

How can we explain the variations between countries in the impact of economic growth on poverty reduction?

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Summary. - No two countries experience the same degree of the impact of economic growth on poverty reduction. The combination of the degree of economic growth, income redistribution, sectoral pattern of growth and other factors, especially human development may generate the variations between countries in the impact of economic growth on poverty reduction. Furthermore, these factors of the various impacts of economic growth on poverty reduction strongly depend on governments' policies. Therefore, analysing four factors above with policy implementations is crucial in order to explain the variations between countries in the impact of economic growth on poverty reduction. This paper attempts to analyse the twin cases of Bangladesh and Zambia. The growth of Bangladesh has been led by both the agricultural and industrial sectors, which achieved remarkable poverty reduction. The rise in agricultural productivity in the rural areas and industrial development in the urban areas led to economic growth and redistribution, which accomplished both relative pro-poor growth and some absolute pro-poor growth. On the other hand, the growth of Zambia has been led by the mining sector. The high dependence on urban industry increased poverty and inequality, as well as the resultant negligence of the agricultural sector because the impact of economic growth on poverty reduction was not sufficient to reduce poverty, and redistribution did not occur.

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Key words – Bangladesh, Zambia, pro-poor growth, poverty reduction, inequality, sectoral pattern, human development

1. Introduction

No two countries experience the same degree of the impact of economic growth on poverty reduction. The combination of the degree of economic growth, income redistribution, sectoral pattern of growth and other factors such as social development may generate the variations between countries in the impact of economic growth on poverty reduction. Through this point of view, in this paper, I will attempt to analyse the twin cases of Bangladesh and Zambia. The growth of Bangladesh has been led by both the agricultural and industrial sectors, which

achieved remarkable poverty reduction. On the other hand, the growth of Zambia has been led by the mining sector, which unfavourably increased poverty and inequality.

2. Four Factors responsible for the various impacts of economic growth on poverty reduction

The combination of the degree of economic growth, income redistribution, sectoral pattern of growth and other factors generates the variations between

countries in the impact of economic growth on poverty reduction.

Firstly, it is important to emphasise that economic growth contributes to 'absolute pro-poor growth' (DFID 2004, p.2), reducing the number of the poor population. In other words, rapid economic growth may accelerate absolute poverty reduction. Supporting this argument, Dollar and Kraay (2001, p.32) found that 1 percent growth of mean income raised the mean income of the poorest 20 percent by 1 percent. Therefore, they believe in the importance of the policies of 'good rule of law', 'fiscal discipline' and 'openness' to the international trade markets in order to achieve economic growth (2001, p.9). Also, emphasising the relationship between economic growth and absolute pro-poor growth, Chen and Ravallion (2007, p.2) argue that reduction in absolute poverty is identified as a measure of economic performance. Thus, economic growth may result in absolute pro-poor growth.

Secondly, income redistribution contributes to 'relative pro-poor growth' (DFID 2004, p.2), changing the income distribution between the poor and the non-poor: namely, greater improvement in the income of the poor than that of the non-poor may enhance a fall in inequality. In their critique, Dollar and Kraay, White and Anderson (2001, p.285) argue that growth does not always have a sufficient impact on poverty reduction even though growth is good for the poor; instead, the combination of a growth policy and a redistribution strategy enhances even more effective growth of the poor economy than a single growth policy. Moreover, Ravallion (2004, p.11 and p.16) adds to the argument above that the different degree of poverty reduction is generated by two sets of elements including 'initial inequality' and

'changing income distribution' although the high growth rate significantly contributes to absolute poverty reduction. In other words, higher initial inequality leads to a less positive impact from growth on the poor; hence, income redistribution may have a strong impact on absolute poverty reduction through economic growth as well as inequality reduction itself.

Thirdly, the relationship between the sectoral pattern of growth and both absolute pro-poor growth and relative pro-poor growth is also significant. McKay (2008, p.23) believes that analysing the sectoral pattern of growth can allow us to understand which sectors lead growth and are related to the source of the employment of the majority of poor people. In fact, because the industrial and service sectors generally contribute to economic growth further than the agricultural sector, which makes up a smaller proportion of GDP (McKay 2008, p.23), the governments that aim to increase the overall economy, which might enhance the poor economy by resulting in absolute pro-poor growth, tend to focus on more industrialisation. However, considering the tendency of the higher poor population in the rural areas, it is also understood that agricultural growth tends to be more pro-poor than other sectoral growth (Eastwood and Lipton 2002, p.52). Thus, different sectoral pattern of growth may play an important role in generating the various impacts of economic growth on poverty reduction.

Finally, the focus on other factors, especially social indicators such as human development, is essential at a relatively poor income (McKay 2008, p.26). Sen et al (2004, p.3) believe that human development, which is often used to measure the quality of expenditure of a government, can contribute to boosting

pro-poor economic growth. An education or health subsidy in rural areas is likely to provide better work opportunities for the poor in the future; therefore, social development may change the growth impact.

In short, the combination of the degree of economic growth, income redistribution, sectoral patterns of growth and other factors, especially social development, generates variations between countries with regard to the impact of economic growth on poverty reduction.

3. Case study of Bangladesh

Bangladesh achieved not only significant overall growth but also successful pro-poor growth during the 1990s. Therefore, in order to analyse the impact of economic growth on poverty reduction, it would be useful to focus mainly on the 1990s, one of the most successful periods of economic growth, enjoying an average annual gross domestic product (GDP) growth rate of 5 percent. I would like to discuss the country's circumstances with some relevant contributory factors for the economic growth and rural development, the poverty trend and the sectoral pattern of growth, in order. Then, I will conclude that the sectoral pattern of growth of both agriculture and industry led to income distribution and economic growth, which in turn contributed to reducing both relative and absolute poverty.

Firstly, despite the unstable circumstances responsible for the economic growth, Bangladesh accomplished success in this field and in rural development (Sen et al. 2004, p.1). The War of Independence in 1971 and the severe initial conditions, such as 'high population density', 'low resource base', 'high incidence of natural disasters' and

political instability represented obstacles to progress in the country's economic development. Nevertheless, the fact that the country managed to double the average per capita GDP growth from 1.6 percent per year in the 1980s to 3 percent per year in the 1990s may attract us to the policies practised for that remarkable improvement. Among some of the important factors there were: an inward-oriented policy by controlling import a green revolution and a population growth control in the reconstruction period of the 1970s; a macro-economic stability implementation in the 1980s leading to the positive outcome in the following decade; and an economic reforming policy of trade liberalisation and a human development policy in the early 1990s (Sen et al 2004, p. 8-9). As a result, the country harvested the fruits of these measures with the dramatic overall economic growth in the 1990s. In terms of rural development, there were also significant outcomes of these policies. The agricultural development brought crop diversification and high productivity to the rural areas in which 75 percent of people live (World Bank 2006), and the trade liberalisation contributed to the growth of the private sector in the 1990s. Besides, the achievement of human development is relatively high as the Human Development Index shows. In Table 1, I selected the countries from the range of plus and minus US\$ 500 from Bangladesh, so that one can compare the cost of health and education policies between the similar income countries. As Figure 1 shows, although there may be more possibilities to improve both rates, especially in education, the performance on social development is relatively acceptable compared to the country's GDP. Thus, the series of economic policies succeeded in increasing both the overall economy and the rural economy.

Secondly, the poverty trend of the country shows the relatively positive status (Table 2). For a start, I would use the three indicators of headcount rate, poverty gap and squared poverty gap for the poverty analysis. Also, for those measurements of poverty, I would use the cost-of-basic-needs (CBN) method, which identifies households with real per capita expenditure below a decided poverty line by the standard of the basic-needs, as 'the poor people' (World Bank 2002, p.4). Firstly, during the ten-year period, the country enjoyed a dramatic decrease in the overall headcount rate, the proportion of people below the poverty line, although the absolute number of the poor shifted up slightly from 68 million to 69 million due to the population growth (Table 3). In 1991-92, 59 per cent of people lived in poverty, below the upper poverty line, as opposed to 50 per cent in 2000. Likewise, there was a fall in the extreme poverty rate, below the lower poverty line, from 43 per cent in 1991-92 to 34 per cent in 2000. Although the headcount rate fluctuated slightly in the urban areas, the trend was still downwards at both levels of the poverty line by about one per cent per annum. Secondly, both the poverty gap, which estimates the distance of the average expenditure of the poor to the poverty line, and the squared poverty gap, which considers not only the depth of poverty but also the disparity amongst the poor below the poverty line, demonstrates the positive impacts on poverty reduction. More poor people are close to the poverty line in 2000 compared to those in 1991-92, and the inequality also became smaller among the poor over the period. Thus, using three indicators, I have identified the relatively positive impact on poverty reduction. In other words, the country has succeeded in reducing the proportion of the poor during the decade

of one of the most successful periods for economic growth.

Lastly, I would like to discuss the sectoral pattern of growth. In the case of Bangladesh, the sectoral pattern was mainly led by the combination of the agricultural sector and the industrial sector, and it contributed simultaneously to both the rapid economic growth and poverty reduction. I would like to discuss the impact of those sectors using statistical data.

Firstly, I will mention the impact of agricultural growth. As it has been discussed above, agricultural growth is generally more pro-poor than other sectoral growth. However, Eastwood and Lipton (2002, p.52) argue an exception of the growth of unequal agricultural sectors. The exceptional pattern could be the case that only a few people have access to new technology such as harvesting machinery or new seedling rice, which would enhance productivity. Applying this argument to the case of Bangladesh, Boro rice crops, a new seedling rice crop, which is suitable for winter-season, played an active role in reducing the risk of losing the yield of the rural poor by flood (Sen et al. 2004, p.11). Also, the considerable increase in real agricultural wage rates benefited the landless poor in the rural regions in the 1990s (2004, p.13). Considering those facts, many rural people seemed to have benefited from this new crop by having more work opportunities with higher wages. Thus, this growth pattern appeared to be pro-poor.

Secondly, the impact of the industrial sector was also remarkable. Thanks to trade liberalisation, private sectors became more active and new industries emerged in the urban areas, such as the garment industry. Because the industrial sector is usually labour-intensive, which is suitable for such

populous and dense countries like Bangladesh, many people migrated from rural to urban regions in order to acquire desired work opportunities with high wages. Reflecting on this change, between 1990 and 2004 the rural population decreased from 80 percent to 75 percent while the urban population doubled (World Bank 2006). Eventually, the urban areas were overpopulated compared to the amount of work opportunities, which contributed to increasing unemployment and inequality. Although this negative change in inequality is identified as a bad impact of economic growth, it may also be evaluated as a good impact on the poor by generating new work opportunities and particularly in encouraging migration to urban areas. As Kam (2005, p.566) believes, providing more work opportunities could assist pro-poor growth. From this point of view, the impact of the industrial sector contributed to not only the economic growth but also to poverty reduction. Finally, the trend of the Gini coefficient, the distributional changes and the Lorenz curves, which assist visual understanding of the degree of inequality in a region (Ray 1998, p.184-85), support my arguments above.

First of all, inequality increased across the country (Figure 2). The Gini coefficient in urban areas rose from 0.32 per cent in 1991-92 to 0.38 per cent in 2000, while that rate for rural areas accounts for 0.30 per cent in 2000 compared to 0.26 per cent in 1991-92 (Sen et al. 2004, p.14). However, the important view is the focus on the rapid economic growth period in the late 1990s. As the trend of the Gini coefficient shows, inequality levelled off at 33 percent. Ravallion (2004, p.8) believes that a stable Gini index with growth can imply a great rise in absolute income inequality. Nevertheless, looking at Table 4 and

Figure 3 for the details of the distributional changes, I would argue that there was some outcome of pro-poor growth. The change in rural inequality is even smaller than that in urban areas, and in particular, the share of income of the rural poor slightly improved during the decade. The bottom 30 per cent of the rural population in 2000 gained some benefits compared to those in 1991-92 whilst most people experienced a decrease in their share of income, because of the trend of distributional changes such that only the income of the top 10 percent of population dramatically rose between 1991 and 2000. In other words, under the circumstances where half of the population is below the poverty line and 75 per cent of total population lives in the rural areas, there was a positive result. In addition, the decline in the absolute number of the extreme poor by 2.4 million is a sign of absolute pro-poor growth. Hence, there may be a small but notable outcome of the pro-poor policy although the inequality trend is upwards; thus, agricultural growth with the improvement of rice productivity and real agricultural wage benefited many of the rural poor. Moreover, the development of the industry in urban areas provided opportunities, which encouraged migration from the rural to the aforementioned urban areas.

To sum up, during the 1990s, the rise in agricultural productivity in rural areas and the industrial development in urban areas contributed to achieving both relative pro-poor growth and some absolute pro-poor growth in terms of extreme poverty reduction.

4. Case study of Zambia

Zambia has suffered severe poverty and inequality since

independence despite enjoying superb agricultural conditions and sufficient mineral resources, which is believed to be as a consequence of strong dependence on the industrial sector, especially the mining sector (Thurlow and Wobst 2006, p.604). I will discuss the country's circumstances with sectoral pattern of growth, the poverty trend and other economic constraining factors, in order. Then, I will conclude that the sectoral pattern of growth of industry led to poverty and inequality in the 1990s.

First of all, the heavy dependence on mining and the industrial sector led Zambia to the urban-bias against the agricultural sector and rural development, which increased poverty and inequality in later years. Since independence in 1964, the mining sector contributed greatly by benefiting from exports and transferring those earnings to import substitution industry (World Bank 1994, p.i). This growth process constructed the population structure between the urban and the rural sectors. The proportion of the urban population had increased from 17 per cent to 40 per cent by 1980 and stood at 38 per cent in 1998. By 1991, the first year of the structural adjustment programme, the growth of the mining sector was no longer as active as it had been due to the continuous decline in the value of copper over the years, and instead, agriculture and manufacturing greatly contributed to the country's economy (Thurlow and Wobst 2004, p.10). However, as a consequence of opening the trade market, one of the structural adjustment policies between 1991 and 1998, the manufacturing sector became exhausted by foreign competition. Moreover, continuous heavy subsidies by the government to the state-owned mines, which were suffering low profitability, worsened the country's economy and prevented investment in other profitable

sectors. Thus, considering the sectoral pattern of growth, urban-based industries such as mining and manufacturing strongly led the country's economy. Therefore, the impact of the collapse of those labour-intensive sectors unambiguously appeared by generating the number of unemployed, and poverty and inequality in the urban areas, as well as the negligence of the agricultural sector and rural development in the 1990s.

Secondly, both poverty and inequality worsened over the decade. First of all, during the 1990s, the economic growth did not eliminate poverty. Looking at the Gross National Income (GNI) over the 1990s, while the trend of overall economic growth was slightly upwards, the per capita GNI hovered at \$US 800 per year (Figure 4). This means that the degree of the overall economic growth almost reflected on the degree of the population growth. Although, drawing on Chen and Ravallion (2007, p.2) again, overall economic growth can reduce absolute poverty, in the context of this country, the increase in the overall economic growth was too small to reduce absolute poverty. Therefore, the absolute number of the poor population clearly rose across the whole country, both urban and rural, although the rural poverty headcount rate declined to 73 per cent, which was still high (Table 5). Next, real inequality also worsened although data shows some improvement, the fall in the Gini coefficient being by 7 percent (Figure 5). Regarding the percentage of income distribution in 1993 and 1998 (Table 6), for the purposes of clear description, I would name the poorest 50 percent 'the low income group', the richer between 60 per cent and 90 per cent 'the middle income group' and the richest 10 per cent 'the high income group'. First of all, there was a slight improvement in the

income share of the 'low income group', which is below the poverty line because 60 per cent of the population are poor. This evidence seems to imply an outcome of pro-poor growth. However, the income share of the 'high income group' stably increased from about 39 per cent to 42 per cent although the income proportion of the 'middle income group' declined. Hence, the improvement in the 'low income group' was not thanks to the redistribution from the 'high income group' but the 'middle income group'. In other words, lowering the middle income to just above the poverty line and boosting the poor economy below the poverty line disguised the nature of poverty by improving the major poverty indicators of the poverty gap by 5 per cent, the squared poverty gap by the 9 per cent, because the distance from the mean income of the poor to the poverty line shortened (Table 7). The nature of poverty is large inequality by virtue of the fact that the richest 10 per cent has 42 per cent of the wealth since inequality can decrease impact of economic growth on poverty reduction as discussed above. Thus, the nature of inequality was not solved because redistribution from the rich to the poor did not occur although the poverty indicators show positive changes in poverty and inequality. Finally, other factors to be considered may be land lock and social indicators, especially health, in Zambia. According to Collier (2008, p.56-58), although in general, benefits from the neighbours' growth by 1 per cent provides a landlocked country 0.7 per cent, the African landlocked countries like Zambia can benefit by only 0.2 per cent. Also, HIV, which largely infects the most productive aged people, is one of the most significant issues for the country (UNDP 2007b, p.1-3), and the health index is also relatively low (Table 8 and Figure 6). Hence, these two factors may

also affect the degree of economic growth impact.

In conclusion, the high dependence on urban industry and its collapse contributed to increasing poverty and inequality as well as the negligence of the agricultural sector during the 1990s. Besides, the impact of economic growth on poverty reduction was really limited because economic growth was insufficient and redistribution did not occur. Furthermore, land lock and HIV may have had an influence on the issue.

5. Conclusion

The combination of the degree of economic growth, income redistribution, sectoral pattern of growth and other factors, especially human development may generate the variations between countries in the impact of economic growth on poverty reduction. In Bangladesh, the rise in agricultural productivity in the rural areas and industrial development in the urban areas led to economic growth and redistribution, which accomplished both relative pro-poor growth and some absolute pro-poor growth. On the other hand, in Zambia, the high dependence on urban industry increased poverty and inequality, as well as the resultant negligence of the agricultural sector because the impact of economic growth on poverty reduction was not sufficient to reduce poverty, and redistribution did not occur.

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Table 1: Cross-country comparison by Similar Income to Bangladesh

County	GDP per capita (PPP US\$)	Life expectancy	Education	GDP
Ghana	2,480	0.568	0.555	0.536
Pakistan	2,370	0.659	0.466	0.528
Angola	2,335	0.279	0.535	0.526
Guinea	2,316	0.497	0.347	0.524
Cameroon	2,299	0.414	0.66	0.523
Mauritania	2,234	0.637	0.493	0.519
Sao Tome and Principe	2,178	0.665	0.783	0.514
Djibouti	2,178	0.482	0.553	0.514
Mongolia	2,107	0.682	0.91	0.509
Moldova	2,100	0.724	0.892	0.508
Sudan	2,083	0.54	0.531	0.507
Uzbekistan	2,063	0.696	0.906	0.505
Bangladesh	2,053	0.635	0.503	0.504
Lao People's Democratic Republic	2,039	0.637	0.663	0.503
Zimbabwe	2,038	0.265	0.77	0.503
Solomon Islands	2,031	0.633	0.669	0.503
Comoros	1,993	0.651	0.533	0.499
Kyrgyzstan	1,927	0.676	0.917	0.494
Gambia	1,921	0.563	0.45	0.493
Senegal	1,792	0.622	0.394	0.482
Haiti	1,663	0.575	0.542	0.469
Cote d'Ivoire	1,648	0.373	0.457	0.468

Source: Based on the United Nations Development Programme (2007a)

Note: The countries are selected from the range of plus and minus US\$ 500 from Bangladesh.

Each indicator shows the range from the minimum 0 to the maximum 1.

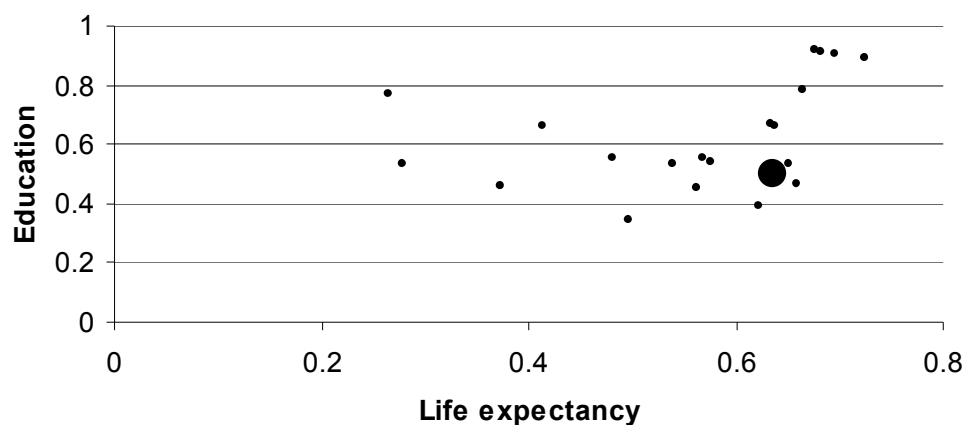
Figure1: Cross-country comparison: Quality of expenditure in Bangladesh

Table 2: Trends in CBN Poverty Measures in Bangladesh

	Upper Poverty Line			Lower Poverty Line		
	1991-92	1995-96	2000	1991-92	1995-96	2000
HEADCOUNT RATE:						
National	58.8	51	49.8	42.7	34.4	33.7
Urban	44.9	29.4	36.6	23.3	13.7	19.1
Rural	61.2	55.2	53	46	38.5	37.4
POVERTY GAP:						
National	17.2	13.3	12.9	10.7	7.6	7.3
Urban	12	7.2	9.5	4.9	2.6	3.8
Rural	18.1	14.5	13.8	11.7	8.6	8.2
SQUARED POVERTY GAP:						
National	6.8	4.8	4.6	3.9	2.5	2.3
Urban	4.4	2.5	3.4	1.5	0.7	1.2
Rural	7.2	5.3	4.9	4.3	2.8	2.6

Source: The World Bank (2002)

Table 3: Population below the Poverty Line in Bangladesh

	1991-92	1995-96	2000
Population:	115662440	126296652	139434376
Upper Poverty Line			
HEADCOUNT RATE:	58.8	51	49.8
Poverty incidence:	68009514	64411292	69438319
Lower Poverty Line			
HEADCOUNT RATE:	42.7	34.4	33.7
Poverty incidence:	49387862	43446048	46989385

Source: Own calculations using the World Bank (2002) for Headcount rate and World Development Indicators for Population

Note: Each population datum is in 1991, 1995 and 2000.

Figure 2: The trend of the Gini coefficient in Bangladesh

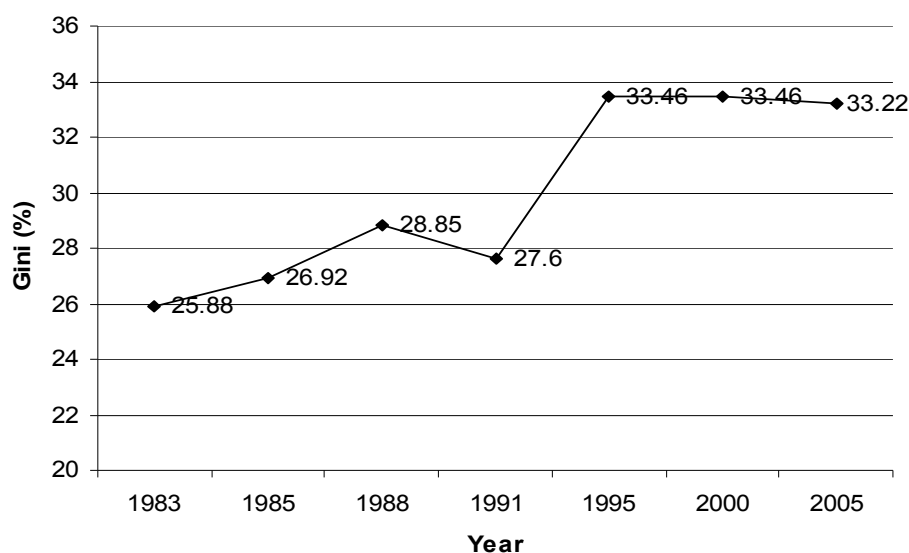


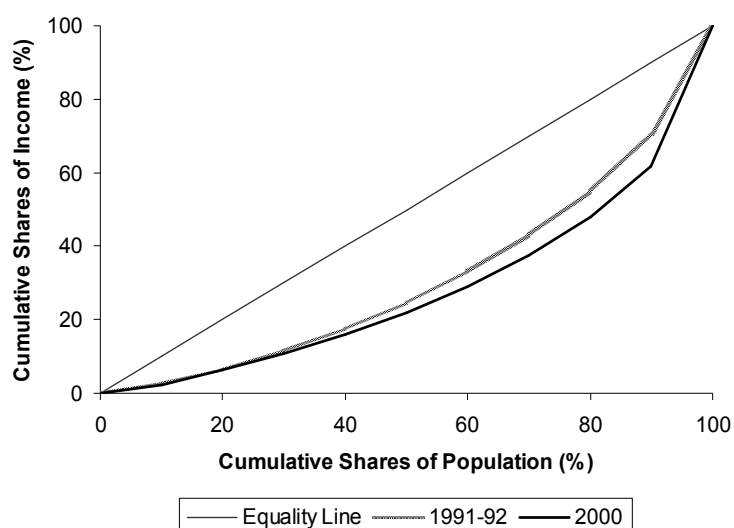
Table 4: Percentage Distribution of Income Accruing to Households in Bangladesh

Deciles	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1991-92										
National	2.6	3.9	5	5.9	7.1	8.5	10.1	12.1	15.6	29.2
Urban	2.6	4.1	5	5.9	6.8	8.1	9.7	11.8	15.6	30.4
Rural	2.7	4.1	5.1	6.1	7.2	8.6	10.3	12.3	15.7	28
2000										
National	2.4	3.8	4.5	5.2	6.1	7.1	8.4	10.4	13.9	38.1
Urban	2	3.1	3.8	4.7	5.6	6.7	8.2	10.4	13.9	41.6
Rural	2.8	4.3	5.2	6	6.8	7.9	9.1	10.9	14.1	33

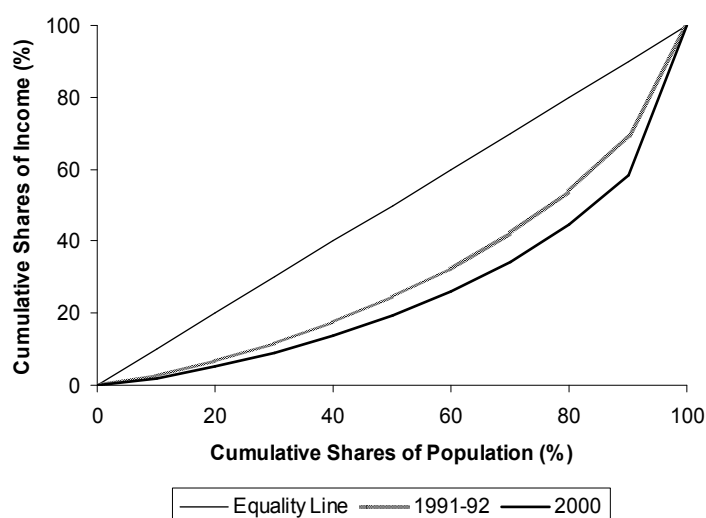
Source: The World Bank (2005)

Figure 3: Lorenz curves

National income distribution in Bangladesh



Urban income distribution in Bangladesh



Rural income distribution in Bangladesh

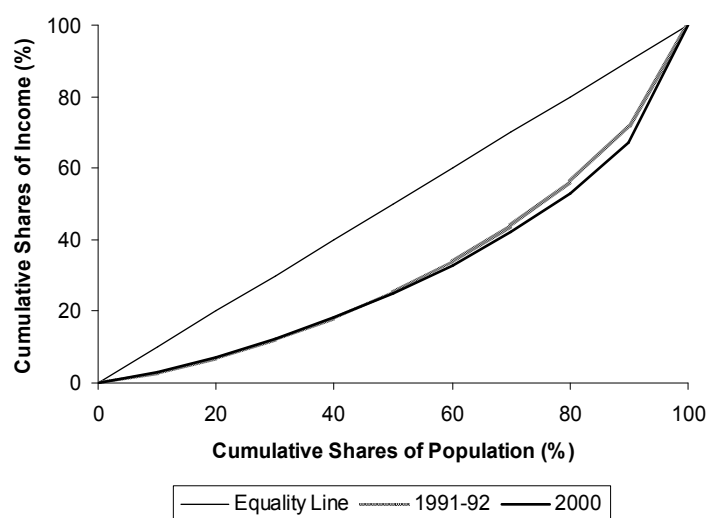
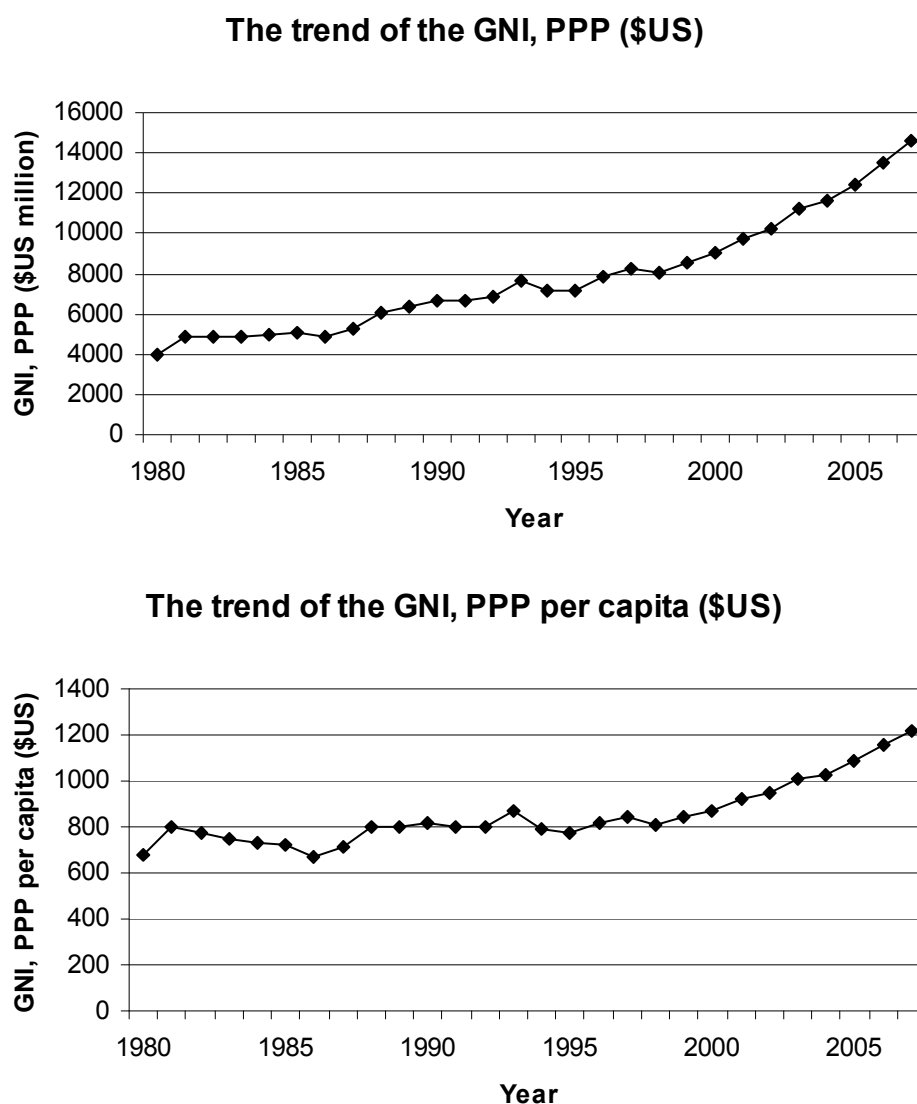


Figure 4: The trend of the GNI in Zambia



Source: World Development Indicators

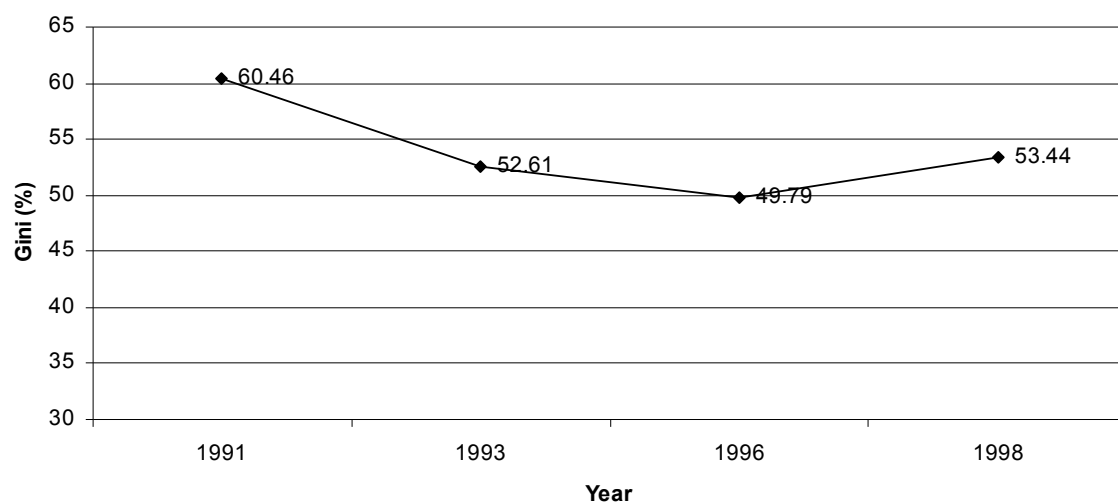
Table 5: Population below the Poverty Line in Zambia

	HEADCOUNT RATE		Poverty Incidence	
	1991	1998	1991	1998
National	56.5	59.8	4717138	5971719
Urban	28.2	37.3	1059476	1415437
Rural	80.1	73.3	3678110	4538307

Source: Own calculations using Thurlow and Wobst (2008) for Headcount rate, World Development Indicators for National Population and UNDP (2001) for Population shares between urban and rural.

Note: The Rural Share of total population is 55 percent in 1991 and 62 percent in 1998.

Figure 5: The trend of the Gini coefficient in Zambia



Source: PovcalNet

Table 6: Income/Consumption Distribution of Households in Zambia

Deciles	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1993	1.07	1.97	2.97	4.07	5.37	6.94	9.01	11.99	17.33	39.28
1998	1.12	2.18	3.15	4.19	5.39	6.79	8.6	11.13	15.51	41.94

Source: PovcalNet

Table 7: Poverty profile, Zambia 1991 and 1998

	HEADCOUNT		POVERTY GAP		SQUARED POVERTY GAP	
	1991	1998	1991	1998	1991	1998
National	56.5	59.8	32.4	27.6	23.2	16.2
Urban	28.2	37.3	9.8	13	4.9	6.3
Rural	80.1	73.3	51.1	36.4	38.4	22.1

Source: Thurlow and Wobst (2008)

Table 8: Cross-country comparison by Similar Income to Zambia

County	GDP per capita (PPP US\$)	Life expectancy	Education	GDP
Togo	1,506	0.547	0.538	0.453
Uganda	1,454	0.412	0.655	0.447
Chad	1,427	0.423	0.296	0.444
Tajikistan	1,356	0.689	0.896	0.435
Congo	1,262	0.484	0.736	0.423
Mozambique	1,242	0.296	0.435	0.421
Kenya	1,240	0.451	0.693	0.42
Central African Republic	1,224	0.311	0.423	0.418
Burkina Faso	1,213	0.44	0.255	0.417
Rwanda	1,206	0.337	0.602	0.416
Benin	1,141	0.506	0.4	0.406
Nigeria	1,128	0.359	0.648	0.404
Eritrea	1,109	0.527	0.521	0.402
Ethiopia	1,055	0.446	0.38	0.393
Mali	1,033	0.469	0.282	0.39
Myanmar	1,027	0.596	0.764	0.389
Zambia	1,023	0.259	0.655	0.388
Yemen	930	0.608	0.545	0.372
Madagascar	923	0.557	0.67	0.371
Guinea-Bissau	827	0.347	0.421	0.353
Sierra Leone	806	0.28	0.381	0.348
Niger	781	0.513	0.267	0.343
Tanzania (United Republic of)	744	0.434	0.631	0.335
Congo (Democratic Republic of the)	714	0.346	0.56	0.328
Burundi	699	0.391	0.522	0.325
Malawi	667	0.355	0.638	0.317

Source: Based on the United Nations Development Programme(2007)

Note: The countries are selected from the range of plus and minus US\$ 500 from Zambia.

Each indicator shows the range from the minimum 0 to the maximum 1.

Figure 6: Cross-country comparison: Quality of expenditure in Zambia

