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# The Dark Side of Solidarity

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**Preliminary version** 

jIP nqnlwrn r IOjwto IMnjvnwIdNlwvrlIOjwto IPnvjwI <sup>k</sup>IUmkwrILnwn Io IV jrwnl rljuNlup IV IK nvnwIPnvjwI \*1L n wmwpljq IV rjvI jmwn IP nqnlwrn r IOjwto IMnjvnwIdNlwvrlI PwnkpujIIMI IOjwto VjrwIPnvjwInulI I

#### Acknowledgements

qr Iresearch is part of a project entitled "Unlocking potential: Tackling economic, institutional j wml lrjul lw jrw I d rwovjul nwn nwn grl rwl k Saharan Africa" njwlPnvjwlW npnjwlT njwljwnal r I r wurwo vjur Iowannaik Iqnij q Government through the World Bank's Multi Donor Trust Fund Project: "Labor Markets, Job LnjrwljwmlNlwvnlIP qIljurwpIIn njlqILjjlr IK rumwpIjwmlJlr wt wtqnI Ground". The financial support is gratefully acknowledged. The project is und k I qnI RwnwjrwjulRwrnIdlrjul mm Id Njv Iwrn r I n mjv I qnI jp nI qnI Whon ujwm I qnI qn Ivn vkn I d qnIn nj lqIl w rvIj n IJOR J IKjvjt IVju I MFJUR MIYjr IO jwln Iqn IPn v jwlRwr nId Pu kjuljwn IJ njI mm I jvk pIPnvjwI umiNl wv ITmuIPnvjwI jwmlqnlTmulRw r nlo Iqnl

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#### Disclaimer

qrlrl tlrwl pn lR lmr nvrwjrwlq uninwl jpnlqnln lqjwpnldmmj ljk lr n l nujnml Inw n nwn qr ljwmlrwo vjur I qnlorwmwp Irw n n jrw ljwmll wlu rw I n n nmirwl qr I j n ljnlnwr nu I q nld qnlj q I qn lm Iw Iwnln j ru I n n nw I qn l m I d qn l uniKjwt I qn lm w I rwplqn IO wml I q nld qn lrw r rw I qj I jnlj I d qn l n j lq ll w rv I



# **1** Introduction

"Where the extended family exists, any member of the family whose income increases may be besieged by correspondingly increased demands for support from a large number of distant relations. This it at any time a deterrent to making superior effort, [...]" Lewis (1955)

rtlqjrwpljvwplq nqunlq pqlumjrljwon llwrk n ljwlrwlnjnlrwl nuoj nljwmlur nvpll wmr r w Invlv jw Imn nu rwpll w m Inpl IV mlqI w nwml IOjdajv Io alvrwp I umjr Ijwan Ill Irarwiwn t I d o mwm I jwlrwł qnlvjwjpnvnwl drwł vnloul jr wlmnl l ljwml nujrn ljwmljn Irv wnpgk wijnliq lt I juu Iumijr Ijwon II wr Idujw Iv wnj Ijwnlw wv wnj I m pro I lqlj lom I lujk I nwin Irwiqnil wn I du Irwi vni lmm I qn niqnijlln I I o vjulrw jwlnIrI njtI Iwwn r nwI umj r IknI vn Ijwlrwmr nwjkunIvnIqjwrvI I l nIrqInlwvnlIwin jrwm ljwnimr wijnlIq lt IK Iqn nIvnoq lju IknIwnpjrnI nconl Io vIjI wplw vI d umj r IThis paper approaches 'the dark side of solidarity' by rv unv nwrwpl j I oumlin nrvnwjulojvn tlk Il v krwurwpljIomumi rqljI njulnoo I n nrv nw II

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Pnwn juu IqnInlw v nlurn j nlol n Iwlqnlknwnor Id Injulwn t InwignIl wn Id julinw jwahuljpjinw Inuwn I Ikjimlqj n Ijwahljlln I Inwo vjr wljwanlanv u vnwI v t Iqnu I Ijun rjnlrw jwinljwmil nmr Ivjtn Irv non Irw I wrm I lrjulwn pqIv wn I jw on Ijwnlipro IWnpjrnInconl I drtIqjrwpIjnI num vII w mm nmIJI I q of giving are not always voluntary but are often "demanded" from the network members (Platteau 2000, Hoff and Sen 2006, Grimm et al. 2011 and literature cited therein). If the family's n nljrwIrwinjnImr rwjuul rqlrwlvnlqnlwn tlvppqlmrl jpnI qnI individual's capital accumulation. Imagine the following fictive example:I

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Π wplvjwtrInuonv u nml rqljIv wquIj njpnIrwl vnId I I rI oj qn lur n lrwl qnl rujpn lnj wrwpl wlj n jpnl IqnI wh Iqr Iq v nı I IdqrInjwnwpIrnI InIv wqIXwnImj IqnI wirIcon mnljwi r qI nv u vnwl rqljljuj ld Iqnlojqn Ijtn Iqnl wr I InrnI nwinIrwijmmrrwi Iqnij v nwidi Iqni wiqji Il v nw jnio Iqni rwł vnlu Id Ilqjiqni umjr ijirn II ljwirwł vnirwł njnid I jwujn Irw IjI j Irwinjn Id IMn rnlqnlskl v rwł trwplnco IqnI wInvjrwIrqIqnIjvnIwnI mnv jwm wplo Iqppqn I rwlvnId I II

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nlnwu Ij nwrwł IqnIwnpjrnIrv jl Idrwn ojvnu Iumjr Iqj Irwłnjnmijv wpl n njlqn Idmoon nw Iomum In IqnI n'Invjrw Immunijn Ijwmi mjnIwu Iurun Inv r nijul n njlqIqj Ij nv nmijwirw m qIjwju r IRwiojl I Ij n Ioon Ijwinv r nijul jr wjun I qnIv u IjwnIm juln mmwinIo v Ijwq u pr Iqj IqnpqImnv jwmio Iorwjwinjul Ik I v nvkn I djwinw n nwn Iojvnu Iqrwm Ijrwp Ijwmirw n v nw Irwilj r juljwmiujk Ijwmi qn no nluwpIn v Inl w v ni Ipq II

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Ilu nlqnlpj lkn nnwin r nvpljwnlm juljwnlujltrwpl k Inv rnljuin mmwini ni ppn i jwin n rv nwjulojvn tiqj ljuu Imj rvpli wlu r w I wijilj julnoon II d umj r I kupj r w I winw n nwn njulj l r r I nilq niji o umij jlq IK II wm l rvplj lomumi n n rv nw I nij nijkuni I v nj niqni ksni I knqj r julqjwpni rqrvi qnr I vj jul nw r wv nw IK ljmmvplj I njunoo In n rv nw I nipjrvio qn Irw npq I wiqni ksni I knumo I qj I rulqnu I I wm jwmiqni n u lo v Iqniomumin n rv nw IIII

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qrInnjlqll w nk n Inwiji nlnjul j I Iqnil nwlurn j nlOr IqrI m Irljv wplqni or I Ivnj nljIlj jul nujrwqrIkn nnwi umjrI kupjrwljwninw n nwn njul jlrr I nlnwu ISjtmujIjwniX m I Inwn mj nmiqnInv jlI d umjrI kupjrwlk I www.plujkln n nvnw InwiTnwjISjtmujIjwniX m I j Iqnik n jknr I drwn v nw I I wm jwmiqnInv jlI dn nl nmi umjrI kupjrwl wiqni nurwpwn I Inwn IRwil w j I nlrwn mj ni wiqnInv jlI d umjrI kupjrwl winw n nwn njujlrr Ik Ivnj rwpl qni ti InwijIwj julnwr w nw IIIII

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qnlamunlin nıv nwi ji ji djik jım in njiqi sniiqji jil wımı nımlırwil ujk jır wi rqiqniR i nımjvi qnil vun vın wjijnik iPrvvin ijul i nıqni nımjji i qiqji umjr i kupjır wi jım iqni ojv nu iv jirvu i oprwol or jkuni rw nv nwijwmli w nu u ini wv nip qiqnil wırkır wi di i jınır i il vkrwni qni nımjji rqin nıv nw juin u i i qiqnirvv nımjınırv ji i di umjr i kupjır wiwinw nu nwn rjujirr i

I

X In uIq IqjIqrIrv ulrIrwinjnIrwi umjrIkupjrwIpwrodjwuInmlnI nwn nwn rjuljlrrINwn nwn rjuljlrrI wI IInmlnIkI Ird umjrI kupjrwIovIqnIlrjuwn tljwniqnIojvnuIn nlrnuIqumIII

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qnljnlrl pjwrnmlrwflnlrwflnlrwflmnlrknlqnln nrvnwjulmn pwlqnljv unl lunlrwfjwmi Iq qnnlnlrwfln vnlqnln u Inlrwfll wlumn III

II Jwq uprlqjnlmlvnwnmiljn In ujrwrwplqjlnwn nwn Iv Inrlwvjrnl n nII Iqnrln nwmmniojvnum Indqn IrqlInrwn Irwlqnrlorv Inninpl KnuqjI IKulqI IjI IuI II IWjorpn I IqnI I

# 2 Experimental Design

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### 2.1 Background of the Study

Irwovjuljru IqumwpljI tqIrwlXjpjm pIJII mwplIqnI ksnl I n nI Wjrwjul jrnllXconlnljwnlqnlRwo vjulNlwvl n I d I Nw nI I qnI l wonl r whrwm ll wr n IrqI ljvvmljl jul to lnId Irwm m jul qnlkppn I Id qnl jru lj nl nuo nv u nml r ql qnr l njulk jwlqIrwlX jpjm p I rwm t q I knrwpIrwnp j nmIrwfqnr I ujlnI d n mmwfnIIII

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Ivnj nlqnllj julnoon II dumjr I kupjrw I winw nnwn njuijlrr Inloan mi jru ljluljrnlsk I jru I tI j Irwiqnlomumin nrvnw ION ljwmi Irwiqn Injulnoo I nnrvnw IN ljulijru Innloan miqnljvn Isk Iqnlsk II wrmmirwiqn In mlrwid vjulk jp Iqnno n Ijru Inlnrmmij In rlmmijv w Idj Ivjnnjui qmnlnh ijl Iov I qrlq Iqn II uni mlnij Ivjw Ik jp Ij I rkun Irqrwij In rlmmirvn Id Iq In Ijrmi jlarmni rhn Id IO loj In Ik jp Iqj II nwmmi Immarwani jur Ijwn jm IR ijru I jlln mmiqn Isk Iqn Inlnrmmijwin jv u Idqn Ik jp Invjnnjui lqlj I r nljwmiurwrwp Iqn Iju Inlnrmmijwin jv u Idqn Ik jp Invjn mln I

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jru Innljwm vulj mwnnirw Injvnwljwnil w up IRwlqnInjvnwlp Id k qIn nrvnw Iqnljru I lnjuwn t ljwniojvrum Ip Irw unnirwlqnlskl con Iqnljrv I j I Il wo w Iqnljru I rqIqnr Inn Immv jwm Io Icrwjwlnju IPnwn juu Irwlomuni n nrvnw I ksnl Ijnlw Ij jnl dknrwpl j I djwlin nrvnw Iqn no n Irwlqn ION I umjr I kupjr w Innlrv uv nwnnirv ulru IRwlqnIN Iqr I jlm wn In ulru Iksnl I dqnll w up Il unio unulqniski rq Ijw Irw unvnw Idqnir lojvrum II

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### 2.2 Field Experiment

qnl ksnl rnl diqnlON I j I Irwo v Iqnljru I lrjuwn tljk ljI nl rnls kloon I jwmirwi qnljvn Irvnll mmku Irwo v Iqnljru Iqj Iqnl lrjuwn tI j lj j nl djI nwrju rwi vnl wr I ljlqm nl qr Ip jul nll ujk j mmi rq IP rvv In ljul Irwijluj pn I n I m Iqj ll v rnmi I jwm vu llq nwijru I wwrwpljI t q IrwiX jpjm p I qnl n Il n nmijlk jmi n I dimv pj qrl Ijwmik rwn I n rw I Ju Ir Il n nmi n rw I wiqnljru I lrjuwn tlJI lrjuwn thr Immorwnmik IqnInwr I drwmr m ju I

II IOlojII n wml IIN IIN II IOloj Iqnlunpjulvrwrv v Ijpnlrwlqnlo v jul nl Ijlor mml I IOlojIrwl IJII mrwpl IqnlNw nl Io IK trwjIOj Iqnl v njwlv w qu lrwl v nl d jnu lrwłX j pjm p I j I IOlojIrwl I

living outside the tailor's household he supports financially on a regular kj r I qnI n I nl mmljulinum m ju Ithe tailors' regularly support financially j I qnr I lrjulun t IV knnI q wnI w v kn I rd j jnjkun I j I qnI j v w I d juw ju v wn j I jw on I n nI n jrwnmlI

Ι

O InjlqIjnu I nll wmlnmljInun q wnlrwn m I rqI wnlvnvkn I diqnl lrjulwn t I qnl n r wwjrn Ijtnmlo I qnImmwr Ijwnl lqjjln r nl I dirwmr m ju I rwpI qnl rwn m nnl arwjwlrjuu I qnI n r w I n nl mmwr ljulo Ijulirwmr m ju I qn qn I qn I n wmwpIjnu I j Ij npwnml I qn I njvnw I I qn ll w up I nlmmlw I n njulo v I q v I nlp I qn ll wjl Irwo v jr w II

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Rwighl njynwlp I nljtnmijl j rluj I n rwi nlmmiw ljtlrwighl w up IRd jv wplqnl n Iqnlrwn m nnllrnmljIjnu Iqnlrwn m nnl j ljtnmljon Iqnl np uj I n Idn rwljk Iqnljnu Ilwjllm jnu IqrIn rwlj Isrommik IjIrvuni n ujwjrwl]lomwnidqnlrwn m n I jll nwu I trwplo ljlPnvjwl pjwrjrwlqjl wnnmljwtrv jwljv wldjnu loljlq nvlskljnu Iwnnmmi I tI nwb X jpjm p ljwmlqj lorwjwlrju. I njtrwplqnlskl wmmlu ljrn I qnlrwn m n I qnwl jtnmlo Iqnlv knul qwnlw vkn ljwnljmmn. Id qnllrnmljnu Irwlnlrwn m. n. In nlw I rwovnmljk ljw.lmn jru.lwtgnlsklqn.lnnlw ljkunl lprnlogn.lrwovjrw.lnlj v nI qjIwinIqnI lnjuiwn tlrlrwo vnmljk ljwhrwl vnl wr Iumjr Ikupjrw Inul knI w włnmijwmikni v nikrwmwpli

I

Ij nlqjlwnrqnlqnljnu lw lqnlwn tlvnvkn I nlmnijll wwnlrwikn mwignl n Ijwmiqnl k n nwlskloon I nl n nlwu Ijkuni Irv unvnw Iqnl njvnw Ird qnl rwn m nn Irwmnmilrnmiqnll n wmwpljnu IJ on Iqnlq wn Irwn m I nl n nIjkuni I vjlqI Iwn tlvnvkn I Iqnll n wmwpljnu II

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## 2.3 Real Effort Experiment

 Rwiqni N I nirv unv nw nmi umj r I kupj r w Irwijwin ul r I j IRwiqni njv nw Ip
 I

 r I qniski con I nijtnmijru Ijk Iqnil wji Immjru I d qnr lojv nu Iqnjm IJ lojv nu I

 qnjmir Immorwanij I qal n wi q nij q r Ir I ni pwr nmik I qal nwr ni ojv nu I Rwiqni

 njv nw Ip
 I qaniski d

 m Irwplj Iv jw Ikjp Ij I
 rkun I rqrwi Iq

 wi qanioji I qj Ik I qan Inwa d qal Iq
 I j tir I

 unjr wi d qal j v nw I nwin Immv jwm lo lorwj wi rjui
 Ikni vnin ul r Ii

I

W nIqjIrwlqnIl w ulp IqnIjru IojvnuIp Iw Irw unmirw IqnIskI oon Ijwmiw I rwo vjr wljk IqnIojvnuI jIn jrwnmIqnI wu Imroon nwlnIkn nnwlqnIl w ulp IrwlqnI ON IjwmiqnI N Ir IqjIrwlqnI N Ijru I n nIj j nI dkmrwpIrwljwlin n rv nw II

### 2.4 Random Sample Collection

I pjwrnIqnIn nrvnwjuln InInmiqnI n ImjjIl n rwpI I jnu I rwł X jpjm p I ImmwroIqnIjru IjtrwpIj IrwlqnION I nInurvrwj nmljru IqjIn nml Iqj nIw I lrjulwn tlj I mulj Iq nI rqIwIwn tlv nv kn Iqj rwpljlln I Ijlv knnI q wn IO qn I nInurvrwj nmiqnion i y pn ik rwn n I rqiv ni qjwlor ni jminv u nn I um InwignIksnll ulqj rwpljlln I Iv nIv jlqrwn ljwnil nImmi I Ij mi tn I l v j nml Iqnlj n jpnljnu Iqnlj npw nwl ll w uljwml njv nwlp Invergention I j I m wnl rwpljl jrommijwm v ljv urwplvn qml nnlK qwljwnlVlTnw ml IOnp nI I knu IvvjrnIqnIwvknId ksnl IrwinjlqIn nrvnwjuljpnIII







Jon Iqniq wn Irwn m InInnijkun IvjlqI Iwn tivn vkn Ilqnil n wm wpl jru Irn IIwn tivn vkn llrnmiqnijvn Iju Iqjiqjmikn mwi n nmiknonqjwm qn ni jru Ilwr nmiqninjvn w Ip InIn jrwnmi Iksni IoIqnilw up Iqni nv jrwrwp Iwn tivn vkn Il umiw Ikn mwi njiqnmik Iqwn Inniw Inurwp Ijw n I In rw IOvIqr Iksni I uiniqjmi Im Ijiw vkn Idjru Iq Inniw Ijinjkun m rwp Iqnirvn Idqnin nrvn w I

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II Therefore, we defined a variable 'share of income spent on transfer to network' and divided it into j nn I nlo qn I j romniju wplpnwm Imv nw r w I qj I nlnwmmi Iqj rwplnrpq Imroon nw I j j III

II qnnlnnlnnjulnj w Ivnlq Innllunmiqnimj Idiqnin nrvnwi vnijru I nnlwmnnljkun Inti I jnurwp IX qn I jru I no nmiqniski oon Irwiniqninj w Io I no ju Inniv ur unijwmiw ljulinm kuni ni rutw irwiumniqni no ju irw Iqnimj jin I

Immwro Ijru Ijtrwpij Irwiqni NI nin lummnijru Iq nil niojvru iur nmi mmiqni lw IJ u Ij Irwiqni ON I nin lummnijru Ijrwpiv niqjwior ninv u nn IO vIqni nvjrwrwpijru I In nijwm vulj rpwnmi Iqni njvnw Ijwmi I Iqnil w up II I

## 2.5 Hypotheses

 Rwf In nrvnwjuln Ijru IqjnIqnl
 wr I Impwrondjwu IrwlnjnIqnr Irwl vnlk I

 mlrwpIjIvjw Ikjp IjI
 rkuni rqrwl Iq
 IV ni nirnu Ijru IqjnIqni

 wr I Ivjtni wł wnimj Ijwłj njpniv w qu Irwl vn I qr Iprn I qnv Ijwł rv
 jwi

 rwinwr ni Irwl nj ni
 tirw I npjmun I diqnirw u nv nwi diqnr Iojv ru I I lijuwn
 ti

 X Iwulq
 qn r Ij Iqj Iqn nij niw Imroon nwin Irwiv njwiknqj r
 ikn nnwi nj v nw ijwni

I

n n I jru Iknrwpl j I d qnI njvnwIp I jnll wownmi rqI umjr I kupjrwI ovIqnrI lnjuwn t I jru Ivnpq I jwrlr jnIn nljrwI dqnpqn Iarwjwl njul I winI qnrI lnjuwn tIr Irwovnmi jk I jwirwivnI wr I nljpnI qjI jru IrwiqnI lw up Iwill perceive the network's mnv jwm Io Iarwjwinjul I jlk mnwI qn non I nI ppn I qjI qnI njvnwI jwmi qnI n urwpl umjr I kupjrw IovI qnI lnjuwn tI nuiwnpjr nu Irv jl I qnI jru I tIrwinwr n II

# **3 Results**

"Elle me fait pas savoir qu'elle a besoin de soutient mais quand j'ai de l'argent je me sens dans l'obligation morale de leur faire parvenir de l'argent." <sup>5</sup> Mrs Minata Ouedraogo

## **3.1 Participants' Characteristics**

n Irv unv nwnnlij win nrv nwjul n I qj Ijuu I I Ir uj nlj winconl I drwn n Ij wnlimj I l wlu r w I wi nwrjulij jurm IRwi In nrv nw I qn Ipnwn jul Inm ni j Immwrljulo I juli jru Ij wnli jru Iqj nlknnwi jwm v u Ij mwnnirw I nj v nw Ij wnli w up I nwin Ird nij v ni qj I qni jwm v r j r wi j I lln o ul qni wu I nv jrwrwpimcon nwinikn nnwik qi p Ir I qnirv unv nwnni nj v nw I d kupnmi umj r IJ ulnconl Irwin v I dnw n nwn rjui jl r r llj wiq n no niknij rk nmi I qninconl I d qni nj v nw I n n I Imj I qnil ni I

II "She doesn't let me know that she needs (financial) support bu IrdRqj nIv wn IRonnd qnIv ju obligation to give them money." I jw uj r wI

lwlurw lov Iqnin nrvnwjul lvn Ir Ir Irv jwi Iljwinul iji nwrjurv ji i d qn Iqil Ilqij In wjuljwnik rwn Ilqjjinrri Iqjivjirv ji Iqnijru I mlrr II

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jkun Inni Jnwm In Ivnjwilqj jlnr rl Idjulju Io Iqni ON Ijwmi qni N I n j j nu IJ u Ir In Io Impwrad jw Imraan nwin Irwivn jw Ikn nnwi njvnwi jwmi lw ui p Inlarwmi ji mwrad jw Imraan nwin Io Iqni qj ni dV uv I j ri jw Irwi qni N I rqi mpwrad jw u Iv uv Irwi qni lw uin rwi jwmi Iwn nwu Iv ni Ljquri Irwi qni njvnw In rw IJ u Irwi qni njvnw Ip I dqni ON I nlarwmi mpwrad jwu Iv ni jm I m Inwmwplo viji jm Iajvnu Iv j nmi Iqni w up IO Iqni ju jv un nlarwmi w I mpwrad jw Imraan nwin Io Ijw Ilqj jlnr rl Ini nu Ilw mm Iqni nu Ik II w urwplo Iqn ni Iqj jlnr rl II

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jru IqIjn'r jnnhrwlqnIm InwndilknIwpIIn jUnjiwnlyjunI Ιd Ι qnljru ljnlvj mmlRwl ljv un lqjud dignljru ljnlV uv l IjnILjqurlIV I Id qnI j n'r jw In qwrlI mprwtr IV n' q In nIk wtrwtX jpjm p I IqnI wmwpl npr wł IV nlqjwlqjud dqnljnu. In nlk wlrwlK trwjIOj Ik I mmI qnljppuvnjrwldXjpjm p IXwljnjpnljIjnu IqjI Ik qnIjwnlrn IqjrwpIqnI jvnloj gn ljwmlv gn I I dignljru. Igj nlwn n Iknnwinw ummi I lg ul Immiw I l v un nIrvj Ilq ulqnljn jpnIjnu Invir Ijv unlqj Ivvn n Il v un nmirvj Ilq ul The tailors' average q nqunil v r n I Irwm m juIrwiu mwpI qnI jnu I qnv nuo IXwi I Invam m julonvjvalnju. I vlji no ujikj r I roljvaljvav juli v Idi j n jpnljl jru I IOl oj II

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npj mwpl qnl jnu Ik rwn n I jnu Irwn nml wlj n jpnl I Oloji I nwl qnr I tq I qj I qj nijiv njwl jpnl d I nj I I d qnl jnu I j nml qj I qn I lq n I qr I k rwn Iknij ni dojv nu I jmrr w I I d qnl jnu I j nml qj I qn I n ni nurwpl I jtni v js I r t I I wl qnr I k rwn I mj I nji qi jnu I nv u I wlj n jpni I tn I qni v js r I d qninv u nn Ij ni jrwnn I qj Im Iw I ninr nijio v ju nv wn jr wl Rwiv I lj n I jrwnn I wu I ninr ni v niv wn I I j Io Iu wl qi qniv nj wi nntu I ar I d qni j dr jw Ir I I Oloj II

I

Rwin v Id mlrr Inlijwi jnlqjIrwi Iq Ijru I mlnmi wijnjpni Ikjp I ovlqnin rimnijv w Idqnniriniji IOrp ni Iqrpqupq IqjIqnijwpni dkjp IqjIn ni mlnmipn IovIII Ikjp IV Ijru I I mlnmi Ikjp Irqrwi Iq Ijwmi qn noninj wnmi IOlojii

II jkunl lrwłqnlj nwmrin vniqnijnu ljn jpnlląjjin rnilo ląni juljv unlj i nulji o ląnlON ljwmląni Nin jjnu i jkunl lprn ljwi n m i diąni jnjkun ljwmląnr lvnjwrwpi

#### Figure 2: Distribution of Bags



### 3.2 Main Result

qnlpjqImr yi nmlrwlOmp nIIknu IlunjuII worvI Iq qn rIOmp nIIqmpqupqIqnI j n jpnlw v kn Idkjp I m.lmnlmvlk qIn nrvnw I qnnIqnION IrImr y nmlwlqnluno I qjwml mmljwml qnl N I wl qnl ppq lqjwml mm I jnu Irwl qnl njv nw Ip I mlnmirwrmnmi on nlkjpll v jnmiljnu lrwlqnll w ulp IgrIrI nlolk gIn nrvnw II Ι





[				
[				
Ι	FEX REX			X
Ι	mean	SE	mean	SE
treat	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
control	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι

Ι

nlkn nlqjlqnl In nrvnw lunjmi ljuv Immwnljui Ivn lRwlqnll w uljwnlqnl nj v nwIp mlnmljuv Iqnljvnlj n jpnlwvkn Idkjp Inpjmun Idqnl Ijnu I t IqnIV jww qrwn In I n nrvnwjdlojvn IqnI ppn rwlRwlqnIl w up Ι diqnlON Ijnu I milnml wlj njpnl Ikjp Irwlqni N Iqn I milnml IV III IY kI III IRwiqninjvnwIp IdiqniONIjnu I mlnmiwijnjpni Ikjpljwmi I rwiqniNIVIII IY kIIII Iniqn no nivn pniqni In nrvnw IoI I oqnljwjurli

#### I

jkun Innij nwm Imn Inkn Iqnin u lo v IqniXU npn rwidqni njvnwi wiqni lvni jnjkunikmwpiqniw v kn Idkjp I minmi rqnwi Iq I nilw u o Iqni moon nwin nrvnw ik irwnp jrwpijim v v I jnjkun o Iqni N iju irwijulv mnu in lw u o Iqnirwn jirwinoon ikn nnwiqni njvnwijwmiqni N iRwiqnior iluvwi ni jwju niqni ni njvnwinoon ik ilw urwpio Iqni njvnwiqnin nrvnw ij I nuljio i qnr irwn jirwi

#### I

nlorwnij Inm Ir wik I Ikjp Im nI IqnI njvnw IqnInconl Ir Ipwrod jw IwiqnI Iun nul J ll mwpI I I n r Ik n jrw Iwnrqn IqnIn n rvnw ju n Iw IqnIrwn jlrwid qnI N I rqI qnI natment impacts the tailors' productivity significantly. Ju IqnI w w j jvn rl IV jww qrwn In II worv Ij Ipwrod jw Imcon nwin Irwivn jw Iwij I Iun nu IrqI I I Ijwm IY kI I I I I nwin Inl jwi jn Iqj IqnI njvnw Id kupnmi umjr Iqjmi jw hv jw limpact on the tailors' behaviour by reducing their production k I II

#### Ι

RwiluvwIIIIIn Irwiumio qnIn wjuljwmik rwn Ilqjjlnr rlIjwmin njul rwnjlrwinvIO vIluvwiI nlljwirwonIqjIqni njvnwInconlInvjrwIqmpquI npwrodjwI wijI Iun nuljwmiwnpjrnIm rnIqnIrwiurwido qnIlw uIqnInconlIrI k ImlrwinmlnIkI IkjpIII

#### I

Io wnlrwljInlnwI j n IqjIqnImr jwlnI dnw n nwn I Iqnr Iqiv num I PrvvInIjul nnnuIrv jl I umjr I kupjr w I Rwnn rwpu I nlorwnio gn Inmmwinlo I gr I kn jrwlRwlluvwlInIrwnjlIqnInjvnwIrqIqnIjnu Ivpjrwlqr Innkl nlmr rwprqlkn nnwljru IqInnlk whrwlXjpjm pljwmlqn no nlurnllu nIlqnrI ojvnuljwnlq nlqlvnpjnmlo vl mmlqnllr I nlorwmljI wplwnpjrnljwmlqnpqul npwradijwI njvnwInaanl I nwhnIjnu I q IjnIw Ik whrwhX jpjm p I njl I wpn I I qnInjvnwlwjvnuIrqljInmlrwldjuv IlkjpllvjnmlIjnu IqInnlk whrwl qnllj rjul qnlrwo vjrwt mmni rql I njvnwlprn lojvnum lurwol mml anllr I jmm rwjulnwo v j rwłwtąni jnu 'incomeląn I juu luji t lju I In ulnv um ląj ląni jmmr wjulrwo v j r wł mmnik I qnl nj v nwIm n Iw Ijmnik n jknr I about the tailors' rwivni Ignrigvrum Ign no nigni njvnwinceni ir i njtnio i jru i o viX jpjm p I Rwiurwni rqiqrinj wrwpinio qnikn nijinpwrodjwu i rrnirwnjirwinconi i ni l włumnigiljnu i g nicjvnu ip iw irw unmirwigniski con ljjnumio vigni wrI k Irwinj rwpInw n nwn rjulj Irr II

Rwil uvwi I nin Iqnin u Idjiv mnul qn ni nirwiumnijwirwn jirwikn nnwi qni tailors' family tradition of being tailor and the treatment. Rwn n rwpu I nik n niji rrni noonl Id qni njvnwi wijnu Iq ij nimn inwmwplo vijiojvnu Idjnu Iqnirwn jirwi noonl Ir Iqnpqu Imwoodjwi wiji Iun nu jwni qnirwi nj ni jwuj n Ilji mirwi d Iv ni kjp Iqririji uj rkuni n u Irdini w mm Ilqiojvnum Ikniv nijkuni ij n Iqniski wr Inwiniqni jnu Ir II wownmi Iqnpqn Inn In nio viqniojvnu I lin ou Iouonu qnijt II

j rvplo vml mwradjw Inconl Io IqnI njvnw Irwimcon nw Iv mull w urvplo In vju jvmik rvn Ilqjjlnrd I nlljwi I Iq qnr IqjI kupnmi umjr Imnl njn I tailors' nwn nvn njuljlrr IL w urvplo IqnImcon nw In nrvnw I wu IqnI njvnw I unjm I ljlvnjwimm Irwidj Iunj I IL w urvplo In vjuljwmik rvn Ilqjjlnrd I nlarvmij Inm Irwid II I nikn nmij Impwradjw Irv jl Idqnijru Inqwd Imprw I V ni mlni wij njpnian nikjp IJ u Iq nquni rnivj n Ijru Iurvp Irwirv nmrv I rnmiq nqun Invmi I mlniv ni Kmppn Iq nqun In n ni qninconl IO qn I nlovmi qj Ijru Iq Ivm j nmi IqnI r Inji I Iqni njvnw Irwi ji myradjwu Ivp Ij I v j nmi Ijru Iq Innik wirwi Xjpjm p IUj u Ijru Imprvj rvp Ivji ov Iji ov nu Id jru Inji Irrnu IqnI njvnw Ik Irwi njrvp Invn nvn njulj rr I

Ι

Orwjuu Im the REX we were able to reveal the tailors' knumo I r I I qnI njvnw I Kno nI jnu IrwI qnI njvnw Ip I j nml qnI m I r wI nIjtnmlq Iv lqI qn In nl nml qnr I q nq umlqnjml Ilujrv Irdi qn Injwnml qnIq qn rljuljv w I d IOloj I m I r wI d I kjp Ijwml IOloj I m I r wI d Ikjp In nl r nu I qnljwju r I d qn nlknumo Io qn I l k jn I I n u I

I

nlorwni qjI jru I q In nlIqnpqnImnvjwmIo vI qnrIojvruIqnjmI nmlnlqnrI mlrrInpwrodjwuI njvjwI q In rom IjIwnpjrnIl nujrwikn nnwiqnIwvknI dkjplknrwpI mlnmijwmiqnIn nlnmijIjnIrdqnIjru InjwnmijIq qnrijuljv wI d IOlojI njvjwI q IIY kII I II

I

jtnwi pnqn Inlijwi jnlqj Iw Iwa Iumj r Ikupj rw Iunjmi Ij Impwrod jw Inm Irwirwi nw n nwn njulj Irr Ik Iju Iqnljwrirj rwi do qn Immv jwm Io Iorwjwirjui Iunjmi nw n nwn IInm Inl tInco Irwi mn Illr Iv nw Ij v nw I

IIIII

## **4** Conclusion

"Les demandes de soutien familiale impact négativement sur mes projets d'investissement. Chaque fois il me fait savoir qu'il a besoin d'argent pour résoudre un problème, souvent je lui donne." Mr. Amado Corgo (id=9029)

nIn jv rwnni qnIrv jl I d kupnni umj r I winw n nwn rjulj l r r I nImmorwnni kupnni solidarity as implicit and explicit demand for financial support by an entrepreneur's social wn tI qn nj Iv I tI wi umj r Ijwju nI r r nIrv jl I d umj r I jw on I r qrwi lrjulwn t I r nI r tI qj rwplj v wplq nq um I qr I j n Io l n I wi qnI mj tI mm I d umj r Iwj v nu I qnwłorwj wi rjul jw on Iknl v nijwi kupj r wijwni nm I ninw n nwn rjul jl r r I nI ppn I qj In ln r nimrv jwm Io Iorwj wi rjul I qj v n Inl w v ri Ip qi k I m rj rwpI n ln I qj Ij nI nmi Iknirw n nmirwijwini w v ri ji r III

Ijwju nlqnlnl w v nllnoon Id kuppmi umj r Inlrv unvnwnni Imoon nw In Ijlomuni jwmijInjulnoo In n rvnw IRwik qIn n rvnw IqnInjvnw Ip IojlnmijIr jrwirwi qnlqIqn Innlnrqn lrv uhru I In uhru In mni Iumj r Ikupj rw lov Iqnr lojvnu I Ilrjulwn t InInnljkun I jwrj rnu Imr rniqni i julnoon Idmrvjwm Io I orwjwinju Ik II v jrwpiqn m Irwiun nuidqn Injvnw Ip Irqiqni w ui p IrwiqnlqIqn Injulwn timmiw Ipn Irw unmil

I

Ι

Rwiqrijn Iniq mniqjiqni njvnwinceni i dikupnmi umjr ir iw i wu i pwredjwik i ju In luj pn Inllundik n nljInm lrvkhrvkhrvv n nvvn njulj lrr lk lj lunj I Ij I wł nml I umj r I kupj r w IO v IqnI In nrvnw Inlljwimmrn I j IqnI ksnl InnIn n n juli włu rw IOr IjIjnu Inco Ilqninim nwm Idqni mpq Idumj r Ikupj rw I qnIn nl mnlj I mulj I qnI njul mpq I qn nlqppqn Imv jwm I jwnlqppqn In nl mnlmv jwm I unjml ljI npwrodjwlmnl nj nlrwlnw n nwn njuljlrr I qnlqnpqn I qnln nl nmlmnv jwmlo I Iqnlu n Ir IqnIjnu Inco Iun nul nl wmIqnIpn pjqrlImr jwlnlto a tailor's arwj wł rj ul ojvnu Irv jl IqnI njvnw Inconl Id kuppmi umjr Ijnu Iq nlojvnum Im Iw IurnIrwi qnllr IjnIv nljoonlnmik IqnIwnpjrnIrv jl Id kurpnmi umjr InIjpnIqjIqnI njvnw In njumijmm rwjulrwovjrwi Iqniqivnu Iqn I juu Iwan Iji rn IKI jwnlr jrwł doppon Imny jwm I dowjwłnjuł Ijon Iqnlsk Ijnu I non I Ivrwrvrn I mlrr IUj Ijnu IrqIvnmrv rnmlq nqum ljwmljru. I nprwjrwplo v ljlojvru Idi rrnul IqnInjvnwlk I mlrwplv nlkjpljru lknuwprwpllqnlnqwrll jnu InjlI I dV mlnIwlj njpnIon nIkjp II р n

III

X In ulj ul Iqnlnjul unlqnljnu Inco llq nhlrwlqnln nrvnwl jw ujn Irw I vjulnw n nwn Irw n vnw Irw Iqnr Ik rwn n Iqr Irw n vnwl ujw Ijnlqjv n nml q pqInrqn Injul Ijwrhrjnml umjr Ikupjr w IJII wourd Irn Irdvjw Irwmr m ju Inu I wlwu Ion Iojv ru Ivnv kn IqImjul rqIr jrw Idorwjwhrjulmr n IY or Iljww Iknl jll v ujnmlo Io nlrw n vnw Ijwml njpn Irwmr m ju Ivj Ik Ijwrhrjr wl nm Inl nw n nwn rjulj Irr II

#### I

W nlqilwnlq uniw llwowni kummir Irqlqn lov Idumir Iqilinl rwmr nwjkunlo I lmm IujltrwpIjlln I Iovjulrw jwlnI nv Ijwmil nmrIvjtn I umir Iknlvn Ijwik jlunInlw vn Ip qIwu Indijiuj pn Ip I d uwn ikun I rwm m julawjwłnju I num I włjlv lą Ivjun Ip I Indim v jwm lo lawjwłnjuł Ι rwjuu I rqIrwl njrwpIrwl v n IRd rwł nj nImr n IjnIjIrwl Ι m I nuo nv u mnl umjr I kupjr w Imr njn Lorwjwih njul n ln lov I ul jrn Irwn vnw I Ju I umjr Ikni vn ljwi k jlun Indr Ipnwn jn Iqni n n ninconi I nimn i nknmirwi Ι m IRd umir Ikupjrwlmrnlnwn nwn Ilmnlnlnco IqnIq unll vv wrlun IIII

Ι

"[...] if status and prestige are valued not only in themselves but as necessary means to economic security, the provision of alternative means to the latter goal, e.g., by insurance against unemployment or illness, may well diminish the relative value placed on status-oriented behavior." Wolf (1955)

#### I

qrIn n nInconl I ljwikn I r l v nwnmik I o vju I rw jwin Inv I qj I n uj n qn rwo vjui nv I nu rwpl wi umj r I kupj r w I Rw jwin I nwjku I oj v nm I I oj ln I rwi v n cu l j r w I Imr wi j n I q lt I jwn ij u Irwi v n Inj wn I I jwn r j n I np uj I n nwn Io I orwjwinjui I Rw njmi d rwm rm ju rw jwin I rw jwin I l umikn ummi wi jwi jpp npj nmi oj v nu I I nuj pn I un nu I n I ju I wn t I v nv kn I mm I np uj I j v nw I qj I nukn I ju lj nmirwi rv n I dorwjwinju I w jrw I win jrw I numni nj n I jwnikn n I uj wwrwp o I q m q n I j rwp I jwnirw n v nw Ir I nju jku IIIIII

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# **5** Bibliography

K qwlVrnjvljwmlMlVlTnwml IRwlY rIdKjujwlnIjwmvrjrwlrwlYjlnlnlrwl Mn nu vnwlOmumlN nrvnw I*American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*IJvnnljwl NlwvnlIJ lnjrwl I I

Ojdiqjv IV jinulo qivrwp IrtiqjrwpiKn nnwi nqun Ijwnk tidinjul Niw vrli Xikn I I n m nmi Swni I I ov I q niw vrljit Vnv kn vjinuojdiqjv qvn jpn qkimo O

# 6 Appendix

Table 1: Descriptive Stattistics -	Comparison	of Means

VARIABLES	Total Sample	FEX			REX		
	•	Total	Treat	Control	Total	Treat	Control
W	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
j pnI	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
I	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
pnwm I	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
Î	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
v uv I	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
v nl	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
rkurwp I	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
I	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
vj mml	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
I	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
q nqunl	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
I	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
vnpjnI	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
vpjnI	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
wn tl	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
jwan I	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
nv u nnl	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
αrΙ	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
rtI	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
n nmwinl	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
jmrrwł	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
Ι	I	I	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
lj rjul	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
Ι	I	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	I
l nm <sup>-</sup> I	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	I	Ι	Ι
Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι

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	Table	2:	Expl	licati	ion	of	Var	iabl	les
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VARIABLES	
j pnI	JpnIdjnu I
I	vrwł IvjI Inj I
pnwm I	Mvv I
Ī	vjunI
v uv I	Mvv I
Ι	v uv I
v n	MvvInqwdImprwIV nkmrwpImvrwjwInqwdIp IrwlXjpjmpI
Ι	V d
rkurwp I	Wvknldinkurwplo vljvnlojqnljwnlv qnl
Ι	vrwtIvjIInkuwpI
vj mml	M v v I
Ι	v j mml
q nquml	WvknIdq nqunlvnvkn Irwluljnu I
Ι	vrwł Ivj I Ivnvkn I
vnpjnI	Vnpjrwlqr I ujlnIdkrqI
Ι	Xjpjm p I nwr w IKtrwj In IJorlj ImmIn IJorlj I
vpjnI	M v v I
I	k whwtX jpjm p l
wn tl	W v kn I dwn tlv nv kn I
I	vrwł ly j l ly ny kn l
jwon I	Jww july wn I jw on I lwn tly ny kn ll
1	rvit lOlgilvrvitlvji i lOlgi
nv u nnl	W v kn I dnv u nn I jmljwni w jmlrwiu jru I
1	vrwilvji lvnvkni
arl	V nj wimj nu lor li rvit 101 gj l
1	
rtl	nurwpwn Idjtrwpirt Inpjmrwpik rwn I wu I
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1	VIVIIV I III II Muu Ini uka Indin I i malaille num I
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l nmrI	Myyy I
I	nlnrnmliluiwi Iknml Iknwn I
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nI	Ī	I	I	I
I	Ĭ	I	Ī	ľ
ni n I	Ī	I	I	Ĭ
I	Î	Ĭ	Ī	Ī
i nnl	I	I	Ţ	Ĭ
J pin	Ī	Ī	I	I
nnwm I	Ī	Ţ	Ī	Ī
I	I	I	I	I
virvl	I	I	I	I
I	I	Ĭ	I	Ī
v n	I	I	I	I
I	I	I	I	I
rkinwn I	Ĭ	I	I	I
I	I	I	I	I
la unwol	I	I	I	I
I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I	I	I	I	I
vimml	I	I	I	I
V j mm	I	I	I	I
a nauml	Ĭ	I	I	I
I	I	I	I	I
a na im I	I	I	Ĭ	I
I	I	I	I	I
vmin I	T	I	I	I
I	Ĭ	I	I	I
wn tI	T	I	I	I
I I	I	Ĭ	I	I
iwon I	I	I	I	I
I	I	I	I	I
nv u nnl	I	I	I	I
IV U IIII	T	I	I	I
arl	I	I	I	I
I	Ĭ	I	I	T
r t I	I	I	T	I
I	I	I	I	I
n n mwlnl	T	I	I	I
II II IIIVWIIL	Ĭ	I	T	T
imrr wł	I	I	T	I
JIII VA I	I	I	I	I
li ridi	I	I	I	I
ij iju I	I T	I	I	I
l l mm I	I T	I	I T	I
I IIIII I I	I T	I	I	I
l ni immu ul	I T	I	T	I
nj jmrrwi	l T	l I	l	l T
	l	l	l T	I
nj v nj n i	l T	I	l T	l T
I I	1	l T	l T	l T
ьwjwi т	l T	l T	l T	l T
1	l	l	l	1
Xkn jrwl	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
j nml	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι

Table 3: Model Comparison -- Bags Produced