2 Gender, Poverty, and Wealth

The large majority of poor people in the world live in developing countries. The World Development Report published by the World Bank (1990) estimates that in 1985, about one-third of the population of the developing world (1,115 million people) was below the consumption based poverty line of $370[1] per person a year. This overall poverty was distributed so that about half of those living in South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, one-third of those in the Middle East and North Africa, and one-fifth of those in East Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean were below the poverty line. In addition, the majority of these poor are in rural areas, in large households with a high dependency ratio, employed in agriculture, and lacking both assets and income (World Bank, 1990). Better documentation is needed to determine whether a higher share of these poor are women or men. The other side of this same question is, of course, whether a higher share of those defined as wealthy are more likely to be men than women.

It is widely recognized that women are disadvantaged relative to men in terms of education, labor force opportunities and benefits, and ownership of assets. (Later chapters of this report will also be examining the extent and nature of this disadvantage.) However, the extent to which these disadvantages translate into a higher probability of finding more women than men in poorer households will depend in part on the prescribed cultural roles for women in any given country, and the age group of the population examined.

Barring early and widespread fostering of children, the very young are likely to be found living in the households into which they are born. This should imply a more or less equal sex ratio of the children in households across the poverty-wealth spectrum. However, such an expectation would be violated when there is systematic discrimination in any form against the female child, and this discrimination varies by the wealth of the household. Discrimination could affect the probability of a female birth through, for example, sex selective abortions, or of the survival of the female child through discrimination in feeding and medical practices or through deliberate female infanticide.

Women in the reproductive and older ages, by contrast, could be living in households that they have entered as brides (husband's household), or in those that they have formed independently on their own or with their husbands, or they may still be living with their natal families. Older women may also be living as dependents in their adult children's households. In each case, women's own characteristics, i.e., their education, inheritance, or employability, may or may not be causally relevant to the wealth or poverty status of the household. In many cultures, the mainly reproductive and domestic roles of women in reproductive and older ages are so defined as to discourage women from trying to convert their individual characteristics into economic wealth for the household of residence. Instead, their roles emphasize the nurturing of male members of the household who are perceived as the main economic providers. In such cultures, the wealth or poverty of the household in which women live is likely to be disassociated from their own characteristics[2] and dependent more on the characteristics of the males on whom they depend. Thus, in such societies, women will be rich or poor according to whether the household of their father, husband, or son is rich or poor;[3] and, whether the household is rich or poor will depend more on the inheritance and individual characteristics of the male head and other producing males. However, in other cultures, such as those of sub-Saharan Africa, a higher proportion of women tend to be household heads and have direct responsibilities for their own and their children's economic welfare (Lloyd and Gage-Brandon, 1993; Okali,

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[1] The consumption based poverty line defines a range rather than a single consumption level. The lower limit of this range is $275 and the upper limit is $370 in 1985 purchasing power parity prices.

[2] Of course, the household that a woman marries into is likely to depend on both her own characteristics and the characteristics of her natal household. Thus, the more educated she is and the more wealthy her parents' household, the more likely that the household she marries into is also educated and wealthy. Further, the dowry she brings at the time of marriage may also affect the economic status of the household she enters.

[3] Clearly, residence in a household does not necessarily equate to unlimited or even adequate access to the resources of the household. Access to the resources also does not imply that they are within the control of the individual woman. Thus, while a woman may be considered rich or poor according to whether the household is rich or poor, nothing can be assumed about her share in the resources of the household. Note also that while the individual characteristics of women may not always directly affect the wealth of their household, women's characteristics are likely to influence how and to whom household resources are allocated (McElroy, 1990; Sen, 1990; Thomas, 1990).

1983; Robertson, 1976). In these cultures, as compared to those where the wealth of households depends mainly on the characteristics of men, the disadvantaged position of women relative to men with regard to education, employment opportunities, and asset ownership is likely to be more directly related to the relative share of females among the poor. Indeed, there has been an increasing feminization of poverty in the African region (Topouzis, 1990).

One difficulty in documenting the proportion of poor and wealthy by gender is finding appropriate measures for the poverty-wealth continuum. Income measures suffer from several problems including conceptualization of what constitutes income, valuation in terms of what prices to use especially under conditions of price fluctuation, and cross-cultural inconsistency in measurement and collection of data. In addition, and perhaps most importantly, per capita income measures based on household income beg the question of gender biases in distribution within the household (World Bank, 1990). However, a measure of household living standards based on a combination of *collective* goods and facilities which are shared by all household members is less likely to suffer from any of these problems, including those of intrahousehold distribution. Thus, in this chapter a poverty-wealth indicator is developed based on household access to basic amenities and ownership of selected consumer durables. The distributions of women and men across the values of this living standards indicator are examined. The purpose is simply to determine whether a disproportionate number of women, as compared to men, are found at one end of the living standards scale rather than the other, and whether age is a factor.

The Amenities and Possessions Index (API) defined for use in this and later chapters is based on an individual's access to the basic amenities of toilet facilities, drinking and nondrinking water, and electricity, and to four consumer durables: radio, television, refrigerator, and car. *An individual is assumed to have access to these basic amenities and consumer durables if the household he/she lives in has these basic amenities and consumer durables.* This assumption appears to be justified because all amenities and consumer durables included in the index are collective goods (the car being least so), and questions of inequitable distribution relevant to income-based measures are less likely to apply. Specifically, individuals are assigned the following index values according to whether their household has

the specified combination of basic amenities and consumer durables:[4]

HIGH API—bottled water or water piped into the residence (or property, where relevant) for both drinking and nondrinking purposes, own (not shared) flush toilet, electricity, and all four consumer durables namely radio, television, refrigerator and car;

MEDIUM-HIGH API—any kind of drinking and nondrinking water source other than surface water, any kind of flush or pit toilet latrine or "other" toilet facilities, may or may not have electricity, and at least two of any of the four consumer durables;

MEDIUM API (the residual category)—any kind of drinking or nondrinking water source including surface water and "other" water sources, any kind of toilet facility including those listed under no facility and "other," may or may not have electricity, any combination of the four consumer durables including none; and finally,

LOW API—only surface water for drinking and nondrinking purposes, no toilet facility, no electricity, and none of the four consumer durables.

This definition of the API ensures that the two ends of the scale coincide with the two ends of the poverty-wealth spectrum—those in the HIGH API category have everything, even a car, and those in the LOW API category have

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[4] Several exceptions to the general schema are noted as follows:
—In Colombia, nonstandard options are used for sources of drinking and nondrinking water, so that the HIGH API category includes households that get their water from public networks of aqueducts, rural aqueducts and any other source by tube. Sources for nondrinking water were not available for Bolivia.
—In Colombia, Egypt, Pakistan, and Rwanda, no distinction is made in the data between own and shared flush toilet. Thus, if the household has a flush toilet it is treated as having "own" flush toilet. In Bangladesh and Indonesia, there is no flush toilet option. The most superior toilet option available in Indonesia is "private with septic tank" and in Bangladesh it is "septic tank/modern."
—There is no electricity option available in Turkey.
—Of the four consumer durables considered, Philippines has no radio option, the radio option in Egypt is actually "radio with cassette recorder," Rwanda has no TV option, Malawi has no TV or refrigerator option, Bolivia and Kenya have no car option, the available car option in Egypt is "car/motorcycle," and "motor vehicle" in Indonesia.

absolutely nothing. The MEDIUM-HIGH and the MEDIUM categories are less clear-cut and differ from the two extremes because they allow for several different combinations of the types of amenities and number of durable goods. Persons are assigned to the MEDIUM category only if they do not satisfy the conditions of the other API categories. This ensures that those in the MEDIUM category are better off in some way than those in the LOW category but are worse off than those in the MEDIUM-HIGH category.

The distribution of the population across the values of the API is given for all countries in Table 2.1. Noticeably, the populations of most countries are highly concentrated in the MEDIUM category, i.e., most of the population does not fall in the poorest category but is not very far above. Indeed, with the exception of the Latin American, Caribbean, and North African countries, and Madagascar and Turkey, in all the other countries the MEDIUM category accounts for at least every two out of three individuals. By contrast, in

Table 2.1 API distribution of household population

Percent distribution of household population across the different levels of the Amenities and Possessions Index (API), Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Country[1]	API Level				Total	Number
	High	Medium-High	Medium	Low		
Sub-Saharan Africa						
Burkina Faso	0.4	5.5	91.5	2.6	100.0	33,767
Cameroon	2.6	15.8	76.8	4.8	100.0	19,728
Ghana	1.3	12.3	80.0	6.3	100.0	21,900
Kenya	1.9	4.0	85.1	9.0	100.0	37,694
Madagascar	0.4	3.9	62.7	33.0	100.0	30,687
Malawi	0.7	1.0	94.4	3.8	100.0	23,697
Namibia	8.0	13.1	71.4	7.5	100.0	24,340
Niger	0.3	5.1	93.2	1.4	100.0	32,597
Rwanda	0.3	0.7	94.8	4.2	100.0	30,942
Senegal	1.8	18.5	79.0	0.8	100.0	30,884
Zambia	2.6	10.3	75.9	11.2	100.0	34,542
North Africa						
Egypt	3.6	61.4	34.9	0.1	100.0	60,607
Morocco	6.7	40.5	49.8	2.9	100.0	39,361
Asia/Near East						
Bangladesh	1.7	3.8	93.7	0.8	100.0	49,812
Indonesia	2.0	22.3	70.6	5.0	100.0	123,838
Pakistan	1.4	18.7	76.0	3.9	100.0	47,994
Philippines	3.7	22.1	69.4	4.8	100.0	68,569
Turkey	10.5	66.2	23.2	0.1	100.0	38,600
Latin America/ Caribbean						
Bolivia	12.8	27.7	55.2	4.3	100.0	40,551
Brazil	7.2	38.2	51.5	3.0	100.0	28,726
Colombia	9.9	57.9	31.7	0.5	100.0	31,130
Dominican Republic	6.8	46.3	44.7	2.2	100.0	32,563
Peru	10.7	48.3	37.4	3.6	100.0	70,020

[1] Household amenities and possessions information is not available in Paraguay and Nigeria.
Note: See text for definition of API categories.

Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Egypt, Peru, and Turkey, it is the MEDIUM-HIGH category which is most important. Further, the two extreme categories, HIGH and LOW, together account for more than 10 percent of the population in only nine of the 24 countries and never account for more than 20 percent in most countries. Only in Madagascar is 33 percent of the population concentrated in the LOW API category with no basic amenities and none of the four consumer goods.[5]

In order to examine whether more women than men are found in each of these categories, the sex ratio, defined as the number of males per 100 females, is calculated in each API category. The sex ratio is an ideal tool for the comparison of the numbers of men and women in each category. By directly relating the number of men to women in each API category, the sex ratio shows in absolute terms whether there are more women (the sex ratio is less than 100) or more men (the sex ratio is greater than 100) in that category. Further, a comparison of the sex ratio in one API category with the sex ratio for the total population can reveal whether women or men are overrepresented or underrepresented in that category.

2.1 SEX RATIO WITHIN EACH API CATEGORY

The question of whether women relative to men are disproportionately found at any one end of the poverty-wealth spectrum is answered by examining the sex ratio of the population in each API category (Table 2.2).

Looking first at the sex ratios in the HIGH and LOW API categories, i.e., at the two ends of the poverty-wealth spectrum, women are not found to be systematically concentrated at either end. While there are 15 countries with more females than males in the LOW category and only six countries with more males than females, at the other end of the spectrum in the HIGH category, there are 14 countries with more females than males, and nine countries with more males than females. Notably, six of the countries that have more men than women in the HIGH category lie in sub-Saharan Africa, and only two of the countries that have more men than women in the LOW category do the same.

Similar results are found moving away from the extremes to the two categories—MEDIUM-HIGH and MEDIUM—where the majority of population is found in most countries. There are again 16 countries in the MEDIUM-HIGH category and 14 in the MEDIUM category that have more females than males.

Table 2.2 Sex ratio by API level

Sex ratio of the population at each level of the Amenities and Possessions Index (API) and total sex ratio, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

| Country | API Level | | | | |
	High	Medium-High	Medium	Low	Total
Sub-Saharan Africa					
Burkina Faso	106.3	98.0	93.9	94.0	94.2
Cameroon	103.4	97.8	92.1	102.6	93.7
Ghana	88.7	91.7	94.2	96.3	93.9
Kenya	87.8	92.2	93.5	86.2	92.6
Madagascar	102.5	97.0	102.8	98.7	101.2
Malawi	113.8	121.0	96.2	92.7	96.4
Namibia	99.3	93.8	93.6	87.9	93.7
Niger	(106.7)	101.2	97.5	103.4	97.8
Rwanda	(97.7)	124.3	97.5	83.6	97.0
Senegal	93.8	87.3	92.7	91.7	91.7
Zambia	105.6	103.2	99.2	94.1	99.2
North Africa					
Egypt	100.0	106.0	103.1	*	104.7
Morocco	90.9	98.7	95.4	91.9	96.3
Asia/Near East					
Bangladesh	100.6	97.8	102.1	93.6	101.8
Indonesia	92.6	100.2	98.7	97.9	98.9
Pakistan	95.4	101.4	109.7	110.1	107.9
Philippines	77.0	93.3	106.3	107.4	102.1
Turkey	101.7	98.4	99.4	*	99.0
Latin America/ Caribbean					
Bolivia	84.8	96.3	98.6	97.0	96.0
Brazil	81.9	87.9	104.2	92.9	95.6
Colombia	81.5	88.0	104.1	95.4	92.1
Dominican Republic	71.9	89.0	113.5	120.1	98.4
Peru	89.7	97.3	103.0	106.4	98.9

Note: See text for definitions of API categories. Figures in parentheses are based on fewer than 100 cases. An asterisk indicates that a figure is based on fewer than 50 cases (total males + females < 50) and has been suppressed.

Further, in examining whether the sex ratios decline when moving from the HIGH to the LOW API categories, no consistent relationship is found across countries. Nonetheless, in all of the Latin American and Caribbean countries and in Pakistan and the Philippines, the sex ratios of both the HIGH and MEDIUM-HIGH categories are lower than the sex ratios of both the MEDIUM and LOW cate-

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[5] This imbalanced distribution of the population across the values of the API is reflective of the very low living standards of the majority of the populations surveyed. This conclusion was arrived at when several alternative specifications which simultaneously satisfied a basic ranking criteria and defined two incontroversial poverty-wealth extremes were tried with no major change in the population distribution.

gories; whereas, in most of the sub-Saharan African countries except Ghana and Madagascar, the reverse seems to be true.

A comparison of sex ratios reveals, in absolute terms, whether there are more or less women than men in each API category across countries. However, given that the sex ratios of different countries vary, another approach would be to compare whether women relative to men are overrepresented in each API category as compared to their representation in the total population of the country. Women are overrepresented if the sex ratio in the API category is less than the total sex ratio; similarly, women are underrepresented if the sex ratio in the API category is more than the total sex ratio.

In Figure 2.1, each country is represented by four bars, one for each of the API categories. The value shown for each category is the absolute difference between the total sex ratio and the sex ratio in that API category. Negative values reveal underrepresentation of women in that category, and positive values reveal overrepresentation of women in that category.

Women are overrepresented in the HIGH API category in 13 of the 23 countries. Women are overrepresented by 5 points or more in all of these countries except Bangladesh. In all five of the Latin American and Caribbean countries, and in the Philippines and Pakistan, women are overrepresented in this category by 10 or more points. In the case of the remaining 10 countries, where women are underrepresented in the HIGH category, underrepresentation exceeds 5 points in only about half of these countries. In the MEDIUM-HIGH category, women are overrepresented in 11 countries, although this overrepresentation exceeds 5 points in only four of these countries and is never greater than 10 points. Women are underrepresented in the MEDIUM-HIGH category in the remaining 12 countries, although in 10 of them, the underrepresentation is less than 5 points. Only in Malawi and Rwanda, the remaining two countries, is the underrepresentation quite large at 25 points or more.

Looking at the other end of the poverty-wealth spectrum, women are overrepresented in the LOW category in about half of the countries for which data are available, and the overrepresentation is more than 5 points in only five of these countries. There are also six countries where women in the LOW category are underrepresented by more than 5 points. The largest underrepresentation is in the Dominican

Republic (22 points). Finally, in the MEDIUM category, only very small negative and positive deviations of the MEDIUM sex ratios from the total sex ratios are observed for most countries. The only exceptions are Brazil, Colombia, and the Dominican Republic where women are underrepresented in this category by over 8 points.
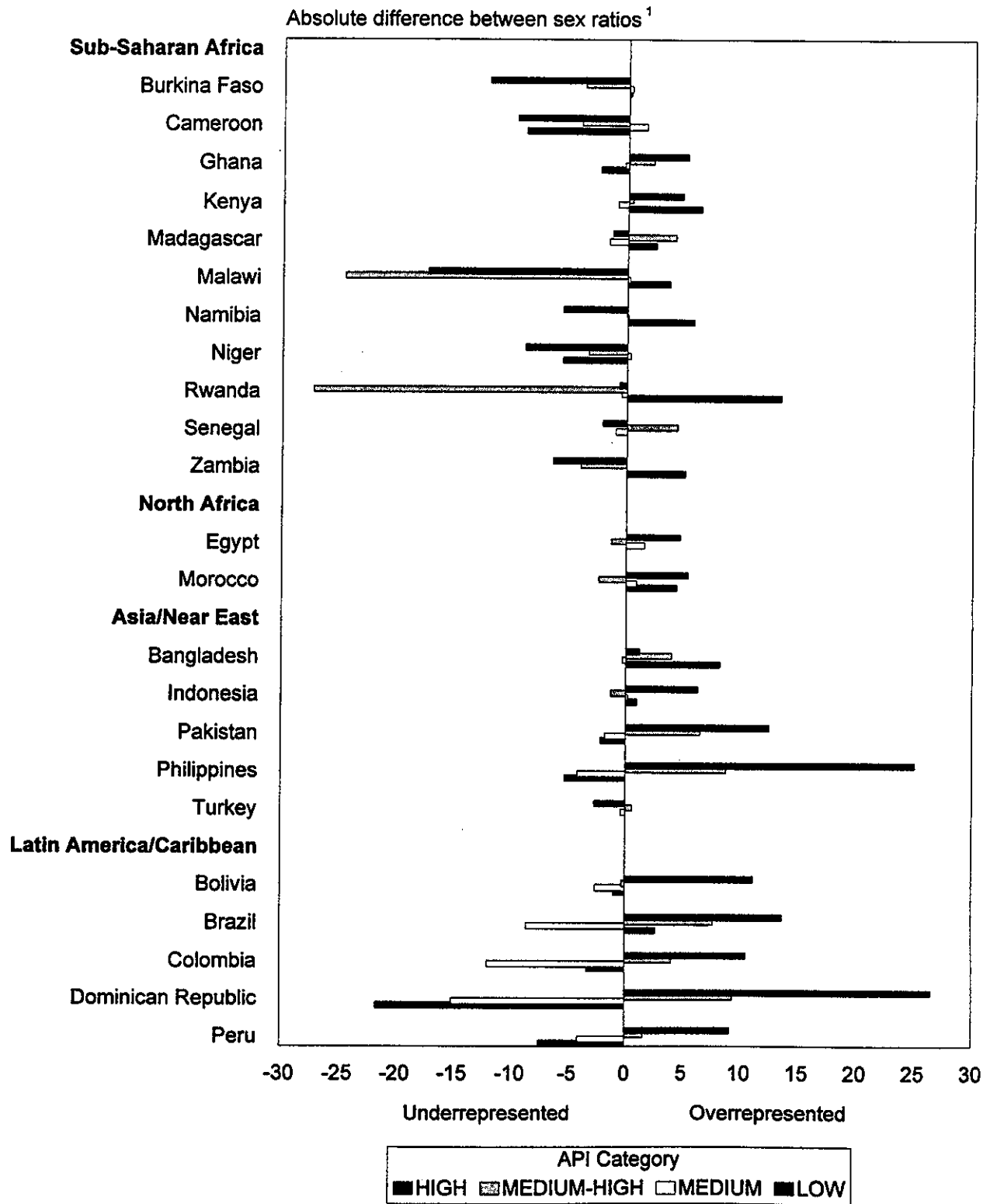
This comparison of the absolute numbers of men and women in each category of the API and the relative over- and underrepresentation of women in each category does not support the idea that more women than men are concentrated at one end of the poverty-wealth spectrum. Indeed, women, relative to men, are overrepresented in the "rich" categories as often as they are underrepresented; and they are overrepresented in the "poor" categories as often as they are underrepresented. Further, the extent of overrepresentation of women in the HIGH category when it takes place, is generally greater than the extent of underrepresentation. The opposite is true for the population in the LOW category. However, while no generalization is possible for all countries taken as a whole, there are distinct patterns discernible in the different regions of the world. In Latin America and the Caribbean, more men than women are found among the "poor" API categories, and many more women than men among the "rich" API categories. This is also true in some of the Asian countries. However, in the majority of the sub-Saharan African countries, the opposite appears to be true. No systematic differences are discernible in the North African countries of Egypt and Morocco.

2.2 SEX RATIO WITHIN EACH API CATEGORY BY AGE

Table 2.3 gives the sex ratio in each API category for three different age groups of the population in each country: 0-14 years, 15-49 years and 50 years or more. This table reveals some interesting patterns for gender differences in poverty by age.

Among the population of children 0-14 years of age, the sex ratio of the LOW category is higher than the sex ratio of the HIGH category in all of the 17 countries except Bangladesh and Colombia for which sex ratios are calculated for both categories. Further, in nine of these countries, the sex ratio in the LOW category is greater than 100 and in the HIGH category is less than 100. In addition, there is no country where the sex ratio for this age group declines linearly when moving from the HIGH to LOW API categories. Thus, among the 0-14 year age group in most countries,

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Figure 2.1 Underrepresentation and overrepresentation of females in each API cateogry, Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

Absolute difference between sex ratios [1]

Sub-Saharan Africa
Burkina Faso
Cameroon
Ghana
Kenya
Madagascar
Malawi
Namibia
Niger
Rwanda
Senegal
Zambia
North Africa
Egypt
Morocco
Asia/Near East
Bangladesh
Indonesia
Pakistan
Philippines
Turkey
Latin America/Caribbean
Bolivia
Brazil
Colombia
Dominican Republic
Peru

-30 -25 -20 -15 -10 -5 0 5 10 15 20 25 30

Underrepresented   Overrepresented

API Category
■HIGH ▨MEDIUM-HIGH ☐MEDIUM ■LOW

[1]Values represent the absolute difference between the total sex ratio for each country and the sex ratio in the API category.

Table 2.3 Sex ratio by age and API level

Sex ratio by age in households at different levels of the Amenities and Possessions Index (API), Demographic and Health Surveys, 1990-1994

	Household population age 0-14 years						Household population age 15-49 years						Household population age 50 years or more					
	API level				Total sex ratio	Number	API level				Total sex ratio	Number	API level				Total sex ratio	Number
Country	High	Medium-High	Medium	Low			High	Medium-High	Medium	Low			High	Medium-High	Medium	Low		
Sub-Saharan Africa																		
Burkina Faso	*	90.7	101.7	95.3	100.9	16,521	(112.5)	105.4	86.5	93.7	88.1	13,014	*	(86.4)	87.8	90.1	87.9	4,218
Cameroon	99.8	97.2	97.0	117.1	98.0	9,348	105.1	100.6	90.2	89.6	92.4	7,990	*	83.7	81.0	95.7	82.4	2,377
Ghana	91.2	94.6	105.8	111.0	104.6	10,449	75.9	85.9	85.8	82.7	85.5	8,948	*	118.5	80.4	84.0	84.0	2,500
Kenya	82.8	95.9	94.9	91.1	94.5	18,517	84.4	85.7	94.2	80.7	92.4	14,945	(120.2)	(158.0)	83.1	82.3	84.3	4,121
Madagascar	*	94.5	103.5	104.0	103.5	14,165	(76.5)	98.3	102.5	94.1	99.4	13,268	*	(94.8)	93.9	87.0	91.6	3,090
Malawi	(100.4)	82.7	96.8	106.1	97.1	11,054	(132.5)	148.8	96.7	82.1	96.9	9,813	*	*	91.3	83.1	91.4	2,803
Namibia	91.1	93.9	97.5	97.7	96.7	10,379	99.6	88.7	92.4	78.7	91.6	10,532	100.8	109.7	77.6	71.9	81.1	3,119
Niger	*	95.2	103.0	109.8	102.6	15,824	(149.1)	110.6	89.7	96.4	91.1	13,093	*	78.7	100.1	*	99.4	3,614
Rwanda	*	(87.1)	97.0	99.4	97.1	14,708	(87.6)	146.0	97.3	72.8	96.7	12,961	*	*	93.5	59.4	91.5	3,096
Senegal	94.1	91.2	100.6	103.6	98.8	14,688	85.6	83.6	84.2	(82.0)	84.1	12,459	(143.5)	87.2	90.7	*	90.7	3,710
Zambia	91.0	88.2	95.4	95.7	94.6	16,132	116.9	116.6	101.3	97.5	103.0	15,287	*	152.8	108.2	79.6	104.7	3,105
North Africa																		
Egypt	99.5	104.1	105.0	*	104.3	24,338	90.9	106.2	105.7	*	105.3	29,067	153.7	111.8	87.7	*	103.9	7,198
Morocco	96.3	108.9	102.8	101.1	104.5	15,467	85.0	93.1	88.8	86.8	90.3	18,418	106.3	94.9	93.7	78.2	94.3	5,461
Asia/Near East																		
Bangladesh	98.7	92.8	102.7	84.8	102.2	20,939	96.1	98.8	98.9	98.6	98.8	23,114	(135.2)	108.4	113.2	*	113.2	5,756
Indonesia	99.8	109.6	104.7	106.3	105.7	44,754	89.3	94.7	95.2	90.5	94.7	62,385	94.7	101.0	95.9	101.5	97.1	16,684
Pakistan	76.6	97.5	109.1	112.5	106.7	21,075	106.6	102.6	107.1	94.4	105.7	20,591	109.6	110.7	120.4	150.9	119.9	6,304
Philippines	91.5	101.0	106.0	101.2	104.5	26,915	71.4	92.6	111.2	118.9	104.3	33,194	77.0	79.5	90.6	95.1	87.3	8,433
Turkey	108.0	103.3	109.8	*	105.4	12,473	97.9	97.6	96.7	*	97.4	19,590	104.1	91.6	89.5	*	92.0	6,523
Latin America/ Caribbean																		
Bolivia	92.8	105.4	104.0	101.8	103.1	17,389	82.5	90.8	96.0	99.0	92.4	18,008	77.4	88.6	89.0	82.6	86.4	5,130
Brazil	91.6	92.1	109.3	92.5	101.5	11,242	76.8	87.3	106.9	99.5	95.2	13,196	81.4	79.0	83.4	79.1	81.4	4,239
Colombia	105.1	97.0	104.2	(84.2)	100.1	10,892	68.9	83.0	108.3	(108.4)	87.6	15,846	99.4	87.3	92.2	*	90.1	4,375
Dominican Republic	75.8	96.7	114.9	104.0	103.8	11,959	66.4	86.3	113.6	122.4	95.4	16,332	92.1	80.0	108.8	(216.5)	95.0	4,180
Peru	100.4	103.3	103.3	111.7	103.5	26,287	83.1	94.6	104.1	107.4	96.4	34,314	98.3	93.4	97.6	84.8	95.1	9,371

Note: See text for definition of API categories. Figures in parentheses are based on fewer than 100 cases. An asterisk indicates that a figure is based on fewer than 50 cases and has been suppressed.

girls are more likely than boys to be found in the "richest" households and less likely to be found in the "poorest" households.

The same result for ages 0-14 is found even when comparing across the three categories of MEDIUM-HIGH, MEDIUM, and LOW. In all of the sub-Saharan countries except Kenya, in three of the five Asian and three of the five Latin American and Caribbean countries, and in Egypt, the population of the MEDIUM-HIGH category is more female than (or as equally female as) the population of the MEDIUM and the LOW categories. This is true despite the fact that in 16 countries the total sex ratio for this 0-14 age group is greater than 100. However, overall, girls appear better off than boys in more sub-Saharan African countries than in countries of other regions.

A comparison of the sex ratios by API category for the age group 15-49 again reveals regional differences. In Africa, more women than men appear at the poorer end of the API scale than at the richer end. Indeed, in nine of the 11 sub-Saharan African countries, the sex ratio of the population in the LOW category is lower than the sex ratio of the population in the HIGH and MEDIUM-HIGH categories. Additionally, in five of these countries, the population in the MEDIUM category is also more feminine than the population in the "richer" two categories. In only two countries, Ghana and Madagascar, do more women than men in this age group appear in the "richer" categories than in the "poorer" categories.

By contrast, in the Philippines and most of the Latin American and Caribbean countries, the sex ratio falls steadily when moving from the LOW to HIGH API categories. Further, in all of these countries the sex ratio of the HIGH category is extremely feminine, at about 83 in Bolivia and Peru; and except in Bolivia, the sex ratio of the "poorer" two categories is extremely masculine at well over 100. In the remaining Asian countries, no consistent pattern is evident.

The sex ratios for the elderly (50 years and older) are given in the last panel of Table 2.3. Unfortunately, due to the extremely small number of cases in the upper end of the API in sub-Saharan Africa, and at the lower end in several of the remaining countries, many ratios are suppressed. Nonetheless, some patterns are discernible. In sub-Saharan Africa, the more masculine sex ratios (above 100) tend to be found mainly among the population in the higher two categories of the API, and in six of the nine countries where comparison is possible, the lowest sex ratio is found either in the LOW or the MEDIUM API category. The increasing masculinity of the sex ratio as the API increases is also found for this age group in Bangladesh, Bolivia, Egyp Morocco, and Turkey. It is notable that in all of the sul Saharan African and North African countries and for sever of the Asian countries for which the sex ratio could be ca culated, the sex ratio in the HIGH category greatly exceec 100. By contrast, in Burkina Faso, the Dominican Republi Pakistan, and the Philippines, the sex ratios of the elderly the lower end of the API scale are more masculine than the upper end, although they generally remain well belo 100. In the remaining Latin American, Asian, and sub-S haran African countries, no relationship is discernible fc the 50 years and older age group.

From this analysis, it is evident that the patterns in th relationship of the sex ratio to the poverty-wealth spectrur as measured by the API differ by age and by region as fol lows:

- In more than half of the sub-Saharan African coun tries, the population of "poorer" households consists c more females than males compared to that of "richer households, regardless of whether the total populatio: or only populations age 15-49 and 50 years or mor are being compared. However, there are more girl than boys in the population age 0-14 living in th "richer" than the "poorer" households in most of thes countries.

- In the two North African countries, no clear pattern i discernible in the relative distribution of all men anc women, or just those age 15-49 and 0-14, across th poverty-wealth spectrum. However, in both countries there are more males than females in the populatio age 50 and over living in "richer" than "poorer households.

- Among the Asian countries, either no pattern is dis cernible, or if there is a pattern, it reveals more female than males overall and within each age group in the populations of "richer" rather than "poorer" house holds.

- Finally, in the Latin American and Caribbean coun tries, distinct patterns favoring women are found. I most of these countries, the total number of women relative to men overall and in the age group 15-49 tenc to increase when moving from "poorer" households tc households at the "richer" end of the continuum; how ever, in the populations age 0-14 and 50 years or more there is no distinct pattern in some countries, while il others, the pattern again favors women in the "rich range of the poverty-wealth spectrum.