ISSUES IN DEVELOPMENT
Discussion Paper

19

Employment and Poverty Monitoring

Arjan de Haan and Julie Koch Laier[a]

Development Policies Department
INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE GENEVA

[a] With inputs from Stephen Devereux and Michael Lipton.

 ISBN 92-2-110699-3

Contents

Preface v

1. Objectives of the report 1

2. Main socio-economic indicators: an overview of monitoring systems 3

3. Information on income-poverty 5

4. Employment monitoring and poverty 7

5. Poverty-related indicators 13
   5.1 Nutrition monitoring 13
   5.2 Land and landlessness: Proxies for poverty? 15
   5.3 Yields 15

6. Livelihood monitoring 16

7. Participatory appraisals 19

8. Conclusion and implications 23

Annex: Overview of World Bank Poverty Assessments 27

References 35

Preface

The present paper is the third in a series prepared under the Employment Generation for Poverty Reduction in sub-Saharan Africa ("Jobs for Africa") programme. This programme has been financed by UNDP and carried out by the ILO. Jobs for Africa represents a contribution to the United Nations System-Wide Special Initiative on Africa as well as to the follow-up to the Social Summit. The objective of "Jobs for Africa" is to identify a set of mutually enforcing policies for job creation and poverty reduction. This will be done through: (a) developing a conceptual framework for comprehensive and sectoral policies on employment creation for poverty reduction; (b) identifying policy tools and operational systems to implement employment creation for poverty reduction; and (c) designing a comprehensive regional programme to support country level employment promotion programmes.

The knowledge about poverty in the developing world has increased significantly during the last three decades. Most recently, World Bank research has made important contributions to making poverty data comparable across countries. Not enough, however, is known about incidences and depths of poverty, and very little information exists about changes in poverty over time. With the notable exception of countries like India, very few countries - especially in sub-Saharan Africa - have time trends of poverty. Because of this lack of data, it is extremely difficult to analyze the effect of macro-economic changes or other policies on poverty.

This report evaluates the existing systems of poverty monitoring in sub-Saharan Africa. It seeks, in particular, to identify information systems that assess the impact and effectiveness of employment related policies on poverty. The focus is place on 'income poverty'- defined as real private consumption, per person, below a fixed poverty line (commonly set at the level of minimal adequate nutritional intake) that provides, according to the authors of the paper, the best quantitative indicator of deprivation, and is therefore most suitable for tracing the effects of policies. The authors also argue for combining this indicator with wider definitions of poverty, and methodologies such as livelihood monitoring and participatory appraisals that focus on qualitative aspects of deprivation.

The conclusions and recommendations with regard to the improvement of poverty monitoring systems are modest. Much, though not enough, is already being done in the field of poverty monitoring. The first step to be taken is to obtain a fuller overview of existing poverty monitoring exercises at the national level. It is imperative that new initiatives build on existing systems, and measures to improve monitoring should be country-specific. Strengthening institutions to carry out the monitoring, and paying sufficient attention to training and incentive structures should take a central place in the build-up of monitoring systems. While regular survey data should provide the basis for any poverty monitoring system, the authors suggest using proxy indicators to trace poverty changes over time, and supporting these by using qualitative and participatory observation techniques.

It is hoped that this paper contributes to the efforts for capacity building in sub-Saharan Africa.

Samir Radwan
Director
Development and Technical Cooperation Department

1. Objectives of the report

The objective of this report is to assist the ILO in devising a support programme for the improvement of systems of monitoring poverty. These systems should be adequate for Sub-Saharan countries, and serve as an instrument for policy makers to measure the effect of policies on poverty. The policies can include both "upstream" policies (pro-employment macro and sectoral growth policies) and "downstream" targeted interventions. The report aims to make an inventory of best practices of monitoring poverty in these countries, with reference to other countries with similar levels of endowments where appropriate. Following the Terms of References, the report focuses on:

(1) a review and evaluation of the existing systems that generate data on social conditions of the population, and in particular, employment and poverty;

(2) an assessment of the quality, timeliness and use given to the data in different Sub-Saharan countries;

(3) alternative mechanisms to develop poverty and employment information for policy making.

Employment policies are central, i.e. the poverty monitoring systems should be relevant for employment policies, and should be able to measure the outcome of these policies. The ILO considers access to income crucial in abolishing poverty. Central is whether employment provides the worker with an income to keep her or him and dependants out of poverty. The "Jobs for Africa, Programme Preparation Document" identifies nine policy interventions, which are reproduced in the following Table. The second column of the Table list some forms of monitoring that can possibly trace the effect on poverty of these policies. The third column comments upon the suitability of, and problems associated with trying to measure the effects. We are not able to cover all the questions which different policies raise. The Table is merely a reminder of the variety of these issues. This report concentrates on poverty, and various ways of measuring poverty.

'Poverty* can be defined in various ways, focusing on absolute or relative poverty, income or consumption poverty, 'capabilities, and so on. We will not rehearse this discussion here (see, e.g., Chambers 1995a, Lipton and Maxwell 1992, Lipton and Ravallion 1995). But it is important to stress that different definitions, and different approaches measure different things. We focus on 'income poverty*, or, even better, 'consumption poverty*. This is defined as real private consumption, per person (or equivalent adult, but not per household), below a fixed poverty line.[b] The poverty line can be set at various levels. In poor countries it is commonly set at the level of minimal adequate nutritional intake (see further Table 2, and Section 3 below). In our opinion, this provides the best quantitative indicator of deprivation, comparable between places and over time.

The report is structured as follows. Section 2 presents an overview of the availability of data on some of the most important **socio-economic indicators** (poverty, health, literacy) which international agencies use, and reflects on the quality and timeliness of these data. Section 3 concentrates on the monitoring of **income or consumption poverty** (i.e., a 'narrow* definition of poverty). This concludes that for many countries good poverty data are available, but that there are questions regarding the costs at which this is collected (and therefore the possibility to repeat the survey), and the institutional capacity necessary to carry these out on a regular basis. The fourth section discusses **employment data**. These are often not good enough to rely on for poverty monitoring, and there are problems with the correlations between poverty and employment. Section 5 looks at **poverty-**

[b] Measuring *income* accurately is much harder than measuring consumption, and a worse guide to 'poverty*. Measuring *household* consumption may not reflect differences within households sufficiently. See further Lipton and Ravallion (1995) for a discussion why consumption per person is preferred.

Table 1: Overview policies

Policies	Monitoring of effects	Problems with monitoring
1. Employment and macro-economic policies	- Country Poverty Assessments (LSMS/SDA surveys) - National sample surveys - Surveys time-rate unemployment	Effect/causality difficult to assess. Seasonality needs to be caught. Rural self-employment/informal sector measured?
2. Informal sector	- Enterprise employment surveys - Household surveys	Surveys useful if carried out 'before* and 'after* policy changes
3. Infrastructure - Public works programmes/ employment guarantees - Social funds/safety nets	- Household surveys - Gaiha (1996) - Stewart & van der Geest (1995) - Nutrition monitoring	- Can programme evaluations trace total effects on poverty?
4. Co-operative sector	- Establishment surveys - Household surveys	
5. Access to financial services - Macro - Micro	- BRAC-type evaluations (Pitt and Khandker 1996)	- Can programme evaluation identify total effects on poverty?
6. Skill training, education	- Tracer studies - Manpower surveys	
7. Human resources/governance		
8. Female employment	- Labour force surveys - Participatory appraisals	- Employment-poverty correlation - Problem of generalisation
9. Specific groups (youth)	- Labour force surveys - Participatory appraisals	

related data - particularly indicators on health and nutrition, land ownership, and agricultural production - and discusses how well these can substitute for poverty data.

Two other approaches to poverty monitoring are presented. We emphasise that these are not alternative approaches to household sample surveys. As most methods, they measure different things, and there are good and bad examples of the methods. Section 6 discusses **livelihood monitoring**, a method to cover multiple activities and sources of food, income and security. Section 7 discusses **participatory appraisals**, which we present as a method that can, at relatively low cost, enrich and deepen information obtained from household surveys.

Section 8 presents the conclusion, identifying major shortcomings in poverty monitoring, and suggesting improvements. These suggestions will be modest. Much, though not enough, is being done already in the field of poverty and related monitoring, and crucial steps include obtaining a fuller overview of the existing monitoring, and ways to improve or extend *existing* information gathering systems. Our recommendations regarding poverty monitoring systems involve using household survey data as a starting point if possible, using proxy indicators to trace poverty changes over time, and deepening them by using more qualitative techniques. The choice of the mix of types of monitoring should depend on the country-specific situation, and should be made to optimise value for money.

2. Main socio-economic indicators: an overview of monitoring systems

There is a general feeling that very little information is available. A 1990 report by the Economic Commission for Africa stated:

> "Data gaps affect every sector and every aspect of the African situation. In the field of demography, even the size and growth rate of population in some of the African countries cannot be unambiguously determined. In the field of social statistics, there are gaps relating to literacy, school enrolment ratios, the institutional status of the child and poverty levels. And in the field of economic statistics, basic economic series like GDP and resource flows are sometimes lacking. Data on natural resources and the environment are, if available, in a very rudimentary state" (cited in Chander 1990).

Tabatabai (1992) shows data on rural poverty for only 7 of the 33 African countries listed. Weeks (1994) quotes the ILO Yearbook of Labour Statistics, which includes data on the general level of employment for only 17 of the 46 Sub-Saharan countries.[c] Further, quoting Mosley*s 1992 article "Policy making without facts", he notes that demographic data are unreliable, perhaps most of all for Nigeria, the most populous country in the region. Since the early 1980s, quality of data has probably become worse. In many cases, reliable production data are not available. Sub-Saharan countries are usually societies of small-scale agriculturists, and of traders and petty commodity and service producers, which makes data relatively difficult to collect.

But is the conclusion about the lack of data justified? As a first indication, we present in Table 2 some basic socio-economic data on the Sub-Saharan countries. This is presented not with the aim the analyse the socio-economic situation in these countries, but as an indication of *existing* recent information, data on poverty and related factors which are accepted by international agencies.

The first (left) part of the Table presents poverty data. We present three categories:

- (1) *Food poverty*: the food poverty line indicates private consumption, per *equivalent adult*, below which household members do not normally acquire enough dietary energy (kcals). The data in this Table derive from the World Bank Poverty Assessments, some of which are based on the Bank's Living Standard Measurement Surveys but many on the country's "own" data (see discussion below). For the countries where years only are presented, poverty data are available, but we did not have access to them.
- (2) "*$1/day poverty*" indicates the internationally comparable private consumption poverty line of $1 a day (World Bank 1990: 27-9; except for Lesotho, where data are available for the poverty line of $0.70/day). The data derive from three sources, as shown in the footnotes of the Table.[d]
- (3) *Participatory Poverty Appraisals* (PPA): participatory forms of appraisals (of the type described in Section 7 below), carried out by the World Bank.

Data on income poverty, of the first two types, are available for 31 of the 49 countries listed here, and poverty data are being generated rapidly. World Bank Poverty Assessments are now published regularly. The data set of the second type, on which Chen *et al.* (1993) was based, is rapidly

[c] Table 3 below shows that employment data is available 25 of the 49 listed countries (6 of the 25 have no data since 1990).

[d] This Table has been constructed using on-going work by the Poverty Research Unit. But there are doubts about the international comparability of the data.

Table 2: Poverty and related indicators for Sub-Saharan countries

	(1)	Food poverty	(2)	$1/day poverty	(3) PPA	(4) Under 5 Mortal. 1994	(5) Female litter.	(6) Fertile. rate 1992	(7) HDI 1993	(8) GDI	(9) CPM
	Year	HCI	Year	HCI		per 1000			value	value	
Angola	94	…	-			292	28.0	7.2	.283	.270	64.0
Benin	86	15.0			x	142	23.2	7.1	.327	.311	51.9
Botswana			85	35.9 [b]		54		4.9	.741	.723	30.4
Burkina Faso					x	169	8.4	6.5	.225	.211	59.7
Burundi						176	20.9	6.8	.282	.271	66.1
Cameroon	94	…	-		x	109	49.0	5.7	.481		33.5
Cape Verde	88-89	…				73	59.6	4.3	.539	.517	
CA Republic					x	175	47.9	5.7	.355	.346	46.0
Chad						202	32.4	5.9	.291	.275	61.2
Comoros	92					126	49.1	7.1	.399	.391	
Congo						109	..	6.3	.517		41.7
Cote d'Ivoire			88	55.8 [b]		150	27.4	7.4	.357	.328	46.7
Djibouti						158	..		.287	..	
Eritrea	93-4	53.0			x						
Ethiopia	94					200	23.5	7.0	.237	.227	70.1
Eq. Guinea					95	177	..	5.9	.461		
The Gambia	91	60.0				213	23.1	5.6	.292	.275	38.0
Ghana			91	42.0 [b]	94	131	50.5	6.0	.467	.459	39.3
Guinea					x	223	20.1	7.0	.306	.286	56.0
Guinea-Bissau	94		91	75.7 [c]		231	40.1	5.8	.297	.281	56.6
Kenya			92	48.9 [c]	x	90	66.8	6.3	.473	.469	33.8
Lesotho	93	26.0	86-7	43.1 [a]	93	156	60.0	5.2	.464	.454	38.6
Liberia						217	..	6.8	.311	..	47.1
Madagascar	93-4	70.0			93	164	41.8	6.1	.349	.346	36.7
Malawi	90-1	…	92	42.1 [a]		221	39.8	7.2	.321	.312	44.1
Mali			88	55.0 [d]	93	214	20.8	7.1	.223	.215	59.4
Mauritania	89-90	…	87	31.2		199	25.3	5.4	.353	.338	60.8
Mauritius	91-2	…				23	77.2	2.9	.825	.740	20.6
Mayotte											
Mozambique					95-6	277	21.4	6.5	.261	.245	66.9
Namibia	89	…				78	..	5.3	.573		
Niger	93	…				320	6.1	7.4	.204	.192	71.7
Nigeria			92	27.1 [b]	93-4	191	43.8	6.5	.400	.380	51.6
Reunion											
Rwanda			84	56.3		139	..	6.6	.332	..	51.5
Sao Tome					x	82	..		.458		
Senegal	avail.	…	91	54.2 [a]		115	21.5	6.1	.331	.314	50.9
Seychelles	avail.	…				20			.792		
Sierra Leone	89-90	…				284	16.7	6.5	.219	.196	62.3
Somalia						211	..	7.0	.221	..	63.7
South Africa					95	68	80.8	4.1	.649	.622	30.4
Sudan						122	32.0	5.7	.359	.327	44.3
Swaziland					95-6	107	73.6	4.9	.586	.566	25.1
Tanzania	91	51.0	91	42.6 [c]	95	159	53.9	5.9	.364	.359	39.4
Togo	87-9	32.3			94-5	132	34.3	6.6	.385	.364	45.4
Uganda	92	61.0	89	71.5 [a]	93	185	47.7	7.3	.326	.318	45.9
Zaire						186	64.9	6.7	.371	.364	44.7
Zambia	91	68.0	91	90.7 [a]	93	203	68.7	6.0	.411	.405	35.1
Zimbabwe	90	25.0	90	40.9 [a]		81	78.6	5.0	.534	.525	

Sources:

(1) World Bank Poverty Assessments, food poverty lines of approx. 2000-2200 kcal./day (except for Lesotho = 2500 kcal).

(2) [a] Jayarajah et al. 1996 [b] World Bank Poverty Assessment Nigeria [c] Chen et al. 1993 [d] World Bank Poverty Assessment Mali. The data on poverty are partly quoted from on-going work at the Poverty Research Unit; this shows that the data are not necessarily comparable between countries.

(3) Participatory poverty assessments carried out by the World Bank, year of report indicated when known, others by 'x* (see Shaffer 1996, quoting Norton and Stephens 1995).

(5) Female literacy rates: HDR 1996: 138-40 (HDR calculations based on UNESCO estimates)

(4), (6)-(9): Human Development Report 1996. HDI and GDI are values between 0 (bad) and 1 (good). CPM represents the percentage of people lacking minimum capabilities.

expanded to double its size (adding mainly transitional countries), and other years for the same countries. Around 1993, about 66 per cent of the people in Sub-Saharan countries were covered by a recent, fairly reliable household survey (Ravallion and Chen 1996). National surveys are carried out in many countries (this is not well reflected in this Table, but to some extent in the Annex discussing World Bank Poverty Assessments). Participatory forms of appraisal are increasingly becoming part of the general poverty appraisals carried out by the Bank, and there is a growing consensus that the two should complement each other.[e]The Table list 21 participatory appraisals, but this is also being expanded. Of course, the existence of this data only gives an indication of the existence of poverty monitoring, and says little about the quality of the data and the institutions carrying them out. We come back to these issues in Section 3 discussing monitoring of income poverty, and Section 7 on participatory appraisals.

The right side of the Table, based on the UNDP Human Development Report, is much better filled, indicating that much more data are available on general socio-economic indicators. Child mortality and female literacy data - both rather good indicators of poverty - are available for almost all countries. Human Development Index (HDI) data - composed of income, health and schooling indicators - are also available for the large majority of countries. The last two columns show two new variants of the HDI, both available for most countries. The Gender Development Index (GDI) indicates the extent of discrimination against, or deprivation of women. The Capability Poverty Measure, introduced in the 1996 Human Development Report, intends to complement income measures of poverty, and reflects the percentage of people who lack basic, or minimally essential, human capabilities.

Of course, large questions remain regarding all these types of data, regarding the timeliness, quality, and cost of collection, interpretation, and usefulness for policy purposes. Also, questions remain about the national capacity to produce reliable and regular data. These questions can only be answered by detailed analysis at the country level. But the Table does show that data are increasingly available, and that - at least at the national level - it becomes increasingly possible to track changes in socio-economic indicators. In section 5 we will say more about the extent to which data on health etc. are an approximation of poverty indicators. But first we discuss information on income poverty in more detail.

3. Information on income-poverty

Table 2 has presented information on income or consumption poverty. This section takes a closer look at how these data are being generated, what kinds of monitoring systems exist, and what kinds of improvement can be suggested. This report does not allow us to review all the existing information systems. But Table 2 already suggests that poverty data exist in at least 31 of the 49 countries listed. According to the report by the Africa Region of the World Bank (1996), there has been increase in amount of country-specific analysis on poverty since the late 1980s (following the Bank's Operational Directive 4.15 and the Poverty Handbook).

We have reviewed 21 of the World Bank's Poverty Assessments on Sub-Saharan countries, with the objective of finding out on what data these reports are based.[f] This is presented in the Annex. The last two columns are of interest to us, since they discuss the sources on which the Assessments are based. In the first place, it is important to note that only some (we estimate half) of these Assessments are based on data which were generated on the initiative of the World Bank. World Bank initiatives to generate data on

[e] The Bank's Participatory Appraisals are currently being reviewed by Caroline Robb, Participation Unit, Human Capital Development, the World Bank (discussions with her and other people at the World Bank helped in the preparation of the present report). The IDS report on the Bank*s Poverty Assessments recommended complementing household surveys with a participatory approach.

[f] See also the recent publication by Hanmer *et al.* (1996) that we saw after finishing this report; we do not share their conclusions and the suggestion that one needs to "experiment with alternative forms of household surveys" (p.8.3).

levels of living date for (at least) 1980, when the *Living Standard Measurement Study* surveys (LSMS) were established (see Grosh and Glewwe 1995 for a 'catalogue* of LSMS data sets). The objective was to develop new methods for monitoring progress in raising levels of living, to identify the consequences for households of current and proposed government policies, and to improve communications between survey statisticians, analysts and policymakers. The surveys include many dimensions of household well-being, including income, employment, fertility, nutrition, etc., and they use extensive quality control procedures. Grosh and Glewwe list data sets for Côte d*Ivoire, Ghana, Mauritania, Tanzania (National and Kagera Region) and South Africa. The Social Dimension of Adjustment Project (SDA), carried out in the Africa Technical Department of the World Bank has assumed responsibility for the LSMS surveys in Côte d*Ivoire, Ghana, and Mauritania. It also sponsors '*Integrated Surveys*', which are very similar to LSMS surveys, in Uganda, Mauritania, Madagascar, Senegal and Guinea. Less complex surveys have been sponsored by the World Bank in a larger number of Sub-Saharan countries. The Cornell University Food and Nutrition Policy Program has sponsored surveys in Guinea and Mozambique (Grosh and Glewwe 1995: 12).

Grootaert and Marchant (1991) describe the initiatives with regard to data collection under the Social Dimensions of Adjustment in Sub-Saharan Africa programme (SDA, launched by the World Bank in 1987, with UNDP and the African Development Bank as partners). This reviewed the LSMS experience, and concluded that the SDA programme was fundamentally different from that of the LSMS. The data collection under SDA aims to "yield timely information for measuring the impact of macroeconomic policies on different household groups …." (ibid: 7). SDA proposed two types of household surveys for data collection at the household level - perceived as complementary - combined with a community data collection programme (ibid: 8).

- First, the *Priority Survey*: its objective is to provide rapid information to policy makers that would be used to identify target groups, and to provide key socio-economic indicators for such groups. The survey is based on a relatively short questionnaire for a relatively large sample of households.
- Second, the *Integrated Survey*: its purpose is to provide the necessary detailed information to investigate, in detail, the response of different household groups to adjustment. It uses lengthy and detailed questionnaires on a somewhat smaller sample.
- Alongside the surveys, a *Community Data Collection Programme* was proposed, which aims to provide a baseline, and monitor information on markets and infrastructure in the economy.

Hence, there has been a large number of initiatives to improve the data collection in Sub-Saharan Africa. The Poverty Assessments reflect this variety. They draw, to varying degrees on a wide range of data and other analytical work carried out within the countries. The cost of the Assessments is therefore relatively low (usually between $200,000 and $400,000). The data collection is carried out by national institutes, often assisted by international agencies. For example, in Ghana (see Annex) most of the data used (the report was published in 1995) had been collected by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), at least between 1988 and 1992. GSS was supported by the UN National Household Survey Capability Programme, the Economic Commission for Africa, and the SDA project.[g]

Striking in the Poverty Assessments is the lack of uniformity. Some Assessments have been considered deficient by the World Bank. This is sometimes due the data being outdated. The Rwanda data are for 1983, which makes it almost useless for any form of policy making (since the country has changed dramatically). Other deficiencies include the lack of information on the links between economic growth and poverty reduction, making the reports less useful for policymaking. It has been noted that the costs of the

[g] "The programme is, to a considerable degree, modelled on the SDA survey program ... yet at the same time it displays an important national identity of its own" (Grootaert and Marchant 1991: 10).

Poverty Assessments vary widely, and that this is not always related to the quality of the reports. Information on the cost of gathering data, of LSMS or SDA Priority Survey types, are not available to us.[h]

Reports like the ones on Ethiopia (1993), Mozambique (1990) and Zambia (1994) are considered to be relatively good, even though few data were available. In Ethiopia, expenditure and income surveys were available only for 1975 and 1982, and data on nutrition for 1982/83. Since then smaller expenditure surveys were carried out. Because of the lack of data, the World Bank carried out a small household survey, and it used data on government health expenditure, water supply, fertility, housing etc.

The Zambian study (1994) was based on a Priority Survey, based on the SDA module, in 1991. The sample size was 10,000 households, and was prepared by Zambia*s Central Statistical Office with Norwegian support for statistical analysis. Demographic and health statistics were gathered by the University of Zambia. But other data were being collected at the same time: the Report notes that a Household Budget Survey was being carried out by the Central Statistical Office but the data did not become available. (A drawback of the report is that it consisted of four volumes, making it hard to use for policy making.)

This brief review shows that many countries now do have some form of poverty data, and that many new initiatives are being taken. This does not always amount to poverty monitoring - although the SDA surveys aims to do so - but monitoring can, and should as much as possible, be built on the basis of existing data. The poverty assessments, if of sufficient quality, can, and probably should, provide a basis for further monitoring, for re-surveys of selected items or with smaller samples. In fact, the Assessments should aim to build countries* capacity to continue monitoring poverty; one-off assessments, as done in Rwanda in the early 1980s with heavy foreign subsidy, serve little purpose.[i] In some cases, such as Ghana and Kenya, data (including on poverty) are regularly gathered by national institutions. Only a country level assessment can show how reliable and appropriate the data are, and how the institutions collecting them are organised and the kind of incentives they provide. The institutions that provide the good data should be used as examples for other countries. In most cases, only one-off surveys, such as World Bank LSMS surveys, exist. But these surveys can form the basis for setting up a poverty monitoring system. Even if existing data are old, as for Botswana or Rwanda, new collection of poverty data should aim to build on this. For international organisations carrying out poverty assessment we would recommend that creating institutional capacity that can continue to monitor poverty should be an integral part of the assessments; existing initiatives in this direction should be intensified.

4. Employment monitoring and poverty

It is not ILO*s intention to use employment statistics as a poverty indicator. Nevertheless, The ILO can make a major contribution in using its expertise in monitoring employment (in the widest possible sense), and combining this with information on poverty. Therefore, this section reviews, briefly, two issues: the coverage of employment data, and correlations between employment and poverty.

[h] Data on the costs of household surveys would be of limited relevance, since household surveys can be used for a variety of purposes, including for the marketing of consumer goods.

[i] Unfortunately, many of the reports do not give much detail about how the survey was carried out; but it does usually identify the gaps in the existing forms of monitoring.

A full overview of the availability of employment data, using an appropriately wide definition,[j] is beyond the scope of this paper. But some idea can be obtained from the list presented in Table 3 at the end of this section. This suggests that in many Sub-Saharan countries employment data are inadequate or old.

- Column 1 shows that the ILO records data on general employment levels (for all major divisions of economic activities) for only 25 of 49 Sub-Saharan countries. While most of the data are from the 1990s, for 6 countries the most recent data go back to the late 1980s. Only for 11 of the countries are the data disaggregated by gender.
- The picture does not look better when examining the United Nations (WISTAT) figures on male and female economic activity rates (cols. 3 and 4): data are only available for 26 out of 49 Sub-Saharan countries according to the UN. Only for 7 countries do data exist which is from 1990 or later.
- Data on unpaid family labour and various occupational categories (which includes employers and own-account workers as recorded in the table) exist for 39 of the 49 Sub-Saharan countries. However, for less than 8 countries the data are from 1990 or more recent, and a similar number of countries have no data more recent than the 1970s. For the majority of the countries, the latest available data are in the 1980s.

Although employment seemingly lends itself to easy categorisation, the data collected may only tell part of the story. Many employment activities are 'invisible' or not perceived as work and never get recorded or adequately estimated. Also, definitions often do not include a variety of activities pursued by certain household members, most notably reproductive and community work, which is largely performed by women. Although significant steps forward have been made, especially at the conceptual level, Sub-Saharan countries need to develop adequate information systems for recording basic data on employment, especially disaggregated by gender. The importance of resolving this has become evident with evaluations of the impact of structural adjustment policies (SAP) on poverty. Studies have recorded the burden to fall unequally upon women: women have intensified the number of activities and the time spent on them, including both formal employment and activities:

- Column 1 shows that the ILO records data on general employment levels (for all major divisions of economic activities) for only 25 of 49 Sub-Saharan countries. While most of the data are from the 1990s, for 6 countries the most recent data go back to the late 1980s. Only for 11 of the countries are the data disaggregated by gender.
- The picture does not look better when examining the United Nations (WISTAT) figures on male and female economic activity rates (cols. 3 and 4): data are only available for 26 out of 49 Sub-Saharan countries according to the UN. Only for 7 countries do data exist which is from 1990 or later.
- Data on unpaid family labour and various occupational categories (which includes employers and own-account workers as recorded in the table) exist for 39 of the 49 Sub-Saharan countries. However, for less than 8 countries the data are from 1990 or more recent, and a similar number of countries have no data more recent than the 1970s. For the majority of the countries, the latest available data are in the 1980s.

[j] There is now wide agreement that employment definitions ought to be wide, including work carried out outside the ‘formal* sector, i.e. in small-scale agricultural activities (for which, for example, Indian data-sets contain a wealth of information), and the urban ‘informal sector*. The ILO uses a wide definition of employment: “The economically active population comprises all persons of either sex who furnish the supply of labour for the production of economic goods and services as defined by the United Nations systems of national accounts and balances during a specified time-reference period” (we thank Mr Sylvester Young for bringing this definition to our attention).

Although employment seemingly lends itself to easy categorisation, the data collected may only tell part of the story. Many employment activities are 'invisible' or not perceived as work and never get recorded or adequately estimated. Also, definitions often do not include a variety of activities pursued by certain household members, most notably reproductive and community work, which is largely performed by women. Although significant steps forward have been made, especially at the conceptual level, Sub-Saharan countries need to develop adequate information systems for recording basic data on employment, especially disaggregated by gender. The importance of resolving this has become evident with evaluations of the impact of structural adjustment policies (SAP) on poverty. Studies have recorded the burden to fall unequally upon women: women have intensified the number of activities and the time spent on them, including both formal employment and activities which do not fall neatly into existing employment categories, but includes domestic and community work (e.g. Beneria 1992; Evans 1989; Lim, 1993; Moser 1995).

Measurements of the **informal sector** usually include enterprises below a certain size (which varies among countries), and a large number of studies, many by the ILO, have been carried out. The 1993 Conference of Labour Statisticians defined the informal sector, or informal own-account enterprises, as 'enterprises in the household sector owned and operated by own-account workers, which may employ contributing family workers and employees on an occasional basis but do not employ employees on a continuous basis' (UN 1995). In Table 3 below we have presented data from national statistics (compiled by World Bank and UN, on 'employers and own-account workers'). Data are available for many countries, but often they are too old to be used for policy purposes.

- Column 1 shows that the ILO records data on general employment levels (for all major divisions of economic activities) for only 25 of 49 Sub-Saharan countries. While most of the data are from the 1990s, for 6 countries the most recent data go back to the late 1980s. Only for 11 of the countries are the data disaggregated by gender.

- The picture does not look better when examining the United Nations (WISTAT) figures on male and female economic activity rates (cols. 3 and 4): data are only available for 26 out of 49 Sub-Saharan countries according to the UN. Only for 7 countries do data exist which is from 1990 or later.

- Data on unpaid family labour and various occupational categories (which includes employers and own-account workers as recorded in the table) exist for 39 of the 49 Sub-Saharan countries. However, for less than 8 countries the data are from 1990 or more recent, and a similar number of countries have no data more recent than the 1970s. For the majority of the countries, the latest available data are in the 1980s.

Although employment seemingly lends itself to easy categorisation, the data collected may only tell part of the story. Many employment activities are 'invisible' or not perceived as work and never get recorded or adequately estimated. Also, definitions often do not include a variety of activities pursued by certain household members, most notably reproductive and community work, which is largely performed by women. Although significant steps forward have been made, especially at the conceptual level, Sub-Saharan countries need to develop adequate information systems for recording basic data on employment, especially disaggregated by gender. The importance of resolving this has become evident with evaluations of the impact of structural adjustment policies (SAP) on poverty. Studies have recorded the burden to fall unequally upon women: women have intensified the number of activities and the time spent on them, including both formal employment and activities which do not fall neatly into existing employment categories, but includes domestic and community work (e.g., Beneria, 1992; Evans, 1989; Lim, 1993; Moser, 1995).

Table 3: Employment Data

	(1) Year of general employ. data . * = data by sex available	(2) Female labour force part. 1993/94 (%)	(3) Male Econ. Act. Rate (%)	(4) Female Econ. Act. Rate	Year of data cols. (3) and (4)	(5) Male unpaid fam. workers as % of total male EAP	(6) Female unpaid fam. workers as % of total female EAP	Year of data cols. (5) and (6)	(7) Male employ. and own-account workers as % of total male EAP	(8) Female employ. and own-account workers as % of total female EAP	Year of data cols. (7) and (8)
Angola		38.2*				11.13	37.21	70	48.18	24.11	70
Benin	92	47	45.75	23.93	86	18.68	11.75	79	61.86	73.50	79
Botswana	92*	46	38.14	35.98	85	18.18	15.53	91	5.43	8.18	91
Burkina Faso	92*	46	54.22	48.13	85	43.34	88.37	85	49.14	9.91	85
Burundi	91	49	51.59	54.24	91	25.88	34.46	90	62.63	63.62	90
Cameroon	86	37	44.00	30.00	87	6.34	23.9	76	42.05	42.88	76
Cape Verde		29.3*	46.93	24.88	90	1.47	2.90	90	21.38	30.23	90
CA Republic	90	47	52.00	44.00	88	6.93..	9.52	88	67.76	83.89	88
Chad	91*	44	59.27	17.21	88	..	..		..	..	
Comoros		39.8*				0	0	80	48.42	45.21	80
Congo		42				.8	1.80	84	47.34	85.86	84
Cote d'Ivoire	90*	33	52.22	26.03	88	22.34	74.32	75	44.98	19.45	75
Djibouti		..	36.00	18.00	91	1.80	1.08	91	19.02	15.26	91
Eritrea	93*	..	48.45	32.56	91	..	..		..	..	
Ethiopia		40				19.35	54.67	84	72.63	38.91	84
Eq. Guinea	89	39.9*				.4	.62	83	37.59	13.65	83
The Gambia	91	44				9.62	19.75	83	81.26	74.28	83
Ghana		51				9.11	15.11	84	60.58	74.49	84
Guinea		48				24.8	57.19	83	48.19	17.74	83
Guinea-Bissau	91*	41	60.14	1.93	88	23.81	25.36	79	52.55	16.33	79
Kenya		48				..	..		..	..	
Lesotho		38	47.00	17.00	86	26.90	33.05	86	27.08	16.43	86
Liberia		29.8*				8.48	22.87	84	53.28	67.39	84
Madagascar	91	49	48.76	31.63	85	..	..		..	..	
Malawi	91*	54				9.76	12.70	87	61.36	77.90	87
Mali		51	57.00	33.00	87	43.68	81.95	87	48.49	14.57	87
Mauritania		44	46.00	17.00	88	10.17	16.32	88	45.23	35.59	88
Mauritius	94*	26.9*				1.40	2.93	90	15.17	5.25	90
Mayotte		..									
Mozambique	88	50				15.26	62.07	80	49.91	31.71	80
Namibia		40				..	..		..	..	
Niger	91*	45	51.00	13.00	88	39.14	49.70	88	54.64	44.65	88
Nigeria		36	41.06	20.93	86	8.63	14.86	86	61.59	70.56	86
Reunion	89	34.2*	46.78	31.59	90	1.11	1.06	82	14.08	3.86	82
Rwanda		49	44.60	47.96	89	29.64	59.37	78	47.16	20.45	78
Sao Tome		..				.06	.14	81	17.28	12.75	81
Senegal	91	42	50.94	16.96	90	..	..		..	..	
Seychelles	90	..	50.65	37.35	89	.19	.41	81	15.17	3.78	81
Sierra Leone	88	36				27.87	79.19	88-9	55.93	17.22	88-9
Somalia		38.2*				..	..		..	..	
South Africa		37	46.96	31.13	91	0	0	80	8.36	4.89	91
Sudan		22.9*				2.63	11.36	73	35.60	22.29	73
Swaziland	92*	38.3*	32.71	15.35	86	.46	1.46	86	12.28	19.31	86
Tanzania		49				5.0	33.54	78	73.69	62.38	81
Togo	92	40				9.27	13.86	81	64.62	77.54	89-90
Uganda		52	47.00	35.00	89-90	.17	57.67	89-9	62.05	35.58	78
Zaire		35.2*				..	..		..	..	
Zambia	89	44	44.00	38.00		4.15	4.10	86	57.06	84.77	86
Zimbabwe	94*	45			86	..	..		..	..	

Sources:

(1) ILO Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1995.

(2) World Development Report 1995 (1994 figures). Marked (*) from World Bank data base STARS (1993 figures). Dates of information vary.

(3) - (4) Women*s Indicators and Statistics, Wistat-CD, United Nations, 1994.

(5) - (8) Calculations based on data from Women*s Indicators and Statistics, Wistat-CD, United Nations, 1994.

Measurements of the **informal sector** usually include enterprises below a certain size (which varies among countries), and a large number of studies, many by the ILO, have been carried out. The 1993 Conference of Labour Statisticians defined the informal sector, or informal own-account enterprises, as 'enterprises in the household sector owned and operated by own-account workers, which may employ contributing family workers and employees on an occasional basis but do not employ employees on a continuous basis' (UN 1995). In Table 3 below we have presented data from national statistics (compiled by World Bank and UN, on 'employers and own-account workers'). Data are available for many countries, but often they are too old to be used for policy purposes. **Subsistence work** refers to production of goods which are consumed by the household rather than exchanged on the market. Usually 'subsistence farmers' sell some goods at the market, which makes it difficult to distinguish between subsistence and cash crop production (UN 1995). Different countries include different activities as subsistence work, which makes comparisons between countries difficult (Beneria, 1992). However, international organisations have compiled data on unpaid family workers, which include unpaid workers in the subsistence sector and the informal sector (see columns 5 and 6 of Table 3).

There are several reasons for the inadequate measurement of subsistence and informal work. First, much informal work is not easily visible to enumerators due to its irregular and unregulated nature. 'Invisibility' is especially an issue with women's work, which is often performed inside the household and is overlapping with domestic work. Second, the activities may not perceived as being work by the respondents themselves. This can be the case where they are pursued as short-term strategies to get by until something better comes up (Hirata and Humphrey, 1991), where they involve work which is seen as demeaning, or where the activities are perceived as 'helping out'. Studies have shown that the latter is not uncommon with women working as unpaid family workers (Benería, 1992). Third, data collectors may ask questions biased towards formal employment; or they may seek to classify individuals into neat employment boxes rather than recognising the complexities of work patterns and earnings. A common bias is when enumerators derive answers about all household members' activities from one member, usually the male perceived to be the head of household, with the result of severely distorting the picture of women's work (Benería, 1992).

Finally, domestic and volunteer work is not included in national accounts, and hence are not registered as employment.[k] **Domestic work** includes activities such as cooking, cleaning, child-care and self-help such as construction, carpentry and repairs. Both men and woman are involved in domestic activities, but time-studies have illustrated that women do the majority of domestic work both in developing and developed countries (UN 1995; Beneria, 1992). **Volunteer work** refers to work where beneficiaries are not members of the immediate family (although in reality they may be part of the beneficiaries, such as with soup kitchens), where the work does not involve direct payment and where it is part of an organised programme (Beneria 1992). Despite the fact that most domestic and volunteer work *could* be embedded in the current definition of EAP by the ILO, it is not.[l]

The estimated result of this and other work not adequately recorded is that two-thirds of women's and one-third of men's total work time goes unrecorded all together (UNDP 1996). Women do the majority of domestic and volunteer work, and they are over-represented in under and un-recorded activities in the

[k] It can be argued that some volunteer work is 'production*, such as home-building organisations, free job training, and other voluntary work which substitutes for remunerated market work (Beneria 1992). Also, in *theory* most reproductive or domestic activities can be viewed as economic activities. In reality few poor people in developing countries pay for domestic services, although they may work as paid domestic workers.

[l] A limited number of time surveys measuring both non-market and market work has been carried out. The Human Development Report 1995 found 13 studies from 9 developing countries. Only one of these was nation-wide (Republic of North Korea). Despite the 1993 revision of the United Nations System of National Accounts which proposes to set up satellite accounts to record the full extent of non-market activities (UNDP 1995), little has happened so far.

informal sector and in subsistence production. Also, women generally have to work longer hours than men to obtain the same standards of living (ILO 1995).

Apart from the question of the coverage of employment data, there is the crucial question about the correlation between employment and poverty (see Lipton 1995: 124-35). Income per person depends on the proportion of people in a household who are of working age, their workforce participation rates, the proportion of time worked by each participant, and the income per unit of time worked. Three issues seem most important here.

First, it is generally accepted that unemployment is a situation the poor cannot afford to be in. However, **time-rate of unemployment** (the proportion of days spent work-less and looking for work) is a crucial indicator. This higher among the poor, and sharply so among the poorest. Information on this, however, is usually derived from household surveys (as in India). African time-rates of unemployment "are hardly ever estimated, and in several African countries (including South Africa) the distinction between unemployment and informal-sector activity is not made clear in the data available" (ibid.: 128).

Second, an increasing part of the rural population depends on wage incomes. But the linkage of poverty to farm **wage rates** is imperfect.[m] Between 1950 and 1975, in a number of countries including Kenya rural poverty fell despite stagnating real farm wages. Thus real wage data can form an indicator of poverty, provided the coverage of the wage data is sufficient (including all sectors from which the poor may derive their wages) and provided it is combined with information on participation rates, particularly gender-specific.

Third, work can be classified by type of contract, characteristics of workers, type of work, and type of employer. Some of these **characteristics of work** show links to poverty indicators. Casual work, reliance on landless labour, and reliance on common property resources are often (not always) positively correlated with poverty incidence; involvement in cash cropping and formal-sector work are usually associated with lower poverty risks. However, Lipton warns against using structure of work as an indicator of poverty (in particular, he warns against drawing policy conclusions using this indicator), if the analysis does not distinguish between supply and demand factors, and if cross-sectional differences are not distinguished from its increase over time.[n]

Employment monitoring, if combined with data on earnings, can give an indication of poverty. Labour market monitoring can register, for example, shifts from the formal to the informal sector and between occupations where earnings vary. Surveys of the informal sector provides information on specific problems, and correlates with poverty. However, employment indicators usually are not sufficient indicators for poverty (and for policies). Time-rates of unemployment requires data sets available only in a few countries. Wage rates may provide relatively good indications of poverty, but the coverage of the wage data needs to be broad. The characteristic of jobs provides some indication of poverty, but is in itself not sufficient. Employment data can be used as a proxy for poverty only if the correlation with poverty is established for specific places and in specific periods of time. And finally, as with poverty data, many Sub-Saharan countries need to improve national information systems for recording employment. This needs to register activities outside the 'formal sector*. Much has been done during the last two decades, but much remains to be done.

---

[m] See also Tabatabai 1991, using Indian data, for the association of poverty with real wages. He also shows association of poverty indices with agricultural output indicators (see further section 5.3 below) and price indicators. Ravallion (1996a) uses Indian data on agricultural wage rates and farm yields to predict poverty (also discussed in Section 5.3).

[n] For example, from the finding that individuals with more education enjoy lower poverty risks, it does *not* follow that educating more people in a country will lower poverty (Lipton 1995: 131).

5. Poverty-related indicators

This section briefly reviews three indicators that are possibly related to income poverty, and may form part of poverty monitoring systems.[o] The first two tell us about 'who is poor', the third about where and when poverty exists. First, nutritional status, often rather easy to monitor, is correlated to income of the very poor. Second, land ownership is correlated to poverty in some cases, but often it is not. Finally, agricultural yields are correlated with rural poverty, but (like land ownership) the correlation may be context-specific, and the correlation itself needs to be monitored before it can be used for poverty monitoring.[p]

5.1 Nutrition monitoring

Nutrition monitoring can be used for poverty monitoring, and where nutritional data exist they should be incorporated in systems to trace changes in poverty and effects of policies. Among the poorest - though probably not so much among the less-poor - nutritional status is a good indicator of income poverty: "the ultra-poor need 'food first'; the moderately poor can more quickly get less poor if they obtain assets and opportunities" (Lipton 1995: 135). Nutrition monitoring is also a common element of household food security information systems, used in conjunction with other indicators. Food security is an important aspect of poverty and the ability of poor people to sustain their livelihoods.[q] This section describes briefly the possibilities of using nutrition monitoring; it does not review the large number of studies on this issue.[r]

---

[o] See Carvalho and White (1994) for a discussion of indicators relevant for monitoring performance in poverty reduction of the World Bank's lending programme. Their Table 4 presents a long list of poverty related indicators, and the Annex summarises indicators used in programmes in particular countries (including Burkina Faso, Burundi and Chad).

[p] Tabatabai (1991: 34) concludes that "a number of proxy indicators could easily be constructed on the basis of *routinely-available* economic series and that they are likely to provide useful information about the pattern of changes in poverty *if coupled with a thorough understanding of the economic structure and specificities of a given country*." The italics in this quote are ours, and this was done since these remarks provide two crucial problems in using proxies. The proxies are very often not available, and they can be used only if the correlations with poverty have been shown, for which purpose one needs poverty data. It seems no coincident that many of the work that tries to show how at a macro level the proxies correlate with poverty are done with Indian data: among developing countries, India probably has the richest data bases on various indicators. Carvalho and White (1994) also emphasis the context-dependence of poverty indicators.

[q] Food security is about the household's ability to acquire adequate food at all times, and implies freedom from future vulnerability to food and other shocks, and a guarantee of adequate current consumption (Maxwell & Frankenberger, 1992). Central to obtaining food security are 'entitlements' - the production (food, 'cash crops'), exchange relations (wage labour, markets) and assets (investments, stores and claims) that an individual can turn into consumption (Swift, 1989). Poor people generally have fewer and more insecure sources of entitlements than better off people. Additionally, entitlements are highly gender differentiated in most societies. Best documented is women's limited ownership and control over land, but women also face disadvantages in access to credit, their ability to command labour and access to off-farm employment (Koch Laier *et al.*, 1996). Hence, entitlements shape the possible livelihood activities men and women may take up and the poverty they experience.

[r] Lipton 1995 presents an overview, including a discussion of the income-elasticity of demand for energy. See also Tabatabai 1991: 29 for Sub-Saharan data (Botswana, Burundi, Ghana, Madagascar, Togo) on nutrition, and food access: in four of the five countries there was a positive association between changes in the real price of food and prevalence of malnutrition.

Nutrition monitoring generally means measuring anthropometry among children and sometimes adults as well.[s] Its popularity stem from the following factors:

- Its ability to measure the differential impact on household and individuals from different socio-economic groups and geographical communities or regions, of external factors such as drought, market changes and war.
- It is relatively easy to measure and is considered both objective and reliable (Young & Jaspars 1995). Compared to, for example, expenditure, income, consumption or employment data, it is relatively cheap to collect (Maxwell & Frankenberger 1992).
- Nutritional monitoring may be carried out using already established institutional mechanisms or data sources, such as schools and data from health centres or clinics. A problem with this, however, is that the most vulnerable groups may not use these facilities. For this reason a prior 'situation analysis', which identifies the type of nutritional problems and vulnerable groups locally, is necessary when designing a nutrition monitoring system.
- Where monitoring is carefully targeted at those most at risk, nutrition monitoring can serve as early warning for other groups of the population (Young and Jaspars 1995). In Famine Early Warning Systems it has often served as a trigger for response mechanisms and for selecting participants in activities such as feeding programmes and food-for-work schemes.
- Nutritional data are seen as credible information by donors, and is therefore useful in drawing in international assistance (Davies *et al*. 1991).

There is disagreement as to how **timely** nutrition monitoring can be. Critics have argued that nutritional indicators only tell decision-makers about the situation when it is too late, at a stage when famine has already set in. This view has been challenged by Young and Jaspars (1995) who give examples of nutrition monitoring acting as early indicators of food insecurity, and argue that both the amount of food and the type of food consumed may change early in a famine. Whether nutritional monitoring is an early or a late indicator of food insecurity depends on a number of factors, such as community and household customs, individual preferences, how frequently monitoring takes place, how quickly data are interpreted and presented, and whether nutrition monitoring is linked to a response system. While nutrition monitoring will be more useful where monitoring takes place frequently (and consequently analysed rapidly), increasing frequency means increasing costs. Resource constraints thus act to inhibit the usefulness of nutrition monitoring.

A less controversial shortcoming of nutritional monitoring is its limitations in terms of **explaining the causes** behind nutritional status. In fact, where nutritional status is to do with bad health and sanitation, or habits and child care, it may have very little to do with either poverty or food security. In Mali, Staatz *et al*. (1990) found no correlation between household food security and nutritional status (cited in Maxwell & Frankenberger, 1992). The links between nutrition and food security are clearest in acute situations (Davies *et al.*, 1991).

Despite these shortcomings, nutrition monitoring is useful for poverty assessments in three significant ways:

- nutrition monitoring is useful in **recording changes**. One-off nutritional surveys are of little use other than establishing baselines. However, regular monitoring is likely to indicate changes in circumstances for the *poorest* and most *vulnerable* individuals and households.

[s] Usually by comparing height-for-age (indicating chronic problems for children) or weight-for-height (pointing at acute problems). Weight-for-height is the important indicator for adults.

- nutrition monitoring can be used to **validate other indicators**, both aggregate indicators (such as food supply and rainfall) and socio-economic household indicators which measure changes in livelihood activities.
- nutrition monitoring can be a vital component of a **safety net**, by indicating when lives and livelihoods are under serious threat (FAO/WHO 1992).

5.2 Land and landlessness: Proxies for poverty?

Where data on land-ownership are available, it may be considered to use this as an indicator of poverty. The Grameen Bank in Bangladesh uses land ownership as the main category to select its beneficiaries. The landlessness-poverty link is strong. Land holding size is a good correlate of reduced poverty risk in Bangladesh.[t] In India in 1983, of the households living mainly from farm employment income, 45 per cent were poor, as against 24 per cent of the households living mainly from farming.[u]

But the same does not apply to all areas. In the first place, and increasing proportion of the population is dependent on non-agricultural income, off-farm employment within rural areas, and industrial or tertiary sector employment in urban areas. As indicated in Section 4 with regard to wages, data on agricultural activities need to be complemented with data on other sectors to trace changes in poverty. Moreover, research in arid and semi-arid areas in India, showing that even 3 hectares of land did not confer to lower incidence of poverty than landlessness, and research in Northern Nigeria and Burkina Faso shows that landlessness is not well correlated with poverty (Lipton 1995: 147).

Thus, there may be an advantage in using data on land ownership, if available, to trace poverty. But, as is the case with using characteristics of work as proxy for poverty, these need to be complemented with information on the correlation between the two. The correlation is likely to be context specific. Where land is good, well-watered, and scarce, even very limited land rights are a pretty good proxy for poverty - not otherwise.

5.3 Yields

For a large proportion of the population in predominantly rural countries, agricultural yields are crucial in determining their real income, either as producers of as buyers of the product. Tabatabai (1991) has used Indian data showing a strong negative association between poverty and agricultural output per head of the rural population. The correlation is strongest if the average of the current value of output and previous year*s value (indicating a lag between production and consumption). Along the same lines, and also using Indian data, Ravallion (1996a: 204 ff.) shows that "even highly aggregated data on agricultural wages and yields contain information that is relevant to predicting poverty outcomes before new household survey data are available in lieu of them".[v]

But we need to be cautious, as both Tabatabai and Ravallion indicate. Tabatabai points out that the associations may be dependent on the structure of agricultural output (food grains versus export crops), and hence differ between countries. Ravallion*s forecasting experiment shows that, using farm yields (and wage rates), one can forecast poverty fairly well one year ahead of the survey, but that a "sizeable drift" can arise after one year. It is also significant that his experiment focuses on the rural poor; both for monitoring and

---

[t] Despite this, poverty reduction by land-contingent targeting has limited scope. Ravallion and Sen 1992, quoted in Lipton 1995: 146. Communal ownership of land raises yet other questions.

[u] Dev et al. 1991, quoted in Lipton 1995: 146.

[v] Ravallion did three forecasting exercises for the poverty headcount index. In the first one, where poverty indicators one-year ahead were predicted, the percentage forecasting error ranges from a 7 percent underestimation to a 2.5 percent overestimation.

policy purposes the effects on other sectors also need to be taken into account.[w] As Ravallion points out, methods such as these are cheaper than conducting new surveys, but this saving must be weighted against the loss of accuracy in monitoring poverty. As with other proxies, the preconditions for using farm yields are that reliable data on farm yields exist, and that the association between poverty and its proxy has been established.

6. Livelihood monitoring

An alternative approach to monitoring income poverty, employment or nutrition is a focus on poor people's livelihoods. A livelihood approach goes beyond measuring food security through output indicators such as nutrition, assessing poverty in terms of income, or focusing on employment as the primary income generating activity. “Employment can provide a livelihood, but most livelihoods of the poor are based on multiple activities and sources of food, income and security” (Chambers 1995a:vi). Activities to sustain livelihoods may include a variety of different activities, such as: food processing, petty trading, share-rearing of livestock, transporting, contract outwork, casual labour, domestic service, child labour, mortgaging and selling assets, migration, public works, stinting, scavenging and gleaning, begging, and theft (ibid: 26-27). A livelihood approach considers how poor people are able to sustain their living, and how they cope in adverse conditions.

In order to trace the development of livelihood monitoring systems, it is useful to discus first the more traditional Famine Early Warning Systems (EWS). And EWS is a "system of data collection to monitor people's access to food in order to provide timely notice when a food crisis threatens and thus to elicit appropriate response" (Davies *et al*. 1991: vii). Although famine early warning systems were originally set up to *predict food crises*, there are now a variety of broader-based food information systems that *monitor food security* in non-crisis contexts. Table 4 lists the differences in emphasis.

Table 4: Characteristics of Early Warning and Food Information Systems

Characteristics	**Famine Early Warning System**	**Food Security Information System**
Scope	Famine-oriented	Food security-orientated
Determinants of Food Security	Food production	Access to Food
Level of Operation	Macro Centralised	Micro Decentralised
Unit of Analysis	Geographic (e.g. nation, districts)	Socio-economic (e.g. vulnerable groups)
Approach	Top-down Data-centred	Bottom-up People-centred
Response	Food aid-oriented	Sustainable improvement in access to food

Source: Adapted from Davies *et al.*, 1991

[w] Also using Indian data, Ravallion and Datt (1996) show that it is possible to estimate the effect of sectoral growth on the poor; it is likely that India is one of the few countries where data allow such an exercise.

In the 1970s most early warning systems focused on crop production and rainfall data. In the 1980s the range of indicators was broadened to include remote sensing and nutritional data. Since the late 1980s there has been a greater emphasis on the use of socio-economic information, such as market prices, migration, local off-farm employment, food consumption data, and coping strategies. However, in reality, there has been little collection of socio-economic data which monitors livelihoods. At the local level nutrition surveillance is the most common method, and at the aggregate level rainfall and crop production monitoring prevail as main indicators (Davies *et al*. 1991). An exception is the system in Turkana, Kenya, which monitors livelihoods through indicators on the environment, the rural economy and human welfare (see box).

Livelihood Monitoring in Turkana District, Kenya

The EWS in Turkana monitors three kinds of indicators: environmental, rural economy and human welfare. It monitors both commonly used indicators such as rainfall, crop conditions, market prices, and less conventional indicators such as livestock indicators including milk yields, bleeding rates, and slaughter rates. Indicators of human welfare include school attendance, household break-ups, diet and nutrition. The main sources of data are quarterly household and community surveys, aerial surveys carried out every one to two years which monitor livestock numbers, distribution and settlements, satellite imagery for monitoring rainfall, and secondary data from technical departments in district government.

The quarterly situation is defined according to one of four levels of warning - 'normal', 'alert', 'alarm', or 'emergency'. The information is linked to a pre-planned District Drought Contingency Plan. Although the response mechanism failed in 1992, mainly for political and institutional reasons, the earlier 1990 response was highly successful. In 1990 the EWS bulletin warned for an imbalance between natural resources and livestock numbers, before a deterioration in livestock indicators and nutritional status was observed. It was a "a genuine, yet rare attempt to protect livelihoods *before* lives are under threat."

Source: Buchanan-Smith & Davies, 1995.

Table 5 illustrates some of the coping mechanisms of communities, potential indicators and possible data sources. This shows that the indicators for this do not necessarily require detailed survey data.

Table 5: Indicators for Coping Mechanisms of Communities

Community mechanisms to deal with food crises	Potential indicators	Possible sources of data
Change of food source	Number of households dependent on reserve	Agricultural workers, health centres
Attempt to find employment	Unusual movement of adult males: change in wage rates or applications for jobs	Chiefs, administrators, recruiting agencies, extension workers
Sell off livestock	Increase in sales, decline of livestock prices	Extension workers, cattle auctions, abattoirs
Attempt to purchase food in local markets	Increase in crop sales, increase in crop prices	Marketing agencies, local price reporters
Request assistance from government	Number requesting assistance, applying for programmes	Records of assistance programmes, NGOs
Seek assistance from relatives	Change in school enrolment, changes in clinic attendance, increase in remittances	School, clinic records, banks, post offices (remittance flows)
Migrate to areas not affected	Unusual movements of people	District and area administrators

Source: FSG 1990 and Eele 1987 (adapted from Davies et al. 1991).

Although descriptions of coping strategies deepen our understanding of (income) poverty, there are (at least) two problems. First, monitoring communities at an aggregate level says little about individual households within communities. Where certain households struggle to cope while other households manage adequately, monitoring at the community level may not detect this. Second, descriptions of coping strategies often do not identify *why* certain strategies are pursued - whether they are short-term coping strategies or permanent adaptation strategies. This is further complicated by the fact that what is a coping strategy at one point in time may become an adaptive strategy at a later stage. The importance in distinguishing between the two lies in the different policy options they pose. “Coping strategies indicate that if livelihood systems are given a little one-off support, they can continue to provide security for those who depend on them. Adaptive strategies imply that livelihood systems are moving towards a new equilibrium (or not), necessitating that external support respond to the much more basic constraints encountered in such processes.”[x]

[x] Davies 1993: 68. In order to make a distinction between coping and adaptation, it is necessary to monitor intensity, sustainability, motivation and effectiveness: "if coping strategies are to be useful indicators of food stress, it is the intensity of their use (how dependent households are on such strategies in a given season year, compared to 'normal'); their sustainability when this intensity increases (in both an economic and an environmental sense); the motivation for their use (coping or adapting); and their effectiveness in meeting food and livelihood needs (or their costs and benefits), which must be assessed" (ibid: 69).

How can these approaches help in monitoring poverty? Early Warning Systems can be effective in detecting (and predicting) dramatic changes in food security. They seem less useful for tracing the effects of employment policies. Descriptions of coping strategies can help us in deepening our understanding of (income) poverty, exploring its causes and explanations. Also, the variety of data sources on which this approach relies may be helpful in extending knowledge about poverty, in a relatively cheap way. The emphasis on the community level bears the risk of missing inequalities within the community; this may be complemented by household surveys, or rapid or participatory forms of appraisals. The next section focuses on the latter.

7. Participatory appraisals

Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) evolved from Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA). The main difference between the two is that PRA stresses the *participatory* process of data collection, whereas RRA focuses on *rapid* information collection. Several other differences are summarised in Table 6 below. RRA and PRA to date have mainly been carried out in rural settings, both methods can equally be used in urban areas (see for instance the box on scaling-up in Chad).

Table 6: RRA and PRA Compared

	RRA	**PRA**
Period of major development	late 1970s, 1980s	late 1980s, 1990s
Major innovators based in	Universities	NGOs
Main users	Aid agencies Universities	NGOs Government. field organisations
Key resources earlier overlooked	Local people's knowledge	Local people's capabilities
Main innovation	Methods	Behaviour
Predominant mode	Elicitive, extractive	Facilitating, participatory
Ideal objectives	Learning by outsiders	Empowerment of local people
Longer-term outcomes	Plans, projects, publications	Sustainable local action and institutions

Source: Chambers, 1992

This section will focuses primarily upon PRA. Its most innovative is probably the methods applied, many of which are visual. Some common methods are:

- **Community maps** which illustrate where people live, sometimes identifying household with certain characteristics (poor households, female headed households), and where key resources and services are located.
- **Flow diagrams** or **'problem trees'**, showing links and causes as identified by the people.

- **Seasonal calendars** which illustrate food availability, rainfall, diseases, work load and labour requirements, food prices, wages and other factors.
- **Daily schedules** showing daily activities of individuals and the time spent on them.
- **Matrix ranking** which draws comparisons, e.g. between different crops or service provisions.
- **Wealth ranking** as a method of obtaining information on poor and vulnerable households, without having to ask sensitive questions which people may find intrusive.

These visual methods have a number of advantages (Buchanan-Smith 1993). First, they change the relationship between the insider and outsider. The researcher should be the facilitator and the local person the one who controls the exercise. Second, a visual diagram can be carried out by a number of people working together, so that it becomes a source of negotiation and debate. Third, discussion over visual models or diagrams is usually less threatening than one-to-one discussions because discussion is centred around a third object rather than being directly between the insider and the outsider, where body language and gestures may act to inhibit the discussion.

Participatory Anthropometric Monitoring in Guinea

Anthropometric monitoring was carried out in fishing villages in coastal Guinea, by assessing mid-upper arm circumference with the help of village children. As opposed to other ways of assessing anthropometry (such as weight-for-height) this method made sense to most people: "it does actually look as though you are trying to see how thin someone is" (Appleton, 1992:81). The survey was carried out by selecting four local teams of four 10-12 year-old boys (girls were too busy with chores). The team leader's responsibility was to ensure that all households were visited and to ask to see the small children. One child held a 12.5 cm diameter stick, which was the cut-off point for malnourished 1-5 year-olds. The diameter of children's upper arms was compared to that of the stick. One child was dropped a palm-nut into a bag every time a child was pronounced 'too thin', and another child would do the same in another bag when a child was 'not so thin'. This participatory way of measuring meant that 'thinness' became an easy topic to discuss. This was done in focus groups of women and child-carers.

Source: Appleton, 1992.

PRA commonly involves traditional anthropological methods such as semi-structured interviews with key informants and contact persons. The aim is to obtain information from individuals who are thought to have sufficient knowledge about issues or groups of people of interest. Key informants may be elderly people who know about the situation in the past, women whose experiences may differ from those of men, farmers who can inform on crop production and prices, teachers who register school attendance, and NGO employees who have special knowledge of the local situation.

A key feature of PRA is their concern with obtaining only 'enough information' - rather than 'as much information as possible'. By striving for 'optimal ignorance', valuable time can be saved and financial resources can be conserved. For example, simple wealth ranking exercises carried out in North Darfur, Sudan, showed that poor nutrition was not strongly related to inequalities in wealth but was determined by

the public health environment and sanitation (Young 1992). This was deduced without knowing exact income levels or household asset ownership.

Although PRA methods sometimes seek to establish absolute values their prime strength is in assessing relative values. These are especially useful in monitoring situations where policy impacts are assessed. Changes in inequality can be indicated by wealth ranking exercises; changes in livelihood activities and the intensity with which they are pursued can be examined through seasonal calendars and daily schedules; information on market changes (including prices) can be obtained from key informants; and intra-household inequalities can be explored through group discussions with women and by comparing calendars and schedules of men and women.

While PRA has usually been carried out in small locations by local NGOs, attempts have been made to 'scale it up'. Action-Aid carried out well-being ranking of 36,000 people in Pakistan, and they facilitated participatory evaluation of their activities in 130 villages in Nepal. In Indonesia PRA activities were carried out in 285 of the poorest and most remote villages, within a period of four months (Chambers 1995b). In Kenya and Tanzania PRA was used in poverty assessment by sampling a large number of communities and using pre-designed scoring cards and categories, in order to produce statistically comparable results. In Ghana, Zambia, South Africa and Mozambique the appraisals were carried out in more depth, but in fewer communities (IDS 1996).

Scaling Up RRA in Chad

Between June and September 1991 a nation-wide RRA exercise was launched to examine food security problems at the local level in Chad. Despite problems with the appraisal, it provided important findings quite cheaply and rapidly. The appraisal found that rural people's highest priority was on agricultural production, rather than marketing problems, which was widely seen to be key problem by donors and government.

The exercise first identified principle production systems in all of Chad's 14 prefectures, through meetings with local authorities. Representative villages were selected for each production system, totalling 55 villages. The trained teams spent one day in each village carrying out semi-structured interviews with groups and at the household level. Towns were also surveyed, and households from different urban groups were interviewed. Various techniques such as seasonal calendars were used to summarise information, and there were several long meetings in which results were discussed with enumerators.

There were several problems with the study. Enumerator bias was a problem, especially as most of the enumerators were government employees which influenced the kind of answers local people gave. The study was biased towards short term crisis problems as the survey was carried out during a drought year. Some groups, such as pasturalists, were not represented due to difficulties in locating them. Finally, training of enumerators was limited, and could have been extended to instruction in visual techniques.

Source: Buchanan-Smith *et al.*, 1993.

Despite the successes of PRA, there are a number of problematic issues with it, relating to scaling up, comparing values, subjectivity, and costs.

- **Scaling Up** is not simply a matter of duplicating the exercise in several localities. Institutional mechanisms for co-ordination and analysis need to be in place. PRA training of motivated staff is usually necessary. This raises the question of how much institutionalisation of PRA can take place without it loosing its flexibility and ability to respond to local needs and issues. And where adequate structures and motivated personnel are lacking, there is the danger that the exercise becomes quick but inadequate surveying with very little participation.

- While most PRA exercises focus on **relative values**, absolute values are crucial for comparative purposes (this relates to the problem of scaling up). It makes no sense, e.g., to compare relative wealth inequalities found within different communities. With some PRA exercises relative values can be translated into fairly accurate absolute values when one or more absolute values are known. Time schedules are one example where (illiterate) participants indicate the relative amount they spend on different activities, and where the facilitator can translate this into hours.

- The explanatory power of **subjective versus objective data** has been questioned. Ravallion (1996) compared the predictive power of subjective questions and objective questions and observations, for consumption in Jamaica. He found that subjective welfare questions did predict consumption with some degree of accuracy, but not as much as objective indicators.

- Answers and discussions of subjective questions are prone to being **influenced by the presence of a facilitator and other community** members.

- **Cost** is a real issue. PRA is usually seen as a cheap alternative to more expensive household surveys. However, in the context of poverty monitoring PRA is a relatively expensive method compared to the monitoring of a limited number of indicators, whether from existing data sources or through short surveys.

It is unlikely that participatory monitoring could accurately track the full primary and secondary **effects of macroeconomic and sectoral reforms**. However, aspects of the consequences, such as relative changes in incomes and expenditures (see box), may be assessed using PRA. Participatory techniques are useful in adding depth of understanding to the quantitative data collected by large-scale household monitoring surveys. An example is the trend in African Famine Early Warning Systems to incorporate socio-economic data derived from small-scale community monitoring techniques within traditionally 'technical* systems of crop and rainfall forecasting. This combination of quantitative and qualitative monitoring systems allows analysts and policy-makers to assess the impact of environmental changes (such as drought) on households affected by this change, and makes for timelier and better targeted interventions.

PRA can also be useful in the conjunction with monitoring indicators obtained from key informants where local level statistical data are not widely collected. For instance, PRA exercises may establish that poverty of the most vulnerable households in a specific community is highly related to the fluctuation of certain crop prices. It may also show that off-farm employment is taken up primarily by poor households. Crop prices and off-farm employment can thus be important indicators of poverty for certain households in a specific location. But the relationship between poverty and prices on certain crops changes, and off-farm employment can become a common income-earning activity. Indicators themselves cannot pick up on this, nor do they pick up intra-household inequalities.

Assessing the Impact of Macro-economic Policies in Muingi District, Kenya

Matrix scoring exercises were used to analyse the impact of macro-economic policies on livelihood structures and the relative changes in values of the cash and non-cash commodities involved. The participants used stones to indicate the relative costs of the commodities and their relative incomes, and identified where costs had increased disproportionately to their incomes. With the stones they also illustrated what money could have bought the previous drought year. Finally they pointed to the best sources of incomes. While it is usually difficult to make comparisons of prices and incomes over time, the exercises showed clear patterns of decline in incomes relative to expenditures as a result of the drastic deteriorations over the recent years.

Source: Simanowitz 1996.

No single methodology is ideal in terms of guaranteeing comprehensiveness, accuracy, cost-effectiveness and time efficiency. There is an inevitable trade-off between coverage and costs. Statistically representative household surveys are expensive and time-consuming in its design, training, data collection, data processing and analysis. Participatory techniques can be equally expensive and slow - at least if they are implemented properly - in terms of training, time spent in the field, and (depending on their coverage) replication across many field sites. Conversely, rapid appraisals give reasonable and rapid qualitative impressions of the variables under examination, but only at the expense of accuracy and detail.

Therefore, a flexible and context-specific approach to data collection is recommended.[y] Choice of methodology should be driven by data needs. Adherence to the principle of 'optimal ignorance* should ensure that only as much information is collected as is genuinely required for policy purposes, using the most timely and cost-effective techniques for doing so. In some cases this will necessitate a large-scale household survey (if this does not yet exist), but in other cases a qualitative assessment undertaken in a few localities or communities will be sufficient. For a comprehensive understanding of poverty in a given region or country, a combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques will probably be best. This would combine the advantages of statistical quantification with the detailed insights and 'gap filling* provided by qualitative participatory appraisals.

8. Conclusion and implications

Following the Terms of Reference, this report has tried to do three things. First, for the Sub-Saharan countries, it has reviewed and evaluated existing systems that generate data on social conditions of the population, with the emphasis on employment and poverty. Second, it has tried to assess the quality, timeliness and use of these data. Third, it describes alternative mechanisms to develop poverty and employment information for policy making.

A number of disclaimers have to be made, not just as indication of the limitations of this report, but also as a warning against making recommendations too easily and too quickly. First, because this report was prepared in one month*s time, without much planning before the start, we have not been able to make

[y] See also Shaffer 1996 for a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, in Guinea.

a complete inventory of the existing monitoring systems, and evaluate quality, timeliness and use. We conclude that much is going on in this field (as is indicated in our Tables on poverty data, human development indicators, and employment monitoring), too much to be covered for this report. Therefore, a first step should be to make more complete inventories and evaluations of existing systems **at the country level.** The present report could only point to the availability of existing systems, give some indication of timeliness, but often not on reliability of the data; this can be ascertained only by more detailed investigation.

Second, many of the reports available to us (and on which we had to rely) say little or nothing at all about the generation of the data. Almost nothing was available on the costs of data gathering. One of our recommendations is that agencies (national and international) should **make more information available on the way data have been collected and processed** (and on definitions chosen for key terms). This would allow for a learning process among institutions and countries.

Third, even less information exist about the **institutions carrying out forms of data collection** (and most countries do have these). Yet they are crucial for good data. Institutions need to have a proper infrastructure for the production of data, and the people collecting and processing the data need to have the right incentives, training, and career structure. Data collecting organisations, like any other type of organisation needs well-paid, well-trained, well-supervised and motivated people to get a good output. Here lies a possible advantage for smaller, NGO-type organisations: it may be easier to motivate people in a smaller organisations than in large bureaucracies. On the other hand, small organisations may offer less prospects for promotion. Again, making data available on this may help in improving monitoring systems.

ILO*s interest in the present report is with monitoring of poverty, as affected by employment policies, not with employment monitoring as an indicator of poverty. Yet we have briefly reviewed the coverage of employment data, and possibilities to use employment-type of data to monitor poverty. Unfortunately, much of the employment data are not sufficient for this purpose, for two reasons. First, in Sub-Saharan (and many other) countries, employment data are absent, unreliable, outdated, and/or do not have a sufficiently wide coverage. Second, income-source type of data are not sufficient for tracing the effects of employment policies on poverty, because they do not distinguish between demand and supply factors, and cause and effect. But because of ILO*s experience in the fields of employment measurement and manpower planning, the focus should be on the **nexus of poverty and employment measurement**. This requires further development of the employment measures, including extending this to activities not yet covered, but also determining how well these employment indicators reflect poverty.

In our opinion per-person **income (or, even better, consumption) poverty data are necessary**. There are various definitions and ways of measuring poverty, but we are convinced that measuring income poverty is one of the most important ones, especially if they need to trace the outcomes of specific policies. The fact that the debate about the impact of structural adjustment is still unresolved is partly because of this lack of data in Sub-Saharan countries. Income poverty indicators are not perfect, and do not cover all aspects of welfare or deprivation, but they are relatively unambiguous and can be compared over time and between locations. These data can only be attained through **household surveys**, large enough to be representative, and repeated over time. The case of India, and possibly also Bangladesh, shows that poor countries can have good poverty monitoring systems. But compared to most Sub Saharan countries, India has the advantages of much better infrastructure, better trained people, and a tradition of generating data. Therefore, in our opinion, there is a clear priority to aim for institutions that can carry this out - and, in the interim, to plan for **low cost, easily managed, simple systems to collect poverty data regularly**. This can be done, as indicated in section 3.

Few countries need to start from scratch. The example of Rwanda - where a large one-off survey was done, with foreign aid and without building up capacity to repeat the survey over time - is now (hopefully) an exception. We have indicated in this report that a large amount of poverty assessment has been done and is being done, at a national level, and supported by a variety of international agencies. **Poverty monitoring can and should build on this** existing capacity, and - if reasonable quality controls

have already been applied (but not otherwise) - also on the existing data, which can be used for (smaller) repeat surveys.

There are alternative indicators of poverty, and we have described some of these in Section 5. Again a note of warning: which indicators are the best proxies of poverty is very much country- and context-dependent. It is necessary to establish the correlations between poverty and alternative indicators (which also change over time), for which both type of data are necessary. Health (particularly child mortality) and nutrition indicators may be good proxies of income poverty, and can indicate differences in poverty between regions and changes over time. Other alternatives are indicators of land ownership, which should be used if available from agriculture ministries and related offices, and data on agricultural output, which can indicate short-term fluctuations in poverty. But much of the existing data is highly inadequate. Basic data like smallholder food output are extremely unreliable in all but three or four Sub-Saharan countries. This general lack of reliable data is important for poverty monitoring; reliable proxies could to a limited extent substitute for poverty data. If this is not the case, monitoring poverty is more difficult.

It is possible to **combine various indicators**, and use various types of data gathering, to form a suitable poverty monitoring system. There exists no prototype for this, because the exact ‘mix* depends on the existing data gathering systems in the specific countries. Where good agricultural data exist (and nothing else), the first thing to do is to establish how well these can reflect poverty. Similarly for countries which have good information on employment or health: the questions to asks are (as in the case of employment data): how do these data reflect poverty, and how can these data be extended to give a closer approximation of poverty.

Two other approaches to poverty monitoring have been presented in this report: livelihood monitoring, and rapid and participatory appraisals. These are not ‘alternative* approaches, and are not substitutes for surveys on income poverty. Different methods measure different things, and the goals of the data gathering ought to determine the method used. Livelihood monitoring is useful to deepen the type of data obtained from larger household surveys. They are better in detecting the complexity in which the poor live, and are therefore useful in explaining income trends. Consumption surveys, for example, although also measuring the complex of income sources, can be combined with livelihood monitoring to identify the sources of income. Rapid appraisals can give some indication of income poverty, with a simple process of data gathering. But care is needed: the indicators explain only part of the differences in income; and the process of data gathering is more difficult to standardise (which is necessary to compare situations over time and between locations).

Participatory appraisals are means to deepen the understanding of poverty, and particularly understanding people*s own perception of the situation (often crucial for policy making). Different outcomes from income poverty assessments and participatory appraisals are not signs of the one method being better than the other; it shows that different methods use different things. The poor*s evaluation of the situation may differ from what income measures tell the researcher, because, for example, people may feel less (compared to before) repressed by landlords - even though they may have less income than before. Therefore, measures of income poverty need to be combined with participatory forms of appraisals. This can be done at little cost.

This leaves us with the following general conclusion. We consider income poverty data crucial for presenting poverty profiles within countries, and for comparisons over time. These surveys are not necessarily expensive. Many countries now have some form of data, and repeat surveys do not need to be of the same scope. Some types of data can substitute for income poverty data, but only at a certain cost and under certain conditions. Employment data may be used but one needs to establish how this correlates with poverty. Certain health or production indicators, if available, can be used especially to monitor shorter-term changes in poverty. And livelihood monitoring and participatory appraisals can be used in combination with surveys, to deepen the understanding of poverty; not all surveys, if combined with selected smaller appraisals, need to be very extensive in the types of questions asked. The mix of types of types of data

gathering must depend on the local situation, on the availability of data and institutions that can collect these data. And in all cases, the institutional capacity, and providing training and incentives are crucial.

Annex: Overview of World Bank Poverty Assessments

Country	Report title	Indicators of poverty	Sources	Discussion of sources
Benin	Benin. Toward a Poverty Alleviation Strategy. 12706-BEN August 1994	Absolute poverty line using nutritional data from 1986-87. Social indicators: gross enrolment ratios (1990), total fertility rates (1991), coverage of deliveries , infant mortality (1990), under 5 mortality (1992), immunisation, child malnutrition (wasting, birthweight), life expectancy (1991).	Nutrition data from the latest nation-wide hh survey carried out in 1986/87 (EBC) of 2,700 households. Since then only small-scale studies. Food security estimated from stats. on crop production and animal husbandry which is evaluated at district level. Health data available from data centres which is forwarded to the national level.	EBC good nutritional data, but unreliable data on income and expenditure. Other data collection on antropometric measures has either been seasonal biased or has had limited geographic coverage. Good collection and aggregation of data of patients from health centres. Ministry of health has recently carried out small scale community health surveys. No recent and good employment statistics.
Cameroon	Cameroon. Diversity, Growth and Poverty Reduction 13167-CM April 1995	Poverty lines established using per capita consumption from 1983/84 HBS. Other indicators discussed are housing, schooling and illiteracy rates, and malnutrition which have all been combined to create a poverty index (illiteracy and malnutrition weighing 40% each, and housing 20%) which is mapped by province	HBS 1983-84 is the latest household survey on consumption and income. Other national surveys are: 1987 Population and Housing Census (housing and illiteracy) and the 1991 Cameroon Demographic and Health Survey (malnutrition). Other regional surveys have been used for a more elaborate picture of living conditions over the ten year period from 1983-93.	The report criticises the information system in Cameroon, especially for the lack of systemized data collection. It urges that the HBS will be carried out in 1995/6, and proposes a ten year program for poverty monitoring. It is aimed to collect thorough statistics on various aspects of households and individuals, provide reliable info on changes in these, and generate data on schooling, health, prices regularly. Three kind of surveys are proposed: price surveys, in-depth surveys and rapid follow-up surveys. The in-depth Cameroon Household Survey is being negotiated between the government and the World Bank at the time of the report writing. It is argued that employment surveys should be the principle component of the in-depth surveys. The role of the Worl Bank in controlling and financing the 10 year programme is not clear.

Cape Verde	Poverty in Cape Verde. A summary Assessment and a Strategy for its Alleviation 13126-CV June, 1994	Poverty line using expenditure data per person from 1988/89 household survey. Other indicators: food production, antropometry (1983, 1985, 1990), public spending on social sectors, health service coverage, infant mortality (1991), mortality rates (1992), education (1988 and 1992), access to safe water, maternal mortality (1991), employment (1990)	The 1988/89 household survey was performed by the government and covered 6 out of 9 inhabited islands. Data on key economic indicators including public expenditure from Cape Verde official data and WB estimates. The sources of the other indicators mentioned in report are not stated - the tables do not show trend data.	According to the report, official data on National Accounts and external sector in Cape Verde is weak. There is no discussion of World Bank's estimates (subject to further revisions). There is no discussion of data sources of the social indicators mentioned.
Comoros	Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros. Poverty and Growth in a Traditional Small Island Society 13401-COM Sept. 1994	No poverty line is established due to lacking reliable data on hh incomes and expenditures. Data on social indicators: no. of marriages, formal sector employment and self-employment, enrolment ratios (by gender) (1994), land use (1992), housing (safe water, homeownership and other) (1991), and governm. expenditure on health facilities (1993).	The social indicators stem from the Population Census 1991 (published in 1993), the Ministry of Education 1994, and the Government of the Comoros (on agricultural indicators). Data on agricultural indicators is presented as a combination of the Government of the Comoros and World Bank estimates. No nation-wide household survey.	The 1991 census was delayed due to 'a combination of weak staff training, outmoded equipment and weak demand from Government users' (p.33). However, includes a number of useful social indicators. Other statistics from the Ministry of Education and the Agricultural agency of the Ministry of Production are not regular, but reliable. No mention of nutritional data. The data on living conditions could not be combined and thus compared with data on income or education. Wage data for employment categories lacking. A household consumption and expenditure survey is planned for 1994. No discussion of WB estimates on agric. indicators.
Ethiopia	Ethiopia. Toward Poverty Alleviation and Social Action Program 11306-ET June 1993	Poverty lines estimated by WB in terms of expenditure requirements, using small survey by WB in 1992. Other indicators presented: govt. health expenditure (1992), water supply (1991), fertility rates, mortality rates, employment, housing, medical coverage, education (all 1990/91).	Expenditure data from WB's own small household survey in some poor neighbourhoods of Addis Adba and Mekele. Expenditure data from the Ministry of Finance & Ministry of Planning: Budget, Actual and Preliminary Actual. Water supply from the ''Water Suply and Sanitation Sector Overview and Framework Outline'. prepared by the Water Resources Commisssion under the auspices of the UNDP-World Bank Regional Water and Sanitation Group, 1992. All other indicators from the World Bank International Economics Department, 1992.	Data collection is seriously deficient in Ethiopia. The latest urban and rural income and expediture surveys were in respectively 1975 and 1982. In 1982/83 the Ethiopian Nutrition Institute carried out a survey. Since then smaller-scale expenditure surveys have been carried out. The report it self does not give detail on the small-scale survey performed for the report. It is not clear where and how the World Bank collected data on the other indicators mentioned.

Ghana	Ghana. Poverty Past, Present and Future 14504-GH June, 1995	Poverty line is using data on household expenditures (1988, 1989, 1992) and household consumption patterns analysed for households in +- 5% of both the upper and lower poverty line. Other indicators are: employment (1992) sources of income (1995), health (infant mortality, under-5 mortality, child mortality), nutrition (stunting and wasting), immunisation coverage, fertility rates, age at first marriage (all 1993), government and household expenditure on education and health by income quintile (1992).	Most of the data is derived from the Ghana Living Standards Surveys (GLSS) and have been carried out by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) in 1988, 1989 and 1992. Data on income sources is from a WB publications 1995, but it is not clear whether this is based on calculations from the GLSS surveys. Health and nutrition data (including fertility and immunisation) is from the Demographic and Health Survey 1993.	The GLSS have been conducted as a response to the lack of data as identified by the Ghana Extended Poverty Study (EPS). The EPS has taken place in collaboration between the WB and the Govt. of Ghana. The issues of ownership, control and funding are not specified, but the GLSSs have been carried out by the Ghana Statistical Service. The report argues that the GLSSs are too expensive to be carried out every year - and complementary monitoring approaches should be established with fewer indicators which are sensitive to poverty. The other data sources are not discussed.
Kenya	Kenya. Poverty Assessment 13152-KE March 1995	Income poverty is measured by expenditure, defining food poverty, and absolute and relative poverty lines (1982-1992). Other indicators: enrolment rates, infant mortality and under 5 mortality, life expectancy and child malnutrition. There is also data on poverty of diff. socio-economic groups (sectors)	Expenditure data is from the Welfare Monitoring System (WMS) (established 1992) and the Expenditure survey 1981-82. The WMS includes enrolment data . Health and nutrition data is from the 1993 Demographic Health Survey. Life expectancy data from the World Bank, World Development Report.	The report states that Kenya has a strong tradition in information systems for which it has received much support. The National Sample Survey and Evaluation Programme (NASSEP) was initiated in 1980, and carried out numerous surveys. Unfortunately many of them were never analysed. Despite problems NASSEP has been important in providing statistics and its activities were central for the implementation of the District Welfare Monitoring Surveys in 1991-1992 with UNICEF assistance. Today the biggest monitoring system is the Household Welfare Monitoring and Evaluation System (HWMES). HWMES was established in 1992 (World Bank supported), and is responsible for the Welfare Monitoring Surveys, initiated in 1992, and implemented by the Central Bureau of Statistics. The plan was to carry out WMS yearly, but there has been delays in processing the data from the first round. The reports include a number of recommendations on how to improve data collection, analysis and processing. It is intended that HWMES will include sectoral monitoring systems in health, education and agriculture.

Lesotho	Lesotho. Poverty Assessment 13171-LSO August, 1995	Poverty level using expenditure data from 1993 household data survey. Other data mentioned is nutritional status (1992), school enrollment (1993), living conditions, access to basic necessities (1993), life expectancy, mortality rates (1986), hh headship and status (1993).	Expenditure data and all 1993 indicators mentioned are from 1986/87 Household Budget survey by the Bureau of Statistics and 1993 household survey by Sesheba Consultants commisioned by the Drought Relief Implementation Group (DRIG) and the EU, UNDP and USAID. Mortality and fertility rates from 1986 Population census. Nutrition data from National Nutrition Survey 1992.	There is no discusssion of information systems in general in Lesotho, but the problems with the 1993 household survey data is addressed. Both the data on expenditure and income is incomplete, the latter more so than the former. The donor input, control and ownership is not specified, nor are any plans for regular hh surveys. A lot of the figures presented are Bank estimates based on the 1993 household survey - it is not clear what this estimate entails.
Madagaskar	Madagaskar. Poverty Assessment 14044-MAG June, 1996	Poverty lines set by per capita total expenditure from nationally representative household survey 1993-94. Other indicators: enrollment rates, public expenditure and allocation, health (malnutrition, housing conditions, access to drinking water and sanitation, landholding and ownership, food crops, and employment (all 1993-94). [PPA also performed]	Data from national household survey (EPM). Also data from 1993 Population Census and the 1992 Demographic and Health Survey.	The 1993/94 hh survey was part of the plan under the World Bank funded Economic Managment and Social Action Program. 4,508 households were interviewed. Two more household surveys are meant to take place in 1997 and 1999. The 1997 survey will focus on hh consumption, the 1999 survey on employment and social indictors for health and education. Under consideration by the govt. is also to produce monthly price indexes, but currently there is not adequate resources for this. At the moment donors are evaluting the capabilities for data collection and analysing. The National Statistics Institute (INSTAT) lack motivated and skilled staff, as well as adequate computer fascilities. The report suggests that a decentralised monotoring system is established involving using qualitiative survey techniques, quickly obtained short-term indicators that have been tested and show early results of how policies are affecting poverty, as well as periodically carrying out more complete household surveys of living conditions at appropriate intervals' (41).
Malawi	Malawi. Growth Through Poverty Reduction 8140-MAI March, 1990	Poverty lines by income estimates based on the average incomes recorded by size of a household's agricultural plot, due to absence of data disaggregated by income (from various surveys, 1987-89). No other indicators illustrated.	Source on smallholder shares from Annual Survey of Agriculture 1987/87, Estates shares from Estate Household Survey 1989, Urban Shares from Urban Household Expenditure Survey 1979/80, Population by subsector from 1987 Census updated to 1989.	There is no discussion of information systems, or the surveys used for poverty estimations. The appendix of the report contains data on literacy rates and education level (1977-87), govt. expenditure, and employment and earnings (up to 1987). All from government sources.

Mali	Mali. Assessment of Living Conditions 11842-MLI June, 1993	Poverty lines using per capita expenditure data from national household budget survey 1988/1989. Other PPI indicators are: employment (1988), life expectancy, mortality rates, immunisation, child malnutrition, literacy rates, enrolment rates, governm. expenditure on social services (all 1987). and wages (1990).	Expenditure data from national household budget survey conducted in 1988/9 by the governm. with UNDP assistance. For other indicators: employment survey by the Office National de la Main d'Oeuvre in 1988, Demographic and Health Survey in 1987, and Population Census in 1987.	Only preliminary and partial results of the 1988/9 hh survey was available at the time of report writing, due to data entry and administrative problems. Since then a beneficiary assessment on urban poverty has taken place in 1992, and a RRA exercise in three regions in 1993. The report suggests that an inter-ministerial 'Poverty Monitoring and Analysis Unit' is established to co-ordinate a monitoring system in which a household budget survey programme would be central. It is not clear whether national Census and Health surveys take place on a regular basis.
Mauritania	Mauritania. Poverty Assessment 12182-MAU September 1994	Poverty lines identified by per capita expenditure (1990). Other PPI indicators identified: wages (1992), public expenditure on human resources (1991), enrolment rates (1990), mortality rates (under 5) (1991), immunisation (1991), child malnutrition (1988), life expectancy (by gender), fertility rates, maternal mortality rates (all 1991).	Expenditures data is taken from 2 LSMS surveys carried out in the period 1987-1990. The various social indicators are from World Bank Development Report 1993 and UNICEF Situation Analysis 1992 [these documents need to be looked at to see where the figures come from].	In addition to two rounds of LSMS, the government set up a permanent monitoring system of social conditions in 1987. In 1992 a household budget survey was performed by the National Statistic Office (ONS) under the guidance of the Social Dimensions of Adjustment unit [WB?], supported by the World Bank, the German Government and the African Development Bank, and another one was planned for 1994. It is not clear why the 1992 data is not used in the report. Nor is it clear what the monitoring system of social conditions consists of and how reliable and timely it is. The report states that 'the data collection and processing capability of the ONS in carrying out survey work is strong compared to other SSA countries, however, its analytical capability is limited.' (p. 38). It supports ONS's suggestion of creating an analysis unit which should preferably be an intra-ministerial unit in the Ministry of Plan.
Mauritius	Mauritius. Country Economic Memorandum: Sharpening the Competitive Edge 13215-MAS April, 1995	Poverty line using household income from Household Budget and Expenditure Surveys 1975, 1980/81, 1986/87 and 1991/92. Details of expenditure from these surveys also given. Other indicators mentioned: infant mortality, births, life expectancy , caloric supply, inhabitants per physician (all 1971 - 1990), and govt. health and education expenditures.	Household Budget and Expenditure Surveys. Other indicators from World Development Report 1992. Govenment health expenditures govt. sources.	Regular household surveys. Not clear whether certain indicators are monitored on a more frequent basis. Not clear where World Development Report got figures from (but presumably government).

Namibia	Namibia. Poverty Alleviation with Sustainable Growth 9510-NAM October 1991	Poverty lines by household income, 1990 (various sources). Other indicators illustrated: fertility rates, mortality rates, malnutrition (all 1990). Other indicators mentioned: education, water & sanitation, and housing.	Poverty lines from UNICEF , HHNS (1990). No references. Health indicators from UNICEF, HHNS and WDR (all 1990). Housing and sanitation from UNICEF, HHNS (1990), and education figures from the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Finance.	There is no discussion of information systems in Namibia, nor a full description of the UNICEF household survey on which the poverty profile is based. The survey was conducted in Katutura, peri-urban Ovamboland and rural Ovamboland.
Niger	Niger. Poverty Assessment 15344-NIR June, 1996	Poverty lines using a proxy for household consumption and expenditure aggregating total monetary annual expenditure, estimated home food consumption, imputed rent for owners and estimated food gifts, for 1993 Household Budget and Consumption Survey. Correlations between the poverty and the following (which may serve as indicators): household size, household headship, education leves, source of income, consumption patterns (all 1993), and nutrition, life-expectancy, mortality (1992), and access to water (1993).	1993 indicators from hh survey. This was carried out in the urban areas in in 1989790 and in the rural areas in 1992/3. The urban data was extrapolated to May 1993 accounting for inflation and population growth, while holding constant consumption. 1992 data from the 1992 Demographic and Health Survey. [PPA also conducted]	The report notes that Niger has better data than most SSA countries. Besides the surveys already mentioned a Population Census was carried out in 1988, and an Economic and Social Suvey in April 1994 which was being analysised at the time of the report writing. The report suggests that an annual review of poverty levels and trends is institutionalised. through the establishment of a Poverty Analysis Unit which includes a multi-sectoral steering committee.
Nigeria	Nigeria. Poverty in the Midst of Plenty. The Challenge of Growth with Inclusion 14733-UNI May, 1996	Poverty analysis by mean per capita household expenditure from National Consumer Surveys in 1985 and 1992. Poverty is looked at by region, income, employment and rural/urban, but no other indicators of poverty are illustrated. Further exploration is poverty is bassed on PPA exercise.	National Consumer Surveys (NCS) in 1985 and 1992. The 1992 survey consisted of 9000 households. Other surveys used are: The Demographic Household Survey 1992, and the General Household Survey conducted in 1990. PPA conducted in 10 states and financed by ODA.	The report criticises the poor monitoring capacity at all levels of the government. At the state and federal level it is in the hand of the Planning Research and Statistics departments which are 'under-funded, under-staffed, poorly trained and under-utilized' (p.128). No more detailed discussion of the information system. The short-comings of the 1992 survey are pointed out: little info for gender analysis, no info on remittances, and non-formal acitvities and own-consumption are likely to be under-represented.

Rwanda	Rwanda. Poverty Reduction and Sustainable Growth 12465-RW May, 1994	Poverty line set by total real expenditure per capita from national household survey in 1983-85. No other indicators are illustrated, while education, health and malnutrition are shortly discussed.	Enquete Nationale sur le Budget et la Consommation (ENBC). Health figures from the 1991 Demographic and Health Survey.	The report focuses primarily on income poverty using data from the national household survey 1983-85 and WB estimates (for instance for trends). No info on how the WB reaches its estimates. Data from the Ministries of Plan, Health and Interior have been used to construct poverty indices, by combining the following: destitute population, level of underemployment, food shortages and level of economic infrastructure, in order to view poverty by regions (the national household survey was too small for this - only 570 households)
Sierra Leone	Sierra Leone. Policies for Sustained Economic Growth and Poverty Alleviation 11371-SL May, 1993	Income poverty defined by expenditure from 1989/90 household survey. Other indicators illustrated are: health status indicators (1960, 80, 90), social sector expenditure (1980-1993), , salaries (1990). The following indicators are also mentioned: nutrition standards, education, and living conditions.	Expenditure data from 1989/9 household survey. Health status indicators from UNICEF's Status of the World Children, UN's Human Development Report, the World Development Report and the Sierra Leone Country Programme Cooperation 1991-1995. Data on wages are from the Central Statistics Office 1991 and the Report on Labor Force Survey 1988-89. The data on governm. expenditure is from governm. figures and World Bank estimates.	The report does not discuss data sources. Assuming that the report would use the most available stats., it seems clear that the latest household survey was in 1989/9. In 1988-90 a Labour force survey was carried out which was published by the Central Statistics Office in 1991. It is not clear how WB estimates on expenditures have been made, and how much is the govt. figures.
Togo	Togo. Overcoming the Crisis, Overcoming Poverty 15526-TO June 1996	Poverty lines established using per capita income from 1987-89 household budget survey. Other indicators are: expenditure data, (1987-9), wasting and stunting (1988), birth rates (1993), mortality rates (1993), life expectancy (1989), enrollment rates (1994), literacy (1991), health sevices per inhabitants (1991/2), access to water and sanitation (1988-91).	Income and expenditure data from 1987/89 household budget survey (EBC). Other data from nutrition survey in 1988, from government statistics on education and health, and UNDP and UNICEF [no bibliography].	The report gives a number of recommendations for a poverty monitoring system which includes estimated costs. The recommendations are that a new household budget survey should be carried out as soon as possible, national nutritiona indicators should be collected regularly, focused surveys using both qualitative and quantitative analysis should be conducted approx. once a year to monitor household poverty, and analysis of cultural variables should be complementary to the above.

Uganda	Uganda. Growing out of Poverty 11380-UG March 1993	Poverty lines using mean per capita expenditures from Household Budget Survey (HBS) 1989/90. Other indicators illustrated are social indicators such as life expectancy, total fertility rates, health indicators including mortality rates and service provision (1990), nutrition (1991), education (1990) and hours worked per day by men and women.	Expenditure data is from the Household Budget Survey 1989/90 which was conducted by the Statistics Department of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning consisting of 4,500 households across Uganda. For the other indicators, data is from the 1991 Population and Housing Census, and from the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) carried out in 1988/89.	There is no discussion of data sources.
Zambia	Zambia. Poverty Assessment (4 vol.) 12985-ZA November 1994	Poverty lines using per capita expenditure from Priority Survey I, 1991. Other indicators illustrated: nutritional indicators (stunting, wasting and under-weight), asset ownership, access to drinking water, school attendance (all 1991) . [PPA performed]	All from Priority Survey I (PSI), 1991, except nutrition indicators which are from the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS), 1992.	Other sources available were the Household Budget Survey (HBS), 1991, and the PSII (1993). However, the latter was still under revision at the time of the survey and withheld by the Central Statistical Office (CSO) of Zambia. The PSI is based on the 'Priority Sruvey' module developed by the SDA programme. The sample size is 10,000 households. It was prepared by CSO with support from Statistics Norway funded by the IDA-sponsored Social Recovery Project. he DHS survey was conducted by the University of Zambia with assistance from DHS/Macro. The report urges that a regular poverty monitoring system is established from the base already provided by PSI and PSII. The key actions advocated are: setting up a regular participatory poverty impact monitoring system, have one unified place for the collection of social statistics, improve the coordination between data producers and users, improve fascilities for research on poverty and policy.

References

Appleton, J. (1992). “Notes from a Food and Nutrition PRA in a Guinean Fishing Village”, RRA Notes, 16.

Beneria, L. (1991). “Structural Adjustment, the labour market and the household: The case of Mexico”, in Standing and Tokman (eds.): *Towards Social Adjustment*, Geneva: ILO.

——. (1992). “Accounting for Women*s Work: The Progress of Two Decades”, in *World Development*, Vol. 20, No.11.

Bilsborrow (1994). “Towards a Rapid Assessment Survey of Poverty”, in Hoeven, R. von der and R. Anker (eds.): *Poverty Monitoring: An International Concern*, pp. 150-58.

Braun, J. von and D. Puetz (eds.) (1993). *Data Needs for Food Policy in Developing Countries*, IPFRI, USA.

Buchanan-Smith, M. (1993a). “Innovations Toward Rapid and Participatory Rural Appraisal”, in Braun, J. von and D. Puetz (eds.).

Buchanan-Smith, M. et al. (1993b). “Finding Out How People Prioritise Their Food Security Problems in Chad: The Challenges of RRA at the National Level”, RRA Notes18, pp.33-41.

Buchanan-Smith, M. and S. Davies. (1995). *Famine Early Warning and Response - the Missing Link*, London: IT Publications.

Buchanan-Smith, M., S. Davies and C. Petty. (1994). “Food Security: Let Them Eat Information”, in *IDS Bulletin*, Vol. 25, No.2.

Chambers, R. (1992). “Rural Appraisal: Rapid, Relaxed and Participatory”, IDS Discussion Paper No. 311.

——. (1995). “Making the Best of Going to Scale” (Mimeo), Aug.

——. (1995a). “Poverty and Livelihoods: Whose Reality Counts?”, IDS Discussion Paper No. 347.

Chander, R. (1990). “Information Systems and Basic Statistics in Sub-Saharan Africa”, World Bank Discussion Paper No. 73.

Chen, S., Datt, G. and M. Ravallion. (1993). "Is poverty increasing in the developing world?", Working Paper No. 1146, Washington, D.C.: World Bank (Policy Research Dept.).

Davies, S. (1993). “Are Coping Strategies a Cop Out?”, IDS Bulletin, Vol. 24, No.4.

Davies, S., M. Buchanan-Smith and R. Lambert. (1991). “Early Warning in the Sahel and Horn of Africa: The State of the Art”, IDS Research Report No.20.

Devereux, S. (1995). Book Review.

Earl and Moseley. “The SCF-UK Household Food Economy Approach to Food Security Assessment”.

Evans, A. (1989). “The Implications of Economic Reforms for Women in Zambia: The case of the economic reform programme 1983-7" (Mimeo), University of Sussex.

FAO/WHO. (1992). Major issues for nutrition strategies, International Conference on Nutrition, FAO and WHO, Italy.

Gaiha, R. (1996). “Is the Employment Guarantee Scheme in India Mistargeted?” (Mimeo).

Grootaert, C. and T. Marchant. (1991). “The Social Dimensions of Adjustment Priority Survey. An Instrument for the Rapid Identification and Monitoring of Policy Target Groups”, SDA Working Paper Series No.12, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

Grosh, M.E. and P. Glewwe. (1995). “A Guide to Living Standard Measurement Study Surveys and Their Data Sets”, LSMS Working Paper No.120, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

Hanmer, L., G. Pyatt, and H. White. (1996). “Poverty in sub-Saharan Africa. What can we learn from the World Bank*s Poverty Assessments?”, The Hague: Institute of Social Studies.

Hirata, H. and J. Humphrey. (1991). “Worker*s Response to Job loss: Female and Male Industrial Workers in Brazil*, in *World Development*, Vol. 19, No. 6.

Hoeven, R. von der and R. Anker. (1994). *Poverty Monitoring: An International Concern*, New York.

IDS. (1994). *Poverty Assessments and Public Expenditure: Study for the SPA Working Group on Poverty and Social Policy*.

——. (1996). “The Power of Participation: PRA and Policy”, IDS Policy Briefing, Issue No. 7, August.

ILO. (1995). *Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1995*, Geneva: ILO.

——. (1995). *Gender, Poverty and Employment: Turning Capabilities into Entitlements*, Geneva: ILO.

——. (1995). “Jobs for Africa, Programme Preparation Document”.

Jayarajah, C., W. Branson, and B. Sen. (1996). *Social Dimensions of Adjustment. World Bank Experience*, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

Koch Laier, J., S. Davies, K. Milward and J. Kennan. (1996). “Gender, Household Food Security and Coping Strategies”, Development Bibliography 14, Brighton: IDS.

Lim, L. L. (1993). “The Feminization of Labour in the Asia-Pacific Rim Countries: From contributing to Economic Dynamism to Bearing the Brunt of Structural Adjustments”, in Ogawa, N., G.W. Jones and J.G.Williamson (eds.): *Human Resources in Development along the Asia-Pacific Rim*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lipton, M. (1995). “Growing Point in Labour Research: Labour Issues”, in Rodgers, G. (ed.): *The Poverty Agneda and the ILO: Issues for Research and Action*, Geneva: IILS.

——. (1996). “Successes in Anti-Poverty”, Issues in Development Discussion Paper No. 8, Geneva: International Labour Office, Development and Technical Cooperation Department.

Lipton, M. and S. Maxwell. (1992). “The New Poverty Agenda: An Overview”, IDS Discussion Paper No 306, Brighton: IDS.

Lipton, M. and L. Ravallion. (1995). “Poverty and Policy”, in Behrman, J. and T.N. Srinivasan (eds.): *Handbook of Development Economics*, Vol. 3B., Amsterdam: North Holland.

Lipton, M. and J. van der Gaag (eds.). (1993). *Including the Poor*, Regional and Sector Studies Series, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

Maxwell, S. and T.R. Frankenberger. (1992). “Household Food Security: Concepts, Indicators, Measurements. A Technical Review”, New York and Rome: UNICEF-IFAD.

Moser, C.O.N. (1996). “Confronting Crisis: A Comparative Study of Household Responses to Poverty and Vulnerability in Four Poor Urban Communities”, Environmentally Sustainable Development Studies and Monographs Series No. 8, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

Pitt, M.M. and S.R. Khandker. (1996). “Household and Intrahousehold Impact of the Grameen Bank and Similar Targeted Credit Programs in Bangladesh”, Discussion Paper No. 320, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

Ravallion, M. (1990). “Reaching the Poor through Rural Public Employment: A Survey of Theory & Evidence”, Discussion Paper No. 94, Washington D.C.: World Bank.

——. (1992). “Poverty Comparisons: A Guide to Concepts and Measures”, Living Standards Measurement Paper No. 88, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

Ravallion, M. and B. Sen. (1994). “Impacts on rural poverty of land-based targetting: further results for Bangladesh”, in *World Development*, Vol. 22, No. 6, pp. 823-38.

——. (1996). “When method matters: Monitoring poverty in Bangladesh”, in *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 44, No. 4, pp. 761-91.

——. (1996a). “How Well Can Method Substitute for Data? Five Experiments in Poverty Analysis”, The World Bank Research Observer, Vol. 11, No. 2.

Ravallion, M. and S. Chen. (1996). “What Can New Survey Data Tell Us About Recent Changes in Lving Standards in Developing and Transitional Economies” (Mimeo), Washington, D.C.: the World Bank, Poverty and Human Resources Division, Feb.

Ravallion, M. and G. Datt. (1996). “How Important to India's Poor Is the Sectoral Composition of Economic Growth?”, in *The World Bank Economic Review*, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 1-25.

——. (1996b). “India's Checkered History In the Fight Againts Poverty: Are There Lessons for the Future” (Mimeo), Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, Policy Research Department.

Shaffer, P. (1996). “Poverty and Gender in the Republic of Guinea”, Mission report for the Canadian International Development Agency, Brighton.

Simanowitz, A. (1996). “Analysing the impact of macro-economic policies using PRA in Muingi District, Kenya”, PLA Note, No. 26.

Stewart, F. and W. van der Geest. (1995). “Adjustment and Social Funds: Political Panacea or Effective Poverty Reduction”, Employment Paper No. 2, Geneva: ILO.

Tabatabai, H. (1991). “Poverty Monitoring in the Rural Sector”, Rural Employment Policy Research Programme, WEP Working Paper No. 107, Geneva: ILO.

Tabatabai, H. (with M. Fouad). (1993). *The Incidence of Poverty in Developing Countries. An ILO Compendium of Data*, Geneva: ILO.

UN. (1995). “The Worlds Women 1995, Trends and Statistics”, Social Statistics and Indicators Series K, No.12.

——. (1994). “Women*s Indicators and Statistics”, Wistat-CD.

UNDP. (1995). *Human Development Report 1995-1996*.

Weeks, J. (1994). “Macroeconomic Policies for Employment Generation: Africa South of the Sahara”, ILO/UNDP project Economic Policy and Employment, Paper No. 5, Geneva: ILO.

World Bank. Various poverty assessments, as listed in the Annex of this Report.

——. (1990). *World Development Report 1990*.

——, Africa Region. (1996). *Taking Action for Poverty Reduction in Sub-Saharan Africa*.

Young. (1992). In von Braun and Puetz (eds.).

Young and S. Jasper. (1995). Nutrition Matters, London: Intermediate Technology Publications Ltd.

Issues in Development Discussion Papers

1. Paul Streeten: *The political economy of fighting poverty* (March 1995)
2. Guy C.Z. Mhone: *The impact of structural adjustment on the urban informal sector in Zimbabwe* (March 1995)
3. S.D. Barwa: *Structural adjustment programmes and the urban informal sector in Ghana* (June/July 1995)
4. Roger Plant: *La función de las organizaciones de trabajadores en el desarrollo económico y social: Estudio de caso del Convenio núm. 141 de la OIT en México y Filipinas* (1995)
5. Roger Plant: *Rebuilding civil society: Rural workers' organizations in Guatemala* (1995)
6. Alain de Janvry and Elisabeth Sadoulet: *Poverty, equity and social welfare in Latin America: Determinants of change over growth spells* (October 1995)
7. Ashwani Saith: *Reflections on South Asian prospects in East Asian perspective* (October 1995)
8. Michael Lipton: *Successes in anti-poverty* (1995)
9. S. Tilakaratna: *Credit schemes for the rural poor: Some conclusions and lessons from practice* (1996)
10. Amelita King Dejardin: *Public works programmes, a strategy for poverty alleviation: The gender dimension* (1996)
11. Carol Graham: *Gender issues in poverty alleviation: Recent experiences with demand-based programmes in Latin America, Africa and Eastern Europe* (1996)
12. Mayra Buvinic: *Promoting employment among the urban poor in Latin America and the Caribbean: A gender analysis* (1996)
13. Keith Griffin: *The macroeconomic framework and development strategy in Uzbekistan* (1996)
14. Azizur Rahman Khan: *The transition of Uzbekistan's agriculture to a market economy* (1996)
15. Hélène Harasty: *Transition and the labour market in Uzbekistan* (1996)
16. Keith Griffin: *Macroeconomic reform and employment: an investment-led strategy of structural adjustment in sub-Saharan Africa* (l996)
17. Azizur Rahman Khan: *Reversing the Decline of Output and productive employment in rural and sub-Saharan Africa* (l997)
18. Mireille Razafindrakoto et François Roubaud: *L'approche à haute intensité de main-d'oeuvre (HIMO): Une opportunité pour Madagascar. Essai de cadrage macro-économique* (1997)
19. Arjan de Haan and Julie Koch Laier: *Employment and Poverty Monitoring* (1997)

How to obtain documents

- Priced items published by the ILO:

  ILO Publications,

  International labour Office,

  CH-1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland.

  A complete catalogue is available on request.

- Books published on behalf of the ILO by commercial publishing houses:

  Publisher in question or your local bookseller.

- Working papers and all other documents my be requested directly from the Documentalist, Development and Technical Cooperation Department, International Labour Office, CH-1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland.