In Nigeria, for instance, the only one who can give permission to a woman who develops obstructed labor to leave the home for hospital is her husband. Moreover in his absence, those present are reluctant to accept such responsibility. In Ethiopia, women use primary care facilities close to their homes because of customary laws restricting them to travel to other communities. As results they often face obstetric complications, or staff errors and misdiagnosis. Thus constraints to hospital access placed on women are likely to have severe implications for their health, particularly during pregnancy or at the time of delivery.

In developing countries women are often uneducated and an important part of their identity comes from being moms. In this context, infertility is an issue of profound human suffering. Childless women may not even be invited to weddings or other important social events. Often the woman takes the blame even when the problem lies with the man. She keeps her husband's secret and bears the insults. In Chad, a proverb says, "A woman without children is like a tree without leaves". There, if a woman does not bear children, the husband may take a new wife with society's blessing (Inhorn and van Balen, 2002). In developing countries, where social security, pensions and retirement-saving plans are not the norm, not having children means that no one looks after you. Thus infertility becomes also an enormous economic problem.
The previous evidence highlights the importance of men for women's health. As a result, fertility and family planning programs that focus solely on women will continue to achieve only limited success. In the next section we revise some policy interventions that have increased contraceptive use by increasing men's education on this area.

**Domestic Violence**

Domestic violence is a universal phenomenon. Irrespective of whether a country is poor or rich, spousal violence is pervasive. Men's violence against women is a key determinant of gender inequality as it disempowers and impoverishes women. Further, violence against women profoundly limits choices open to women and girls.

Women's economic empowerment and in particular the autonomy to work outside the home has been proposed as a powerful instrument to eradicate domestic violence. On one hand, an increase in income may lead women to end the partnership if abuse continues (Aizer, 2010). On the other, the increase in outside home employment reduces domestic violence by reducing the time partners spend together (Dugan et al., 1999). However, a wife's economic independence represents a challenge to a culturally prescribed norm of male dominance and female dependence. When a man lacks this sign of dominance, violence may be a mean of reinstating his authority over his wife (Macmillan and Gartner, 1999). Outside employment can also lead to an increase in domestic violence resulting from the insecurity and jealousy that males feel when their partners are exposed to the possibility of sexual encounters with other males (Daly and Wilson, 1993, 1998).

From the previous studies it seems that the effect of a woman’s intrahousehold economic status on violence is theoretically ambiguous. While an increase in household economic resources attributable to women may reduce economic stress and spousal violence, it may also introduce additional tension and struggle. In an effort to maintain the status quo, the increased economic strength of a woman may be countered by an increase in violence. Consisting with this theoretical ambiguity, the existing empirical evidence on the link between a woman’s involvement in income generating activities and violence is not conclusive.

In a recent survey for developing countries Vyas and Watts (2008) find that women's involvement in income generation activities is generally associated with a
higher lifetime history of physical violence. For India the National Family Health Survey 1989-99 reveals that women face greater domestic violence and the ones who face even more are those working away from home (Eswaran and Malhotra, 2009). In a multi-country study including data for Cambodia (2000), Colombia (2000), the Dominican Republic (2000), Egypt (1995), Haiti (2000), India (1998-1999), Nicaragua (1998), Peru (2000) and Zambia (2001-2002), the authors report that, compared to non-working women, women being paid in cash were more likely to have experienced lifetime physical violence.

In contrast, Panda and Agarwal (2005) identify that in Kerala (India), women with regular employment as compared to unemployed women, were far less likely to have ever experienced violence. Beyond employment status, Panda and Agarwal's innovative study (2005) uses women's ownership of property (land and house) to capture economic status and finds that women's ownership of property is associated with a sharp reduction in domestic violence. Aizer (2010), using evidence for the US for the period 1990-2003, finds that decreases in the male-female wage gap reduce violence against women. This evidence suggests that improving the employment and earning opportunities of women relative to men reduces violence and the costs associated with it. Note that this study is based on administrative data about female hospitalization for assault. Therefore, its conclusions are unaffected by the important degree of non-random underreporting that affects other studies based on self-reported measures of domestic violence.

Microfinance -both credit and savings- have also been proposed as a potential tool for empowering poor women in developing countries. However, these programs have a varied effect on men’s violence against women (Goetz and Gupta 1996, Kabeer 2000 and Schuler et al. 2010). They can reduce women's vulnerability to men's violence by strengthening their economic roles and making their lives more public. However, when women challenge gender norms, they sometimes provoke violence in their husbands. By putting resources into women's hands, credit programs may indirectly exacerbate such violence; but they may also provide a context for intervention.

Another stand of the literature focuses on the link between domestic violence and dowry. Several studies for Asia indicate that spousal violence is used to extract rents from the wife's family after marriage. For example, Bloch and Rao (2002) find
that marital violence is not only closely linked to low dowry payments, but that a woman who comes from a wealthy family is more likely to be beaten by her husband in an effort to extract higher transfers from her parents. In Bangladesh, while dowry has been illegal since 1980 the practice persists as does the perception that a generous dowry will strengthen the position of women within her marriage. Also in this country dowry demands have been found to be positively related to the risk of spousal violence in both urban and rural areas (Naved and Persson, 2005).

This evidence suggests that the type of marriage "contract", in particular, its ex-ante provisions (i.e. the size of the dowry) should reflect the interest of the wife and her family in deterring or mitigating ex-post malfeasance on the part of the husband. Jacoby and Mansuri (2010) analyze a particular marital institution in rural Pakistan (i.e. the Watta Satta) that has important implications for married women's welfare. The watta satta (literally, give-take), usually involves the simultaneous marriage of a brother-sister pair from two households. Watta satta is more than just an exchange of daughters, however; it also establishes the shadow of mutual threat across the marriages. A husband who mistreats his wife in this arrangement can expect his brother-in-law to retaliate in-kind against his sister. The empirical evidence in Jacoby and Mansuri (2010) indicates that women in watta satta marriages have substantially lower probabilities of marital estrangement, domestic abuse, and major depressive episodes. The latter two findings, in particular, suggest that the peculiar institution of watta satta protects the welfare of women in rural Pakistan.

Son Preference

Son preference and its implied discrimination against girl children are widespread in the Middle East, North Africa and in South and East Asia.

Most of the researchers interested in son preference have had as their central concern its adverse consequences; particularly excess female infant and child mortality or the poor health of girl children relative to boys (Das Gupta and Shuzhuo, 1999; Pande and Yazbeck, 2003). Others have examined the role of son preference in slowing the transition to low fertility as couples bear children until they have sufficient boys (Clark, 2000; Das Gupta and Bhat, 1997; Yount et al., 2000 among others). The advent of technology permitting prenatal sex selection has shifted the focus of scholars and policymakers to sex selective abortion and the effect on distorted sex ratios. Starting from the late 1980s, there has been a steep increase in male to female ratios at birth,
which has been attributed to the increasing practice of sex selective abortion (Arnold et al., 2002 and Bhaskar and Gupta, 2007). Despite the negative effect on female imbalances, prenatal sex selection constitutes a substitute for postnatal gender discrimination. Therefore, the situation of girls born when sex determination technologies are available might improve as they are more likely to be born in families that want them. Indeed, Hu and Schlosser (2010) find some positive impact of this practice on the health and nutrition outcomes of girls.

Son preference is one of the strongest manifestations of gender inequality. Social norms and patriarchal institutions lay the foundation for gender inequality that reinforces the preference for sons. These include kinship and marriage norms, the organization of the agrarian economy, and rules and rituals associated with caste and religion.

The pervasive prevalence of payments between families at the time of marriage in many areas of the developing world has important effects on women's welfare and contributes to the persistence of son preferences. These payments can be substantial. Recent estimates document transfers per marriage amounting to six times the annual household income in South Asia (Rao, 1993) and four times in sub-Saharan Africa (Dekker and Hoogeveen, 2002). These marriage payments can be of different sizes and forms, but are mainly classified into “brideprice”, seen as payments from the groom side to the bride side, and “dowry” or negative brideprices understood as a payment made by the bride’s family to the groom’s family.

Most of the documented research on marriage payments is for India, where dowry has become a wide phenomenon associated with the rise in dowry prices and important implications for the welfare of women (Rao, 1993; Edlund, 1999). Even though it was prohibited as early as 1961, this practice was not only impossible to eliminate, but also spread and increased.

Based on a study in rural South India, Srinivasan (2005) brings strong evidence in favor of a preference for sons over daughters. This non preference for daughters is justified by the large amounts of dowry her family has to pay to groom’s side. However, women in her study seem to be in favor of such practice, seen mostly as a way to create bonds among families, to bring protection and happiness and not linked to growing evidence of dowry related violence. Pande and Astone (2007) using data from the
National Family Health Survey (NFHS) India for the period 1992-1993 also show that dowry is one of the determinants of son preference in rural India.

Comparatively little research has explored marriage transfers in the rest of south Asia, though several studies point to dowry payments now occurring in Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. Anderson (2000) analyzes the causes of dowry in contemporary Pakistan. He documents three possible explanations for the use of such a payment: a transfer to the groom’s family in order to acquire a high quality groom, a compensation payment to the groom for receiving the bride (seen as a liability for the family by not contributing to the household income), and a pre-mortem inheritance to the daughter, which is preserved throughout marriage. The empirical results support the groom-price explanation for urban areas, while dowry is seen as an inheritance in rural areas.

An article that points to contemporary dowry payments in Bangladesh is the one of Nasrin (2011) that also sees dowry as an asymmetry in gender equity that favors men. Her study in three villages shows that girls are often seen as a burden for the family on account of the cost of dowries. Moreover, it seems that parents are willing to engage their daughters into early marriages due to a low level of marriage transfers.

Substantial research by anthropologists has aimed at distinguishing between those societies where the burden of marriage payments falls primarily on the groom's family and brideprices are paid, and those where the bulk of the transfer comes from the bride's family and dowries are paid. Brideprice-paying societies are relatively homogenous, women have a prominent role in agriculture, and polygyny is practiced (e.g. sub-Saharan Africa and China). Dowry, in contrast, is found in socially stratified, monogamous societies that are economically complex and where women have a relatively small productive role (e.g. South-Asia). There is also evidence that while brideprices are relatively uniform within societies and do not vary by family wealth, dowries increase with the wealth and social status of both sides of the marriage bargain.

The economic system also affects gender equity and son preference. For example in East and South India the main crop is paddy where women play a key role in weeding, transplantation, harvesting and threshing. In contrast, in the North and West, wheat and other dry-agriculture crops predominate, and - particularly where there is irrigation - the work involves more male-biased "muscle power". Researchers have
argued that the higher demand for women's agricultural labor in rice areas makes girls and women more valuable than in wheat areas, thus contributing to less discrimination against girls in rice-growing regions (Bardhan 1974, Miller 1981 and Mayer 1999). In the rural Philippines, Estudillo et al (2001) also find evidence of some gender pattern in the allocation of resources from parents to children. Sons are preferred with respect to land inheritance, while daughters are treated more favorably in schooling investment. This bequest pattern is consistent with their comparative advantage in farming and non-farming employment.

Finally, inheritance laws that render sons crucial to retain family property (Agarwal, 1994) and the need for sons so as to exercise power in violent areas or to assure household security (Dharmalingan, 1996; Oldenburg, 1992) are also both thought to influence gender inequality and thus son preferences.

As a result of the previous social and economic structures that characterize several areas in East and North Africa and South and East Asia, daughters are often seen as an economic drain on families. Once married, daughters' incomes invariably go to their marital households and socio-cultural norms do not allow parents to expect any material support from married daughters.

In the developed world evidence of son preference is also present in some critical parental decisions. For example, recent research presents proof in favor of parental gender preference regarding custody. Analysis for small samples in US (Wisconsin, Michigan and California) suggests that the paternal custody of boys is more common following divorce5, even though children are often assigned to the mother.

Additional insights are given by the study of Dahl and Moretti (2004, 2008) that analyze the impact of son preference on divorce, child custody, marriage and shotgun marriage in the US and find significant parental bias in favor of sons over daughters in all cases. The empirical evidence shows a large custody effect, fathers being 11 to 22 percent more likely to have custody in all-boy versus all-girl families. Also, the authors compare the US results to 5 developing countries and find that the gender bias is bigger in countries such as Mexico, Colombia and Kenya and that in China and Vietnam paternal custody is by far much more common. For example in Vietnam, 48 percent of the parents that obtain boys’ custody are fathers, compared to approximately 20% in the US.
**Education**

Differences in education between men and women have disappeared, or even reversed, in almost all developed countries. However a large gender gap still prevails in several developing countries of North Africa, the middle-east, Pakistan, much of India and Bangladesh as well as East Asia.

Gender inequality in education is an important form of discrimination against women. In many developing countries, poverty and cultural beliefs prevent girls from benefiting from educational opportunities to the same extent as boys. There is often a powerful economic and social rationale for investing in the education of sons rather than daughters, as daughters are perceived to be less valuable once educated, and less likely to abide by the will of the father, brother or husband. Girls are usually needed at home and/or need to earn money. Girls being employed as child labor, bearing the main burden of housework and taking on the role of caring for younger siblings, are impacting their performance and attendance in schools, and resulting in physical and mental fatigue, absenteeism and poor performance (Aikma and Unterhalter 2005). While educating a boy is generally seen as a sound investment, sending a girl to school is frequently seen either as bringing no gain at all, or, worse, as an actual waste of resources.

The low value attached to girls’ education reinforces early marriage and early pregnancy keeping girls and their children trapped in a vicious cycle of discrimination. Too often marriage is seen as a higher priority than education, and the girls who are married (even where they have been forced into early marriages against their will), as well as the girls who are pregnant, are excluded from schools (Singh and Samara, 1996).

Another key issue around rights to and in education concerns the persisting violence against girls. Schools sometimes fail to protect the basic rights and dignity of girls (Leach and Mitchell, 2005). Violence includes rape, sexual harassment, physical and psychological intimidation, teasing and threats. It may occur on the way to school or within the school itself, and is perpetuated by teachers, parents, persons of perceived authority and fellow students. Schools who also fail to provide adequate physical facilities, such as toilets and running water, cause inconvenience to boys, but spell an end to education for girls before education has even begun (Scott et al 2009).

The need to travel long distances to school is also one of the main barriers for girls, especially in countries where a cultural premium is placed on female seclusion.
This is due to concerns for girls' safety and security, and consequently parents are usually unwilling to let their daughters walk long distances to school. Finally, the limited number of female teachers in both primary and secondary schools is a major constraint on girls' education. The presence of female teachers would both make schools more girl-friendly, and provides role models for girls (Kirk, 2004).

*Household chores and childcare tasks*

A well-established limitation to women's economic success in developed countries is their greater involvement in household task and childrearing activities. In recent times there has been increased attention focused on trends in domestic or household labor patterns and the gender participation and contribution. This increasing attention stems from the implications that the substantial changes in family formation and dissolution and the changing gender distribution in paid work, may have had on the distribution of work between men and women in the home.

Most research tend to suggest that women's hours on housework are declining as a result of involvement in paid employment but there are mixed views about whether men's hours on housework have changed (Hochschild, 1989). Women continue to perform a greater proportion of domestic tasks than men do. Various studies consistently reveal that women do most of the housework and childcare within the family, but the explanation for gender inequity within the home is not well understood. Three theoretical perspectives on the process of domestic labor allocation dominate the literature: (1) the time availability perspective, (2) the relative resources perspective, and (3) the gender perspective.

The time availability perspective suggests that the division of labor is allocated according to the availability of household members in relation to the amount of housework to be done. Hence, women's and men's time in housework should be strongly related to time spent in market labor and family composition. Shelton's (1990) research documents that time constraints, measured by employment status, marital status, and parental status, account for a large amount of variation in household labor. The association between these indicators of time constraints and household labor differs markedly by gender, however, with women's time more affected by these factors.

The relative resource perspective argues that the allocation of housework reflects power relations between men and women: the level of relative resources partners bring
to a relationship determines how much domestic labor is completed by each partner. Higher levels of education and income relative to one's spouse, for example, are expected to translate into more power, which is used to avoid doing domestic tasks.

The gender perspective argues that housework is a symbolic enactment of gender relations and explains why there is not a simple trade-off between time spent in unpaid and paid labor among men and women in either marital or cohabiting relationships. Early formulations of the gender perspective focused specially on gender role ideologies formed through childhood socialization about appropriate adult male and female roles (Coverman, 1985). More recent formulations have combined gender ideology with the theoretical construct of "doing gender" (Berk, 1985; West and Zimmerman, 1987). South and Spitze (1994) demonstrate how housework is an enactment of gender - controlling for other factors, they find that women and men in marital households, compared with other household types, have the greatest gap in housework time, indicating the power of the roles "wife" and "husband". Gupta (1999) shows that after marriage, women's housework hours increase while men's housework decline. Brines (1994) argues that husbands' housework contributions do not follow "logical" rules of economic exchange. Rather, the more a husband is dependent on his wife economically, the less housework he does, most likely as a way to reassert his masculinity. In other words, wives and husbands display their "proper" gender roles through the amount and type of housework they perform.

Most of the research on the division of household tasks has been conducted using time use surveys for the US and Scandinavian countries. Bianchi et al. (2000) try to disentangle the contribution of the three previous theories in explaining the evolution of the gender division of household tasks. Using time-diary data from representative samples of American adults they find more support for the time-availability and relative-resource models of household production than for the gender perspective, although there is some support for the latter perspective as well.

Evertsson and Nermon (2007) investigate the gender distribution of household tasks in Sweden. They use data from the Swedish Level of Living Survey for the years 1991 and 2000. The analysis shows that changes in spouses' relative resources only result in a moderate change in women's share of the housework between 1991 and 2000. The change that nevertheless does take place indicates that women's share of the
housework decreases if their relative resources in terms of level of education and social status increased between the analyzed time span. If a woman's economic dependency on her spouse decreased between the two years, her share of the housework also decreases. The decrease in women's share of the housework is mainly due to an increase in men's time spent in housework. However, regardless of access to resources, Swedish men do less housework than Swedish women.

**The effect of gender policies on men's behavior and attitudes towards women**

The evidence summarized in the previous section identifies an important role of men for the well-being of women. Men clearly influence women's health outcomes by controlling reproductive methods and access to health care facilities. They can badly damage women's health through their violent behavior. There is also evidence that culture and public institutions that favor men and place women in a residual position - patriarchal societies and certain kinship norms - limit a woman's autonomy in many respects. In developing countries those social structures favor the persistence of son preference and have adverse effects on girl children outcomes. In developed countries, the unequal distribution of household tasks represents an important barrier for gender equality in the labor market.

In this section we review some gender policy interventions aimed at achieving gender equality that intentionally or unintentionally affect men's attitudes and behavior and their final implications for women's outcomes.

**Health interventions**

Men's sexual and reproductive needs had been overlooked for a long time until the United Nations International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo in 1994 where it was agreed that information, counseling and services must be made available to men. At the Women's Conference in 1995 in Beijing, it was argued that shared responsibility between men and women on these matters would improve women's health. With men as the main decision makers, particularly in many developing countries, it seems obvious that involving men will indeed enhance women's health. Next we review some of the successful stories of involving men in women's health.
There is evidence showing the benefits of educating men about contraception in Bangladesh (Becker, 1996; Green et al., 1972) and Ethiopia (Terefe and Larson, 1993). These studies find that the inclusion of the husband in family planning programs resulted in a relevant increase in the use of modern contraception methods. Similarly, Wang et al. (1996) found lower discontinuation rates in their randomized study in China: when both parents were educated about family planning, IUD users had significantly lower pregnancy and abortion rates than users whose husbands were not educated with their wives on the matter. The evidence in those studies suggests that educating men about contraception makes a difference in overall contraceptive use, but that it is important to simultaneously educate both partners. Ultimately, there is a strong effect on the outcome when both partners (individually or separately) receive family planning education.

Several studies also suggest that education and health services provided during the antenatal period can reduce pregnancy and delivery complications. Mullany et al. (2007) prove that the inclusion of men in reproductive health interventions can enhance positive health outcomes. They conduct a randomized controlled trial in urban Nepal and find that women who received antenatal services during the second trimester of pregnancy together with their husbands were much more likely to attend a post-partum visit than women who received education alone. Similar results are found by Bhalerao et al. (1984) in a study conducted in Mumbai, India. In this case a greater involvement of husbands in antenatal care counseling significantly increases the frequency of antenatal care visits, significantly lowers perinatal mortality, and pays dividends even among uneducated and low socio-economic groups.

The previous evidence suggests that involving men in reproductive health related issues has a positive effect on women’s welfare. However, the magnitude of this effect and its external validity is hard to assess as research, so far, has been limited to a small number of country case studies.

Reducing domestic violence
In the recent years, there has been a growing recognition that the role of men is crucial in changing unequal power relations. In particular, actions involving men in movements to end violence against women, focusing on men's roles and responsibilities and emphasizing them as part of the solution to combat gender violence has gained increased attention. There are local, national and international laws, conventions and
agreements that define gender-based violence and legislate against those who use it. There is more public education, awareness and acceptance of the problem and more institutions acting in accordance of the laws.

The evidence in the previous section indicates that empowering women is not always a solution to eradicate gender violence. There is a growing awareness that men can play a significant role in ending violence and thus violence prevention programs should be addressed towards them. Reviews of the literature suggest that sexual assault prevention programs for college men can be effective in improving attitudes that may put men at-risk for committing violence against women, although these attitudinal changes are often limited to periods of a few months. In contrast, programs that focus only on providing information have not been found to be effective. Moreover the evidence suggests that these programs are more effective in all-male groups. For example, Brecklin and Forde (2001) conducted a comprehensive meta-analysis of forty-three college rape prevention program evaluations and concluded that both men and women experienced more beneficial change in single-gender groups than in mixed-gender ones.

The only experimental evidence on the impact of women's economic status on domestic violence comes from a randomized intervention combining microfinance with violence education in South Africa. Women randomized to receive the intervention experienced a 55 percent drop in domestic violence relative to the control group (Pronyk et al., 2006). These results suggest that a combination of women's economic empowerment and men's education on gender violence can have a substantial effect in ending domestic violence.

*Social structures that devalue women*

The evidence in previous papers suggests that economic development will not blunt son preference or eliminate discrimination against girls and women, unless social structures such as dowries, patrilineal living arrangements and discriminatory inheritances will be eliminated.

In India a very problematic issue is that of dowries and its related violence. Dowry in its coercive extravagant form does not enhance a woman's status or strengthen her bargaining power. In reinforcing the image that daughters are an economic burden, the indispensability of marriage and their dependence status, the practice only maintains and reproduces the devaluation of women. In 1986, the Dowry Prohibition
(Amendment) Act was an important instrument in the direction towards improving gender equality. However dowry practices are still frequent pointing out the inadequacies in the law itself and the need for more broad-based efforts. The problem is that the law is couched in a patriarchal framework which views the woman as dependent. Some researchers suggest that the strengthening of women's right to property legally and in practice could pave the way for elimination the dowry system.

A starting point would be to modify the inheritance laws. In a recent paper, Deininger et al. (2010) evaluate the impact of changes in the Hindu succession Act in 1994 that grant daughters equal coparcenary birth rights in joint family property. They show that the amendment significantly increased the probability of daughters inheriting land, but that even after the passage of the amendment, significant bias against females persists. Their results also indicate a significant increase in educational attainment for daughters, suggesting an alternative channel of wealth transfer.

*Increasing female enrollment in education*

Several creative approaches have been proposed to improve and diversify education, and provide incentives for households to send girls to school. On the supply side, education policies need to address discrimination and broaden school options. For example, parental concerns about the physical safety of their daughters can make community and non-formal alternative schools more attractive than regular public schools. This is the case in Rajasthan, India, where community schools employing paraprofessional teachers and part-time workers who escort girls from excluded groups to school have increased their enrollment, attendance, and test scores relative to those of regular public schools (World Bank 1999).

Increasing the number of women teachers in schools is likely to have a strong positive impact on girls’ education. In some conservative communities, parents do not allow their daughters to be taught by a male teacher. This is the case in some areas of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The placement of a woman teacher, therefore, can have an immediate impact on access. A study in Nepal, for example, indicates that mothers feel more comfortable talking about their children with a woman teacher, and in India - an environment where local politics is often considered to be about contacts, favors and inside-dealings - women teachers are considered “more sincere” because they are less likely to be involved in local politics (UNESCO PROAP, 2000). The presence of women in schools can also impact positively on girls’ retention in school.
and on their achievement. A female role model can support and encourage girls to successfully complete their studies and maybe even continue studying to become teachers, themselves. At the school policy level, women teachers may act as advocates for girls, representing their perspectives and needs, and promoting more girl-friendly learning. For example, women teachers may be able to advocate for better toilet and washing facilities. Thus women teachers play key roles in educating and socializing children beyond gender stereotypes, and so are crucial agents of change.

On the demand side, proposed incentives for households to send girls to school include conditional cash transfers, scholarships, stipends, and school feeding programs. Conditional cash transfers (CCTs) extend resources to households to defray some of the costs of sending their children to school, tying social assistance payments to desirable behaviors. Programs in Bangladesh, Ecuador, and Mexico, among others, have been successful, although their specific impact on excluded groups needs to be carefully assessed. The experience of Progressa in Mexico suggests that without careful targeting, resources spent on CCTs may not have the desired results (de Janvry and Sadoulet 2006). Specifically, the program benefited indigenous boys more than indigenous girls. A CCT program in Ecuador boosted school enrollment overall by 3.7 percentage points, but did not differentially benefit girls or minority students (Schady and Araujo 2006).

Scholarships and stipends also offset the cost of schooling, by compensating families for the direct and indirect costs of education. Secondary school scholarship programs offer girls financing and encouragement to stay in school. They have been highly effective in several countries, notably Bangladesh, where scholarships increased girls’ enrollment to twice that of the national average. Stipend programs also compensate parents for the cost of schooling, but they are tied to such school inputs as uniforms, books, materials, and transportation. Even the opportunity to earn a scholarship has been found to boost student achievement. In Kenya, Kremer et al (2004) carried out a randomized evaluation of the impact of girls’ scholarship incentives on girls’ learning achievement. The experiment, involving 127 schools, shows that both boys and girls in schools with girls’ scholarship programs achieved higher scores than those in control schools.

Various types of school feeding programs show an association with higher enrollment and attendance. In Kenya, meals raised attendance in program schools by 30 percent, relative to schools without a free lunch, and test scores raised nearly half a
standard deviation. But a careful analysis of this program showed that most benefits accrued to boys rather than to girls and had little impact on reducing the gender gap (Vermeersch and Kremer 2004).

An important structural barrier in the developed world
Most care and household tasks are provided through family obligations, unpaid but not free, since they are paid for by reducing the labor market opportunities of careers. Family careers are mostly women, because of gender norms and also the gender wage gap, which makes it more costly for men to reduce employment hours.

In developed countries, the substantial improvement in the labor market outcomes of women has not gone hand in hand with a more egalitarian division of household tasks. To improve female labor market opportunities many countries are reconsidering their family benefit policies with a view of increasingly involving fathers in child care and housework tasks.

Pioneering countries in developing more gender equal family benefits are Norway and Sweden where their maternity leave systems were transformed into paternal leave systems as early as in the 1970s. Currently, a large number of other countries are reconsidering their benefit systems. Mainly they extend parental leave periods and impose gender restrictions. In Denmark, Italy and Norway, for instance, at least one month of the extension is a "use it or lose it" option for fathers. In Austria, two years of extended leave is offered, but only if the father takes at least six months of leave before the child turns three. Iceland has introduced the most radical reform. Here, three months are allocated to fathers, three to mothers. Only three months can be freely allocated between the parents. All these policies aim at providing fathers with stronger incentives to take parental leave, and share household work and the responsibility for child care.

Increased individual eligibility to paid and unpaid parental leave schemes has caused fathers to increase their usage of the leave schemes. This result has been found both for the relatively moderate US parental leave schemes (Han et al., 2009), where increased eligibility makes fathers increase leave taking by 50-80%, and for the more generous Swedish parental leave schemes (Ekberg et al., 2005) where a one-month quota dedicated to the father, makes fathers increase leave by 2 weeks on average.
Considering the effects of child leave on male care-taking activities, Nepomnyaschy and Waldfogel (2007) find evidence that US fathers who take parental leave are more involved in dressing, feeding, bathing and getting up at night, nine months after birth. Looking at long run effects on male care-taking activities, Ekberg et al. (2005) find no effect of Swedish father's leave usage on their involvement in child care and household work when the child is eight years old. The authors argue that the results are likely to reflect causal effects as identification is based on comparison of fathers with children born slightly before and slightly after the introduction of the "daddy month", which increased father's leave by two weeks on average. It is perhaps not surprising that such a small increase in fathers' involvement has no long run effects.

The previous results suggest that it may be relatively easy for a government to incentivize fathers to take parental leave. However, it appears much harder to induce behavioral changes, through the acquisition of human capital for household work and child care.

**Conclusions**

Recent years have witnessed considerable advances in women's attainment of economic and social rights. However, the implementation of full gender equality requires a profound shift in individual attitudes and behaviors, which will ultimately transform the underlying structure of social and economic institutions, making them more welcoming to women.

From the previous literature review we conclude that men play a key role in bringing about gender equality since, in most societies, men exercise preponderant power in many spheres of life. In a significant fraction of developing countries men have full control of economic resources and, in some cases, they can even have the final say regarding women's health and socioeconomic issues. In the developed world the unequal distribution of family care and household tasks represent a barrier for the economic success of women. Gender violence is also an important factor that deteriorates women's integrity all over the globe. Thus the transition towards a more egalitarian society requires the contribution and commitment of men.

The evidence so far suggests that gender policies that exclusively target women can easily fail to achieve their intended goals. Indeed, some of those policies designed to only promoting women’s empowerment have been shown to have adverse effects on
their well-being. In contrast, programs that take into account the role of men and inform them about the benefits of improving women's socioeconomic status are more likely to be successful. Particularly popular are those focused on women's reproductive health that educate men on contraception, STD and HIV prevention methods.

On the whole, the evidence in this review challenges policy makers and development institutions to seriously consider the role of men in achieving gender equality. To this end, it is important to note that gender equality does not mean women ruling over men, but it rather guarantees a level playing field absent of all forms of discrimination that prevail against women.

Footnotes

(1) See Duflo (2005) for a detailed survey.

(2) Several complementary theories have been proposed to explain the profound transformation in the role women in the family and the workplace during the last century in developed countries. These explanations range from the liberation effect of new consumer durables, as suggested by Greenwood, Seshadri and Yorukoglu (2004), that greatly decreased the amount of work required to run a household (e.g. washing machine, vacuum cleaner, etc), to the revolutionary effect of the oral contraceptive that, as argued by Goldin and Katz (2002), facilitated a woman's investment in her career. The expansion of the service sector with strong demand of white-collar jobs or skilled-biased technological change is also thought to have greatly facilitated the strong increase in female labor supply (Goldin, 1990).

(3) The expansion of women's rights is related to the evolution of laws that allowed women to own and control separate property, to write contracts, to own and control their earnings, or to maintain custody over their children.

(4) This marital arrangement accounts for about a third of all marriages in rural Pakistan.


Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Ana Maria Muñoz and Aline Coudouel at the World Bank and Emmanuel Jimenez and three anonymous referees for their comments and useful suggestions. Corresponding author: L. Farré, Institut d'Anàlisi Econòmica, IAE-CSIC, Campus UAB, 08193, Bellaterra, Barcelona, Telf: (+34) 93 592 9779. Email: lidia.farre@iae.csic.es. The author is research fellow at IZA, CReAM and INSIDE and acknowledges the support of the Barcelona GSE Research Network, the Government of Catalonia and the Spanish Ministry of Science (grant ECO2011-29663).
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