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What Do National Poverty Lines Tell Us About Global Poverty?

Ugo Gentilini and Andy Sumner
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What Do National Poverty Lines Tell Us About Global Poverty?

Ugo Gentilini and Andy Sumner

Summary

The basic question about ‘how many poor people are there in the world?’ generally assumes that poverty is measured according to international poverty lines (IPLs). Yet, an equally relevant question could be ‘how many poor people are there in the world, based on how poverty is defined where those people live?’ In short, rather than a comparison based on monetary values, the latter question is germane to estimates based on a concept – ‘poverty’ – as defined by countries’ specific circumstances and institutions.

Estimates of poverty by national poverty lines (NPLs) and international poverty lines (IPLs) may vary in terms of technical grounds. But how similar are they? How different is poverty captured by comparable (in PPP monetary value) cross-country measures as embodied by the IPL compared to that viewed in NPLs?

This paper offers a new perspective on global poverty. It does so by estimating the distribution of poverty across countries, regions and income categories based on national poverty lines (NPLs). Even though comparing NPLs across countries means comparing poverty lines of different monetary value, we argue that exploring “poverty” as a nationally defined concept by countries at different stages of development unveils important and often unnoticed findings.

By addressing the question of poverty as defined where those poor people live, this paper seeks to offer a new perspective on global poverty and at the same time extend thinking on the ‘middle-income countries poverty paradox’ – meaning that most of the world’s poor do not live in the world’s poorest countries

Using data from 160 countries covering nearly 92 per cent of world population, we estimate that globally 1.5 billion people live in poverty as defined within their own countries (by NPLs), a billion of which are in middle-income countries (MICs) and - surprisingly perhaps - one in ten of world’s poor live in high-income countries (HICs).

Our analysis shows that NPL and IPL-based estimates lead to similar poverty estimates only in a limited number of cases. In particular, we conclude that (i) there is a considerable difference between regional and national poverty estimates based on IPLs and NPLs – that is, differences for a same country could be as high as 55 percentage points in poverty rates, or about 45 million in the number of poor people; (ii) NPLs may be particularly important for analysis of poverty in MICs: indeed, their NPLs don’t feed into the construction of IPLs. Hence, poverty at national level may not be adequately captured by IPLs themselves; (iii) NPLs are not substitutes for IPLs, but instead enrich and complement international analyses. Yet, there could be trade-offs between the two, especially in terms of different development actors tracking different poverty estimates. Our findings also have implications for debates about global poverty targets and international assistance.

Keywords: poverty; inequality; aid; Middle-Income; Low-Income Countries

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Acronyms

GNI	Gross National Income
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIC	High Income Country
IPL	International Poverty Line
LIC	Low Income Country
MIC	Middle Income Country
NPL	National Poverty Line
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity

Introduction

The basic question about ‘how many poor people are there in the world?’ generally assumes that poverty is measured according to international poverty lines (IPLs). Yet, an equally relevant question could be ‘how many poor people are there in the world, based on how poverty is defined where those people live?’ In short, rather than a comparison based on monetary values, the latter question is germane to estimates based on a concept – ‘poverty’ – as defined by countries’ specific circumstances and institutions.

Clearly, in such case global metrics like the IPL of \$1.25/day – the construction of which is ultimately based on a pool of 15 national poverty lines (NPLs) – could be less informative (see Chen and Ravallion 2008 for details and Deaton 2010 for critique). Furthermore, as Deaton (2011: 17) has noted estimates of poverty by NPLs and IPLs operate within quite different policy spaces:

... global measures of development (...) operate in an entirely different political environment than do domestic measures. The latter (...) feed into domestic policymaking are typically subject to oversight procedures that constrain both the statisticians who produce the data and the politicians and policymakers who use them. (Deaton 2011: 17)

This begs the question as to whether poverty viewed with an IPL lens looks quite different to poverty viewed from countries themselves using the NPL. Thus an important question is how different are national and international poverty line estimates? By addressing the question of poverty as defined where those poor people live, this paper seeks to offer a new perspective on global poverty and at the same time extend thinking on the ‘middle-income countries poverty paradox’ – meaning that most of the world’s poor do not live in the world’s poorest countries (Sumner 2010; 2012a). Indeed, one could ask whether such patterns are more or less pronounced when one considers ‘poverty’ as nationally defined by quantifying and analysing global and national poverty, including in high, middle and low-income countries, based on their country-specific, official, country-defined NPLs.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 1 reprises and reviews recent changes in global distribution of poverty based on IPLs. Section 2 sets out the methodology and key findings from NPLs analysis. Section 3 concludes by discussing the implications of the emerging results.

1 The Changes in Global Poverty

In 1990 over 90 per cent of the world’s extreme poor (by the \$1.25/day IPL) lived in countries classified as LICs by the World Bank. In 2007 less than 30 per cent of the world’s extreme poor lived in LICs, and more than 70 per cent of the world’s income poor lived in MICs (Kanbur and Sumner 2011; Sumner 2010; 2012a; 2012b). Similar patterns are evident in other aspects of human development, notably in the global distribution of malnutrition (see data in Sumner 2010), multi-dimensional poverty (see Alkire et al. 2011; Sumner 2010), and the global disease and mortality burden (see Glassman et al. 2011).

Over the same period, the incidence of extreme poverty fell from 42 per cent to 25 per cent (1990 to 2005) and to an estimated 22 per cent in 2008 (Chen and Ravallion 2012). However, when one excludes China, the total number of people living under \$1.25 has barely changed (and risen slightly by the \$2 poverty line) (Chen and Ravallion 2012). Furthermore, the estimates of Moss and Leo (2011), based on IMF WEO data projections, suggest the number of countries classified as LICs will continue to drastically fall (see Table 1.1 for latest breakdown). Chandy and Gertz (2011: 9); Koch (2011) and Alkire et al. (2011), all of whom have

corroborated the LIC-MIC poverty distribution outlined above, have argued that the high concentration of the global poor in MICs is likely to continue.¹

Table 1.1 Country income-based classification

Category	GNI per capita, US\$ (Atlas)	Number of countries (2011-12)	\$1.25/day IPL poverty numbers (or % of world poverty)
Low-income	0 – 1,005	35	305.3 (or 24.1%)
Middle-income	1,006 – 12,275	110	960.4 (or 75.9%)
	“Lower” middle-income (1,006 – 3,975)	(56)	
	“Upper” middle-income (3,976 – 12,275)	(54)	
High-income	12,276 or more	70	0

Source: Sumner (2012a).

Such patterns matter beyond the thresholds of LIC/MIC set by the World Bank, because they reflect not only a pattern of rising income by exchange rate GNI per capita but also but also by rising PPP income per capita too. Further, although the thresholds do not mean a sudden change in countries when a line is crossed in per capita income, the international system does treat countries differently above and below the LIC/MIC threshold. Furthermore, at higher levels of per capita income substantial more domestic resources are likely to be available for poverty reduction, thus raising questions as to the role of national inequality in extreme poverty and why some countries reduce poverty substantially through growth and others do not.²

Such shifts also have substantial implications for international assistance. For instance, when countries move from a low to a middle-income status – i.e. their annual income per capita exceeds \$1,005 (exchange rate conversion) or roughly \$3/day – such ‘graduation’ basically implies that, independently of the level of poverty, benefits such as IDA eligibility (i.e. World Bank’s grant assistance) are reduced and removed and repayment of outstanding ‘soft’ loans is steeply accelerated (Kanbur 2012).

These changes in global poverty raise various methodological questions, not least about the thresholds themselves (discussed in depth in Sumner 2012a). One can say that most of the world’s poor, by \$1.25 or \$2 poverty lines, live in countries where average income is considerably higher than the LIC-MIC threshold (the population weighted group average for the LMIC group where most of the world’s poor live is approaching \$10/day PPP per capita or five times the higher IPL); suggesting the changes reflect real changes in average income and not just problems with the country thresholds used (see for detailed discussion on sensitivity of analysis in Sumner 2012b).

While possessing the key advantage of being comparable across countries, IPLs may disguise some important issues – notably with regard to middle-income countries poverty levels. Although the standard \$1.25/day line, for example, is itself the mean of the NPLs in the poorest 15 countries,³ it may not give a full account of the factors that shape the experience of being poor in different contexts. Chen and Ravallion (2012: 1) note that,

¹ Ravallion (2011) has argued that the assumptions of Chandy and Gertz (2011) concerning static inequality may overstate the extent of poverty reduction to 2015 (and if so, this will likely mean a higher proportion of world poverty in MICs).

² The thresholds are used in various ways by a number of bilateral and multilateral donors in decision-making on the terms of engagement with countries as well as by various non-aid actors (such as ratings agencies). For a detailed discussion of how the thresholds are used by UNICEF, UNDP, UNFPA, WFP and the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB and Malaria, see UNICEF (2007: 76-80).

³ Countries include Malawi, Mali, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone, Niger, Uganda, Gambia, Rwanda, Guinea-Bissau, Tanzania, Tajikistan, Mozambique, Chad, Nepal and Ghana (Chen and Ravallion 2008).

'\$1.25 is the average of the national poverty lines found in the poorest 10-20 countries... Naturally, better off countries tend to have higher poverty lines than this frugal standard. \$2 a day is the median poverty line for all developing countries'.

Indeed, that the IPL may not account for the experience of poverty in some contexts, underpinned the UN recommendation to use national poverty lines 'whenever available' to track country individual progress on MDG-1 (United Nations 2001).

Clearly, the debate around absolute versus relative poverty is longstanding, and the definition of NPLs varies by context (Chen and Ravallion 2011). For example, Ravallion (2010: 3) showed that NPLs could range from \$0.62 to \$43/day (See figure 1.1) and 'the mean line for the poorest 15 countries in terms of consumption per capita is \$1.25 while the mean for the richest 15 is \$25 a day'. For this reason – the use of relative poverty lines in HICs we present analysis below with and without HICs.

While there is increasing convergence on lines' construction (including around methods to identify and quantify a basic set of food and non-food needs), various technical factors still hinder their comparison across countries.

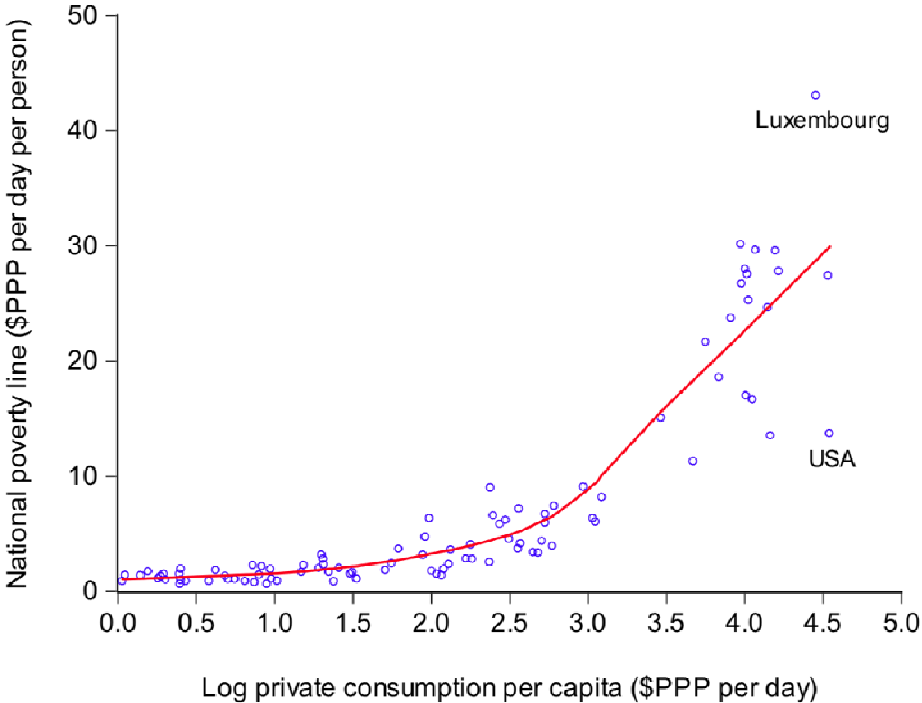
At the same time, NPLs may provide a more realistic snapshot on the locally-defined state of 'poverty' at country level. This is particularly compelling for the many countries whose NPLs are not among the 15 that form the \$1.25/day. Further, IPLs have the unintended effect of limiting the poverty discourse to developing countries broadly defined or 'them' (as argued by Saith 2006) and arguably just to the very poorest countries, with higher-income countries invariably showing 'no poverty'. Yet, recent economic crises and financial turmoil in HICs have reopened a debate around domestic poverty, safety nets, conditional loans and other issues that were until recently only compelling to the development discourse in the global South⁴.

Quantifying global poverty as defined on a context-specific basis, and not as measured by cross-country standards, will be the main thrust of the next section.

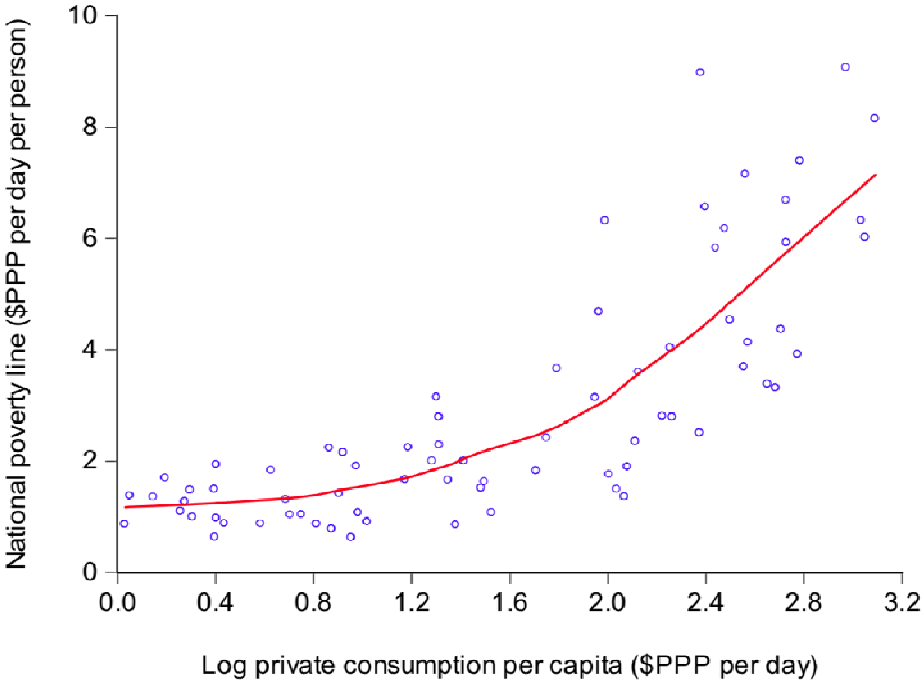
⁴ Take the following quotes: '... with a rate of 26.9%, children were at greater risk of poverty or social inclusion... and 36% [of the population] stated they would be unable to cope with unexpected expenses'. And, '... in 2010, 48.8 million people lived in food insecure households'. Perhaps counter-intuitively, these statements referred, respectively, to the European Union and United States (Eurostat 2012: 1; Coleman-Jensen et al. 2011: 16).

Figure 1.1 Poverty Lines Across the World

(a) All countries (n=95)



(b) Developing countries only (n=75)



Source: Ravallion (2010: 35).

2 What Do National Poverty Lines Tell Us About Global Poverty?

2.1 Methodology

Data for national poverty rates are provided by the World Bank's *World Development Indicators* (WDI) database (lastly accessed on 10 Feb. 2012). For country data not included in the WDI dataset, statistics were collected from other institutional sources. These include Eurostat for various EU members (Eurostat 2012) and OECD's *Income Distribution and Poverty Database* for other HICs (OECD 2012). In some cases, data sources included direct survey or census data⁶ and country statistics provided by the CIA *World Factbook*. Annex 1 offers the full list of data and statistical sources.

In some instances, governments are in the process of revisiting the method for determining national poverty lines. For example, in India the recommendations from an expert group, the 'Tendulkar Committee', were endorsed by the government (Government of India 2009, 2012) with the result that:

the new poverty line happens to be close to, but less than, the 2005 PPP \$1.25 per day poverty norm used by the World Bank in its latest world poverty estimates. (Government of India 2009: 8)

In China, the government has recently set a new national poverty line (against which access to safety nets is provided), resulting in a considerably higher level and rates of poverty than previously released⁷.

No NPL-based data was available for Cuba, DPR Korea, Libya, Somalia and a number of Persian Gulf countries. No IPL data is available for Afghanistan, Eritrea, Korea, Dem. Rep., Myanmar, Somalia, Zimbabwe, Kiribati, Kosovo, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Fed. Sts., Mongolia, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Uzbekistan, Vanuatu, American Samoa, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Cuba, Dominica, Grenada, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritius, Mayotte, Palau, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Vincent and the Grenadines

Demographic data on country population was used to calculate the number of poor people at national level. Population data corresponding to the year of the poverty rate was provided by the World Bank's online *PovCalNet* in its latest version (lastly accessed on 2 March 2012⁸). When not available for the respective year, figures were drawn from the UNDESA *World Population Prospects 2010* database which includes yearly country population statistics for the period 1950-2010 (UNDESA 2011). In total, our dataset includes statistics on poverty rates and numbers as defined by NPLs for 160 countries spanning over all income categories.

We also present rates and numbers based on the latest World Bank poverty estimates (Chen and Ravallion 2012). The latter are extracted from PovCal Net (lastly accessed on 2 March

⁶ See for example Government of Indonesia (2012), Government of Afghanistan and World Bank (2010), Government of Canada (2012), Government of Guyana (2000), Government of Lebanon (2011), Government of Myanmar (2011), Government of Southern Sudan (2010), Government of Sudan (2011) and Government of the United States (2011).

⁷ The new poverty line announced on 29 November 2011 is set at 2,300 yuan/year (\$361/year), which is almost twice as the old line of 1,196 yuan/year. The issue has been widely covered in the news, but it proved challenging to find official statistics in government documents of the Chinese National Bureau of Statistics (e.g. <http://www.economist.com/blogs/freeexchange/2011/12/chinas-poverty>, <http://www.wantchinatimes.com/news-subclass-cnt.aspx?id=20111207000027&cid=1102&MainCatID=11>).

⁸ <http://iresearch.worldbank.org/PovcalNet/index.htm>.

2012). When comparing national and international lines, we refer to a total of 146 countries for which data on both lines is available⁹.

2.2 Findings in LICs and MICs

Our analysis shows that more than one-fifth (22.5 per cent) of the world's population, or some 1.5 billion people, live in 'poverty' as locally defined (table 2.1). This is about 16.6 per cent higher than the level of poverty (1.29 billion) as measured by the \$1.25/day IPL or approximately 60 per cent of the level of poverty (2.47 billion) as measured by the \$2/day IPL.

In terms of distribution across income categories, there are some 170 million people living in 'poverty' as locally defined in HICs, or 11 per cent of global poverty. However, to reiterate, poverty in HICs is typically measured in relative terms, not in absolute terms (Eurostat 2012). Indeed, poverty levels (and NPLs) are generally defined in terms of percentage points (e.g. 60 per cent) of median income. While this doesn't exclude the co-existence of absolute poverty or deprivation (Coleman-Jensen et al. 2011), relative poverty implies that some levels of poverty, or 'low-income households', will always exist in those contexts to a certain extent. It is for this reason we provide data below both with and without HICs.

Over a billion poor people (1054m) – or 68.3 per cent of the 'locally defined poor' – live in MICs, 44.3 per cent of which in lower-MICs (LMICs). Poverty in MICs accounts for a slightly lower share compared to the \$1.25/day international poverty line (75.9 or 70.9 per cent¹⁰), but for higher numbers compared to the same (960m or 836m). China and India combined account for about one-third (31.3 per cent) of global poverty.

Table 2.1 Global poverty distribution by country classification

Country classification	Poverty NPL (mill)	Percentage of total (%)
LIC	318.3	20.6
LMIC	683.7	44.3
<i>only India</i>	354.6	23
UMIC	370.2	24.0
<i>only China</i>	128	8.3
HIC	170.9	11.1
Total global poverty	1,543.2	23.1^a
<i>Total global poverty minus HICs</i>	1,372.2	88.9
<i>Total MIC</i>	1053.9	68.3
<i>China and India combined</i>	482.6	31.3

^a Percentage of world population, where the reference year of latter corresponds to the average survey year for the 160 countries, namely 2006.7 or 2007; global population in 2007 = 6.661 billion as per UNDESA (2011).

The geographical distribution of NPL-based estimates shows that South Asia is the region with the highest proportion of world poverty (30.4 per cent), followed by Sub-Saharan Africa (23.8 per cent) and East Asia and Pacific (17.2 per cent). Table 2.2 offers a regional breakdown with and without HICs, hence only including countries with absolute poverty. In the latter case, the relative regional distribution would be the same (e.g. South Asia showing highest prevalence), with global poverty accounting for 20.5 per cent of world population, or about 1.37 billion people.

⁹ HIC countries have zero \$1.25 IPL poverty.

¹⁰ See adjusted and non-adjusted base years reported in Sumner (2012a).

Table 2.2 Poverty distribution by region (all countries, with and without HICs)

Region	All countries		All countries, excluding HICs	
	Poverty NPL (mill)	Percentage of total (%)	Poverty NPL (mill)	Percentage of total (%)
East Asia & Pacific¹	265.5	17.2	222.8	16.2
South Asia	469.8	30.4	469.8	34.2
Eastern Europe & Central Asia	68.0	4.4	68.0	4.9
Europe²	73.0	4.7	0	0
Latin America & Caribbean	184.9	12.0	184.7	13.4
North America³	49.3	3.2	0	0
Middle East & North Africa	61.7	4.0	59	4.2
Sub-Saharan Africa	367.8	23.8	367.8	26.8
Total	1,543	100.0	1,372	100

¹ Also includes Australia, New Zealand and Japan; ² EU members with high-income; ³ Canada and US.

These findings show that poverty exists, and often significantly, at all levels of average per capita income. For example, figures 2.1 and 2.2 illustrates the prevalence of poverty at different levels of gross national income per capita (GNI, Atlas method). The lines on the left graphs are the LIC/MIC/HIC thresholds. The graph on the right shows the same estimates using the logarithm of GNI (to smooth out large differences in income levels). The same analysis excluding HICs is offered in figure 2.3.

In short, poverty and GNI per capita are significantly correlated, including with and without HICs. Similarly, figure 2.4 shows the correlation between poverty and GDP per capita (PPP).

Figure 2.1 National poverty rates and gross national income (all countries with data)

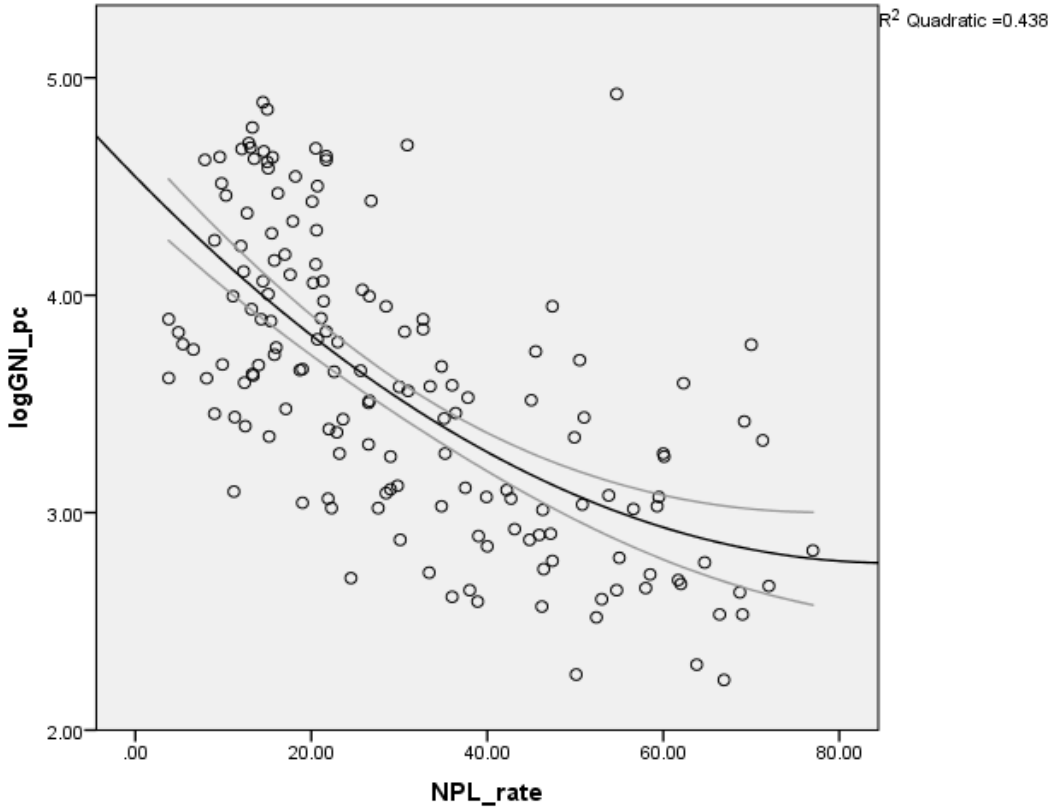
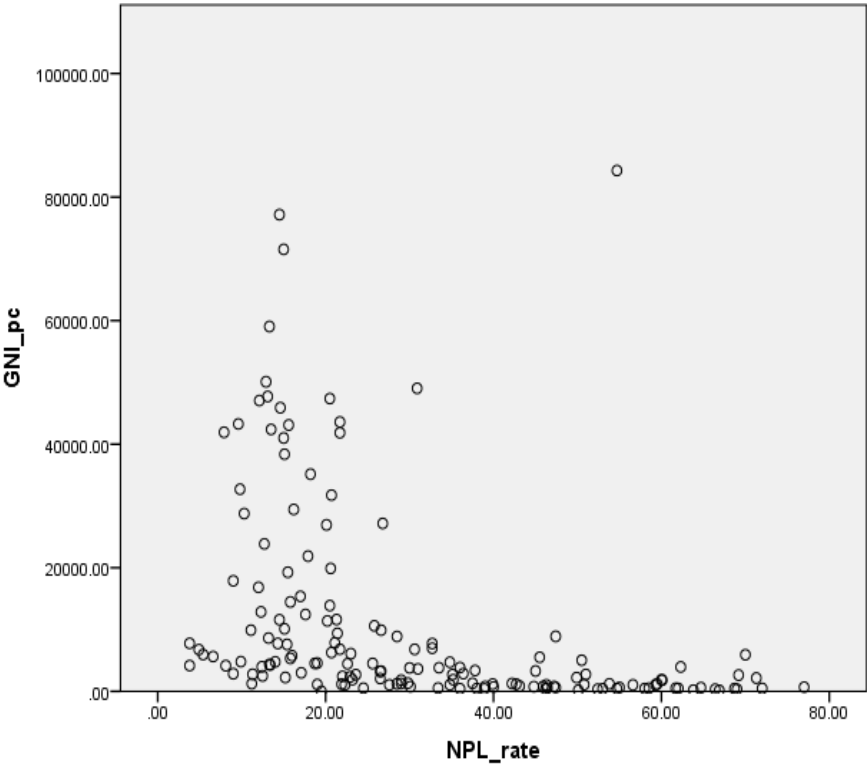


Figure 2.2 National poverty rates and gross national income (excluding HICs)

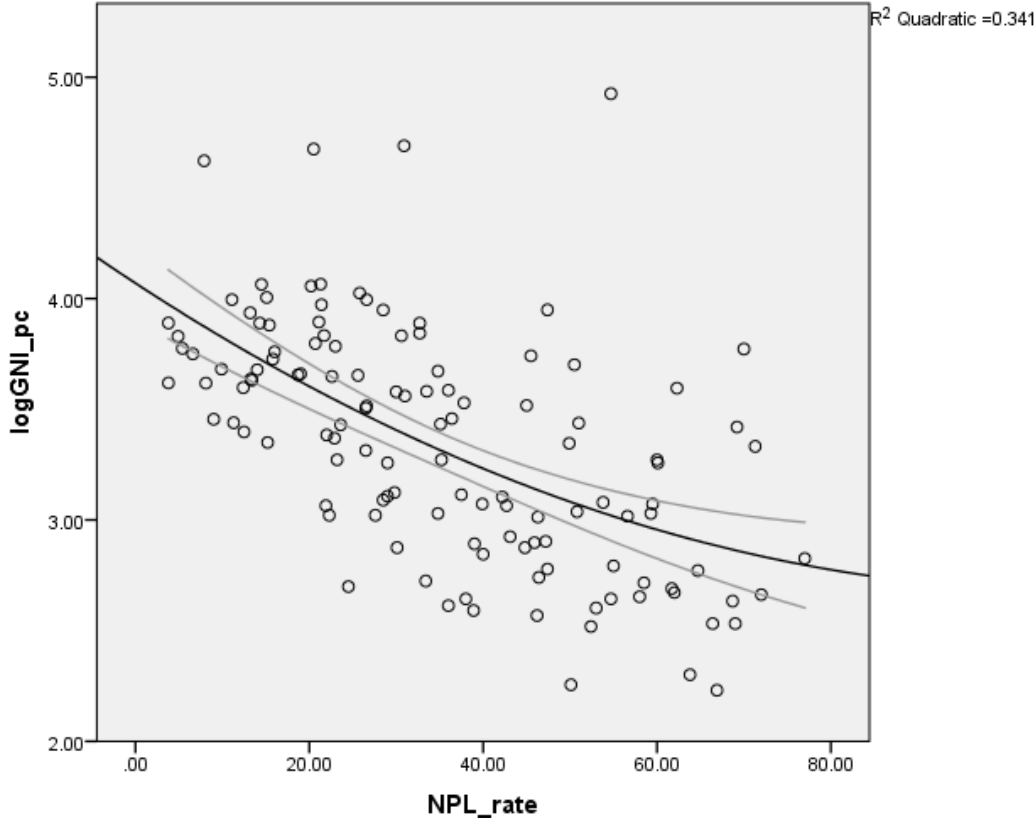
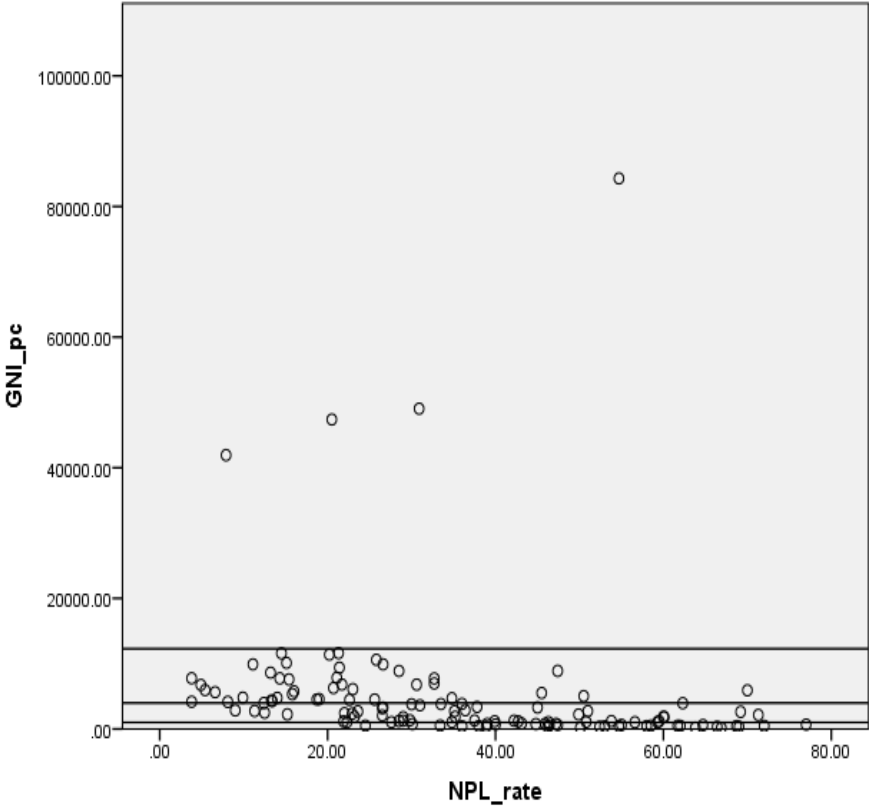


Figure 2.3 National poverty rates and GDP per capita PPP (all countries with data)

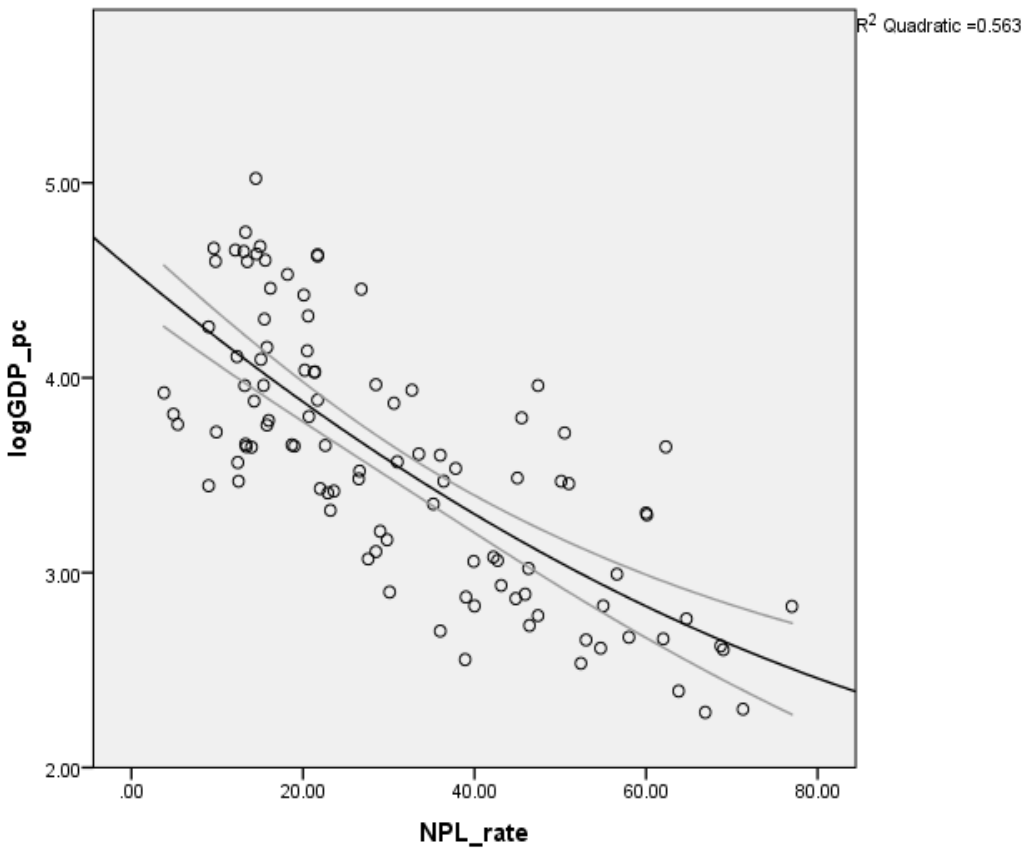
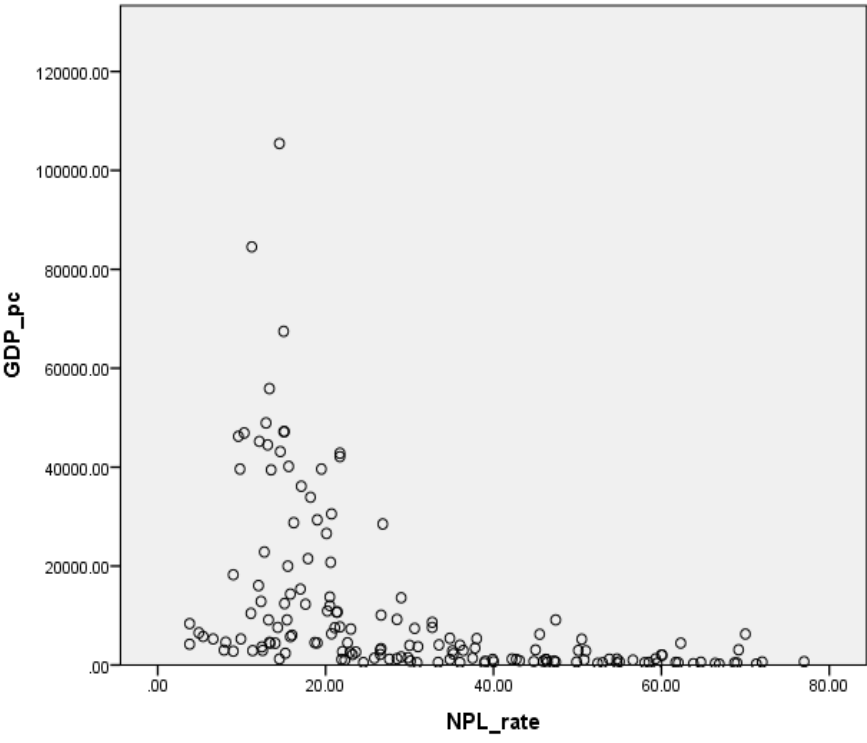
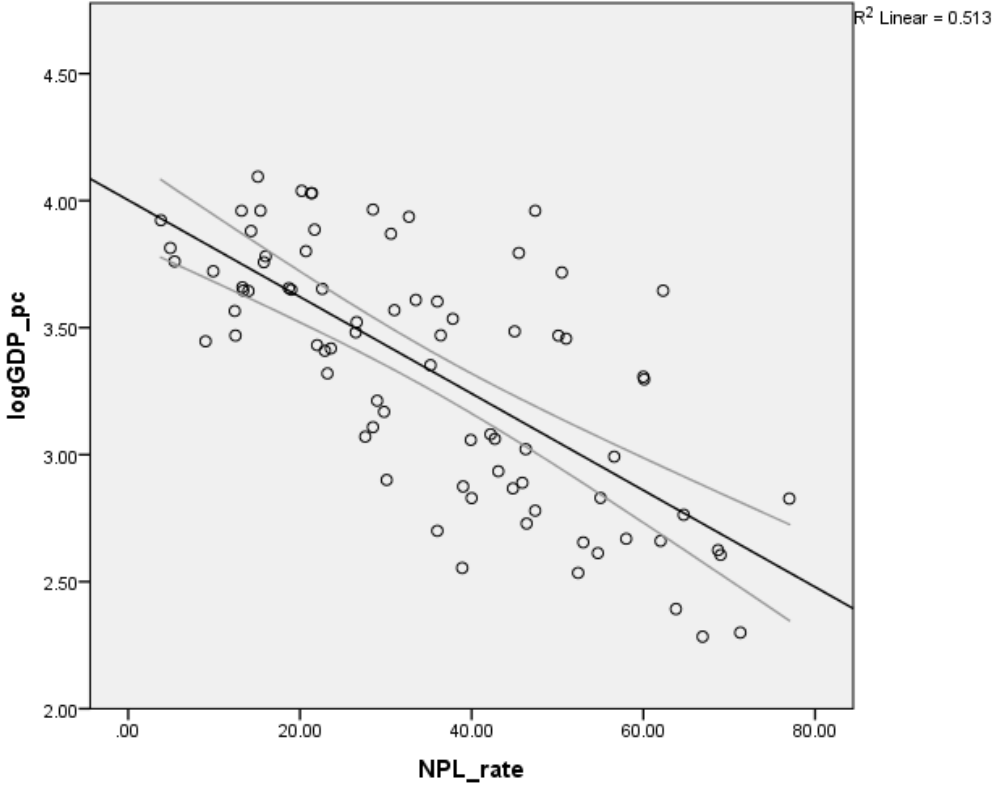
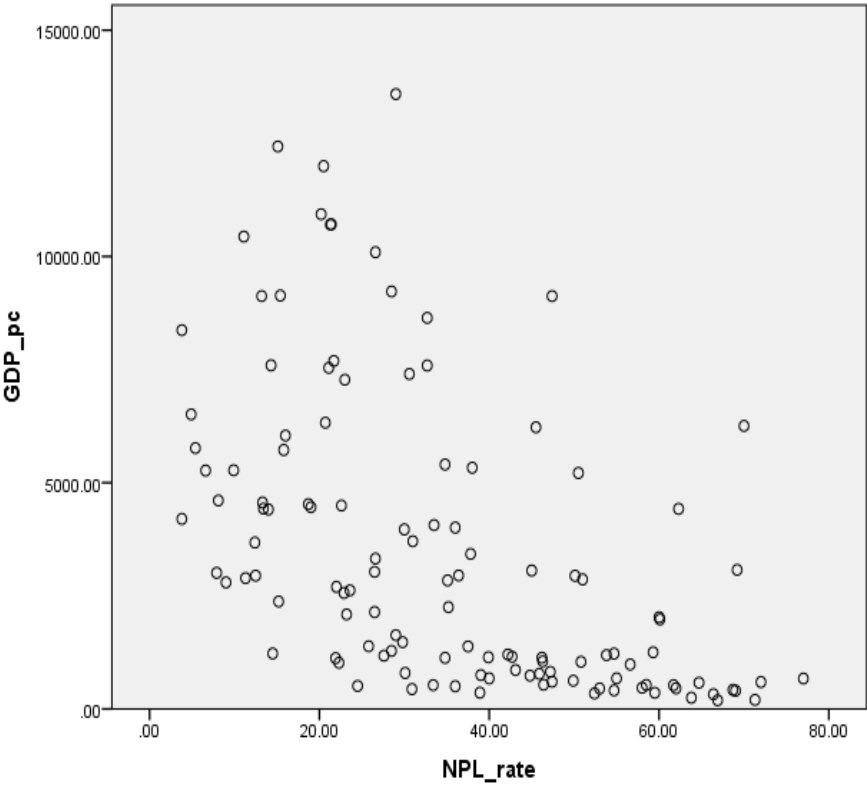


Figure 2.4 National poverty rates and GDP per capita PPP (excluding HICs)



In terms of parametric analysis, we find that national poverty rates are positively correlated to income inequality as measured by the Gini coefficient and GNI, with slightly higher estimates for correlations with the former. Tables 2.3 and 2.4 show our analysis with and without HICs, respectively. In short, the more unequal a country is, the higher the poverty rate. However, there are various nuances to this finding, including at regional level (see later discussion on this).

Table 2.3 Correlations between national poverty rates, numbers, Gini and GNI

		Correlations			
		NPL_rate	NPL_num	Gini	logGNI_pc
NPL_rate	Pearson Correlation	1	.023	.479**	-.652**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.773	.000	.000
	N	160	160	143	157
NPL_num	Pearson Correlation	.023	1	-.017	-.037
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.773		.836	.649
	N	160	160	143	157
Gini	Pearson Correlation	.479**	-.017	1	-.327**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.836		.000
	N	143	143	143	143
logGNI_pc	Pearson Correlation	-.652**	-.037	-.327**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.649	.000	
	N	157	157	143	157

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 2.4 Correlations between national poverty rates, numbers, Gini and GNI (excluding HICs)

		Correlations			
		NPL_rate	NPL_num	Gini	logGNI_pc
NPL_rate	Pearson Correlation	1	-.021	.343**	-.578**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.817	.000	.000
	N	124	124	113	122
NPL_num	Pearson Correlation	-.021	1	-.073	.017
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.817		.444	.855
	N	124	124	113	122
Gini	Pearson Correlation	.343**	-.073	1	-.024
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.444		.800
	N	113	113	113	113
logGNI_pc	Pearson Correlation	-.578**	.017	-.024	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.855	.800	
	N	122	122	113	122

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Interestingly, there is a significant correlation between the poverty rates as measured by NPLs and the level of two governance indicators – government effectiveness and voice and accountability¹¹ – as provided by Kaufmann et al. 2011. In particular, higher poverty rates are correlated with lower levels of government effectiveness. This holds for cases where we consider all countries (figure 2.5) and LIC and MICs only (figure 2.6). In short, poor government effectiveness here is associated with higher poverty rates. Figure 2.7 - Figure 2.12 show the correlation between the level of voice and accountability and poverty rates which, in this case, is much less significant.

¹¹ According to Kaufmann et al. 2011, the 'government effectiveness' indicators is meant to capture the perception of the quality of public services, the quality of the civil service and the degree of its independence from political pressures, the quality of policy formulation and implementation, and the credibility of the government's commitment to such policies. The 'voice and accountability' dimension includes perceptions of the extent to which a country's citizens are able to participate in selecting their government, as well as freedom of expression, freedom of association, and a free media.

Figure 2.5 National poverty rates and government effectiveness (all countries with data)

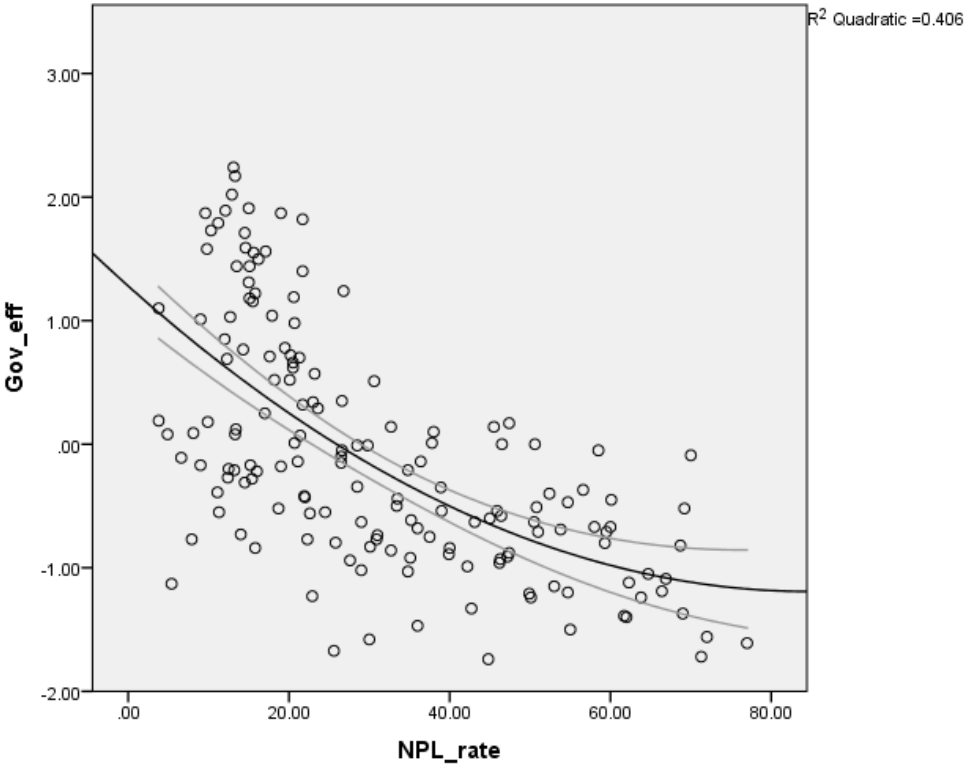


Figure 2.6 National poverty rates and government effectiveness (excluding HICs)

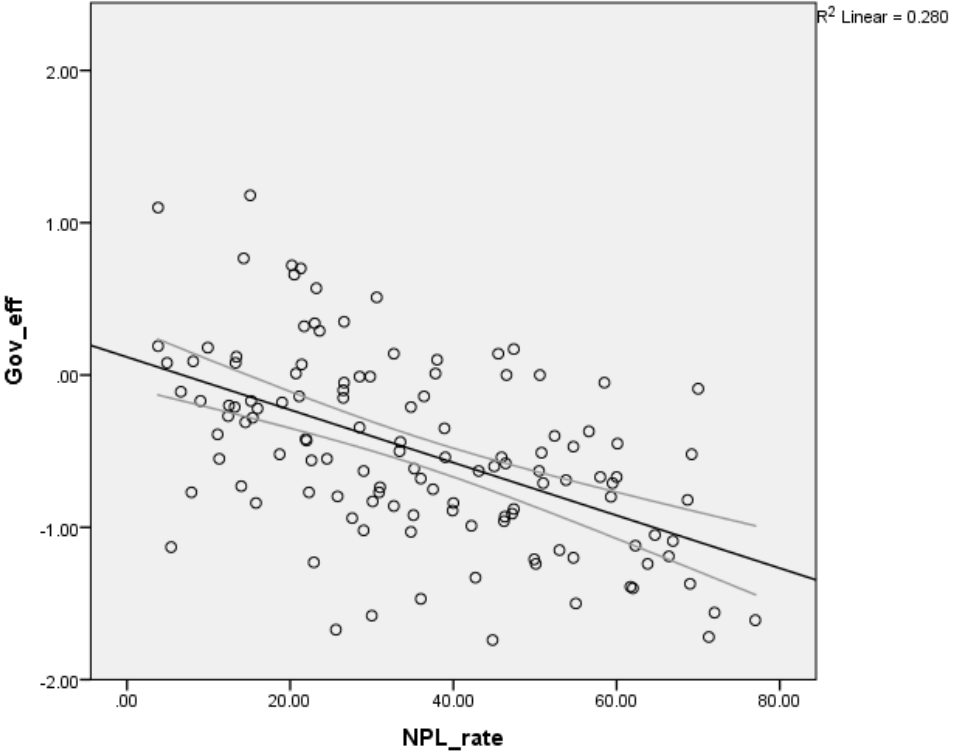


Figure 2.7 National poverty rates and government effectiveness in LICs

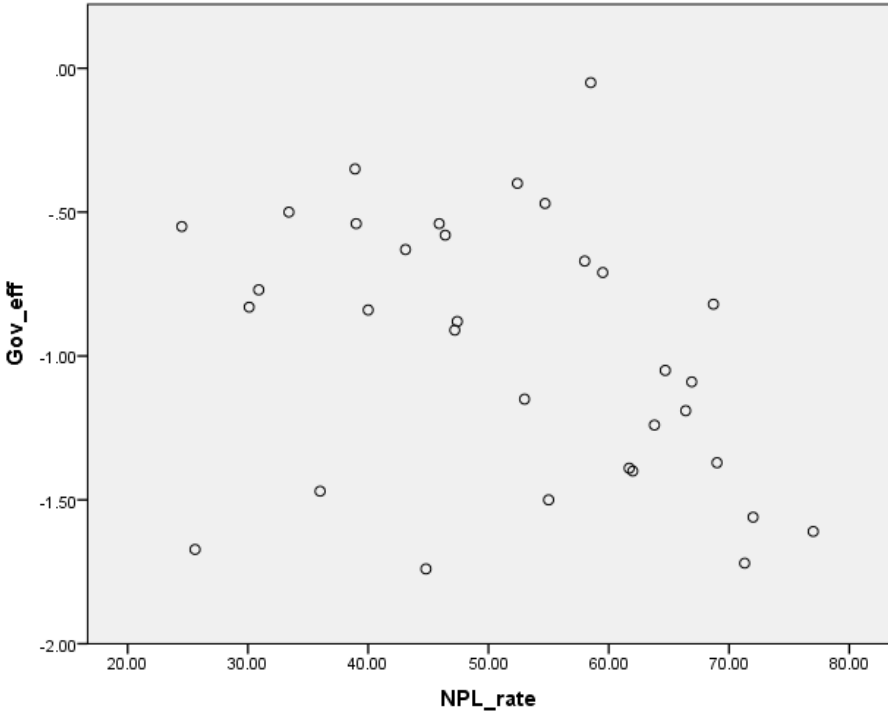


Figure 2.8 National poverty rates and government effectiveness in MICs

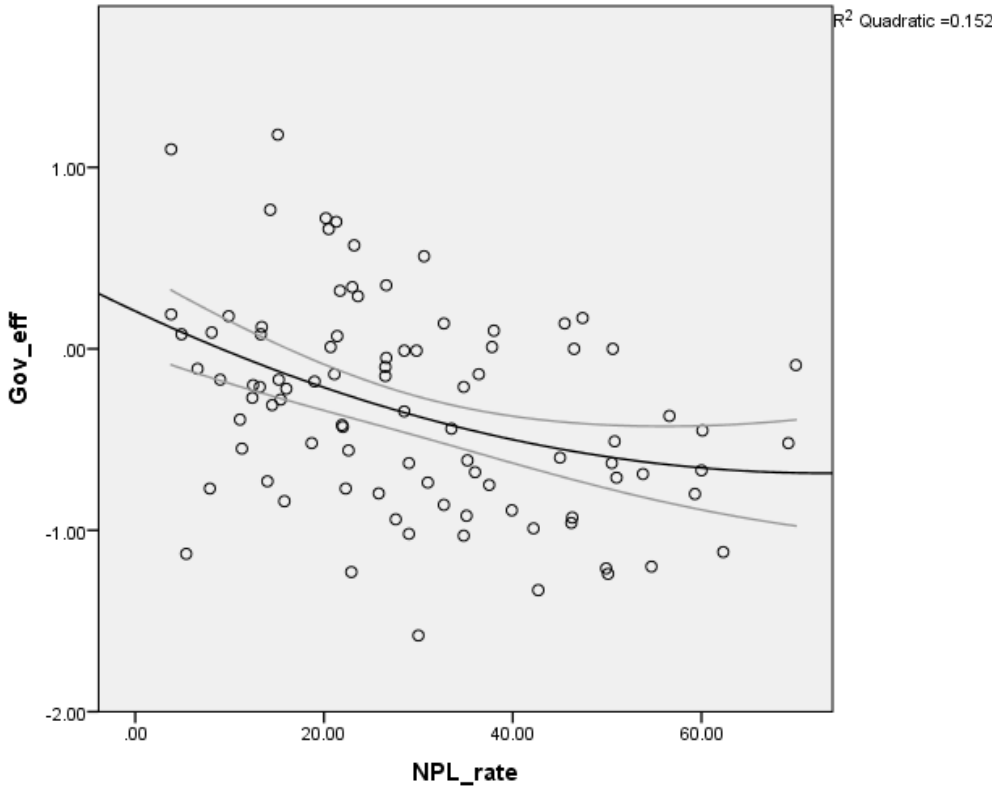


Figure 2.9 National poverty rates and voice and accountability (all countries with data)

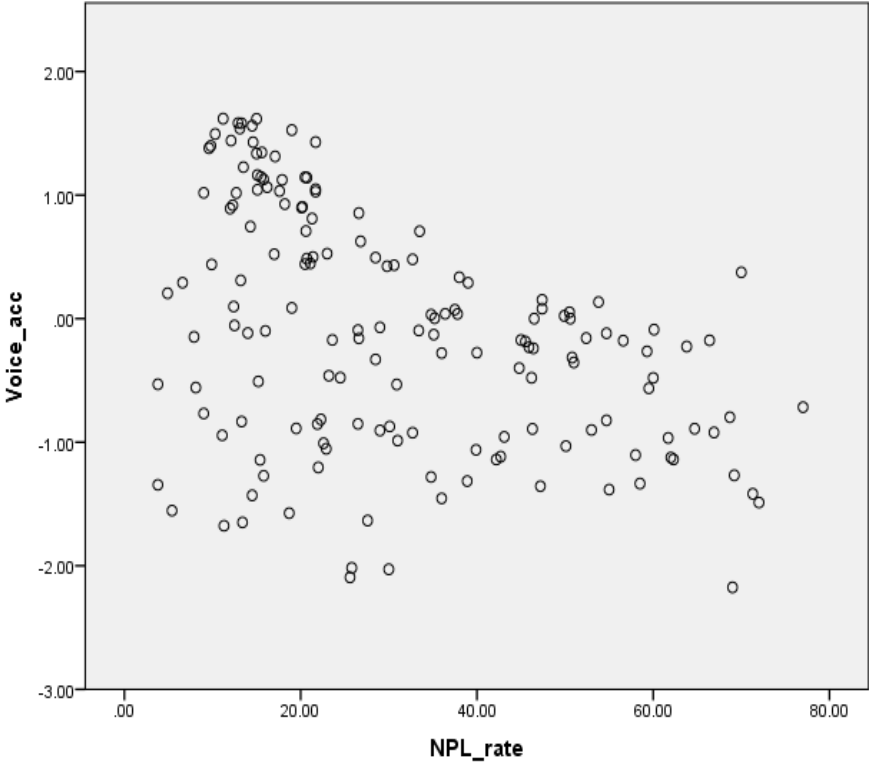


Figure 2.10 National poverty rates and voice and accountability (excluding HICs)

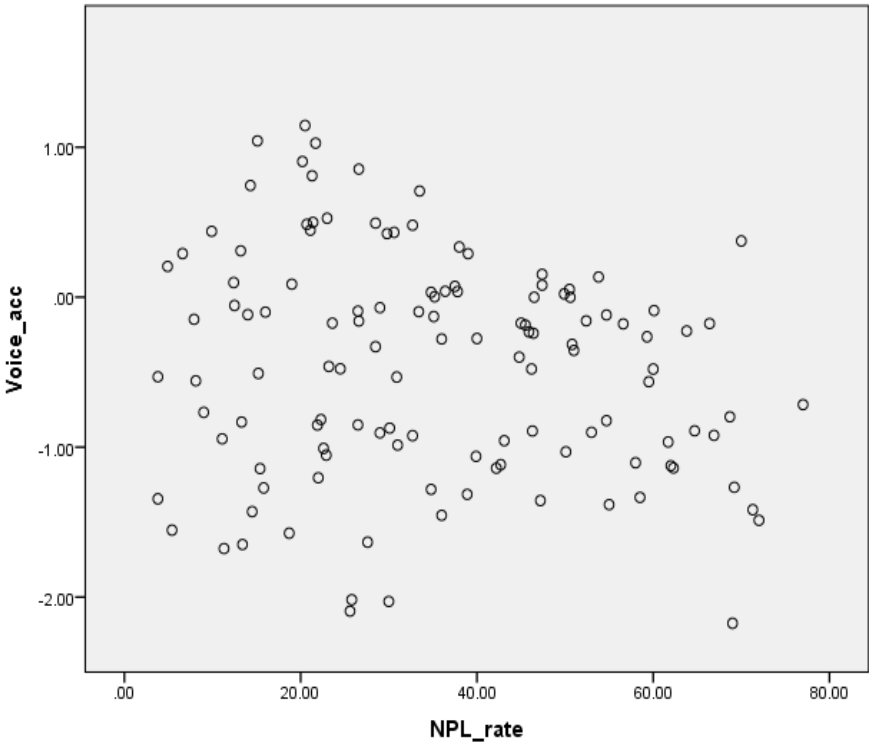


Figure 2.11 National poverty rates and voice and accountability in LICs

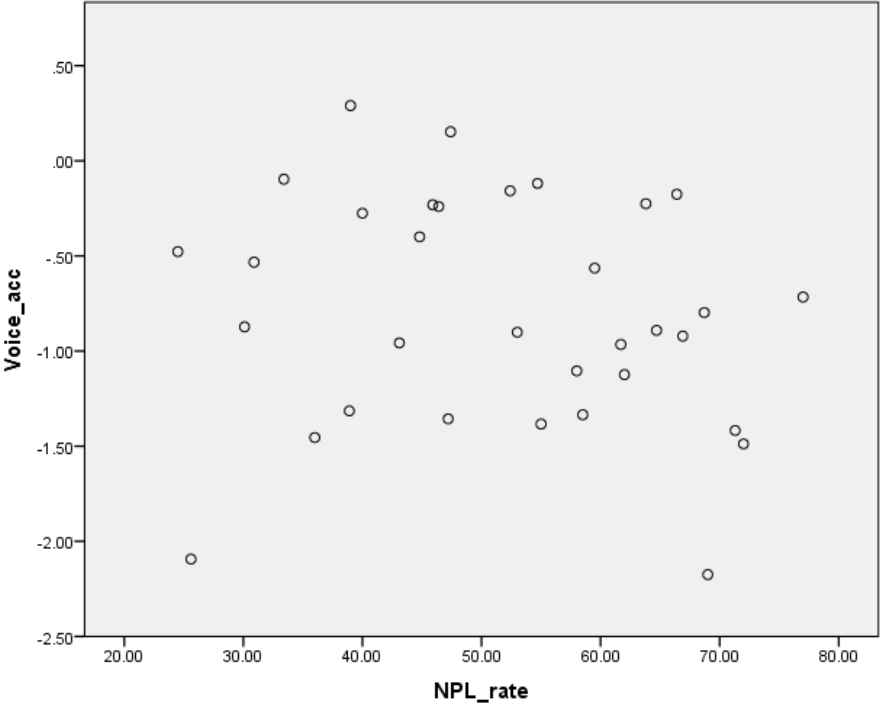
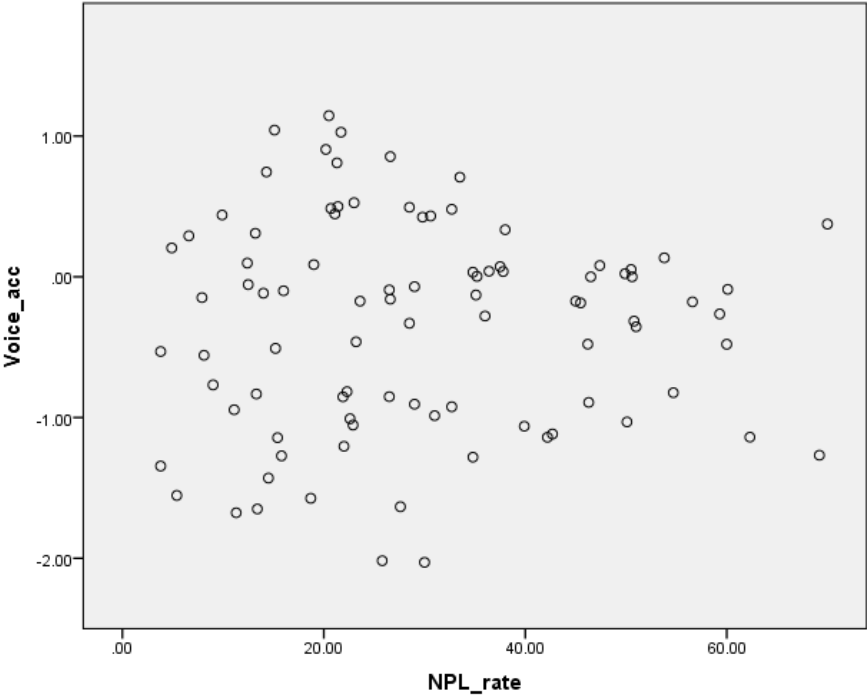


Figure 2.12 National poverty rates and voice and accountability in MICs



The analysis so far begs the question, just how closely are NPLs and IPLs correlated? In table 2.5 we show that NPLs are also significantly correlated to IPLs, including a coefficient of 0.794 significant at the 1 per cent level. Table 2.6 excludes HICs from the analysis, while figure 2.13 shows their relationship graphically. In short, overall NPLs and IPLs are reasonably closely correlated. *However, this hides the fact that there are drastic differences between NPLs and IPLs in many countries.*

Table 2.5 Correlation between national and international poverty rates

		IPL_rate	NPL_rate
IPL_rate	Pearson Correlation	1	.794**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	146	146
NPL_rate	Pearson Correlation	.794**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	146	146

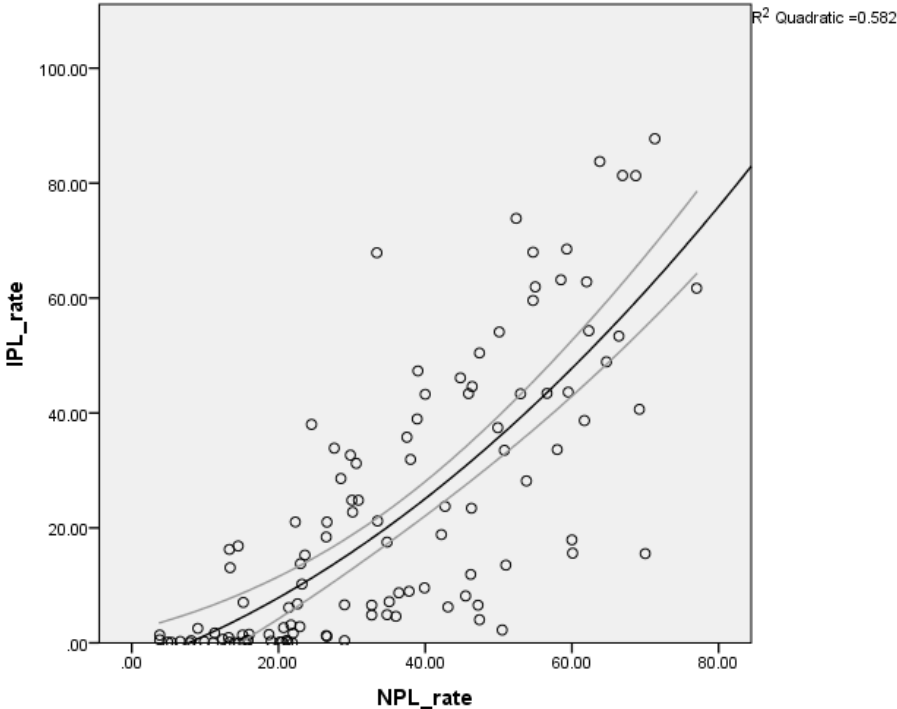
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 2.6 Correlation between national and international poverty rates (excluding HICs)

		NPL_rate	IPL_rate
NPL_rate	Pearson Correlation	1	.757**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	114	114
IPL_rate	Pearson Correlation	.757**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	114	114

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Figure 2.13 National and international poverty rates (excluding HICs)



There is considerable variance in poverty rates among MICs, with proportions ranging from 3.8 per cent in Tunisia to 70 per cent in Suriname. In LICs, poverty is less dispersed and more “upwards” concentrated, meaning no LICs have poverty rates of less than 24.5%. For example, if one lists countries, in descending order by poverty rate, of the top 25, 16 are LICs and nine are MICs (table 2.7). In contrast, if one considers actual numbers of poor people in each country MICs dominate (see table 2.8). Taken together, these results suggest that the difference between NPLs and IPL-based estimates could be quite sizeable. For example, tables 2.9 and 2.10 present differences in terms of, respectively, percentage points and numbers for 146 countries with both IPL and NPL available.

Table 2.7 Top 25 poorest countries by poverty prevalence: national versus international poverty rates

NPL (%)		IPL (%)	
Haiti	77	Congo, Dem. Rep.	87.7
Zimbabwe	72	Liberia	83.8
Congo, Dem. Rep.	71.3	Burundi	81.3
Suriname	70	Madagascar	81.3
Swaziland	69.2	Malawi	73.9
Eritrea	69	Zambia	68.5
Madagascar	68.7	Nigeria	68.0
Burundi	66.9	Tanzania	67.9
Sierra Leone	66.4	Rwanda	63.2
Guinea-B.	64.7	Central Afr. Rep.	62.8
Liberia	63.8	Chad	61.9
Angola	62.3	Haiti	61.7
Central Afr. Rep.	62	Mozambique	59.6
Togo	61.7	Angola	54.3
Bolivia	60.1	Congo, Rep.	54.1
Honduras	60	Sierra Leone	53.4
Niger	59.5	Mali	50.4
Zambia	59.3	Guinea-B.	48.9
Rwanda	58.5	Benin	47.3
Gambia	58	Comoros	46.1
Lesotho	56.6	Burkina Faso	44.6
Chad	55	Niger	43.6
Mozambique	54.7	Lesotho	43.4
Nigeria	54.7	Kenya	43.4

Table 2.8 Top 25 poorest countries by poverty prevalence: national and international poverty numbers

NPL (millions of people)		IPL (millions of people)	
India	354.6	India	400.1
China	128	China	171.6
Nigeria	74.6	Nigeria	105.0
Bangladesh	56.2	Bangladesh	64.3
Mexico	52.4	Congo, Dem. Rep.	50.3
United States	46.1	Tanzania	41.3
Brazil	41.3	Indonesia	39.1
Congo, Dem. Rep.	40.9	Pakistan	34.6
Pakistan	36.0	Ethiopia	28.9
Indonesia	30.0	Philippines	16.8
Ethiopia	28.2	Madagascar	16.8
Japan	27.4	Kenya	15.4
Philippines	24.3	Vietnam	14.3
Colombia	20.7	Mozambique	12.9
Tanzania	20.3	Uganda	12.3
Turkey	18.0	Brazil	11.8
Egypt	17.2	Malawi	9.2
Kenya	16.3	Zambia	8.0
Russia	15.8	Mali	7.7
Sudan	14.3	Angola	7.5
Iran	13.3	Nepal	7.4
Germany	12.6	Burkina Faso	7.1
Viet Nam	12.3	South Africa	6.7
Madagascar	12.2	Rwanda	6.7
Myanmar	12.2	Ghana	6.1

Table 2.9 Percentage points difference between national and international poverty rates

Country	% points	Country	% points	Country	% points	Country	% points
Suriname	54.4	Iraq	20.0	Trin. & Tob.	12.8	China	0.3
Dom. Rep.	48.2	Lithuania	20.0	Slovenia	12.6	Ethiopia	-0.06
Bolivia	44.4	UAE	19.5	Timor-Leste	12.4	Ghana	-0.09
Mexico	43.3	New Zealand	19	Belize	12.2	Botswana	-0.6
Honduras	42.0	Cote d'Ivoire	18.9	Argentina	12.2	Central Afr. Rep.	-0.8
Tajikistan	40.6	Macedonia	18.7	Hungary	12.1	Comoros	-1.3
Guatemala	37.4	Costa Rica	18.5	Austria	12.1	Viet Nam	-2.3
Colombia	37.3	Italy	18.2	Slovak Rep.	11.9	India	-2.9
Kyrgyzstan	36.8	Bulgaria	18.0	Albania	11.7	Mali	-3.0
Nicaragua	34.2	Portugal	17.9	Norway	11.2	Bangladesh	-3.2
Ecuador	31.3	Poland	17.5	Russia	11.0	Indonesia	-3.8
Cameroon	30.3	Senegal	17.3	Netherlands	10.3	Congo, Rep.	-4
Peru	29.8	Yemen	17.2	Iceland	9.8	Rwanda	-4.6
El Salvador	28.8	Iran	17.2	Jamaica	9.6	Mozambique	-4.8
Moldova	28.6	UK	17.1	Guinea	9.6	Laos	-6.2
Swaziland	28.5	Niger	15.8	Canada	9.6	Chad	-6.9
Paraguay	27.9	Algeria	15.8	Syria	9.5	Benin	-8.3
Gabon	27.8	Guinea-B.	15.8	South Africa	9.2	Zambia	-9.2
Guyana	27.7	Germany	15.6	Czech Rep.	8.8	Madagascar	-12.5
Israel	26.8	Azerbaijan	15.3	Georgia	8.3	Nigeria	-13.2
Panama	26.1	Estonia	15.3	Sri Lanka	8.1	Uganda	-13.5
S. Tome & Prin.	25.6	Kazakhstan	15.2	Philippines	8.0	Burundi	-14.4
Turkey	25.4	Haiti	15.2	Angola	7.9	Congo, Dem. Rep.	-16.4
Armenia	25.2	Brazil	15.2	Ukraine	7.8	Liberia	-19.9
Gambia	24.3	United States	15.1	Thailand	7.7	Malawi	-21.4
Djibouti	23.3	Ireland	15	Cambodia	7.3	Tanzania	-34.4
Togo	23.0	Switzerland	15	Morocco	6.4		
Mauritania	22.8	Belgium	14.6	Serbia	6.3		
Venezuela	22.3	Maldives	14.5	Namibia	6.0		
West Bank & Gaza	21.8	Luxembourg	14.5	Nepal	6.0		
Australia	21.7	Bosnia & Herz.	13.9	Cape Verde	5.5		
Japan	21.7	Chile	13.7	Belarus	5.3		
Latvia	21.1	France	13.5	Turkmenistan	5.1		
Spain	20.7	Denmark	13.3	Montenegro	4.7		
Romania	20.6	Lesotho	13.1	Malaysia	3.2		
Korea, Rep.	20.6	Jordan	13.1	Kenya	2.5		
Croatia	20.4	Finland	13.1	Tunisia	2.4		
Egypt	20.3	Sierra Leone	13.0	Burkina Faso	1.8		
Uruguay	20.3	Bhutan	12.9	Pap. New Gui.	1.7		
Greece	20.1	Sweden	12.9	Pakistan	1.2		

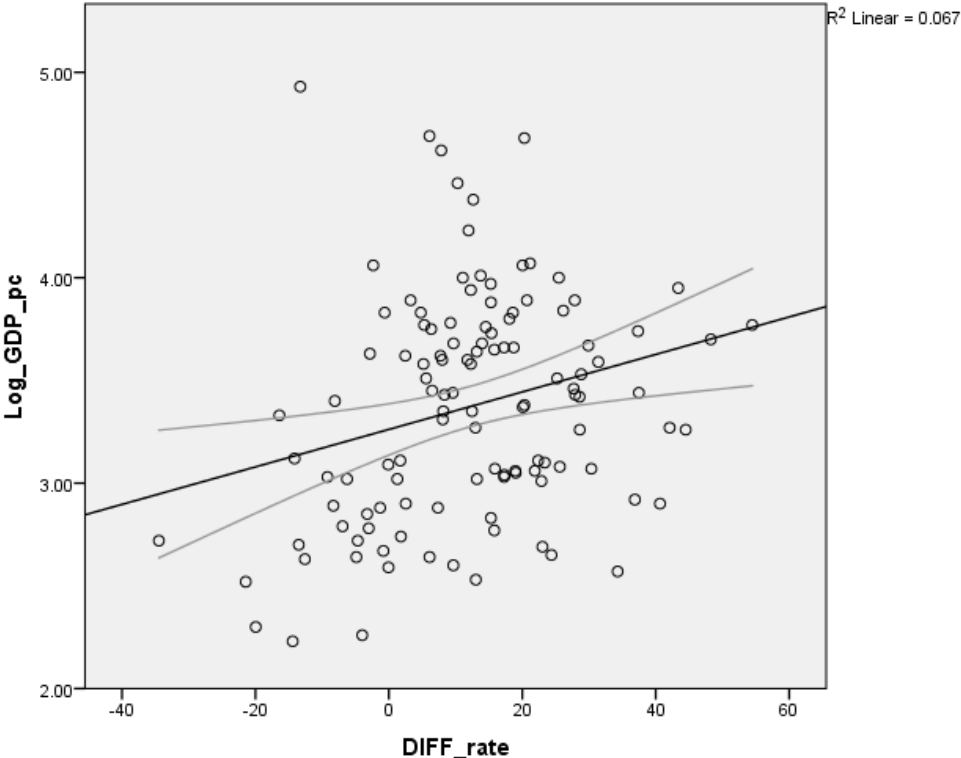
Table 2.10 Difference between national and international poverty numbers (mill)

Country	Mill	Country	Mill	Country	Mill	Country	Mill
Mexico	47.8	Greece	2.2	Lithuania	0.6	Iceland	0.03
United States	46.1	Morocco	2.0	UAE	0.6	Comoros	-0.01
Brazil	29.4	Portugal	1.9	Slovak Rep.	0.6	Central Afr. Rep.	-0.04
Japan	27.4	Israel	1.9	Uruguay	0.6	Congo, Rep.	-0.1
Turkey	17.2	Kyrgyzstan	1.8	Sierra Leone	0.6	Laos	-0.3
Colombia	16.9	Senegal	1.8	Norway	0.5	Chad	-0.4
Egypt	15.9	Nicaragua	1.8	Bosnia & Herz.	0.5	Benin	-0.6
Russia	15.7	El Salvador	1.7	Belarus	0.5	Liberia	-0.
Germany	12.6	Paraguay	1.7	Latvia	0.4	Ethiopia	-0.7
Iran	12.3	Netherlands	1.6	Serbia	0.4	Mozambique	-0.7
Italy	10.9	Sri Lanka	1.6	Mauritania	0.4	Burkina Faso	-0.9
UK	10.5	Syria	1.6	Gabon	0.3	Burundi	-1.0
Korea, Rep.	9.8	Belgium	1.5	Macedonia	0.3	Zambia	-1.0
Spain	9.4	Pakistan	1.4	Albania	0.3	Rwanda	-1.1
Peru	8.5	Bulgaria	1.3	Georgia	0.3	Mali	-1.3
France	8.2	Azerbaijan	1.3	Gambia	0.3	Viet Nam	-2.0
Philippines	7.4	Haiti	1.3	Guinea-B	0.3	Malawi	-2.6
Poland	6.5	Togo	1.2	Turkmenistan	0.3	Uganda	-4.3
Venezuela	6.4	Sweden	1.2	Lesotho	0.2	Madagascar	-4.5
Iraq	5.8	Hungary	1.1	Swaziland	0.2	Bangladesh	-8.0
Cameroon	5.5	Switzerland	1.1	Suriname	0.2	Indonesia	-9.1
Thailand	5.3	Angola	1.1	Jamaica	0.2	Congo, Dem. Rep.	-9.4
Guatemala	4.8	Moldova	1.0	Slovenia	0.2	Tanzania	-21.0
Dom. Rep.	4.6	Austria	1.0	Tunisia	0.2	Nigeria	-30.4
Australia	4.5	Cambodia	0.9	Estonia	0.2	China	-43.7
Argentina	4.5	Malaysia	0.9	Guyana	0.2	India	-45.5
Ecuador	4.4	Czech Rep.	0.9	Djibouti	0.1		
Romania	4.4	Guinea	0.9	Trin. & Tob.	0.1		
Algeria	4.4	Kenya	0.9	Timor-Leste	0.1		
Bolivia	4.1	West Bank & Gaza	0.8	Ghana	0.1		
South Africa	4.1	Panama	0.8	Namibia	0.1		
Ukraine	3.6	Croatia	0.8	Bhutan	0.09		
Cote d'Ivoire	3.6	Costa Rica	0.8	Botswana	0.09		
Yemen	3.5	Nepal	0.8	Pap. New Gui.	0.08		
Honduras	3.2	New Zealand	0.8	Luxembourg	0.07		
Canada	3.1	Armenia	0.7	Maldives	0.04		
Tajikistan	2.7	Jordan	0.7	Belize	0.04		
Chile	2.3	Denmark	0.7	S. Tome & Princ.	0.04		
Kazakhstan	2.2	Finland	0.6	Cape Verde	0.03		
Niger	2.2	Ireland	0.6	Montenegro	0.03		

With regards to numbers, the difference could range from +47.8 to -45.48 million, a total absolute difference of nearly 100 million people. In this case, poverty in China and India combined based on NPLs could 'understate' poverty by some 90 million compared to IPLs. In the case of percentage points difference between NPLs and IPLs, estimates could range from +54.4 to -34.4, or an absolute difference of about 90 percentage points. For example, there poverty in Mexico is 1 per cent by the \$1.25 IPL (and 5 per cent by the \$2 IPL). But if we measure poverty based on NPLs, half of the Mexican population is poor.

For a limited number of countries (e.g. Ethiopia, Ghana, Pakistan), the difference is minimal (not surprising given the NPLs of countries like Ethiopia and Ghana are used to construct the IPL). Indeed, amongst the top 50 countries with largest differences, i.e. with national poverty rates higher than international ones, we find only four LICs. One would think this presumably reflects higher NPLs in MICs than LICs in general. However, this is not the case in all MICs. Notably, for China and India the lines only generate, respectively, a +0.3 and -2.87 percentage points in poverty rates difference¹². And in fact LICs have national poverty rates lower than international estimates. This could be though because NPLs sometimes only cover rural areas (and most of the population is rural) or because of technical factors in the construction of the lines. Indeed, figure 2.14 shows that the difference between national and international poverty rates (excluding HICs) tends to be positive and larger at higher levels of per capita income, while negative at lower ends of the income ladders (reflecting the basis of the IPL on poverty lines of LICs). A similar pattern is also observed between the difference in rates and government effectiveness (figure 2.15).

Figure 2.14 Difference in poverty rates and income (excluding HICs)



¹² Indeed, China's new NPL (2,300 yuan) is closer to the IPL of \$1.25/day.

Figure 2.15 Difference in poverty rates and government effectiveness (excluding HICs)

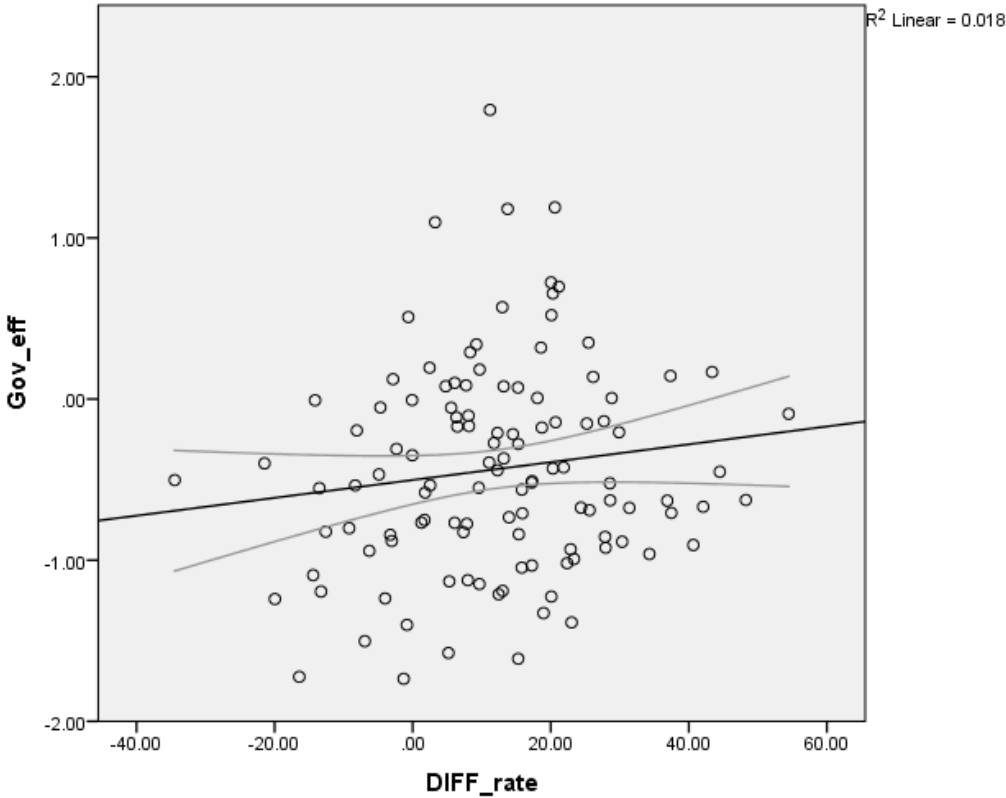


Figure 2.16 illustrates the difference in percentage points for selected countries. As the figure shows, the difference is considerable for a large number of MICs. Yet, differences seem also particularly stark for some regions. For example, figure 2.17 shows differences for Latin America and Caribbean where the average difference is 27.7 percentage points.

Figure 2.16 Percentage points difference between national and international poverty rates, selected countries

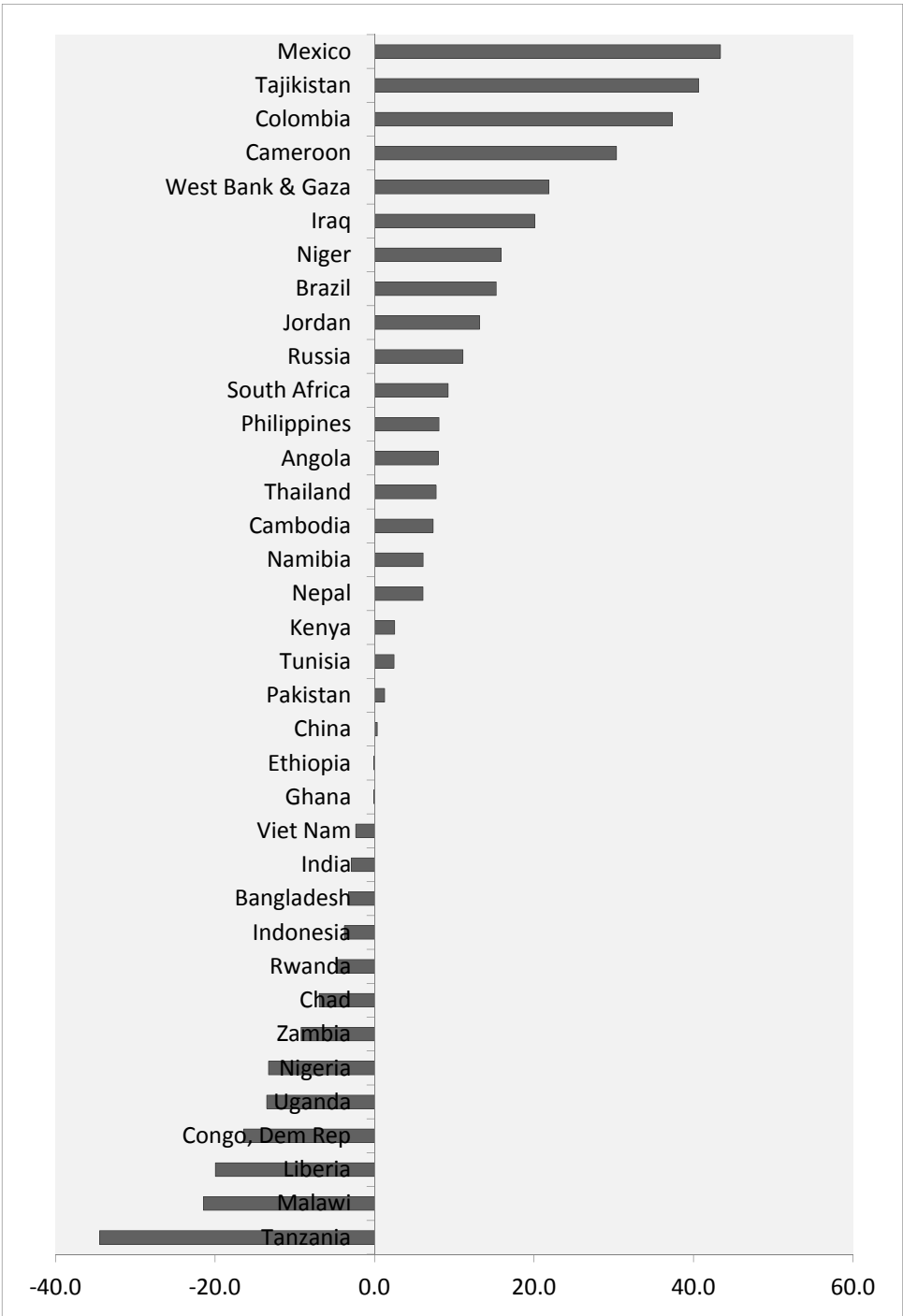
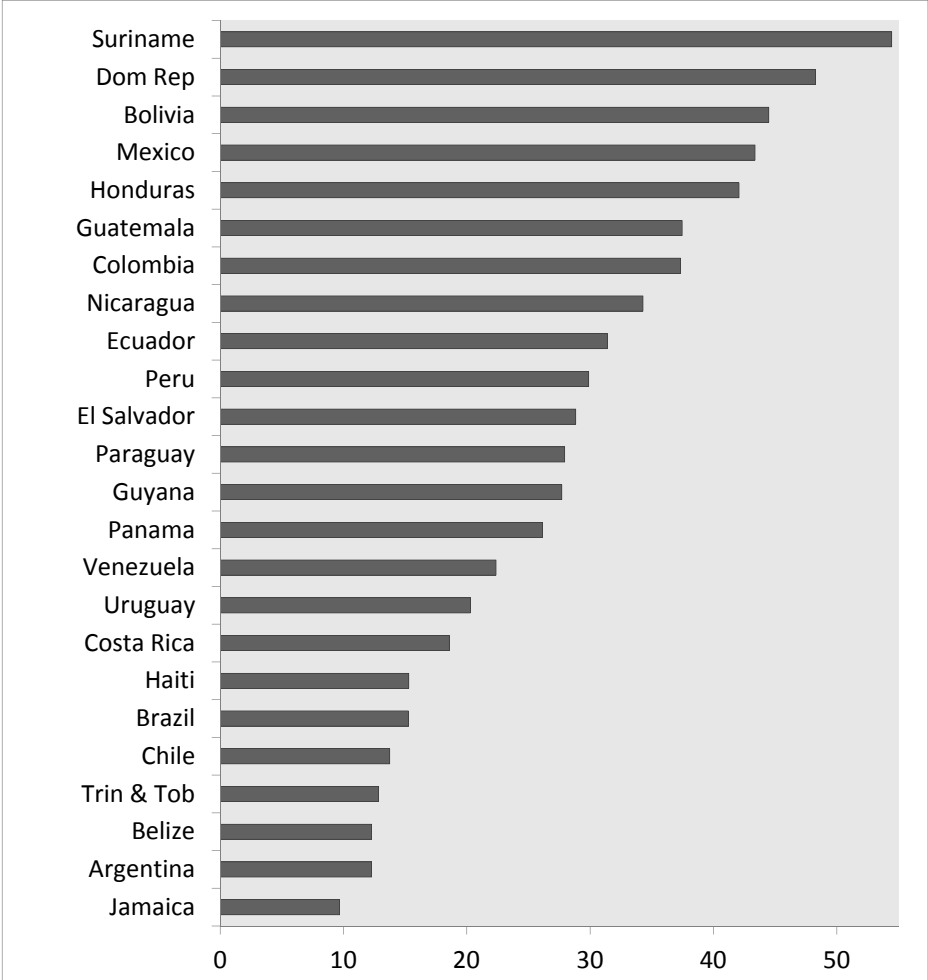


Figure 2.17 Percentage points difference between national and international poverty rates in LAC



To return to the question of inequality, particularly with reference to MICs, figure 2.18 illustrates a positive correlation poverty rates in LAC against the level of income inequality as measured by the Gini index. Figure 2.19 shows national poverty rates and inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa. In this case, the correlation is less significant and indicating a general negative trend. As earlier noted, this would be consistent with a more ‘uniform’ and upwards concentration of poverty among LICs, many of which are in the SSA region. In other words, in countries with high national poverty rates poverty may paradoxically come with more equity, although in this case because, as noted by some observers, ‘everybody is poor’ (see Ellis 2008).¹³ Indeed, figures 2.20 – 2.23 explore the correlation between NPL poverty rates and the level of income inequality as measured by the Gini index in LICs, MICs and LMICS and UMICs. There is a particularly close correlation in the LMICs which is moderated slightly in UMICs. However, it would seem Kuznets is alive and well.

¹³ Other regions seem to not show particular patterns between poverty and inequality measured by the Gini index.

Figure 2.18 National poverty rates and inequality in Latin America and Caribbean

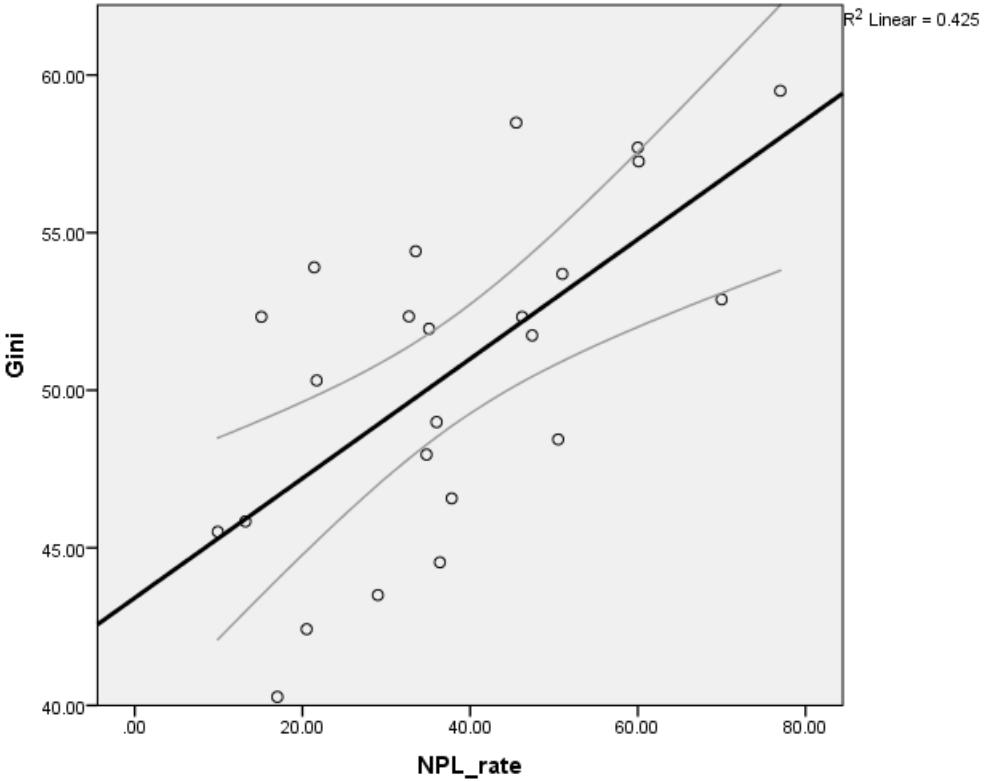


Figure 2.19 National poverty rates and inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa

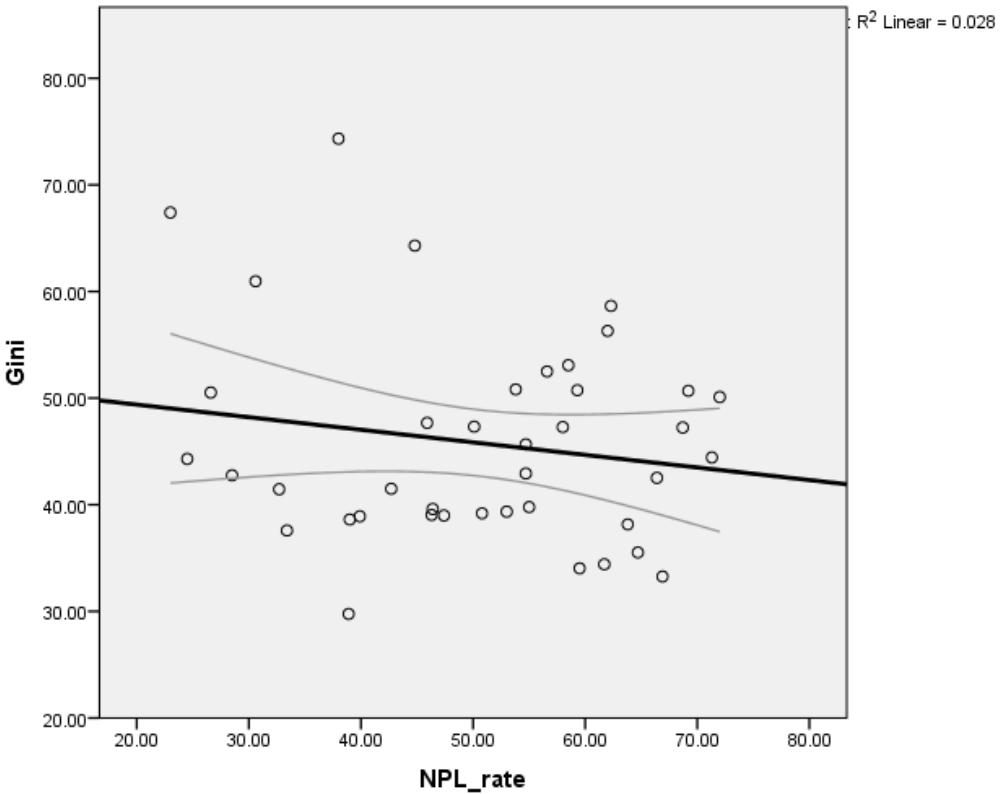


Figure 2.20 National poverty rates and inequality in LICs

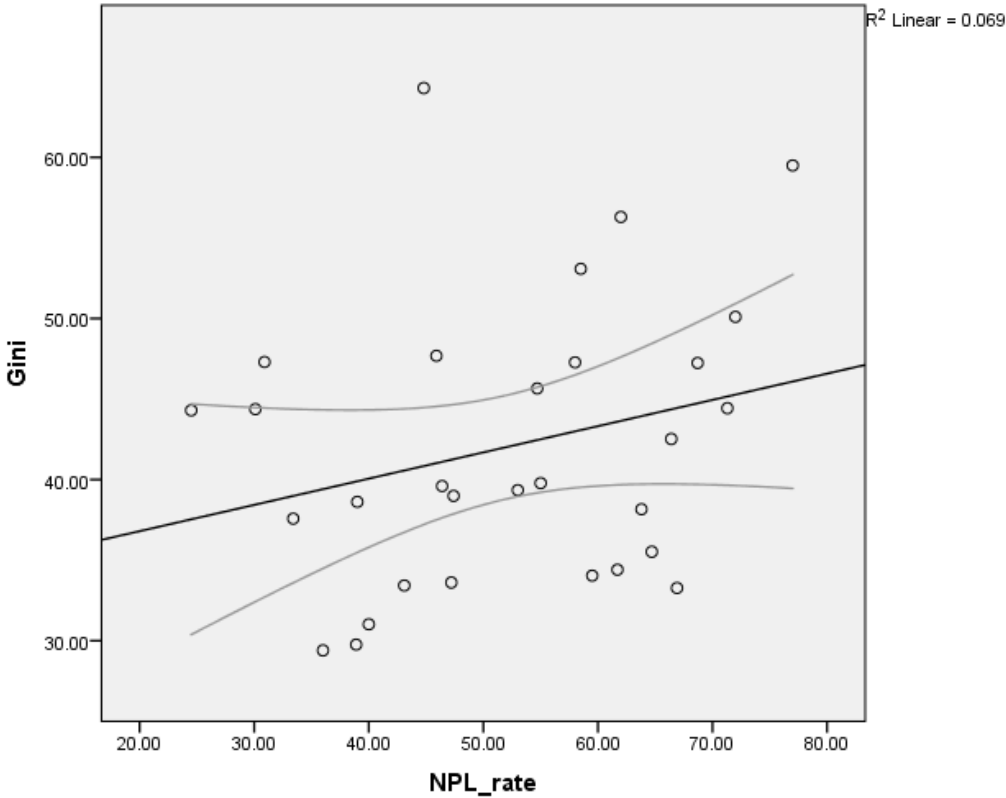


Figure 2.21 National poverty rates and inequality in MICs

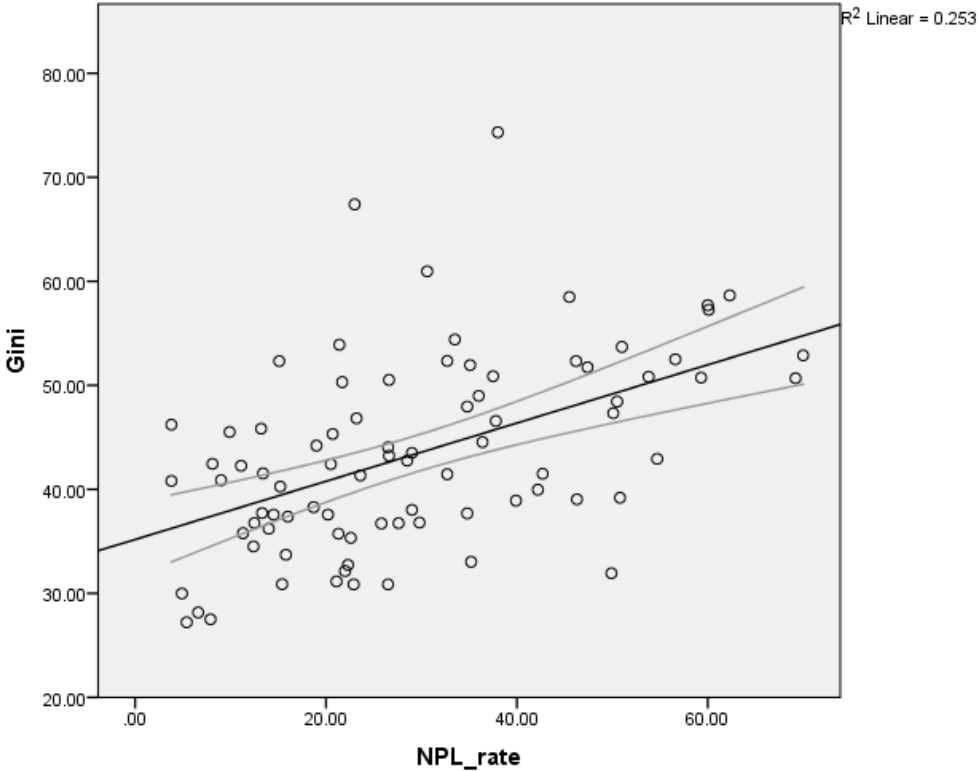


Figure 2.22 National poverty rates and inequality in LMICs

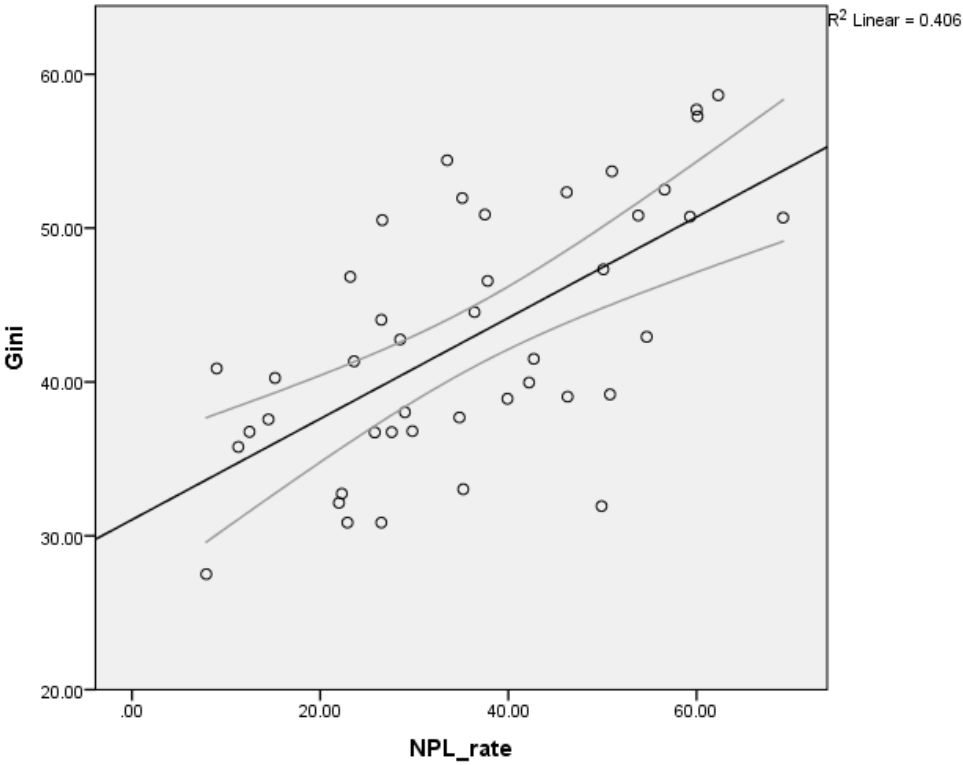
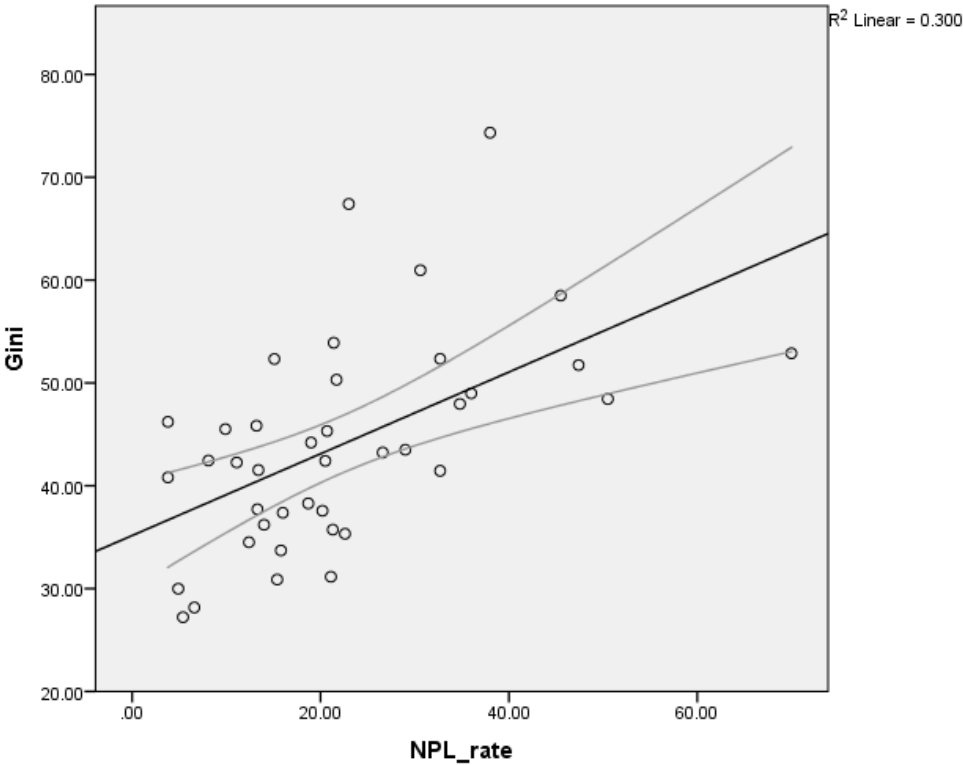


Figure 2.23 National poverty rates and inequality in UMICs



Finally, one can consider the relationship between NPLs and other measures of poverty. Here we consider NPLs versus underweight, undernourishment and under five mortality. The correlation between these and NPLs is very striking (see table 2.11 and figures 2.24 to 2.26) suggesting the use of NPLs has broader implications in that NPLs are a good proxy for a range of poverty indicators.

Table 2.11 Correlation between NPLs and other key MDGs

		Correlations			
		NPL_rate	Uweight	Unourish	U5mort
NPL_rate	Pearson Correlation	1	.491**	.706**	.664**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.000
	N	160	123	116	123
Uweight	Pearson Correlation	.491**	1	.627**	.653**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.000
	N	123	123	116	123
Unourish	Pearson Correlation	.706**	.627**	1	.632**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000		.000
	N	116	116	116	116
U5mort	Pearson Correlation	.664**	.653**	.632**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	
	N	123	123	116	123

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Figure 2.24 National poverty rates and underweight

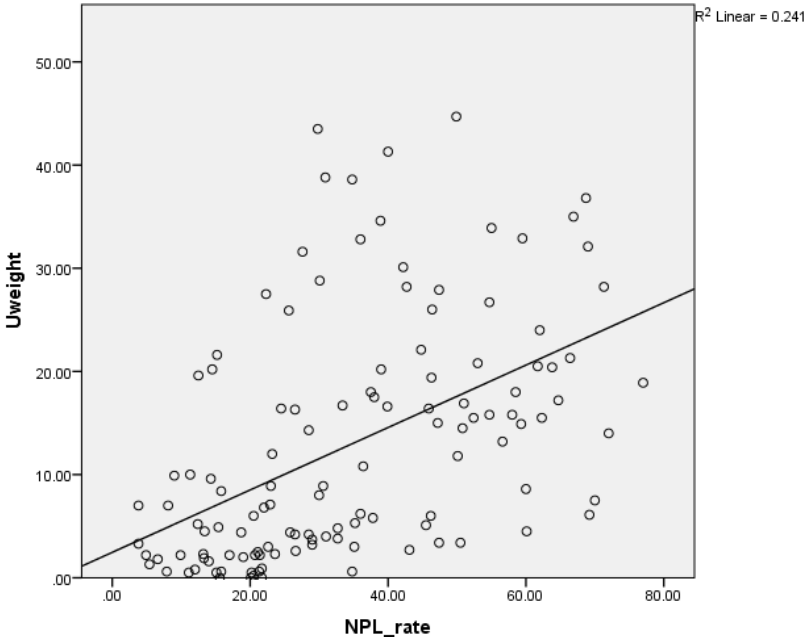


Figure 2.25 National poverty rates and undernourishment

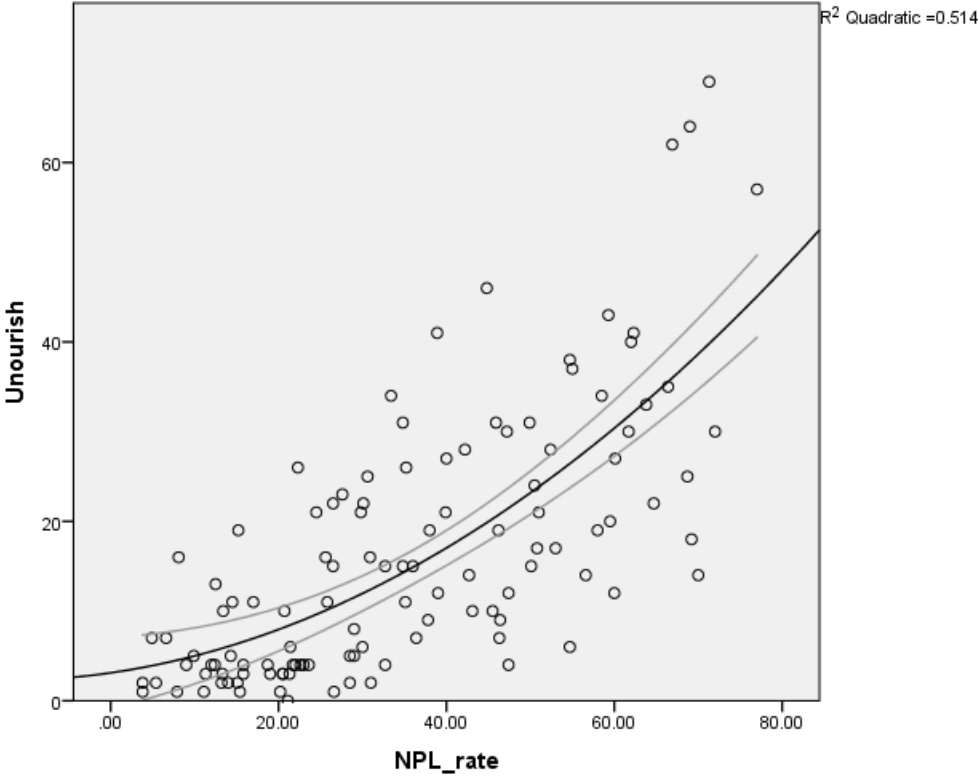
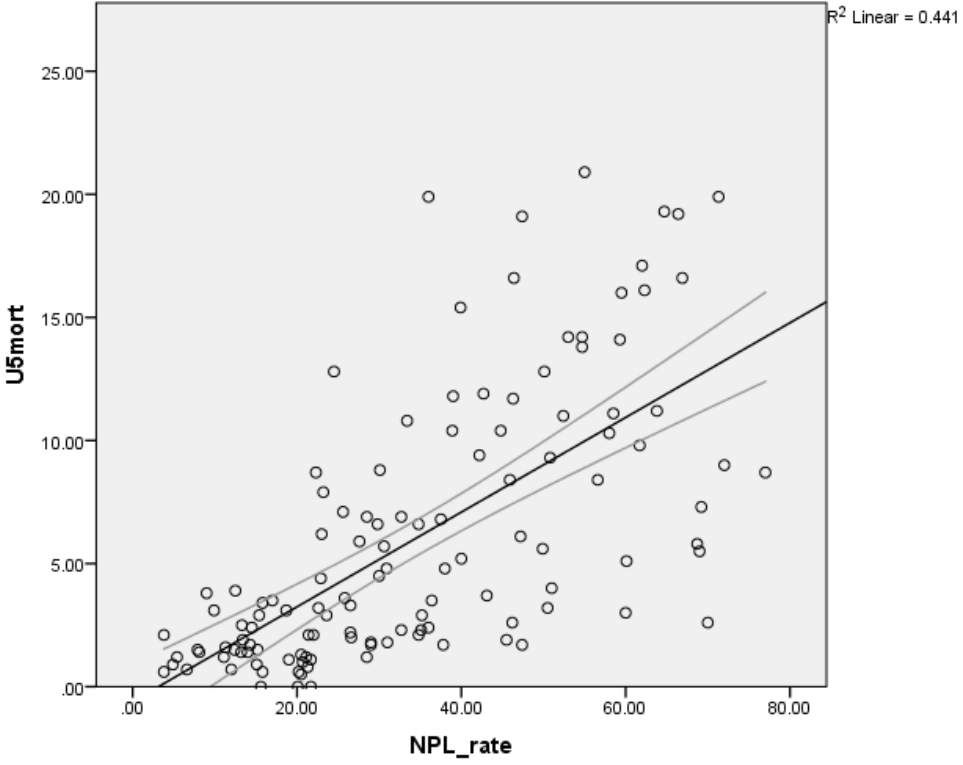


Figure 2.26 National poverty rates and under 5 mortality



3 Conclusion

A number of potential implications emerge from our analysis. These could be clustered around interconnected points:

- First, when analyzed with an IPL lens, poverty is limited to MIC and LICs only. Yet, if we consider NPLs, then poverty is of a more global nature. Surprisingly perhaps, HICs host about 10 per cent of 'poverty' as nationally defined.
- Second, although there is a close correlation overall between NPLs and IPLs this masks the fact that there is a significant difference between poverty estimates based on NPLs and those derived from IPLs.
- Third, our analysis confirms that the large majority of world poverty is located in MICs, amounting to a billion people. However, in relative terms LICs countries remain those with the highest proportions of population living in poverty.
- Fourth, NPLs have high potential to capture the state of poverty because they are based on locally defined 'poverty'. Expressing poverty in national terms may imply a greater degree of involvement of national stakeholders (at a minimum, local statistical bureaus) in defining "what is poverty" in a given context. This may hold in particular for countries whose NPLs don't form part of the construction of the IPLs. This is not to say NPLs are substitutes for IPLs. NPLs should be considered more widely to enrich and complement global poverty analyses.
- Fifth, in terms of associations between poverty rates and government effectiveness, and voice and accountability and NPL poverty rates and inequality we find that NPL poverty is correlated to government effectiveness, although less so in terms of voice and accountability. We also find a correlation between inequality, as measured by the Gini index, and poverty levels, especially for middle-income countries and LMICs in particular. This opens broader research avenues to explore the interconnections between governance, equity and poverty.

The analysis has relevance to the aid debate on MICs. A shift in emphasis towards more focus on NPLs might pave the way to addressing poverty reduction as a more domestic rather than purely aid or international issue and takes us away from international altruism towards national social contracts. Further, the fact that HICs also have a significant contribution to global poverty (as locally defined) potentially enlarges the terms of the discussion around supporting the poor abroad and domestically (Kanbur 2012). This suggests a broader scope for regional and global coordination, if not connection, in national social protection policies (Addison and Niño-Zarazúa 2012; Gentilini and Omamo 2011; Kanbur 2011 2009).

In other words, our findings point to the limit of a debate based on 'poverty at home versus poverty overseas'. Rather, it calls for engaging on a more fruitful discussion on how international assistance could enhance national social protection systems within countries as well as coordinating those systems between them given the wide range of shared challenges and patterns that countries face in globalizing world.

There is little doubt that NPLs can better reflect contextual, 'concrete' poverty as present in single countries. At the same time it is an empirical fact that IPLs are better suited to comparing countries (however, Deaton 2011 disputes this strongly and there are long running critiques of the IPL – see for review Fischer 2010 for details). Therefore, as one descends from global to

nationally-defined poverty, there are various trade-offs around 'comparability' and 'relevance' that are worth recognizing.

Navigating those trade-offs will not be an easy task. The mitigation of those quandaries may even prove impossible for an 'irreducible' core of issues – so at some point actors may have to choose between the two measures. One future question for research is to what extent the patterns of poverty trends, say 1990-2008 by NPLs and IPLs are the same in terms of the rate of change.

Yet, one step in the direction of reconciling the approaches could be to ensure the standardization of the tools and techniques – but not the definition – for constructing NPLs as currently underway in many countries. Also, while the measurement of current MDGs has ignited lively technical debates (Gentilini and Webb 2008), post-2015 MDG targets and benchmarks could be more fully expressed in national terms – that is, all governments across the income spectrum may need to strengthen domestic poverty-reducing efforts and should be accountable for their performance. This may generate a virtuous circle at both global and national levels around achieving 'nationally-defined global targets'.

Annex 1. Country poverty rates and numbers based on national and international (\$1.25/day) poverty lines

Country	National Poverty Lines			International Poverty Line		
	Year	Rate (%)	Mill	Year	Rate (%)	Mill
Afghanistan	2007	36.00	11.38	na	na	na
Albania	2008	12.40	0.39	2008	0.62	0.02
Algeria	1995	22.60	6.34	1995	6.79	1.92
Angola	2000	62.30	8.68	2000	54.31	7.57
Argentina	2009	13.20	4.88	2010	0.92	0.34
Armenia	2009	26.50	0.82	2008	1.28	0.04
Australia ^a	2007	21.70	4.58	-	-	-
Austria ^b	2010	12.10	1.00	-	-	-
Azerbaijan	2008	15.80	1.38	2008	0.43	0.04
Bangladesh	2005	40.00	56.24	2010	43.25	64.31
Belarus	2009	5.40	0.52	2008	0.10	0.01
Belgium ^b	2010	14.60	1.57	-	-	-
Belize	2002	33.50	0.09	1999	21.21	0.05
Benin	2003	39.00	2.79	2003	47.33	3.39
Bhutan	2007	23.20	0.16	2007	10.22	0.07
Bolivia	2007	60.10	5.69	2008	15.61	1.50
Bosnia & Herz.	2007	14.00	0.53	2007	0.04	0.00
Botswana	2003	30.60	0.56	1994	31.23	0.47
Brazil	2009	21.40	41.36	2009	6.14	11.87
Bulgaria ^b	2010	20.70	1.57	2001	2.64	0.21
Burkina Faso	2003	46.40	6.22	2009	44.60	7.13
Burundi	2006	66.90	5.00	2006	81.32	6.07

Cambodia	2007	30.10	4.11	2008	22.75	3.14
Cameroon	2007	39.90	7.32	2007	9.56	1.75
Canada ^c	2009	9.60	3.16	-	-	-
Cape Verde	2007	26.60	0.13	2001	21.02	0.09
Cent Afr Rep	2008	62.00	2.63	2008	62.83	2.66
Chad	2003	55.00	5.03	2002	61.94	5.47
Chile	2009	15.10	2.56	2009	1.35	0.23
China ^e	2010	13.40	128.00	2008	13.06	171.68
Colombia	2009	45.50	20.77	2010	8.16	3.78
Comoros	2004	44.80	0.28	2004	46.11	0.29
Congo, Dem. Rep.	2005	71.30	40.94	2006	87.72	50.37
Congo, Rep	2005	50.10	1.77	2005	54.10	1.91
Costa Rica	2009	21.70	1.00	2009	3.12	0.14
Cote d'Ivoire	2008	42.70	8.11	2008	23.75	4.51
Croatia ^b	2010	20.50	0.87	2008	0.06	0.00
Cyprus ^b	2009	16.20	0.13	na	na	na
Czech Rep. ^b	2010	9.00	0.94	1996	0.13	0.01
Denmark ^b	2010	13.30	0.73	-	-	-
Djibouti ^c	2002	42.20	0.32	2002	18.84	0.15
Dom Rep.	2008	50.50	4.88	2010	2.24	0.22
Ecuador	2009	36.00	5.13	2010	4.61	0.67
Egypt	2008	22.00	17.23	2008	1.69	1.32
El Salvador	2009	37.80	2.33	2009	8.97	0.55
Eritrea	1993	69.00	2.19	na	na	na
Estonia ^b	2010	15.80	0.21	2004	0.46	0.01
Ethiopia	2004	38.90	28.21	2005	38.96	28.93

Fiji	2009	31.00	0.26	na	na	na
Finland ^b	2010	13.10	0.69	-	-	-
France ^b	2010	13.50	8.21	-	-	-
Gabon	2005	32.70	0.45	2005	4.84	0.07
Gambia	2003	58.00	0.82	2003	33.63	0.48
Georgia	2007	23.60	1.04	2008	15.27	0.67
Germany ^b	2010	15.60	12.65	-	-	-
Ghana	2006	28.50	6.32	2005	28.59	6.19
Greece ^b	2010	20.10	2.21	-	-	-
Guatemala	2006	51.00	6.65	2006	13.53	1.76
Guinea	2007	53.00	4.97	2007	43.34	4.06
Guinea-B.	2002	64.70	0.97	2002	48.90	0.63
Guyana ^c	1999	36.40	0.27	1998	8.70	0.06
Haiti	2001	77.00	6.77	2001	61.71	5.42
Honduras	2010	60.00	4.56	2009	17.92	1.34
Hungary ^b	2010	12.30	1.21	2007	0.17	0.02
Iceland ^b	2010	9.80	0.03	-	-	-
India	2009-10	29.8	354.6	2010	32.67	400.08
Indonesia ^c	2011	12.49	30.01	2011	16.27	39.09
Iran ^d	2007	18.70	13.36	2005	1.45	1.01
Iraq	2007	22.90	6.63	2006	2.82	0.80
Ireland ^b	2009	15.00	0.67	-	-	-
Israel ^a	2008	26.80	1.90	-	-	-
Italy ^b	2010	18.20	10.94	-	-	-
Jamaica	2007	9.90	0.27	2004	0.21	0.01
Japan ^a	2006	21.70	27.44		0.00	0.00

Jordan	2008	13.30	0.77	2010	0.12	0.01
Kazakhstan	2002	15.40	2.29	2009	0.11	0.02
Kenya	2005	45.90	16.34	2005	43.37	15.44
Korea, Rep. ^a	2008	20.60	9.83	-	-	-
Kosovo	2006	45.00	0.80	na	na	na
Kyrgyzstan	2005	43.10	2.22	2009	6.23	0.33
Laos	2008	27.60	1.66	2008	33.88	2.04
Latvia ^b	2010	21.30	0.47	2008	0.14	0.00
Lebanon ^c	2004	28.50	1.14	na	na	na
Lesotho	2003	56.60	1.14	2002	43.41	0.87
Liberia	2007	63.80	2.22	2007	83.76	2.91
Lithuania ^b	2010	20.20	0.67	2008	0.16	0.01
Luxembourg ^b	2010	14.50	0.07	-	-	-
Macedonia	2006	19.00	0.39	2008	0.29	0.01
Madagascar	2005	68.70	12.29	2010	81.29	16.84
Malawi	2004	52.40	6.53	2004	73.86	9.21
Malaysia	2009	3.80	1.06	2004	0.54	0.14
Maldives ^d	2008	16.00	0.05	2004	1.48	0.00
Mali	2006	47.40	6.44	2010	50.43	7.75
Malta ^b	2010	15.50	0.06	-	-	-
Mauritania	2000	46.30	1.22	2008	23.43	0.77
Mauritius ^c	2006	14.30	0.24	na	na	na
Mexico	2008	47.40	52.44	2010	4.03	4.57
Moldova	2005	29.00	1.04	2010	0.39	0.01
Mongolia	2008	35.20	0.94	na	na	na
Montenegro	2008	4.90	0.03	2008	0.12	0.00

Morocco	2007	9.00	2.79	2007	2.52	0.78
Mozambique	2008	54.70	12.21	2007	59.58	12.99
Myanmar ^c	2010	25.60	12.28	na	na	na
Namibia	2003	38.00	0.76	2003	31.91	0.64
Nepal	2004	30.90	8.25	2010	24.82	7.44
Netherlands ^b	2010	10.30	1.69	-	-	-
New Zealand ^a	2008	19.00	0.81	-	-	-
Nicaragua	2005	46.20	2.50	2005	11.91	0.65
Niger	2007	59.50	8.30	2007	43.62	6.08
Nigeria	2004	54.70	74.61	2009	67.98	105.02
Norway ^b	2010	11.20	0.55	-	-	-
Pakistan	2006	22.30	36.02	2007	21.04	34.60
Panama	2008	32.70	1.11	2010	6.56	0.23
Pap. New Gui.	1996	37.50	1.82	1996	35.79	1.73
Paraguay	2009	35.10	2.23	2010	7.16	0.46
Peru	2009	34.80	10.01	2010	4.91	1.43
Philippines	2009	26.50	24.30	2009	18.42	16.89
Poland ^b	2010	17.60	6.59	2009	0.05	0.02

Portugal ^b	2010	17.90	1.90	-	-	-
Romania ^b	2010	21.10	4.52	2009	0.41	0.09
Russia	2006	11.10	15.82	2007	0.02	0.03
Rwanda	2006	58.50	5.52	2010	63.17	6.71
S. Tome & Princ.	2001	53.80	0.08	2000	28.18	0.04
Senegal	2005	50.80	5.52	2005	33.50	3.64
Serbia	2007	6.60	0.49	2009	0.26	0.02
Sierra Leone	2003	66.40	3.14	2003	53.37	2.52
Slovak Rep. ^b	2010	12.00	0.65	2009	0.06	0.00
Slovenia ^b	2010	12.70	0.25	2004	0.06	0.00
South Africa	2005	23.00	10.86	2008	13.77	6.72
South Sudan ^c	2009	50.60	4.18	na	na	na
Spain ^b	2010	20.70	9.49	-	-	-
Sri Lanka	2007	15.20	3.08	2006	7.04	1.41
Sudan ^c	2009	46.50	14.36	na	na	na
Suriname ^d	2002	70.00	0.34	1999	15.54	0.07
Swaziland	2001	69.20	0.74	2009	40.63	0.48
Sweden ^b	2010	12.90	1.21	-	-	-
Switzerland ^b	2010	15.00	1.12	-	-	-
Syria ^c	2003	11.30	1.98	2004	1.71	0.31
Tajikistan	2009	47.20	3.20	2009	6.56	0.44
Tanzania	2007	33.40	20.37	2007	67.87	41.39
Thailand	2009	8.10	5.57	2009	0.37	0.25
Timor-Leste	2007	49.90	0.53	2007	37.44	0.40
Togo	2006	61.70	3.41	2006	38.68	2.14
Trin. & Tob. ^d	2007	17.00	0.22	1992	4.16	0.05

Tunisia	2005	3.80	0.38	2005	1.35	0.14
Turkey ^b	2006	26.60	18.02	2007	1.13	0.79
Turkmenistan ^d	2004	30.00	1.41	1998	24.82	1.09
UAE ^d	2003	19.50	0.66	na	na	na
Uganda	2009	24.50	7.93	2009	38.01	12.30
UK ^b	2010	17.10	10.52	-	-	-
Ukraine	2005	7.90	3.72	2009	0.06	0.03
United States ^c	2010	15.10	46.18	-	-	-
Uruguay	2008	20.50	0.63	2010	0.20	0.01
Uzbekistan ^c	2005	25.80	6.69	na	na	na
Venezuela	2009	29.00	8.27	2006	6.63	1.79
Viet Nam	2008	14.50	12.34	2008	16.85	14.34
West Bank & Gaza	2009	21.90	0.88	2009	0.04	0.00
Yemen	2005	34.80	7.19	2005	17.53	3.62
Zambia	2006	59.30	6.97	2006	68.51	8.05
Zimbabwe	2003	72.00	9.08	na	na	na

Source: National rates from World Development Indicator online database (accessed 10 February 2012), unless otherwise indicated: ^a OECD Income Distribution and Poverty Database; ^b Eurostat; ^c Survey/census data; ^d CIA World Factbook; ^e see footnote n.6. All international rates are from PovCal Net (accessed 2 March 2012). When not available, population data is from UNDESA (2010). In the case of Indonesia, population figures (for NPLs and IPL) are from Government of Indonesia (2012) since 2011 figures are not available in PovCalNet and UNDESA (2010). All IPL data is from PovCalNet (accessed 2 March 2012). For China, India and Indonesia, IPL figures are population weighted rural-urban averages.

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