

3

WHO ARE THE POOREST AND THE HUNGRY?

In this chapter we take a closer look at who the poor and hungry are, focusing on 20 countries for which household survey data are available. The countries are found in various regions throughout the developing world, including Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, East and Central Asia, and Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC). Sub-Saharan Africa is represented by nine countries: Burundi, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, Senegal, and Zambia. South Asia is represented by Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka, which make up the large majority of the region's population. Laos, Timor-Leste, Vietnam, and Tajikistan represent East and Central Asia. Finally, Peru, Guatemala, and Nicaragua represent LAC. As will be seen below, the poverty and hunger situations in these countries fall along a spectrum from dire to quite low incidences. The countries chosen from the available datasets represent this spectrum within each major developing region.

This chapter begins with a discussion of the indicators of poverty and hunger that are employed, followed by a presentation of the patterns of poverty and hunger across the

countries and by rural and urban areas within them. Next, we examine the correlations between national incidences of poverty and hunger to get a sense of how closely poverty and hunger overlap. Finally, the data are used to undertake a descriptive analysis that identifies some key characteristics of the poor.

3.1 DATA AND INDICATORS OF POVERTY AND HUNGER

The data employed in this analysis are from nationally representative household expenditure surveys conducted between 1994 and 2003. In the surveys, households are asked to report on all of their expenditures on goods and services, which can then be used to estimate their incomes and calculate poverty rates. As part of this process, they are asked to report on their acquisition of foods from three sources: purchases, home production, and in-kind receipts. These data can then be used to calculate measures of hunger. Appendix 3 describes the datasets and data collection methodology. A list of the countries and years their surveys were conducted is presented in Table A3.1.

Table 3.1 Selected Countries and Years of Surveys

	Year of survey
Sub-Saharan Africa	
Burundi	1998
Ethiopia	1999
Ghana	1998
Kenya	1997
Malawi	1997
Mozambique	1996
Rwanda	2000
Senegal	2001
Zambia	1996
South Asia	
Bangladesh	2000
India	1999
Pakistan	1998
Sri Lanka	1999
East Asia	
Lao PDR	2002
Timor-Leste	2001
Vietnam	1998
Central Asia	
Tajikistan	2003
Latin America and the Caribbean	
Guatemala	2000
Nicaragua	2001
Peru	1994

The poverty indicator employed here is the same as that used in Chapter 2. Using the appropriate cut-offs applied to each household's total expenditures per capita, poor households are identified and classified into one of three groups—subadjacent poor, medial poor, and ultra poor—from which population group incidences can be calculated.

Two types of hunger indicators are employed, the first representing diet *quantity* and the second diet *quality*.¹² The diet quantity

indicators are based on the amount of dietary energy in the foods acquired by households, with cut-offs used to classify those identified as hungry into three groups:

- (1) subadjacent hungry: acquiring 1,800-2,200 kilocalories (kcal) per person per day;
- (2) medial hungry: acquiring 1,600-1,800 kcal per person per day; and
- (3) ultra hungry: acquiring less than 1,600 kcal per person per day.

The groups are defined by progressively deeper and more life-threatening hunger associated with a deficiency of dietary energy, which is arguably the most essential nutrient for survival, physical activity, and health. Note that the 2,200 kcal cut-off roughly corresponds to what is known as the “average” energy requirement for light activity (such as sitting and standing) recommended by the Expert Consultation on Human Energy and Protein Requirements (FAO, WHO, and UNU 1985). It represents the average among people in the same age–sex groups regardless of weight. The 1,800 kcal cut-off identifies people who do not consume sufficient dietary energy to meet the “minimum” requirement for light activity as established by FAO (FAO 1996a). People whose energy consumption falls below this requirement cannot even meet the energy needs of the lowest-weight person of their same age and sex group. The 1,600 kcal cut-off was chosen to identify those suffering from very severe, life-threatening hunger.

An indicator of diet quality is included here in recognition of the fact that it is possible for people to meet their energy requirement but not achieve full physical and intellectual potential due to deficiencies of other nutrients, specifically protein and micronutrients such as iron, vitamin A, and iodine (Welch 2004). Indeed, it is increasingly recognized that

inadequate diet quality, rather than insufficient energy consumption, is becoming the main dietary constraint facing poor populations (Ruel et al. 2003; Graham, Welch, and Bouis 2004).

The specific indicator employed here is diet diversity, which denotes how varied the food an individual consumes is. Research to date from both developed and developing countries consistently shows that diet diversity is a good indicator of nutrient adequacy, that is, a diet that meets requirements for energy and all other essential nutrients (Ruel 2002). It is calculated for this report's analysis by simply counting the number (out of seven) of nutritionally important food groups from which food is acquired over the survey reference period. The groups are: (1) cereals, roots, and tubers; (2) pulses and legumes; (3) dairy products; (4) meats, fish and seafood, and eggs; (5) oils and fats; (6) fruits; and (7) vegetables. The first group contains starchy staples that are the main source of dietary energy. Groups 2–4 contain foods that are high in protein. Animal foods are also good sources of micronutrients, including calcium, easily absorbable iron and zinc, and the fat-soluble

vitamins A and D. The fifth group contains foods that may be good sources of fat-soluble vitamins, and they assist with their absorption. Finally, fruits and vegetables are good sources of micronutrients and fiber (Latham 1997).

There are currently no international recommendations for optimal food-group diversity and thus, for determining whether people have low-quality diets based only on the knowledge of what foods they eat. Proper cut-offs must be based on further research that relates measures of diet diversity to measures of nutrient adequacy in specific populations (Arimond and Ruel 2004). Meanwhile, this study considers someone to have a low-quality diet if he or she consumes food from fewer than five of the seven food groups.

3.2 INCIDENCE OF POVERTY

Table 3.2 reports the incidences of poverty for the countries at the national level as well as for rural and urban areas. They are illustrated in Figure 3.1, in which countries are ranked by the incidence of ultra poverty.¹³ As was described in Chapter 2, the highest incidences of ultra

FIGURE 3.1 National Incidences of Poverty for the Subjacent, Medial, and Ultra Poor

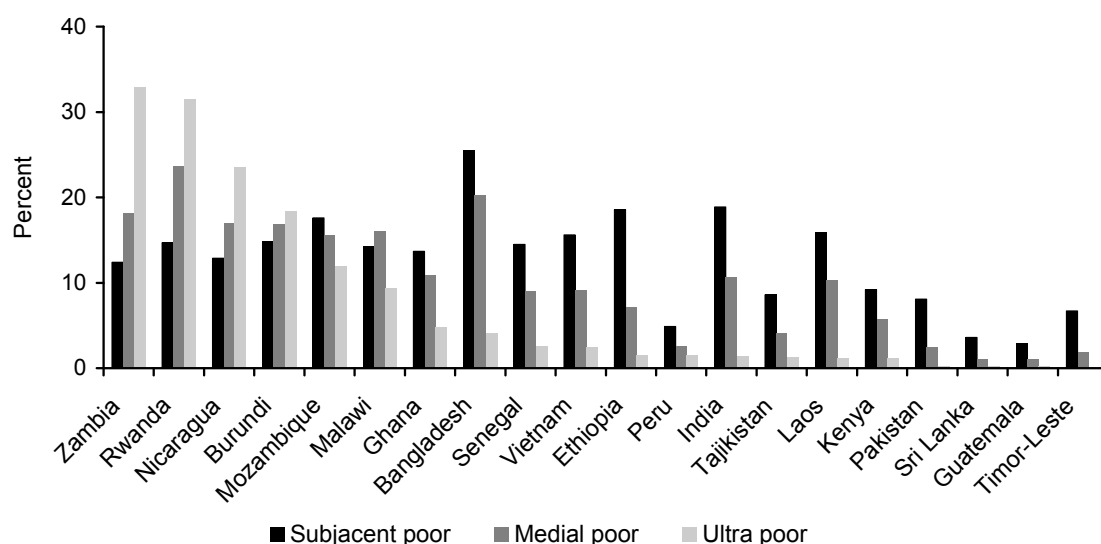


TABLE 3.2 Incidence of Poverty
All of the poor living on less than \$1 a day

Countries	Subjacent poor			Medial poor			Ultra poor					
	National	Rural	Urban	National	Rural	Urban	National	Rural	Urban			
Sub-Saharan Africa												
Burundi	50.0	52.3	14.3	14.8	15.5	5.9	16.8	17.5	4.0	18.4	19.3	4.4
Ethiopia ^a												
Ghana	29.4	37.0	26.4	13.7	16.5	13.3	10.9	13.9	10.2	4.8	6.7	2.9
Kenya	16.0	18.7	3.7	9.2	10.7	2.3	5.7	6.7	1.1	1.1	1.3	0.3
Malawi	39.7	44.3	7.5	14.3	15.8	4.2	16.1	18.0	2.7	9.4	10.5	0.6
Mozambique	45.1	51.7	41.5	17.6	19.9	13.1	15.6	18.2	13.5	11.9	13.6	14.9
Rwanda	69.8	75.6	35.1	14.7	15.5	11.3	23.6	25.4	11.6	31.5	34.7	12.2
Senegal	26.2	40.2	24.9	14.5	21.8	13.5	9.0	14.2	8.6	2.6	4.2	2.8
Zambia	63.4	77.7	58.8	12.4	11.3	15.3	18.1	20.5	20.0	32.9	45.9	23.5
South Asia												
Bangladesh	50.0	55.2	46.2	25.5	27.5	19.6	20.3	22.9	21.2	4.1	4.8	5.4
India	31.0	37.1	30.8	18.9	22.1	16.6	10.6	13.2	12.0	1.4	1.8	2.2
Pakistan	10.8	12.8	9.8	8.1	9.5	7.4	2.5	3.0	2.1	0.2	0.3	0.3
Sri Lanka	6.2	6.8	5.3	3.6	3.8	3.7	1	1.2	0.8	0.2	0.2	0.0
East and Central Asia												
Laos ^b	27.4	-	-	15.9	-	-	10.3	-	-	1.2	-	-
Timor-Leste	8.7	9.6	5.6	6.7	7.5	4.3	1.9	2.1	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Vietnam	27.2	35.1	19.7	15.6	19.8	10.5	9.1	12.0	7.5	2.4	3.3	1.7
Tajikistan	20.5	21.1	19.0	8.6	9.4	7.0	4.1	4.3	3.9	1.3	0.9	1.9
Latin America and the Caribbean												
Peru	9.0	24.5	5.4	4.9	12.2	3.5	2.6	7.7	1.6	1.5	4.6	0.3
Nicaragua	53.4	80.6	53.1	12.9	12.2	15.0	17.0	23.8	19.7	23.5	44.6	18.4
Guatemala	4.1	6.4	0.1	2.9	4.6	0.4	1.0	1.5	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.0

^a The poverty rates estimated for Ethiopia from the expenditures data were not included as they were deemed to be unrealistically low.

^b Expenditures data are not available for analysis for Laos. The national poverty rates are estimated here using the methodology described in Appendix 1.

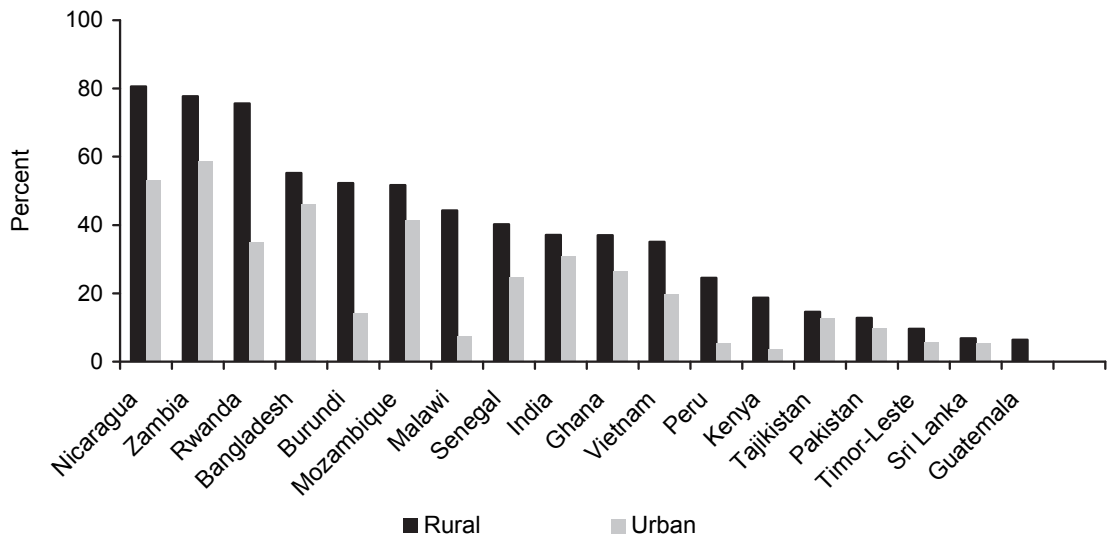
poverty are found in Sub-Saharan Africa. In four countries (three of which are in Sub-Saharan Africa), the incidence of ultra poverty is higher than the incidences of subjacent and medial poverty combined: Zambia, Rwanda, Burundi, and Nicaragua.

The country with the highest overall rate of poverty—an alarming 70 percent when all three groups are combined—is Rwanda. Almost one-third of its population lives in ultra poverty. This extremely high incidence is not surprising: at the time of its survey in 2000, Rwanda was recovering from ethnically motivated civil wars accompanied by violence and displacements that completely devastated people’s livelihoods (UNDHA 1996). Zambia also has exceptionally high rates of overall and ultra poverty, at 63 and 33 percent, respectively, which is partly due to the fact that it was recovering from the effect of a severe drought at the time of its survey in 1996 (Frankenberger et al. 2003). Burundi’s overall and ultra poverty rates are also quite high, related to the same set of circumstances as Rwanda.

Outside of Sub-Saharan Africa, Bangladesh—which has the world’s highest population density and recurrent natural disasters (FAO 2005)—and Nicaragua are the study countries with the highest overall poverty rates, at 50 and 53 percent, respectively. More than half of the poor in Bangladesh are subjacent poor, and only 4.1 percent are ultra poor. The group with the highest incidence in Nicaragua, in contrast, is the ultra poor, at almost a quarter of the population. At the time of its survey in 2001, Nicaragua was still in the process of reconstruction following its civil war and the economic collapse of the 1980s. It was also recovering from multiple natural disasters in the 1990s (Government of Nicaragua 2000).

Turning next to rural–urban differences, the incidence of poverty is higher in rural areas in all of the study countries for which poverty data are available, despite a global trend toward an increase in the proportion of poor in urban areas (Ravallion, Chen, and Sangraula 2007). This finding is illustrated in Figure 3.2, which

FIGURE 3.2 Rural and Urban Incidences of Poverty



shows the incidence when all three poverty groups are combined, that is, the total population living on less than \$1 a day. The rural disadvantage is most pronounced in Rwanda, for which the overall poverty rate is 76 percent in rural areas but only 35 percent in urban areas.

The same pattern of rural disadvantage is found for the poverty subgroups with very few exceptions, and in the few instances where urban poverty is greater than rural (for example, in Nicaragua among the subjacent poor), the difference is not large (see Table 3.2). It is interesting to note that there is a tendency toward greater rural–urban differences as poverty deepens, although this is not consistent across countries. The average percent difference between rural and urban poverty incidences is 140 percent for the subjacent poor, 165 percent for the medial poor, and 400 percent for the ultra poor.

3.3 INCIDENCE OF HUNGER

The Global Hunger Index data presented in Chapter 2 indicates that Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia are the regions of the world with the greatest hunger problems. When it comes to hunger associated with a deficiency of food energy, the data in Table 3.3 bear this pattern out. Figure 3.3 illustrates the incidences of food-energy deficiency across the countries for the three hunger groups, with the countries ranked by incidence of ultra hunger.¹⁴

In Sub-Saharan Africa, the incidences of hunger for all three groups combined are particularly high (greater than 70 percent) for Ethiopia, Burundi, Zambia, and Malawi. All of these countries suffered from aggregate food deficits in the years of their surveys. They experienced adverse climatic shocks or severe conflict-induced instability in the years leading up to their surveys, with long-term consequences for both food supplies and the ability of households to gain access to them (Smith, Alderman, and Aduayom 2006).

FIGURE 3.3 National Incidences of Hunger (Food-Energy Deficiency) for the Subjacent, Medial, and Ultra Hungry

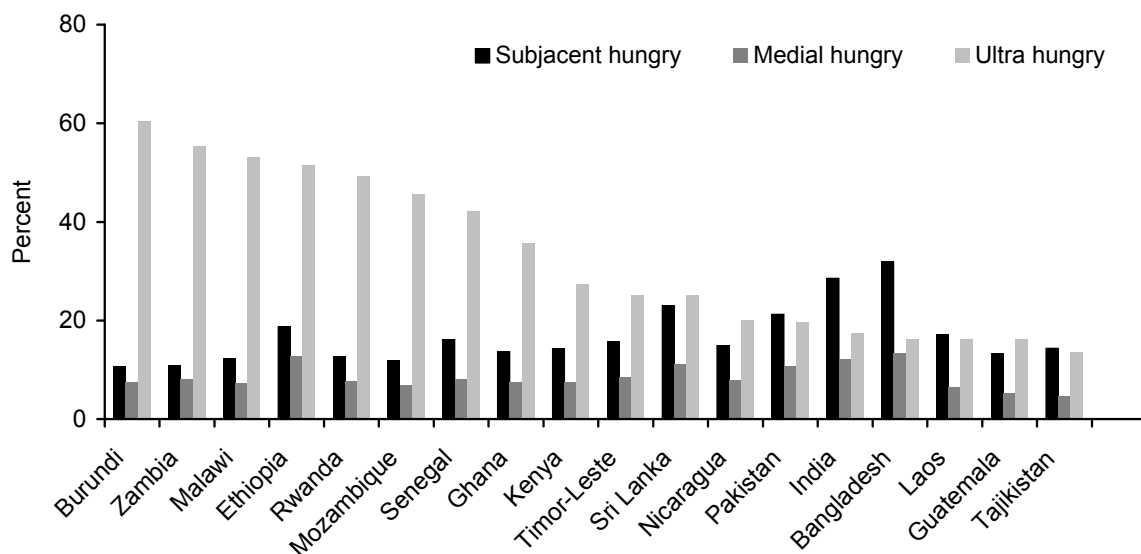


TABLE 3.3 Incidence of Hunger

Countries	Food-energy deficiency																			
	All of the hungry				Subjacent hungry				Medial hungry				Ultra hungry				Low diet quality			
	National	Rural	Urban		National	Rural	Urban		National	Rural	Urban		National	Rural	Urban		National	Rural	Urban	
Sub-Saharan Africa																				
Burundi	78.5	80.3	44.5	10.7	10.6	12.0	7.4	7.5	5.2	60.4	62.2	27.2	41.6	43.6	5.7					
Ethiopia	82.8	81.4	91.7	18.7	19.7	12.4	12.6	12.9	10.7	51.4	48.7	68.5	32.8	36.2	11.6					
Ghana	56.9	56.5	57.9	13.7	13.7	13.7	7.5	7.3	8.1	35.6	35.5	36.1	5.9	6.4	4.9					
Kenya	49.0	51.8	34.0	14.3	14.9	11.4	7.4	7.5	6.7	27.3	29.4	15.9	22.2	24.8	7.8					
Malawi	72.5	72.0	76.4	12.2	12.5	9.5	7.3	7.3	7.4	53.0	52.2	59.5	46.6	51.1	9.9					
Mozambique	64.4	67.3	53.8	12.0	12.6	9.8	6.9	7.3	5.7	45.5	47.4	38.3	59.6	68.8	25.0					
Rwanda	69.6	70.8	59.9	12.7	12.6	13.8	7.7	7.7	7.9	49.2	50.5	38.2	45.8	50.9	3.1					
Senegal	66.5	61.4	73.7	16.1	14.7	18.1	8.1	7.1	9.6	42.2	39.6	45.9	5.8	8.9	1.3					
Zambia	74.3	74.1	74.6	10.9	9.5	13.2	8.1	7.5	9.2	55.3	57.1	52.2	39.5	56.9	9.9					
South Asia																				
Bangladesh	61.3	59.6	68.6	31.9	30.9	35.9	13.3	12.8	15.6	16.1	15.9	17.1	3.0	3.7	0.3					
India	58.1	58.1	58.3	28.6	28.9	27.9	12.1	12.1	12.3	17.4	17.1	18.0	9.0	11.0	2.9					
Pakistan	51.4	48.2	59.7	21.3	21.8	20.1	10.6	9.9	12.1	19.5	16.5	27.5	1.3	1.5	0.7					
Sri Lanka	59.1	58.6	62.5	23.0	23.4	20.5	11.1	10.9	12.3	25.0	24.3	29.7	10.6	11.1	7.4					
East and Central Asia																				
Laos	39.7	33.8	56.0	17.1	17.2	16.7	6.5	5.9	7.9	16.1	10.7	31.4	60.8	69.8	35.6					
Timor-Leste	49.4	48.5	52.3	15.8	14.8	19.1	8.5	8.7	7.9	25.0	25.0	25.2	33.0	37.7	17.7					
Vietnam ^a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-					
Tajikistan	32.7	30.9	37.6	14.4	14.5	14.2	4.7	4.5	5.3	13.6	11.9	18.1	36.3	37.3	33.6					
Latin America and the Caribbean																				
Peru ^a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-					
Nicaragua	42.6	47.9	38.7	14.9	14.3	15.3	7.8	8.6	7.1	19.9	25	16.3	5.8	10.4	2.5					
Guatemala	34.7	36.2	32.4	13.4	13.4	13.6	5.2	5.1	5.3	16.1	17.7	13.5	6.9	8.5	4.3					

^a Data on quantities of foods consumed are not available in the datasets for these countries.

The highest incidence is for Ethiopia (83 percent), which experienced recurrent and devastating droughts in the decades leading up to its survey, as well as chronic political instability and refugee crises (Sharp, Devereaux, and Amare 2003). Burundi's civil war severely disrupted food production, with obvious adverse consequences for people's food security (UNDHA 1996). Malawi and Zambia were still recovering from a devastating drought in 1992-93 that led to major food shortages (Frankenberger et al. 2003).

In South Asia, the overall prevalence of food-energy deficiency in the four study countries is quite close, ranging from 51 percent in Pakistan to 61 percent in Bangladesh. Given that all of these countries had aggregate food surpluses at the time of their surveys, these high incidences are mainly a problem of the inability of households to access available food. While economic and agricultural growth has fueled an increasing potential to meet the food needs of populations, there have been some setbacks, especially with respect to agricultural productivity growth. As in Sub-Saharan Africa, natural disasters, and conflict in the case of Sri Lanka, have exacerbated the hunger situation (Smith and Wiesmann 2007).

When it comes to the *depth* of hunger, it is in Sub-Saharan Africa that hunger associated with access to insufficient dietary energy is the most severe. For all nine Sub-Saharan African study countries, the incidence of ultra hunger is above 25 percent (the highest among the three hunger groups) and it comprises the majority of the hungry. In four countries—Burundi, Ethiopia, Malawi, and Zambia—more than half of the country's entire population suffers from ultra hunger.

Incidences of medial hunger are uniformly low among the South Asian countries. In Bangladesh and India, the group with the highest incidence is the subjacent hungry, while in Pakistan and Sri Lanka the subjacent and

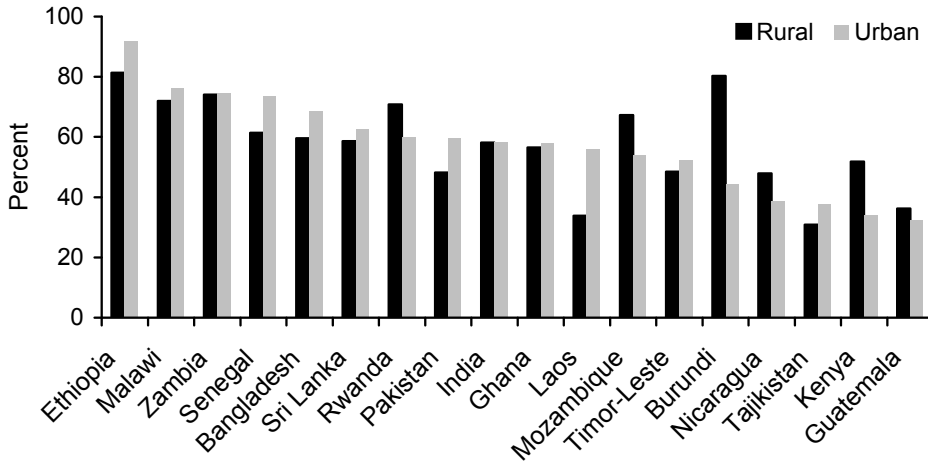
ultra hungry incidences are roughly the same. Among the rest of the study countries, Timor-Leste and Nicaragua stand out as having relatively high concentrations of their hungry in the ultra hungry group.

Given the rural disadvantage when it comes to poverty, we would expect rural rates of food-energy deficiency to be higher than urban rates as well. However, despite higher incomes, urbanites in some instances may face greater challenges in gaining access to sufficient food than rural dwellers do. This is because urban households are dependent on commercial markets and often face sharp trade-offs among competing needs for their incomes (such as housing, health, and transport), which can be very expensive in urban areas.¹⁵ Thus, urban-rural differences in the prevalence of food-energy deficiency could theoretically go either way.

Figure 3.4 shows a mixed picture. Seven of the study countries have a substantially higher food-energy deficiency incidence in urban areas. In most of the Asian study countries, there is a common urban disadvantage when it comes to food-energy deficiency. In five of the countries (all in Sub-Saharan Africa except Nicaragua), however, there is a substantial urban advantage.

The possibility that these findings reflect measurement issues must be considered. For instance, the problems of imputing the monetary value of housing in rural areas plague poverty estimates. In the case of the hunger estimates, food eaten out of the home, which occurs more frequently in urban areas, cannot be reliably measured in household expenditure surveys (see Smith and Subandoro 2007). While these potential data issues prevent us from drawing any strong conclusions from these results, the possibility that hunger may be more prevalent in urban areas in some countries merits further research.

FIGURE 3.4 Rural and Urban Incidences of Hunger (Food-Energy Deficiency)



Note: The hunger incidences represent the sum of the incidences for the subacute, medial, and ultra hungry.

FIGURE 3.5 National Incidences of Low Diet Quality

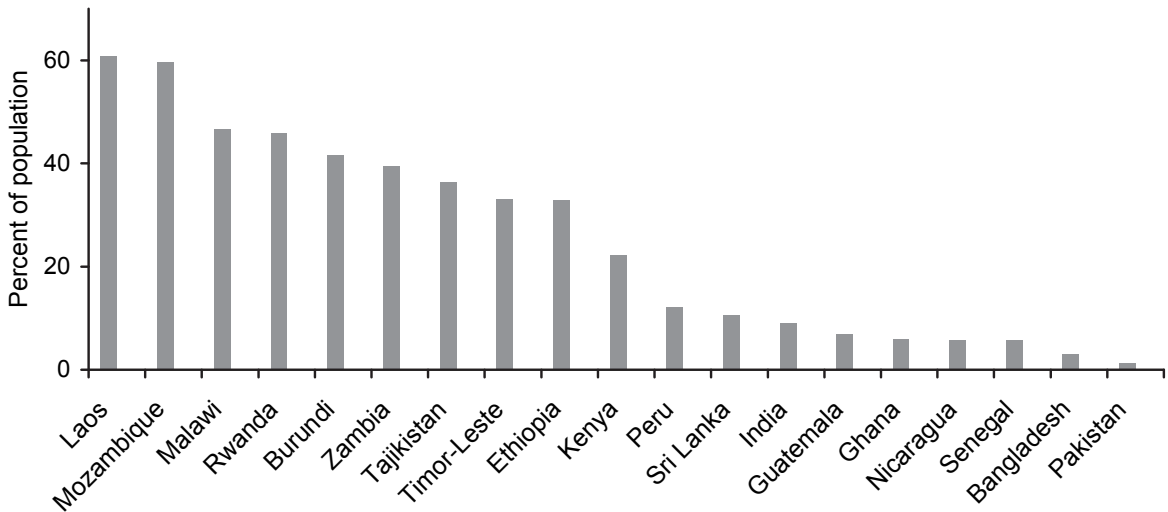
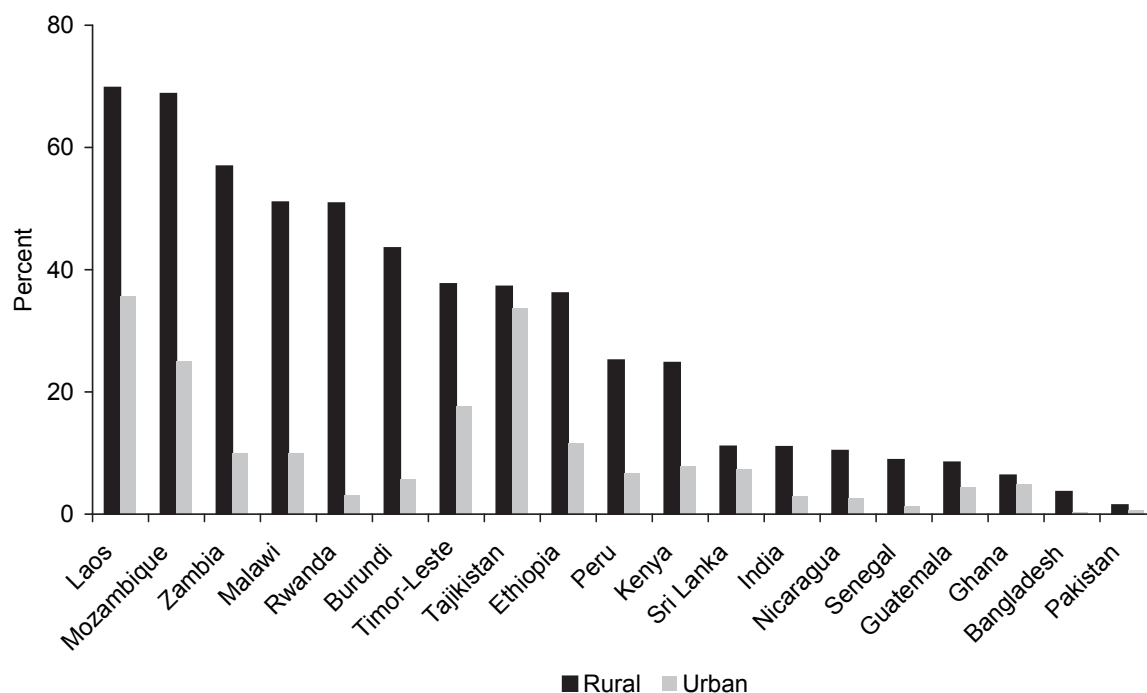


FIGURE 3.6 Rural and Urban Incidences of Low Diet Quality

Turning next to hunger associated with low diet quality, Laos in East Asia stands out as having the highest incidence at 61 percent (see Figure 3.5 and Table 3.3), followed closely by Mozambique at 60 percent. Malawi (47 percent), Rwanda (46 percent), and Burundi (42 percent) in Sub-Saharan Africa also have quite high incidences. It is interesting to note that in South Asia, for which food-energy deficiency is a major problem, low diet quality appears to affect very few people. The highest incidence of low diet quality in South Asia is 11 percent in Sri Lanka. The incidences of low diet quality are also quite small for the LAC countries. They are moderately high for Timor-Leste and Tajikistan.

When it comes to rural–urban differences in diet quality, rural households have a clear disadvantage in all of the study countries (see

Figure 3.6). The rural disadvantage is strongest in Rwanda, where the rural incidence of low diet quality is 51 percent but the urban incidence is a slight 3 percent. In addition to lower urban poverty in most countries, the rural disadvantage can be explained by the fact that urban areas have better access to a wider variety of foods in close proximity. Rural households are more likely to rely on their own production or to live farther away from markets where a variety of foods can be purchased (Smith, Alderman, and Aduayom 2006).

3.4 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN POVERTY AND HUNGER

As was demonstrated in Chapter 2, the data in this section show that while poverty and hunger do overlap, they are not identical. The

first column of Table 3.4 reports national incidences of hunger among all people classified as poor. In every country, the majority of poor people are hungry. The overlap is particularly high in Sub-Saharan Africa, where more than 80 percent of the poor are food-energy deficient in all of the study countries. This is consistent with the fact that poverty is the primary cause of hunger. However, the fact that the incidences of hunger among the poor are not all 100 percent points to the measurement error inherent in these datasets, and also suggests that not all poor people are hungry.¹⁶ Some are still able to meet their energy needs for an active, healthy life despite meager incomes. In some cases this may be due to relatively low food prices, possibly as a result of food subsidies.

The second column of Table 3.4 reports the incidences of poverty among the hungry. Here we find a consistently weaker correspondence. Indeed, in Guatemala, less than 10 percent of the food-energy deficient can be classified as poor. This finding suggests that, even allowing for measurement error, it is possible that a person who is hungry is not necessarily so because she or he is poor. It has been noted that in some cases, households with ample income to purchase food may be prevented from accessing it due to insufficient food supply caused by such problems as market fragmentation, natural disasters, or conflict (Sen 1983). It should be kept in mind, however, that the results in Table 3.4 are dependent on the cut-offs chosen. Using the definition of 2,200 calories as hungry, the data show that while nearly all those living on less than \$1 a day are hungry, those who are hungry may live on more than \$1 a day (especially in some countries). Hunger defined in this way may thus be a broader measure of deprivation than poverty at a \$1 a day. Households that are not classified as poor by the dollar-a-day cut-off

TABLE 3.4 Incidence of Hunger among the Poor, and of Poverty among the Hungry

Countries	Incidence of Hunger among the Poor	Incidence of Poverty among the Hungry
Sub-Saharan Africa		
Burundi	98.9	63.0
Ghana	85.7	44.3
Kenya	97.4	31.7
Malawi	92.4	50.6
Mozambique	89.6	62.8
Rwanda	84.4	84.6
Senegal	86.5	34.1
Zambia	83.1	70.9
South Asia		
Bangladesh	73.5	59.9
India	86.9	46.3
Pakistan	90.6	19.0
Sri Lanka	98.8	10.3
East and Central Asia		
Timor-Leste	98.7	17.3
Tajikistan	71.6	44.8
Latin America and the Caribbean		
Nicaragua	56.9	86.3
Guatemala	89.5	8.6

NOTE: The poverty and hunger incidences are defined to be the sum of the incidences for the subjacent, medial, and ultra poor and hungry.

may still face tight income constraints, and thus trade-offs among competing needs, given the cost of living where they reside. Households in this situation may not have enough to eat because their income is primarily devoted to meeting other basic needs such as health, education, transportation, and housing. They may also be choosing to temporarily forgo food consumption in the short term in order to preserve their productive assets, including

the education of their children, in the long term (Hoddinott 2006).

Providing further insight into the extent to which the hungry and poor overlap, Table 3.5 reports on the statistical correlations between national incidences of poverty and hunger across the 16 countries for which data are available for both. For overall poverty and hunger (with the three subgroups combined) at the national level the correlation between poverty and hunger is 0.63. Interestingly, when examining the subjacent, medial, and ultra groups, the correlations between poverty and hunger are relatively high and statistically significant only for the ultra poor and hungry.

The bottom row of Table 3.5 reports the correlations between the incidence of poverty (all subgroups combined) and the incidence of low diet quality. Here we find a weakly positive correlation of 0.43.

The results of the above analysis suggest that policies and programs aimed at alleviating poverty measured only by \$1 a day may not have such a great impact on hunger (including both dietary energy deficiency and low diet quality) in every case.

3.5 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POOREST AND HUNGRY

This section provides information on who the poorest and hungry are by presenting profiles of poor households in 15 of these countries.¹⁷ The previous section suggests this group is also, by and large, hungry (although by using the cut-off of 2,200 calories, this group does not include all hungry households). We examine some key characteristics of households living on less than \$1 a day. For 10 of the 15 countries in which the incidence of ultra poverty was relatively high, we go further in examining some of the characteristics, and compare those living in ultra poverty to those living on just less than \$1 a day in subjacent poverty.¹⁸ The characteristics are limited to those that can to some extent be compared across countries. We first look at how poor households spend their money. We then examine differences in demographic variables (such as whether or not poor households are more likely to be headed by women or to have elderly or children), schooling, and the ownership status of some selected assets. Access to electricity is

TABLE 3.5 Correlations among Incidences of Poverty and Hunger

Type of hungry	National			
	All of the Poor	Subjacent Poor	Medial Poor	Ultra Poor
All of the hungry	0.63***			
Subjacent hungry		0.35		
Medial hungry			0.11	
Ultra hungry				0.63***
Low diet quality	0.42			

NOTE: The poverty and hunger incidences are defined to be the sum of the incidences for the subjacent, medial, and ultra poor and hungry.

considered as a proxy for the extent to which these households are connected to transport and communications infrastructure and the access to markets and services this brings. The incidence of poverty among excluded groups in three countries (indigenous peoples in Guatemala and Peru and scheduled castes and tribes in India) and among the mainstream majority is also compared.

Food and Nonfood Budget Shares

Appendix Tables A4.1a to A4.1e present, respectively, the budget shares of households living below and above the dollar-a-day poverty line, and households living in subadjacent, medial, and ultra poverty. A detailed comparison and enlightening discussion of budget shares of those living on more than and less than \$1 a day in many developing countries can be found in Banerjee and Duflo (forthcoming). In general, poorer households and households living in rural areas spend a relatively higher proportion of their budget on food but, perhaps surprisingly, the differences are not large. Food budget shares in Sub-Saharan African countries are higher than in countries in other regions; among the poor, food budget share at the national level ranges from 67 percent in Ghana to as high as 86 percent in Rwanda. In contrast, Guatemalan households living on less than \$1 a day allocate 50 percent of their budget to acquiring food.

Poor households spend very little on education, especially in our sample of countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. The poor in Vietnam, Nicaragua, and Tajikistan allocate a relatively higher percentage of their budget to education. One of the reasons for the low level of spending on education is that the poor usually attend public or other schools (such as NGO-run schools) that do not charge a fee (Banerjee and Duflo, forthcoming).

Interestingly, expenditures on fuel represent the second highest share of budget among both rural and urban poor in South Asia (Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan). The poor in South Asia also spend more on clothing (the third highest budget share) than do the poor in other countries included in this study. Housing costs represent the second highest budget share for the poor in all three sample countries in Latin America and in Tajikistan.

We have noted in section 3.3 that one of the reasons for lower energy consumption by urban dwellers compared to their rural counterparts could be that the budget share for housing for the urbanites is likely to be higher than for those living in rural areas. Indeed, the budget share for housing is considerably higher for the urban poor than for the rural poor in 13 of the 15 case-study countries; Nicaragua and Tajikistan are the exceptions.

Column 5 in Tables 1a to 1e presents expenditures on health care across these countries. Few patterns are observed between spending on health and poverty; spending increases with poverty in Burundi and Vietnam, but falls or does not change with poverty in other countries. This is a potentially worrisome finding as poverty assessments for these countries have repeatedly found that ill-health is more prevalent among the poor. For example, in Bangladesh, serious illness, accidents, or death occurred in 43-48 percent of poor households compared to 29 percent of households classified as non-poor (Kabeer 2002). In Vietnam, long-term illness was repeatedly mentioned in the participatory poverty assessment as a defining characteristic of poor families, with phrases such as “ill health,” “chronic disease,” and “becoming indebted to pay medical costs” being mentioned in all research sites (World Bank 2004, p. 37). And in Guatemala the prevalence of diarrhea among children is higher among those in the poorer quintiles (World

Bank 2003b). The finding that poorer households spend no more on health suggests that the poorest spend less on health care per need than wealthier households. Section 4.4 notes the pre-eminent importance of health shocks in causing and maintaining poverty, with as many as 74 percent of households in one study tracing their fall into poverty to unexpected ill-health.

Women, Elderly, and Children

We present the patterns of demographic composition and female headship of households living below and above the dollar-a-day poverty line (Appendix Table A4.2), and for those living in subsistent, medial, and ultra poverty (Appendix Table A4.3).

First, we briefly note from the tables that larger households tend to be poorer than smaller households (with the exception of Bangladesh) and we also note that the poorest households tend to have higher dependency ratios (the number of household members of non-working age—children aged 0 to 14 years and elderly aged 60 years and over—that have to be supported by the household's working members). While intuitively we might expect that households with many to feed and fewer able-bodied adults will be poorer, caution is required in assuming this from the data too readily. Measurements of both poverty and hunger do not take into account the lower consumption requirements of children or those who are inactive, nor are they able to allow for any advantages from sharing public goods that larger households may enjoy. Concluding from these numbers (and from the many other studies in which poverty and hunger are calculated in the same way) that poorer households are larger or have higher dependency ratios can thus be erroneous.

One study on Mozambique takes into account these two factors and finds that there

is an association between household size and poverty: larger households are found to be poorer (Simler et al. 2004). However, the association does not imply a causal link between household size and poverty since there are complex, dynamic links between demographic variables and poverty that prevent us from drawing conclusions from this.

So, is it possible to say anything about whether, in fact, the elderly or children are more likely to be poor? Although it is not analyzed here, it has been suggested elsewhere that poverty rates among the elderly are particularly high. A study on aging and poverty in Africa found that, although few elderly live on their own, the depth of poverty among elderly when they do was found to be much higher than the average (measured by the poverty gap ratio), especially in rural areas (Kakwani and Subbarao 2005). Although the elderly are not always the poorest—for example, the elderly were not found to be poorer in Mozambique (Simler et al 2004)—they are often poor, and poor in many dimensions: “It is easy to identify the house of an older person, as it is often dilapidated and of poor quality” (HelpAge International 2003).

In a number of countries considered in this report, children were found to be disproportionately more likely to belong to poor households, as evidenced by higher poverty rates among children in many countries. For example, in Vietnam children are 1.4 to 1.75 times more likely than adults to be poor (World Bank 2004). However, these studies do not control for the various factors noted above, and it is not clear that this relationship holds when these factors are taken into consideration.

Nonetheless, there are groups of children who are particularly vulnerable to poverty. These groups include orphans and street children. A high incidence of disease and poor access to health services makes orphanhood a

common phenomenon in many countries. The presence of conflict and the high incidence of HIV/AIDS make orphanhood even more likely. Current global figures estimate that 16 million children under 15 have already lost either one or both parents to HIV/AIDS and that another 40 million children will lose their parents within the next 10 years.¹⁹

In Rwanda, the prevalence of orphanhood after the genocide resulted in many orphaned children forming their own families. In 1997, there were approximately 85,000 child-headed households with an average family size of 4-5 children. According to surveys conducted by Save the Children in 1995, 70 percent of these households were headed by girls and only 15 of these households had any regular income. These households formed one of the poorest sections of society by any measure. In Timor-Leste, the long history of conflict has resulted in 1 in 12 children losing their father. Children who have lost their father are more likely to be poor than those who have not (World Bank 2003c).

Poverty in childhood is much more likely to have long-term impacts on the future poverty of that child, as is suggested in the following section on education and is further discussed in Chapter 4.

We turn now to the question of whether the poorest are more likely to be women, and look first at whether the prevalence of poverty—and ultra poverty—is higher among female-headed households.

Figure 3.7 shows that, in general, female-headed households are more prevalent in Sub-Saharan African countries, ranging from 19 percent among households living on less than \$1 a day in Mozambique to 34 percent in Rwanda. In Asian countries, Sri Lanka has the highest proportion (22 percent) of female-headed poor households, but in Pakistan and Bangladesh, only 5-6 percent are female-

headed. In Latin America, 25 percent of poor households in Nicaragua are headed by women, as compared to only 1 percent of poor households in Guatemala. Countries with a history of civil conflict, such as Rwanda and Sri Lanka, tend to have higher proportions of female-headed households.

A comparison of households above and below the dollar-a-day poverty line reveals that higher proportions of poor households are headed by women in five of seven countries in Sub-Saharan Africa and in Sri Lanka (Figure 3.7). In other countries in Asia and Latin America, the proportion of female-headed households is lower among poorer households.

When looking below the dollar-a-day line for the subset of 10 countries, we observe a more similar relationship between ultra poverty and female-headed households in Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia (Figure 3.8). In five of six Sub-Saharan African countries (Ghana being the only exception) and in all three Asian countries, female-headed households are more likely to be found living in ultra poverty than in subjacent poverty. For these three Asian countries (Bangladesh, India, and Vietnam), the relationship between poverty and female-headship is thus reversed when disaggregating below the dollar-a-day line. A comparison of those living in ultra poverty with those living on more than \$1 a day shows that households in ultra poverty in these three countries are more likely to be female headed. The data from Nicaragua suggest that in Latin America, the pattern is not similarly reversed when disaggregating below \$1 a day: ultra poor households are even less likely to be female headed.

The tendency of female-headed households to have higher numbers of children who have lower consumption requirements might again lead to an overestimation of poverty among female-headed households. However, a

FIGURE 3.7 Proportion of Female-Headed Households: Living on More Than and Less Than \$1 a Day (percent)

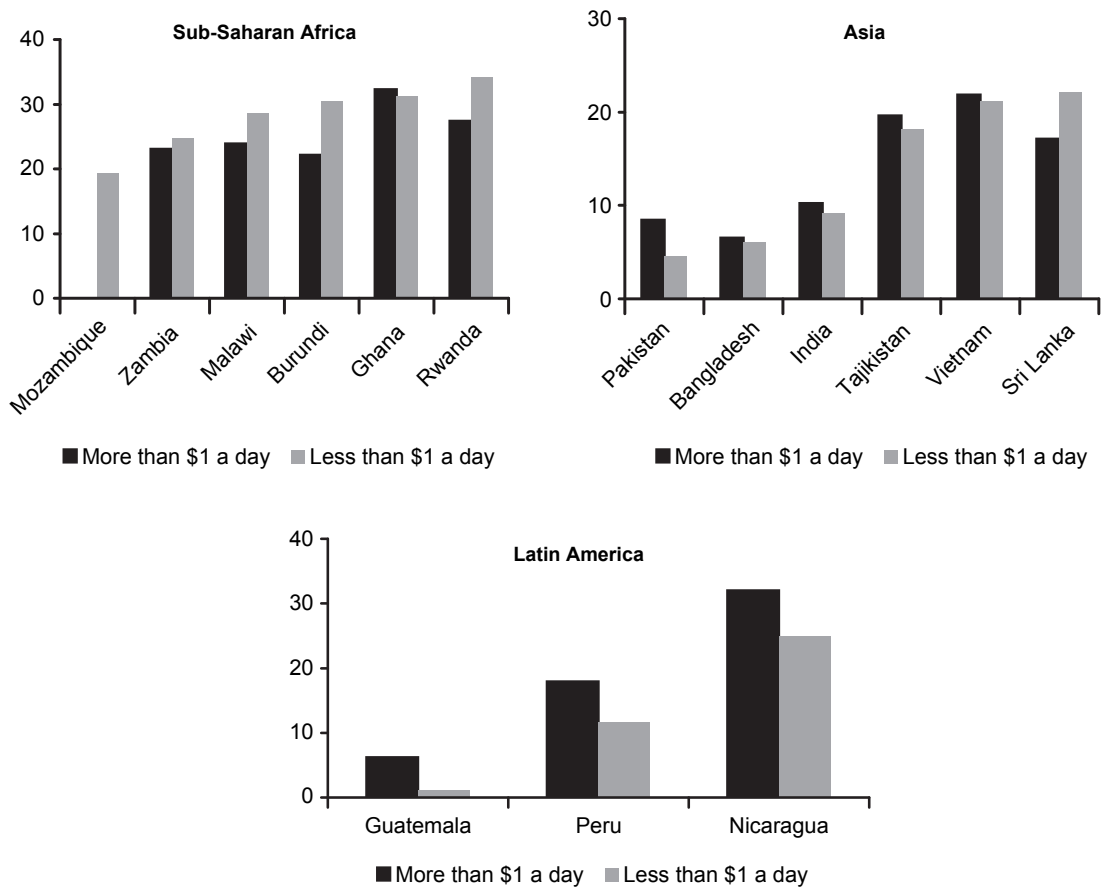
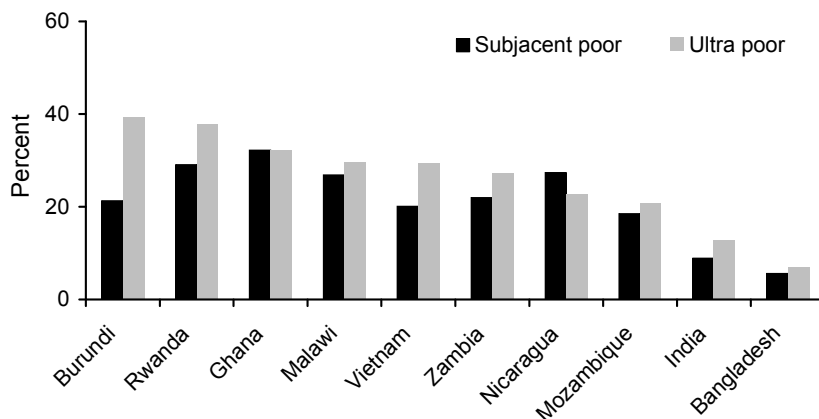


FIGURE 3.8 Proportion of Female-Headed Households: Living in Subjacent and Ultra Poverty



careful study of differences between male- and female-headed households across 10 countries using IFPRI datasets (and two LSMS surveys) showed that taking this into account made very little difference in comparisons between male- and female-headed households (Quisumbing, Haddad, and Pena 2001). If anything, taking this into account increased the number of countries in which female-headed households were found to be poorer: they were poorer in 8 of the 10 countries using the dollar-a-day poverty line. However, in each estimation method only two or three countries had differences big enough to be significantly different. This is worth bearing in mind since for some countries presented here the differences are also small and may not be significant.

We conclude that there is some evidence that is consistent with the hypothesis that female-headed households are overrepresented among the ultra poor. Why female-headed households may be poorer is considered in Chapter 4. Access to assets and resources may be one part of the explanation.

Examining only differences between male- and female-headed households hides the fact that within households headed by men, the welfare of women and girls is often lower than that of their male family members. While empirical evidence on this is more limited, the same study of IFPRI datasets found that at the individual level, women were poorer than men in 6 of the 10 countries considered, and were significantly so for some measure of poverty in Ghana, Madagascar, and Bangladesh (Quisumbing, Haddad, and Pena 2001). Additionally, studies in South Asia show that within households, women receive significantly less food and sometimes less high-quality food such as meat and eggs (Ahmed 2000a, Haddad et al. 1996, del Ninno et al. 2001).

Education

It is hard to overemphasize the importance of education for improving the welfare of individuals. Education has been shown to have significant positive impacts on agricultural productivity, employment, access to credit, use of government services, and own health and child health and education outcomes (section 4.6). In the developing world, providing universal primary education connotes a great opportunity to reduce poverty and to promote economic growth. Quality primary education equips children from poor families with literacy, numeracy, and basic problem-solving skills and enables them to move out of poverty. In many developing countries, poverty has kept generations of families from sending their children to school, and without education, their children's future will be a distressing echo of their own. Investment in education helps reduce the intergenerational transmission of poverty (see section 4.5).

Here we try to answer the question of whether the poor are less likely to be educated. We examine how the educational attainment of adults and investments in children's education vary among those living above and below the dollar-a-day line, and between those in subjacent and ultra poverty. Full tables on adult educational attainment and investments in children's education (by males and females and rural and urban areas) are provided in Appendix Tables A4.4 to A4.7.

Figure 3.9 and Figure 3.10 show the proportion of adult males and females above and below the dollar-a-day poverty line who have no schooling. The proportion of those educated varies from country to country, but it is clear that in every part of the world, and for both men and women, poor adults are less likely to be educated than those living on more than

FIGURE 3.9 Proportion of Adult Males (Aged 18 and over) with No Schooling: Living on More Than and Less Than \$1 a Day (percent)

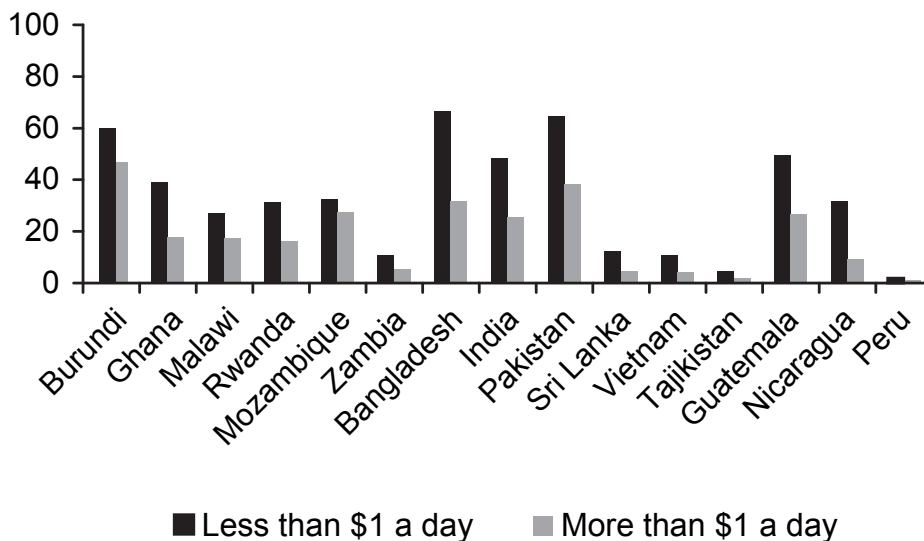


FIGURE 3.10 Proportion of Adult Females (Aged 18 and over) with No Schooling: Living on More Than and Less Than \$1 a Day (percent)

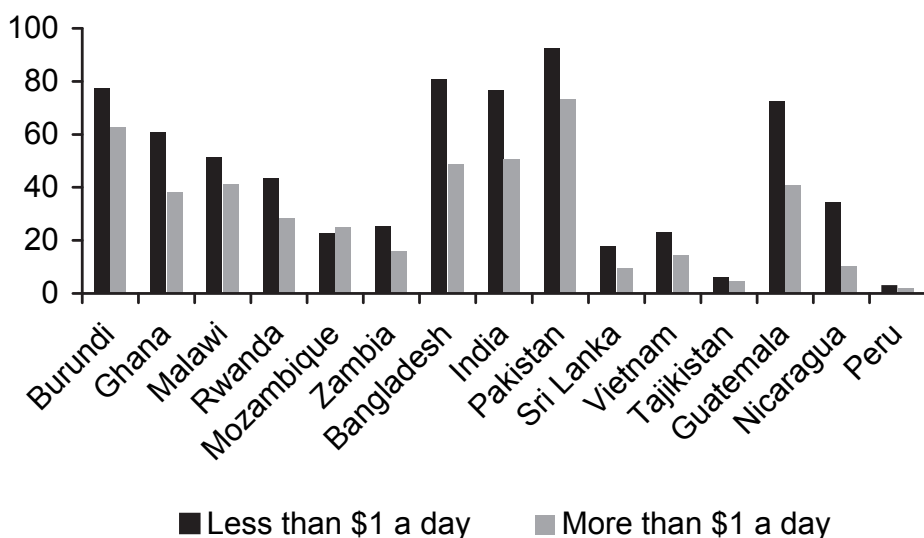


FIGURE 3.11 Proportion of Adult Males (Aged 18 and over) with No Schooling: Living in Subjacent and Ultra Poverty

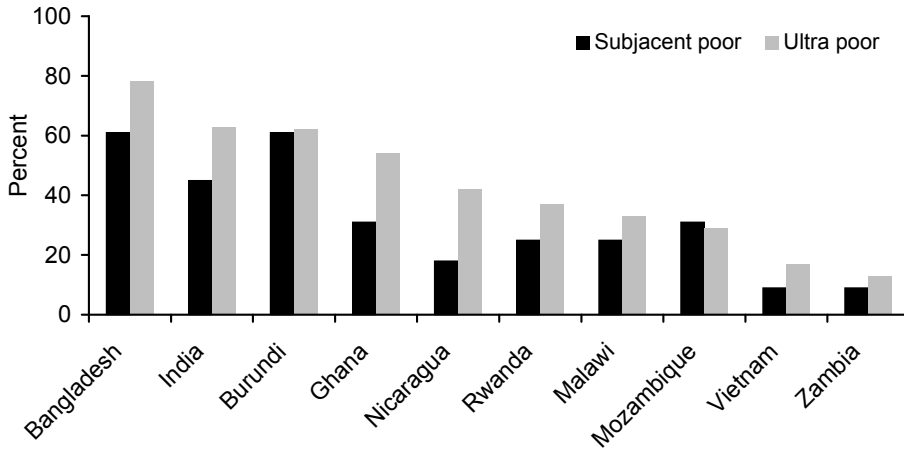
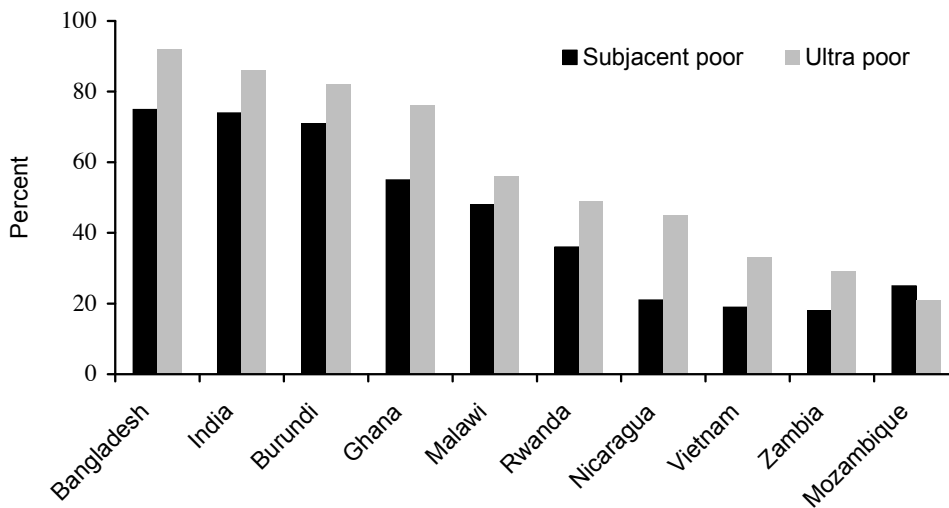


FIGURE 3.12 Proportion of Adult Females (Aged 18 and over) with No Schooling: Living in Subjacent and Ultra Poverty



\$1 a day. And for many countries, the gap is considerable. This is especially so in South Asia and Latin America (the proportion of adult males without schooling living on less than \$1 a day is almost twice the proportion of adult males without schooling living on more than \$1 a day in Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Peru), but the gap is also considerable in Malawi, Ghana, Rwanda, and Zambia. A comparison of the numbers in Figure 3.9 and Figure 3.10 reveals that women are much more educationally disadvantaged than men. In Pakistan, 93 percent of women and 64 percent of men from poor families never attended school. Although most adult men and women among the poor never attended school in Bangladesh, the gender gap there is considerably smaller than that in India and Pakistan.

Looking below the dollar-a-day poverty line, we see the same pattern. Unschooling women and men are much more likely to experience ultra poverty than subjacent poverty (Figures 3.11-3.12). Again, this is true in all countries

except Mozambique. The differences in educational attainment between the ultra poor and those above the dollar-a-day line are large in all countries. With the exception of Mozambique and Burundi, the proportion of adult males without schooling is almost double or more among the ultra poor than the non-poor. In Vietnam and Nicaragua, adult males living in ultra poverty are three times more likely to be uneducated than those living on more than \$1 a day. The data overwhelmingly show that the poorest are the least educated.

Given the relationship between poverty and education, investments in children's schooling may determine whether or not they will be poor in the future. Figure 3.13 presents national net enrollment rates for primary school-age children whose family members live on less than and more than \$1 a day per person.²⁰ In all study countries, the evidence is the same: children from poorer families are less likely to go to school. Figure 3.14 presents the national net enrollment rates for primary school-age children living in subjacent and ultra poverty,

FIGURE 3.13 Net Primary School Enrollment Rates: Living on Less Than and More Than \$1 a Day

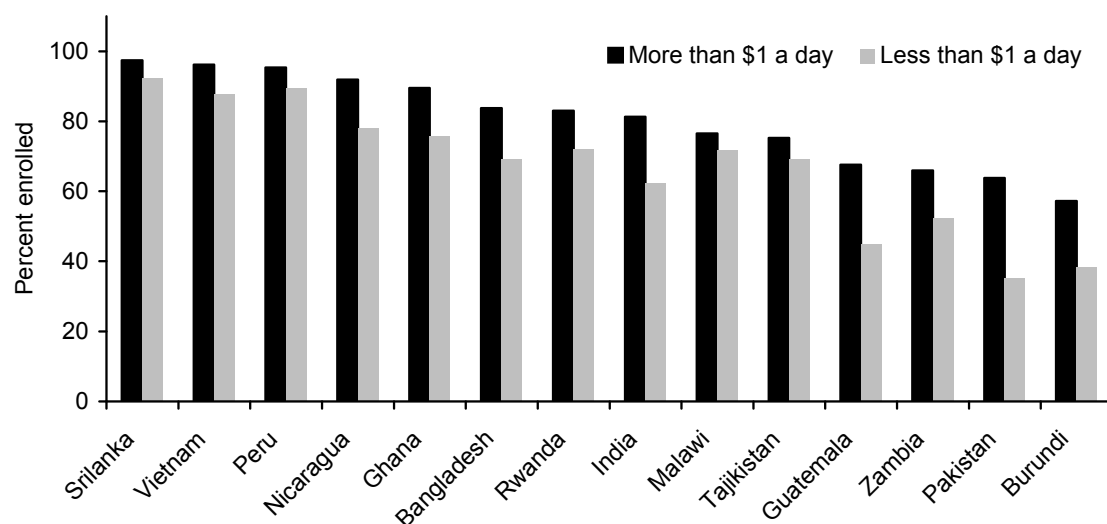
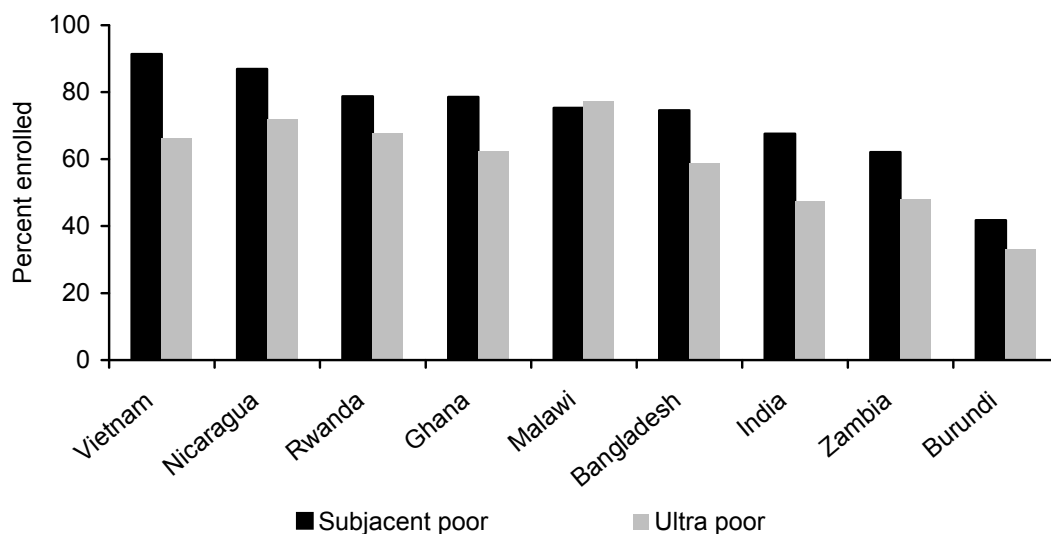


FIGURE 3.14 Net Primary School Enrollment Rates: Living in Subjacent and Ultra Poverty

and with the exception of Malawi, a similar pattern is observed. The poorest are the least able to invest in the education of their children. In India, there is a 33 percentage-point gap between children living in ultra poverty and children living on more than \$1 a day. In Vietnam, the gap is 30 percentage points, and in Ghana and Burundi it is 28 and 24 percentage points, respectively. Some of constraints that limit investments in education by poorer households are considered in Chapter 4.

However, it is important to note that there is considerable variation in net enrollment rates across countries—for children from poor families, it ranges from only 35 percent in Pakistan to as high as 92 percent in Sri Lanka. Enrollment rates are low in Pakistan despite the country's relatively low dollar-a-day poverty rate (11 percent). In contrast, although Bangladesh has a dollar-a-day poverty rate of 50 percent, the enrollment rate for children from poor families is much higher (88 percent). Sri Lanka has the lowest poverty rate (6 percent)

and the highest enrollment rate among the countries.

We have seen in section 3.2 that among the 20 case-study countries, Guatemala has the lowest dollar-a-day poverty rate (only 4 percent). Even so, 55 percent of primary school-age children in the country do not go to school. Guatemala has a high incidence of child labor. Many children do not attend school because they work, mainly on coffee and sugar plantations. Further, there are more than twice as many non-indigenous children as indigenous children enrolled in school (World Bank 2003b).

Education for girls has social and economic benefits for individuals and for society as a whole. While the enrollment rate for the poor is lower for girls than for boys in most of the case-study countries, girls overtake boys in Bangladesh, Malawi, Nicaragua, Sri Lanka, and Tajikistan. The gap in the enrollment rate between boys and girls is greatest in Pakistan—71 percent of girls aged 6 to 11 from poor fami-

lies do not go to school compared to 58 percent of boys in the same age group who do not go to school (see Appendix Table A4.6).

Landlessness in Rural Areas

The ownership or control of productive assets is an important indicator of livelihood because assets generate income. Land is the vital productive asset in a rural economy. We would thus expect access to land and the opportunity to undertake agricultural cultivation to have an important bearing on the well-being of rural households in the developing world, and consequently the association between poverty and landlessness to be high. As land markets are undeveloped in most developing countries, inheritance is the main mechanism through which land ownership changes hands (see section 4.7). In some countries, rural households have acquired land as a result of government land-reform policies.

Appendix Tables A4.8 and A4.9 provide detailed information on cultivable land ownership in 12 of the 20 countries above and below the dollar-a-day poverty line and among those

in subjacent, medial, and ultra poverty.²¹ Figure 3.15 shows the proportion of landless among those above and below the dollar-a-day line, and Figure 3.16 depicts the incidence of landlessness among those in subjacent and ultra poverty. Of the 12 countries, Pakistan has the highest incidence of landlessness—77 percent of the poor own no land. The rate is 67 percent in Ghana and 58 percent in Bangladesh. We do not observe a uniform pattern of higher landlessness among the poor, since the relationship varies between Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and Asia.

In all parts of Asia, those who are landless are the poorest. Rates of landlessness are higher among those living on less than \$1 a day, and the incidence of landlessness increases for those living well below the dollar-a-day line in ultra poverty. Nearly 80 percent of the ultra poor in rural Bangladesh do not own land. In rural Bangladesh, landless laborers often also lack draft animals and agricultural implements, meaning they can seldom work as sharecroppers and must depend upon wages for livelihood.

FIGURE 3.15 Ownership of Cultivable Land in Rural Areas: Living on More Than and Less Than \$1 a Day

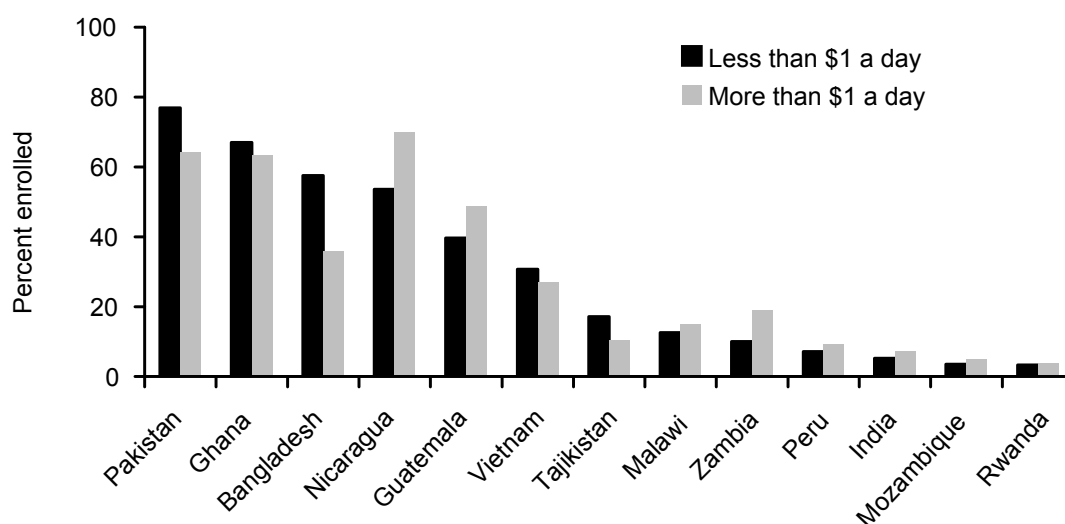
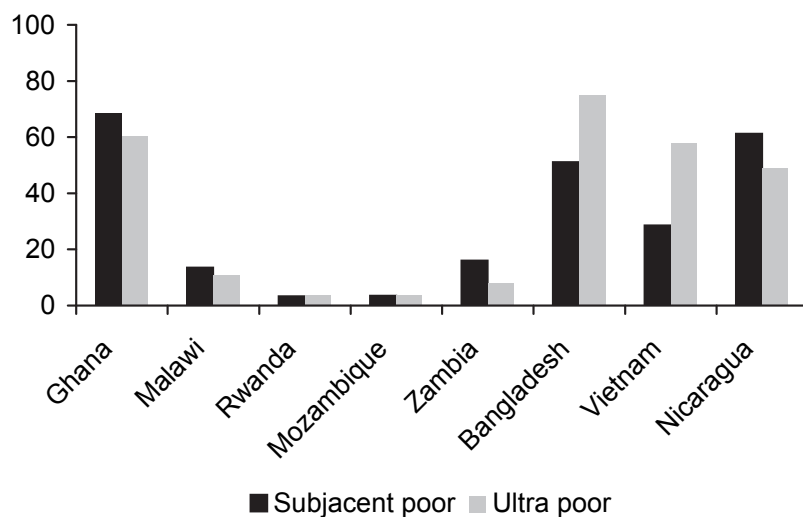


FIGURE 3.16 Ownership of Cultivable Land in Rural Areas: Living in Subjacent and Ultra Poverty

Tajikistan has embarked on an ambitious program of agricultural land reform that involves passing land-use rights from state to farmers. However, many farmers are not yet aware of their rights under the new reform. Moreover, when land was redistributed after Tajikistan's independence, one of the criteria for receiving land in many areas of the country was the availability of male productive labor in the household. This resulted in female-headed households and households with elderly and disabled people receiving less land, causing further persistence of poverty (World Bank 2005b).

In Vietnam, while the distribution of land to rural households was remarkably egalitarian, a market for land transactions is gradually emerging. The development of a land market seemingly leads to a gradual concentration of land ownership, and consequently, increasing landlessness (Ravallion and van de Walle 2001).

In Sub-Saharan Africa, with the exception of Ghana, the incidence of landlessness is much lower, and the link between poverty and landlessness is also weak. Little difference was found between the incidence of landlessness among poorer and less poor households, and in some cases the reverse pattern was found. This corresponds to the findings of other studies that in Sub-Saharan Africa, the poorest often own some land (but not enough) and lack access to other key assets and markets, such as credit markets (noted in Lanjouw, 2007). Also it may reflect the fact that where productivity of land varies within a region, the key question is not just how much land is owned, but also the quality of the land.

Although the incidence of landlessness is high in Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Peru, it was actually found to be higher among those who live on more than \$1 a day than among those living on less than \$1 a day. Also, in Nicaragua those living in ultra poverty were less likely

to be landless than those living just below the dollar-a-day line. This suggests that in Latin America, the poorest are more likely to be self-employed cultivators than the non-poor, perhaps lacking employment opportunities in non-agricultural sectors. However, returns to skilled labor and capital are probably higher than returns to land; therefore, people move out of agriculture with higher levels of economic development.

Remoteness, Access to Electricity, and Ownership of Radio and Television

Access to electricity is a composite indicator of development at the national, community, and household levels. In addition to being an indicator of wealth, an electricity connection also indicates the extent to which a household is “connected” in a broader sense to roads, markets, and communications infrastructure (information technology in particular), and the resulting income-earning opportunities and public services. As noted in section 3.2, the prevalence of poverty is higher in rural areas, and many of the World Bank Poverty

Assessments for the countries we consider also indicate that the poorest and most-food-insecure households are located furthest from roads, markets, schools, and health services.

For example, the incidence of extreme poverty in Nicaragua is 20 percent higher in the central rural region, a region where people have to travel twice as far to reach the closest healthcare service and primary school (World Bank 2003a). In Zambia, the prevalence and severity of poverty is lower in provinces that are close to the rail line in the center of the country, and the poor are more likely to be located more than 20 km from the nearest market than the non-poor are (World Bank 1994). In Laos, poverty is lower in villages with roads than in those without (World Bank 2006b), and poverty maps for Vietnam show that the incidence of poverty is highest in the remote areas of the northeast and northwest regions, the upland areas of the north central coast, and the northern part of the central highlands (Minot, Baulch, and Epprecht 2006). To some extent, examining the relationship

FIGURE 3.17 Households with Electricity: Living on Less Than and More Than \$1 a Day

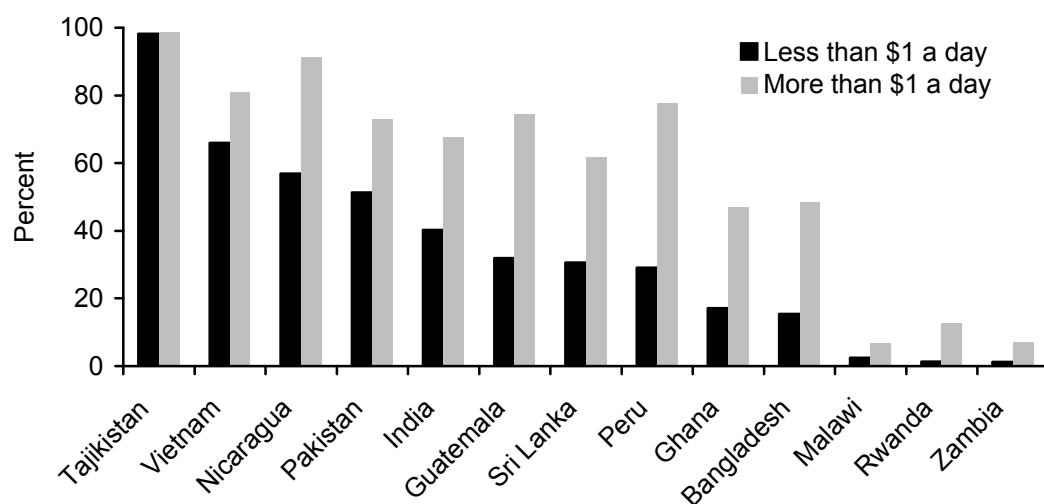
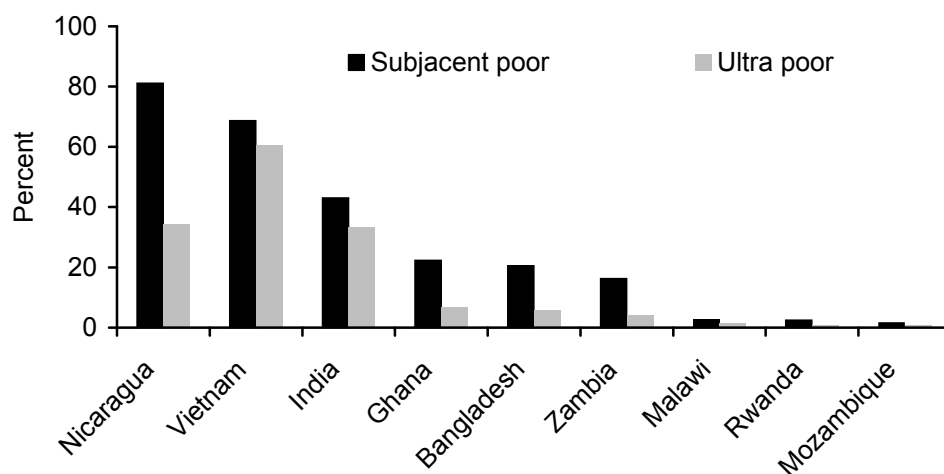


FIGURE 3.18 Households with Electricity: Living in Subjacent and Ultra Poverty

between electricity connections and poverty allows us to further consider the relationship between poverty and remoteness.

Appendix Tables A4.10 and A4.11 provide data on households with electricity, and Figures 3.17 and 3.18 depict the proportion of households with electricity that are below and above the dollar-a-day poverty line, and that are in subjacent and ultra poverty, respectively.²² The rate of access to electricity for the poor varies extremely across countries—from virtually universal access in Tajikistan to almost non-existence (1 percent of households) in Mozambique. However, consistently across countries, households living on less than \$1 a day have considerably lower access to electricity than those living on more than \$1 a day, and those living on much less than \$1 a day in ultra poverty are even less likely to be connected. Disaggregating households on less than \$1 a day reveals that households living in ultra poverty are on average four times less likely to be connected to electricity than households living above the dollar-a-day line. Households in Rwanda and Bangladesh are 13 and 7 times more likely to

be unconnected, respectively. In rural areas of Sub-Saharan Africa, the proportion of ultra poor households with electricity connections approaches zero.

To the extent that access to electricity is a proxy for access to roads and markets, this suggests that the poorest households are often the most remote, which is consistent with the poverty profiles in World Bank country poverty assessments.

At the household level, access to electricity leads to the use of radio, television, and other appliances. Besides being used for entertainment, radio and television are major sources of information for the poor, particularly for illiterate people. Developing-country governments use radio and television as the most effective forms of media to inform citizens of improved agricultural practices and crop prices, health and hygiene, and interventions for poverty reduction such as social protection and safety-net programs, among others.

As expected, fewer households below the dollar-a-day poverty line own radios and televisions than do those living above the line. However, the rate of ownership varies widely

across countries, between rural and urban areas, and between the two categories (radio and television). Except in urban Ghana, hardly any poor households in our sample of Sub-Saharan countries own a television (Appendix Tables A4.10 and A4.11).

3.6 ETHNICITY AND EXCLUDED GROUPS

In each of the 20 countries for which we have household-level data, there are some groups, considered separate from the majority, that have a consistently higher prevalence of poverty and hunger.

In Laos and Vietnam, ethnic minorities (many of whom reside in upland areas) are more likely to experience poverty and hunger. For example, in Laos the Mon-Khmer are more likely to experience poverty than the majority Lao (54 percent prevalence of poverty compared to 25 percent), and in Vietnam, the incidence of poverty is 42 percent among ethnic minorities compared to 6.5 percent among Kinh and Chinese (World Bank 2004, 2006b). There is a regional and ethnic dimension to poverty within Central Asia also. In Tajikistan, provinces with high proportions of ethnic groups distinct from the Tajik majority experience much higher poverty rates: the poverty rate is twice the national average in the GBAO province, where the ethnicity and religion of the people differ from the Tajik majority (World Bank 2005b).

Indigenous peoples represent about one-tenth of Latin America's population and experience higher poverty than other groups. In Peru, the incidence of poverty is twice as high among indigenous groups as compared to non-indigenous groups, and in Guatemala stunting is more than twice as widespread among indigenous children as compared to non-indigenous children.

In South Asia, deprivation is also characterized by ethnic bias. In Bangladesh, poverty and deprivation are substantially higher among the ethnic minority who populate the Chittagong Hill Tracts than among the mainstream population (World Bank 2002b). In India, scheduled castes and tribes consistently experience deprivation in a number of dimensions. In Sri Lanka, the incidence of poverty is highest among Indian Tamils.

In Africa, access to land and other resources depends on membership in groups of common descent, which results in strangers having difficulty in accessing resources and securing stable livelihoods. This is the case in Senegal—where refugees from Mauritania and the displaced from the Casamance are most likely to remain in poverty (World Bank 1995c)—and in the high vulnerability of Malawian migrants in Zimbabwe (Kabeer 2005). The role of ethnicity in determining access to resources has been demonstrated by the genocide in Rwanda, and other ethnic tensions in the Great Lakes Region.

The identification of a household's membership in an "excluded group" was not always possible from the household survey datasets. However, these groups could be identified in three countries—India, Peru, and Guatemala—and the following analysis focuses on those countries. These three countries represent two areas of the world in which group status is reportedly important: Latin America and South Asia.

Figure 3.19 shows that although indigenous groups make up 25 percent and 39 percent of the population in Peru and Guatemala, respectively, they are overrepresented among the poor, and are increasingly so the further below the dollar-a-day poverty line one goes (particularly in Peru). Additionally, poor indigenous groups are often characterized

FIGURE 3.19 Proportion of Indigenous in National Population, and Living in Subjacent, Medial, and Ultra Poverty: Guatemala and Peru

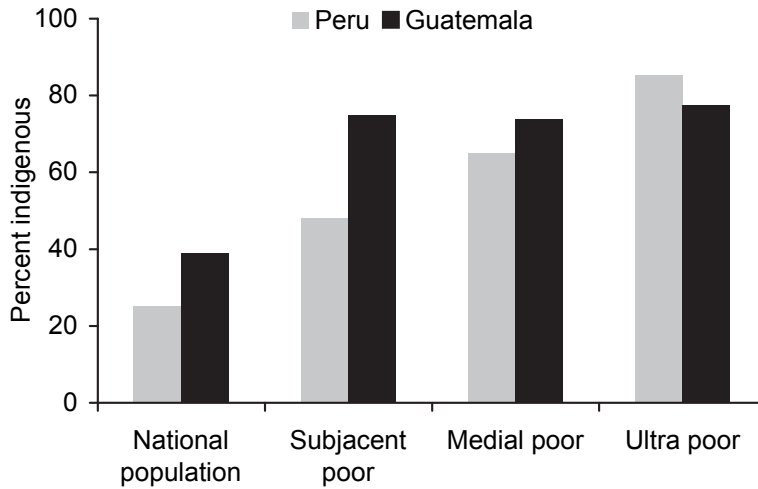
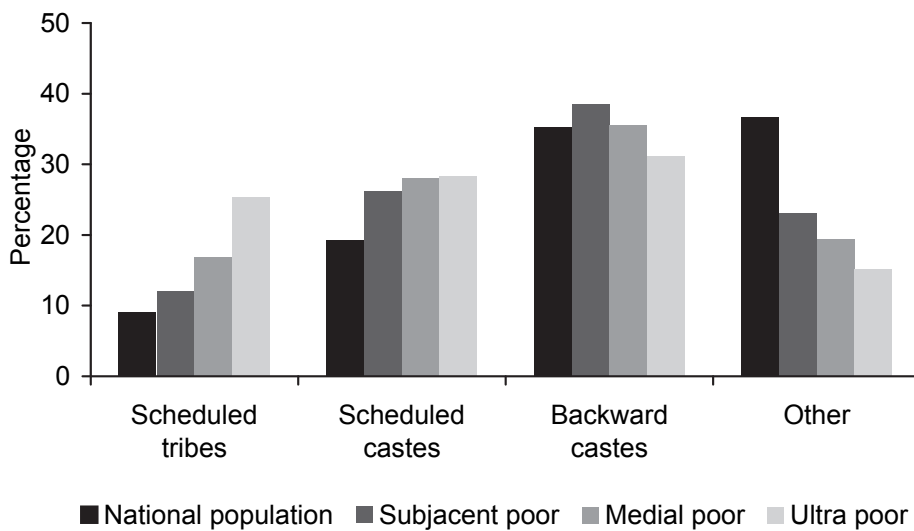


FIGURE 3.20 Proportion of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in National Population, and Living in Subjacent, Medial, and Ultra Poverty: India



by physical remoteness. For example, in Guatemala no indigenous groups living in ultra poverty are connected to electricity, compared to 57 percent of the non-indigenous ultra poor and 74 percent of the non-poor. In Peru, 11 percent of indigenous groups living in ultra poverty are connected to electricity, compared to 21 percent of the non-indigenous ultra poor and 78 percent of the non-poor. This corresponds to other findings that show that indigenous peoples in Peru are concentrated mostly in the less accessible Andean and Amazonian regions, and that indigenous groups in Guatemala have less access to good roads (World Bank 2003b, 2005a).

In India, scheduled tribes and castes are also overrepresented among the ranks of the poor, particularly among those poor living in ultra poverty (Figure 3.20). This is truer for scheduled tribes than for scheduled castes. Scheduled tribes comprise 9 percent of the population but 25 percent of the ultra poor, meaning that someone from a scheduled tribe is 2.5 times more likely to live in ultra poverty than someone who is not from a scheduled tribe. Those from scheduled castes are also more likely to experience poverty and are more likely to live in ultra poverty than those from other castes. The higher poverty rates among scheduled tribes may reflect the fact that they are more likely to live in remote hill stations than those from scheduled castes. It is consistent

with the finding that during the 1990s, poverty rates among scheduled castes fell much faster than poverty rates among scheduled tribes (Thorat and Mahamallik 2005).

3.7 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

This chapter of the report has used household survey data to take a closer look at patterns of poverty and hunger across the countries, and within the countries' rural and urban areas. It has shown that while poverty and hunger overlap, they are not identical. The information from household surveys is then used to examine some of the key characteristics of the poorest in different parts of the developing world, especially those living in ultra poverty. The characteristics chosen represent those that are both important and measurable in some comparable way across countries and settings. Given data constraints, we are limited in what we have been able to say about the characteristics of the poorest; however, we have established that the poorest are those from excluded groups, those living in remote areas with little education and few assets, and—in Asia—the landless. The next chapter considers some of the reasons these characteristics prevail among the poorest and some of the reasons those in ultra poverty become and stay poor.