

Kingdom of Swaziland

WELFARE AND POVERTY IN SWAZILAND
(1985-95)

**Institution and Social Policy,
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Foreword

This report covers key findings on welfare and poverty in Swaziland for the years 1985 and 1995 and shows some relevant welfare indicators for Swaziland.

Director of Census and Statistics

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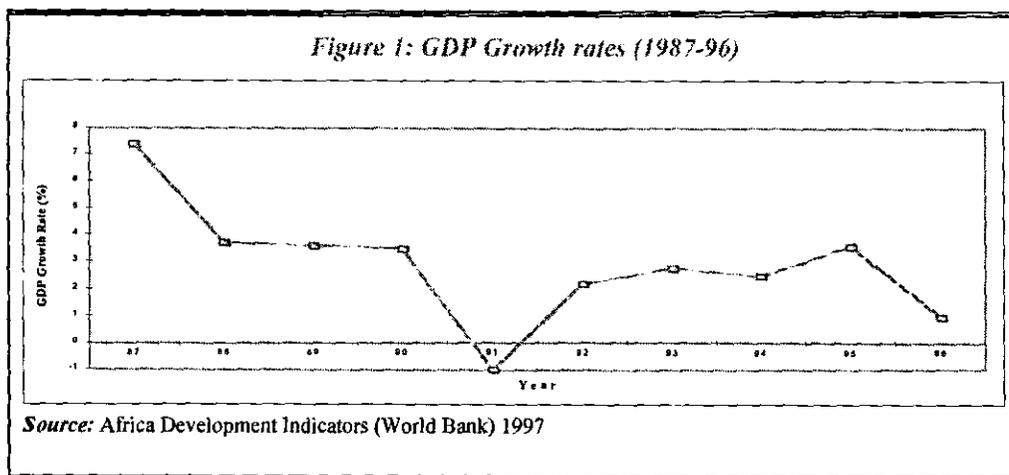
1. INTRODUCTION

1. This paper presents some social indicators for Swaziland for the years 1985 to 1995 and analyzes the *evolution* of poverty between these years. Since there is no “official” poverty-line in Swaziland, a poverty line was selected based on the cost of acquiring a minimal basic basket of food for a minimal level of caloric intake for an equivalent adult.

1.1 THE SWAZILAND ECONOMY

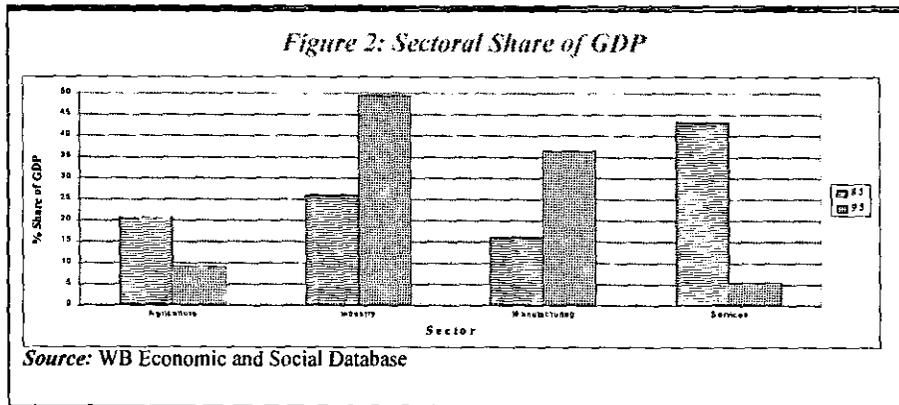
2. Swaziland is a small landlocked sub-Saharan Africa country, bordered mainly by South Africa and Mozambique. In 1968 it gained independence from British protectorate. Swaziland’s economic links with South Africa are very strong, because of its geographical location and because of the South Africa Customs Union (SACU) and the Common Monetary Area (CMA).

3. In 1991 GDP declined to a record low of -1%. Since then there has been a slight increase until 1995. Between 1995 and 1996, however, GDP growth slowed to 1%, as shown in Figure 1. The figure shows that GDP growth rates peaked at 7.4% in 1987 and declined sharply in 1988 to 3.7%. Rates were flat between 1988 and 1989, and in 1990, plummeted to a low -1%. Between 1991 and 1995 there were slight increases in growth rates but below the 3% that was seen in the 80’s.



4. Living standards of the Swazi population have been adversely affected since 1990 by two factors. The drought conditions between 1991/92 and 1995/96, which have had drastic impact on subsistence agriculture, rendering two thirds of the rural population eligible for food aid in 1992. Living standards of the Swazi population have been adversely affected since 1990 by two factors. The drought conditions between 1991/92 and 1995/96, which have had drastic impact on subsistence agriculture, rendering two thirds of the rural population eligible for food aid in 1992.

The second factor has been political changes in neighboring countries which have had the effect of reducing public revenue and constraining growth in the formal private sector. The drastic political and economic changes in South Africa, particularly the lifting of sanctions against South Africa and to a lesser extent in other countries have eroded the comparative advantage Swaziland had in attracting private investment. Swazi workers in South Africa represent about 25% of wage employment and provide a substantial flow of remittances estimated at about 15% of GNP. Although 70% of the population lives in rural areas, agriculture accounted only for about 21% of GDP in 1985 and declined to 9% in 1995 (For further details see Swaziland: Public Expenditure Review 1994).



5. *Swazi mine workers in South Africa have been a major part of labour income to Swaziland.* Figure 2 shows the sectoral share of GDP. The figure shows that in 1985, Services accounted for 53% of GDP. However, there has been a shift from services to industry in 1995, industry accounted for about 86% of GDP. Table 1 shows income for Swazi mine workers in South Africa from 1986 to 1997. Swazi mine workers in South Africa have been a major part of labour income to Swaziland economy although this income has been decreasing, it is still a major component of GDP. In 1986 12.3% of GDP was accounted for by Swazi mine workers in SA. This figure has declined steadily to about 6.3% in 1995. There has also been a fall in real GDP to go along with the decline in incomes.

Table 1: Income from South African Mines by Year

	Number of Swazis working in South African mines	Labour income [E'000]	GDP in current prices [E'000]	Labour income as % of GDP
1985		105,666	802,500	
1986	15,963	125,738	1,026,300	12.25
1987	16,589	160,000	1,573,300	10.17
1988	17,571	214,850	1,897,100	11.33
1989	17,507	286,038	2,296,900	12.45
1990	16,796	286,038	2,224,000	12.86
1991	17,026	299,065	2,427,500	12.32
1992	16,166	314,605	2,765,100	11.38
1993	15,758	269,278	3,225,400	8.35
1994	14,488	273,147	3,770,500	7.24
1995	15,304	298,233	4,742,500	6.29
1996	14,371	324,153	5,126,000	6.32
1997	12,960	385,923	6,003,500	6.43

Source: WB Economic Database

6. *The dependence on subsistent agriculture has increased, with it there is an increase in vulnerability for the rural households. While GDP fell, the population growth rate remained high. In 1992 the annual population growth rate was 3.2%, making it one of the fastest growing populations within sub-Saharan Africa. The growth in the wage employment (estimated at 2% p.a.) was well below the rapid growth rate of the labor force, with urban unemployment growing more rapidly than rural. In Swaziland, there are however, very few remaining industries. This has made it even more difficult for Swazi citizens to find formal employment. The possibility of finding work in South Africa has also diminished during the 1990s.*

2. BRIEF OVERVIEW OF LAND DISTRIBUTION AND USE

7. SNL farms are spread throughout Swaziland. Table 2 shows that 95.6% of all farm land in Swaziland is SNL, with about 4.4% title deed land. About 7% of title deed land holders are owners, while about 65% are settlers. The table also shows that the largest proportion of title deed lands are found in the Lowveld region or in Shizelweni district, while the largest proportion of SNL lands are found in Lubombo region and Manzini district. Overall, TDL lands make up about 4.4% of all lands in Swaziland. The table also indicates that there were no title deed lands captured in the survey in the Lubombo region.

Table 2: Distribution of rural households by land ownership, district and region

	Region				Total
	SNL	TDL - Owner	TDL Lease	TDL Settler	
Highveld	96.9	0.3	1	1.9	100
Middleveld	96.3	0.3	0.1	3.3	100
Lowveld	92.4	0.5	3.2	3.9	100
Lubombo	100	.	.	.	100
All	95.6	0.3	1.2	2.8	100
	District				
Hhohho	96.4	0.2	0.9	2.5	100
Manzini	97.3	0.4	0.1	2.1	100
Shizelweni	94.2	0.5	0.2	5.1	100
Lubombo	94.5	0.2	3.8	1.5	100
All	95.6	0.3	1.2	2.8	100

Source: Swaziland Survey of Agriculture 1997/98

8. Table 2 also shows the distribution of the different land types by district and region. The table shows that the largest proportion of SNL lands are found in the Middleveld Region with 38% of all SNL lands, compared to 28.5% in Highveld and only 6.5% in Lubombo. The table also shows that SNL lands are almost evenly distributed across districts, with Hhohho having a slight edge with 26.8% of SNL lands. Most of the title deed owners are, however found in the Lowveld region, where 43.8% of all TDL-owners are found. This is closely followed by Middleveld with 34.4%. This is true of the TDL leased and settler lands as well.

3. HUMAN RESOURCES AND SOCIAL SERVICES

3.1 Population and demographics

9. The SHIES estimated that in the urban areas, 54.5% of the households are headed by single males or females. The survey estimates that 35.4% of all urban households are headed by the single male and 20.1% (0.5% defacto female and 18.6% de jure female) are single female headed. Table 3 shows the distribution of households in urban and rural areas. The table clearly shows that in Gazetted towns, 48.3% of households are headed by a single head without a spouse in the household. Single male headed households account for 19.4%, and de jure female headed account for 27.3% of all households in Gazetted towns. In company towns 60.9% of households are without any spouses in the household. Single male headed households make up 50.2% of all households while de jure female headed households make up 10.6%. In the rural areas, 6.3% of the households are headed by single males compared to 35.4% in the urban areas, while 2.2% of the households are defacto female and 28.1% are de jure female headed.

Table 3: Distribution of households by gender of head

HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE	Distribution of households (%)				
	Gazetted Towns		Company towns	All Urban	Rural
	Towns				
Traditional Male HH	51.7		37.9	44.5	61.4
Polygamous Male HH	0.7		1.2	1.0	2.0
Single Male	19.4		50.2	35.4	6.3
Defacto female HH	0.9		0.1	0.5	2.2
De jure Female HH	27.3		10.6	18.6	28.1
Swaziland (National)	100		100	100	100

Source: SHIES 1995

10. The population is estimated at 0.92 million in 1995, growing at 3.2% and expected to double in 21 years in the year 2016. The average household size is estimated at about 6.3. Shiselweni region is estimated to have the largest households with an average household size of 7.4, followed very closely by the Manzini with 6.5. Although still considered high, the smallest households of about 5.6 members on average, tend to be found in Lubombo. Urban households are on the average half the size of rural households. In urban areas, the average household is about 3.8 members compared to 7.6 in rural areas. In general, male headed households are about 35% larger than female headed.

Table 4: Population by region, rural and urban areas (1995)

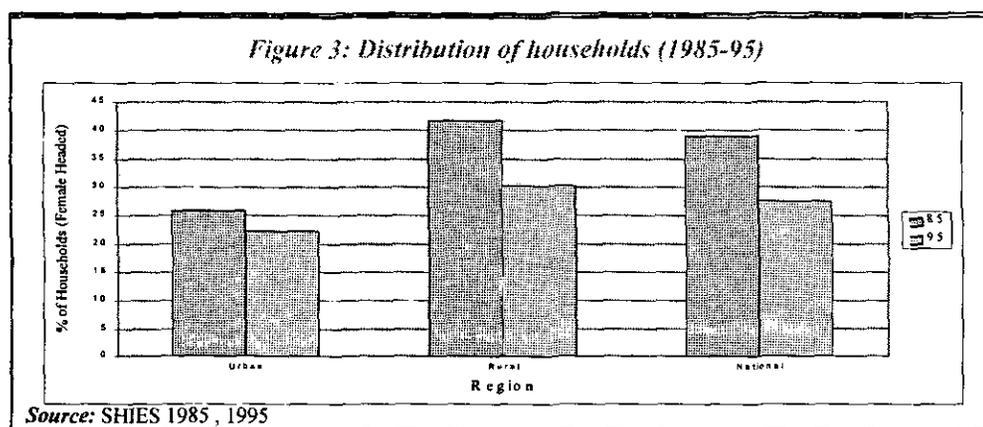
REGION	Households		Population		Average Household Size
	Number	%	Number	%	Number
H hohho	36985	23	224831	25	6.1
Manzini	43113	30	278239	31	6.5
Shiselweni	31476	22	231645	25	7.4
Lubombo	33181	23	174964	19	5.6
Swaziland	144755	100	909679	100	6.3
Urban	50373	35	190917	21	3.8
Rural	94383	65	718762	79	7.6

Source: SHIES 1995

11. Table 4 shows the population distribution. The table shows that about 30% of the households and about 31% of the population is located in Manzini, with an almost equal distribution between Hhohho and Shiselweni. The urban population in Swaziland has been on the increase since 1975. In 1975 the urban population ratio was estimated at 14.0%, in 1985 the ratio had increased to about 22%, and in 1993 the ratio was estimated at about 28%. Table 4 shows further that 65% of all households and 79% of the population in Swaziland lives in the rural areas. This shows that the urban ratio is estimated at about 21%.

3.2 Household Characteristics and Dependency

12. Figure 3 shows that there has been a sharp decline in the number and percentage of households that are female headed between 1985 and 1995. In the urban areas, there were 26% female headed households in 1985, in 1995 the percentage reduced to 22%. The sharpest decline was in rural areas where in 1985, while there were 42% female headed households. The percentage declined to 30% in 1995.



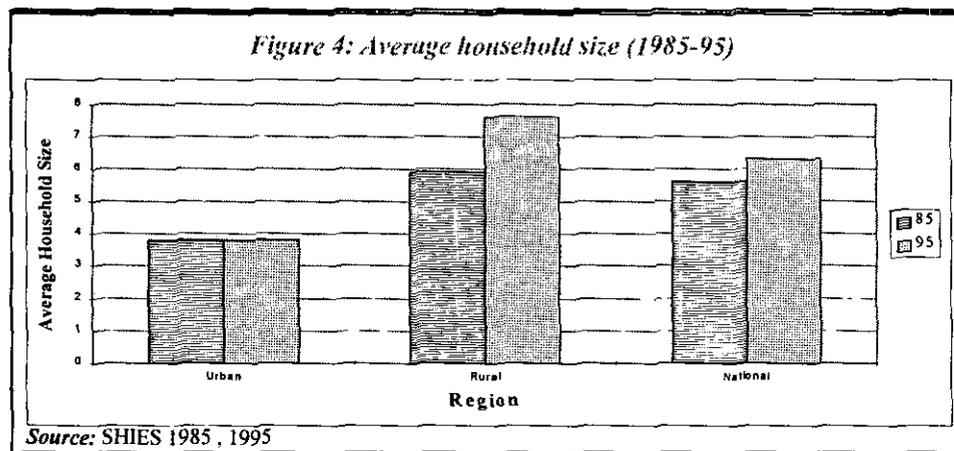
13. The survey also estimated households¹ by structure. It was estimated that 56.9% of households in Swaziland were of the *traditional type*, and 63.2% of the population lives in these households. *Polygamous households* represented 1.7% of all households, with 2.4% of the population living in these households. The last male headed households, the *single male*, made up 14.0% of all households and 6.5% of the population lived in these households. There were two types of female headed households. The first, the *defacto female* headed represents 1.7% of the households with 2.3% of the population in these households. The last category, the *dejure female*, represented 25.6% of all households as well as the population.

¹ The SHIES survey was also used to estimate the distribution of households and population by household structure. The analysis separates the households into 5 mutually exclusive groups. The first group "*Traditional Male headed*" is a household with one husband and one spouse regardless of how many other relatives live with them. The second group "*Polygamous male headed*" refers to a household that is male headed with two or more spouses. The third category, "*Single male headed*" refers to a male headed household that has a male with no spouse, this includes widowers and males who have never been married, or who were married and divorced. The fourth category, "*Defacto female headed*" refers to a female headed household where the female is head by default, probably because the spouse has gone to another location probably for work. The fifth category, "*Dejure Female*" refers to a female headed household where the head is either widowed, divorced or never married.

3.3 Trends in household dependency ratios²

14. The Swaziland dependency ratios have shown an upward trend since 1975. In 1975 the dependency ratio was estimated to be 0.94 and in 1992 it was estimated to be 1.05 compared to 0.95 for sub-Saharan African countries and 0.66 for the lower middle income countries³. The 1995 survey estimates a lower dependency ratio of (0.80), but this could be due to sampling errors. Better estimates to be used to revise the 1993 figures will be produced from the census results.

15. In 1995, the active population is estimated to have increased to more than 60% of the total population. In 1975 the population in the labor force was estimated at about 46%. In 1985 there was a slight decline to about 41%, a further decline was observed in 1993. However, in 1995 the ratio of the population in the labor force was estimated to be about 60%. The average household size has increased between 1985 and 1995. In 1985, the average rural household had 5.7 members, in 1995, the average increased to 7.7 members. Figure 4 shows the changes in the household size from 1985 to 1995. In the urban areas, on the contrary households have remained about the same size on the average. In 1985 and 1995, there were about 3.8 members in the average urban household. The change in the rural household has moved the average nationally to about 6.3 in 1995 from 5.6 in 1985.



3.4 Health

16. Swaziland has made significant progress in health care provision and this shows in the indicators. Infant mortality⁴ has been declining steadily from 144 per thousand in 1975 to 110 per thousand in 1982 to 69 per thousand in 1995. Life expectancy has also shown some improvement from 52 years in 1982 to about 58 in 1995⁵. The nutritional status of children under

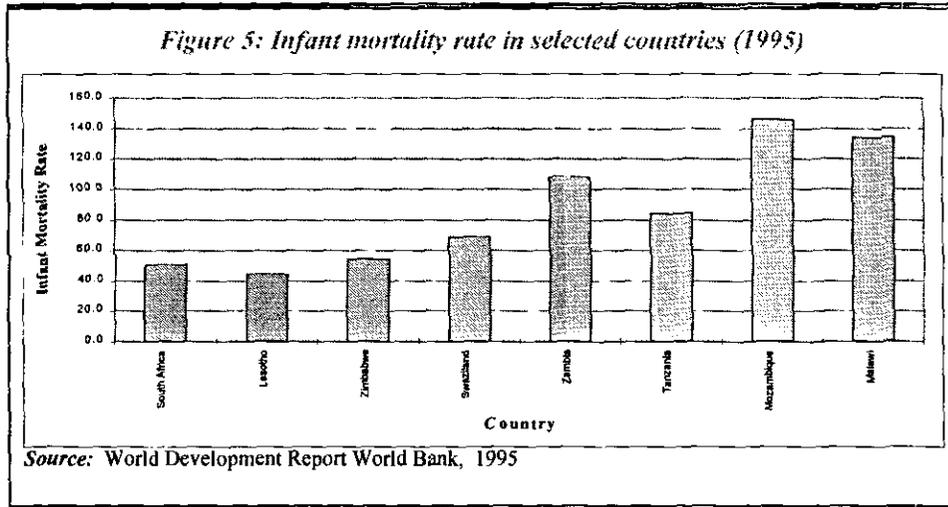
² The *Dependency ratio* is defined as the ratio of the inactive population (below 15 and above 64 years old) to the active population (15 to 64 years old), multiplied by 100.

³ See: Kingdom of Swaziland: Country Assistance Strategy: October 1994

⁴ *Infant Mortality* is defined as the number of children dying before their first year, per 1,000 live birth.

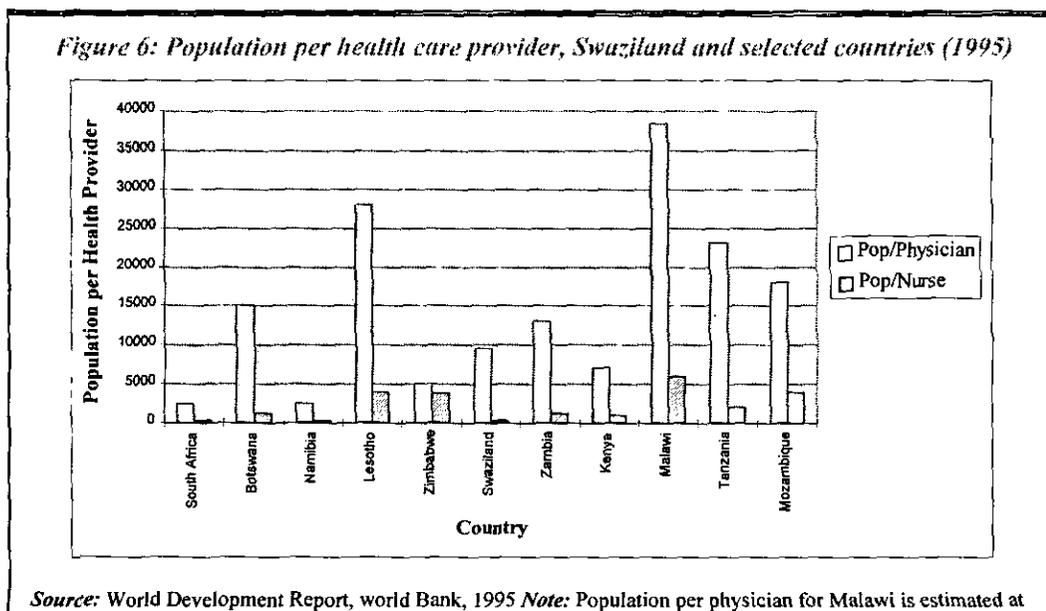
⁵ Source: Africa Development Indicators, 1997; Kingdom of Swaziland: Country Assistance Strategy: October 1994

5 years of age has remained steady over the same period, at about 22%. Figure 5 shows the infant mortality in Swaziland compared to some other southern African countries. The table shows that Swaziland does better than only Zambia, Mozambique and Malawi in the level of child mortality.



3.5 Health Personnel

17. There have also been improvements in population per physician, from 18,697 people per physician in 1985 to 9,488 per physician in 1993. The 1993 numbers compare very well with Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, Lesotho and Botswana. Swaziland has also made some progress in the population per nurse, which has declined from 1,046 people per nurse in 1985 to 232 per nurse in 1993 (figure 6).



about 77,000.

18. For longer-term economic growth, Swaziland has to pay critical attention to the supply of potable water and health care services. The health and education sectors are also facing pressures to meet the increasing demand for their services. Table 5 shows the ranking of health by community focus groups in a participatory poverty assessment in 1997. The report shows that, in every community the same key areas were identified (six of which are repeated in table 6) with safe water the first order of priority in every community. Poor quality and access to health care was very close to access to safe water, showing the importance that communities in Swaziland attach to health. To finish the top five were: Roads and transport, schooling, crime and unemployment.

Table 5: Summary of problem ranking by communities (% declaring)

	Highveld	Middle Veld	Lowveld	Lubombo	All
Water	87	94	92	95	92
Health Care	60	87	68	71	71
Roads/Transport	53	75	56	57	60
Schooling	47	50	56	43	51
Crime	40	13	36	57	38
Unemployment	67	6	52	19	36

Source: Poverty Assessment by the Poor, 1997

19. Other factors such as: *lack of access to adequate arable land, cattle theft, rising costs, and above all neglect of rural areas in infrastructure, social and development services, all contributed to rural poverty.* Other items mentioned by the participatory poverty assessment were: access to marketing outlets, electricity, telephones and care of the destitute and elderly as other community concerns. In all regions, the drought was seen as the fundamental cause of community impoverishment: as a result, improvements in water supply (through dams and irrigation) were the overwhelming priority to reverse this trend and enable rural communities to feed themselves.

20. Nevertheless, other factors were identified such as: lack of access to adequate arable land, cattle theft, rising costs, and above all neglect of rural areas in infrastructure, social and development services, as well as the lack of job opportunities, isolation from main stream markets and information sources. Table 7 shows that on the average, 92% of all households in Swaziland rank water supply as the top of their priorities. The highest proportion, however, is in Lubombo, where 95% of all households rank water supply as top priority for their communities.

3.6 Water and Sanitation

21. *Poor quality housing, water and sanitation services not only indicate poor living conditions, but also help to perpetuate poverty.* Access to potable water, good-quality housing and good sanitation facilities, affects the overall well being of households, as well as their health status. Poor living conditions are a general cause or are generally associated with illnesses,

malnutrition and poor performance both in learning for children and in economic activities for active adults.

Table 6: Households by source of drinking water (1985-95)

Source of Potable Water	Rural		Urban		National	
	1985	1995	1985	1995	1985	1995
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Piped in	7.9	2.2	40.1	44.2	13.4	16.7
Piped Outside	26.5	12.2	44.0	41.9	29.5	22.5
River	49.8	57.8	8.1	8.1	42.7	40.6
Well/borehole	11.3	23.4	4.7	5.4	10.2	17.1
Other	4.5	3.2	3.1	0.4	4.2	3.0
All	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Swaziland SHIES 1985, 1995

22. Table 6 shows the access of households to potable water. The table shows that in 1985 42.7% of all households depended on the river as a source of potable water. In 1995 ten years after, one still finds about 41% of households depending on rivers as the main source of potable water. In the urban areas, there is a better picture in that 84% of households in 1985 depended on piped water, 40.1% on indoor pipes and 44% on outdoor pipes. In 1995 the percentage increased to 86.1%, most of the increase coming from indoor pipes. Outdoor pipes in the urban areas actually showed a decline. In the rural areas, the dependence on rivers as a source of potable water increased from 49.8% of the households in 1985 to 57.8% in 1995, while the dependence on the river has been constant in the urban areas.

23. *There is an improvement in the rural areas on access to safe water.* In 1985, about 46% of the rural households had access to safe water. In 1995, about 42% of rural households have access to safe water, compared to 80% for urban households. Improvements in access to safe water in the rural areas is crucial for improvements in the health of the poor, as 84% of the poor live in rural areas.

24. In 1991, the Demographic and Housing survey estimated that about 46% of rural households lived more than 2 hours walk away from the nearest health facility. Figure 3 shows access to safe water in 1985 and 1995. The figure shows that there have been improvements in piped in water as a source of potable water. In 1985, 13% of households had piped in water, while in 1995, this increased to 17% of households. There was also an increase in the use of well and brothels. In 1985 only 10% of households used wells, while in 1995, this increased to 17%. There was, however, a decline in the use of outside pipes. In 1985, 30% of households used outside pipes, but in 1995, only 23% continue to use outside pipes.

25. *Sanitation is clearly better in the urban than in the rural areas.* However, there have been improvements between 1985 and 1995. Table 7 shows that in 1985 most rural households did not have safe or sanitary toilets. More than 51% of rural households had no toilets. In 1995 however, the proportion has declined to about 29%. Most households prefer the pit toilet to the flush toilet

in the rural areas. In 1985, a little over 30% used pit toilets, but in 1995 the proportion has increased to 69%. In the urban areas however, the flush toilet has been the preferred form of toilet.

Table 7: Household access to sanitation (1985-95)

<i>Access to Sanitation</i>	<i>Rural</i>		<i>Urban</i>		<i>National</i>	
	1985	1995	1985	1995	1985	1995
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Flush	18.7	1.7	53.1	52.6	24.6	19.3
Pit	30.1	69.0	41.1	44.1	31.9	60.4
Other	51.2	29.3	5.8	3.3	43.5	20.3
All	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: SHIES 1985, 1995

26. The use of pit toilets, is however, on the increase both in the rural and urban areas. In 1985 30.1% of rural households reported using pit toilets, but in 1995 the proportion has more than doubled to 69%. In 1985 41.1% of households in the urban areas reported using pit toilets. However, in 1995 the proportion has increased to 44.1%. Meanwhile at the national level, 31.9% of all households reported using pit toilets in 1985, while in 1995 more than 60% have reported using pit toilets.

3.7 Education and Literacy

27. Education is one of the main determinants of a country's well being as the benefits to education are key to poverty reduction. There have been significant improvements in enrollment rates in Swaziland. Net primary enrollment rates have increased from about 80% in 1985 to 93% in 1995. The enrollment rates appear to be the same in 1993 between males and females. In secondary enrollment rates, there have also been significant improvements. In 1975, the secondary gross enrollment rate⁶ was estimated at 32% (29% for females), in 1985 the rate was 42% (41% for females), however in 1995, the rate was estimated at about 48% (47% for females)⁷. There have been slight improvements in pupil-teacher ratios both at the primary and the secondary levels. In 1975 primary pupil-teacher ratio was estimated at about 38, in 1985 the ratio had reduced to about 34 and in 1993 it reduced further to about 32. Secondary pupil-teacher

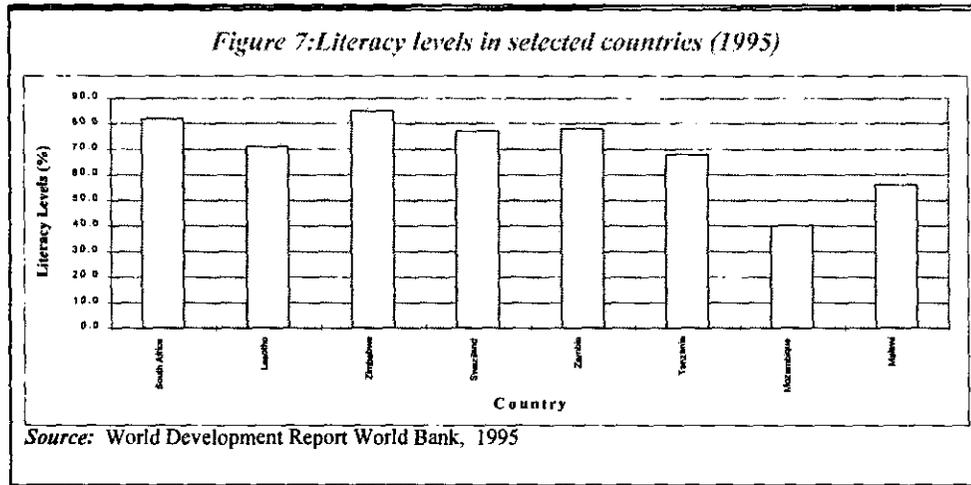
⁶ *Gross enrollment rate:* is defined as the proportion of children in school to the number of children of school age (6-18). A higher primary enrollment rate (GER) (GER>100) implies that either children overstay in primary school or, they are enrolled late. This translates to high age-grade mismatch. However, a lower rate implies that all children in primary school are of primary school age.

Nets enrollment rate: on the other hand is the proportion of children of primary school-age in primary school to the total number of that age group in the population.

⁷ In the Swaziland Income and Expenditure Survey (SHIES, 1995), unfortunately, there was no question on school attendance, which has made it impossible to estimate enrollment and drop out rates. estimates on enrollment and drop out rates will be made with subsequent surveys.

ratio was estimated at 22, 19 and 18 respectively for the same period. The percentage of pupils reaching grade four has also increased from 10% in 1975 to about 15% in 1993⁸.

28. Figure 7 shows literacy rates for Swaziland compared to other countries. Swaziland comes after South Africa in terms of literacy levels. The levels are lowest in Mozambique.



29. Table 8 shows the levels of educational attainment by men and women in Swaziland. The table clearly shows that the proportion of men in rural areas without any schooling reduced from 34.6% of all rural males to 16.1% in 1995. There was an equally significant drop in the proportion of rural women without any form of schooling. At every level of educational attainment, the proportion of men with that level of education exceeds the proportion of females.

Table 8: Population distribution by educational level and region (1985-95)

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	Rural		Urban		National	
	1985	1995	1985	1995	1985	1995
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Males						
No Education	34.6	16.1	12.1	8.9	33.0	14.3
Primary	54.0	56.3	56.3	39.2	55.3	52.3
Secondary	7.8	16.8	16.8	24.7	10.0	18.6
Tertiary Education	3.6	10.8	10.8	27.2	1.7	14.6
All	100	100	100	100	100	100
Females						
No Education	35.0	17.3	14.0	8.4	32.4	15.5
Primary	52.8	54.7	48.4	38.8	52.4	51.4
Secondary	9.5	18.8	21.7	29.3	10.9	21.0
Tertiary Education	2.7	9.1	15.8	23.6	4.3	12.2
All	100	100	100	100	100	100

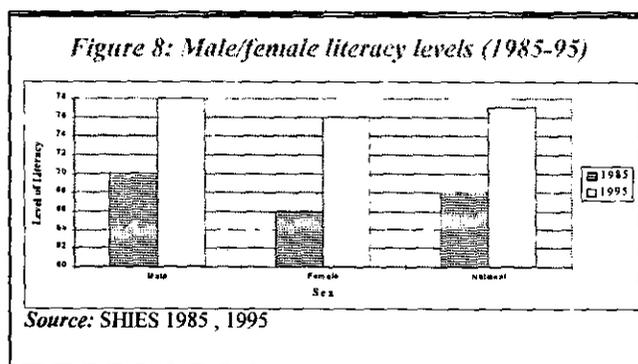
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Source: Africa Development Indicators, 1997; Kingdom of Swaziland: Country Assistance Strategy: October 1994.

Source: SHIES 1985, 1995

30. There have been slight improvement in literacy rates, both national and among males and females. In 1985, about 68% of Swazis were considered literate. This increased to 77% in 1995. Among males 70% were literate in 1985, compared to 78% in 1995. Among females, 66% were literate in 1985 compared to 76% in 1995. Although 76% of women are literate, the most compelling need for change in Swaziland is the situation of women. The traditional law makes it impossible for women to have control over their lives.

31. Figure 8 shows the literacy rates for both males and females in 1985 and 1995. The table shows that in 1985, 70% of males were literate. This increased to 78% in 1995, while for females, 66% were literate in 1985, and this increased to 76% in 1995. Nationally, literacy rates increased from 68% in 1985 to 77% in 1995. There is thus an improvement in educational opportunities for women as indicated by the numbers. The challenge lies in giving women the same opportunities in every walk of life.



32. *Education, good health and nutrition are important.* However, they work best only if agricultural and non agricultural opportunities are increasing. Increasing agricultural yields and higher paying jobs, requires more than just human development. A good education is important not just to improve the labor force but also as major force for social change, which gives individuals the opportunity to improve their living standards. The small farmer who owns land can be helped to use inputs more effectively, while increasing his access to credit on reasonable terms from formal channels.

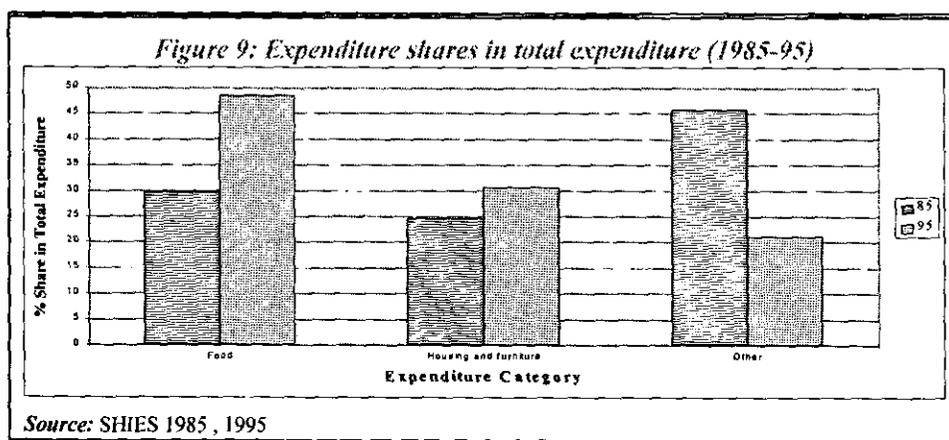
3.8 Nutrition

33. The (1994 CAS) estimated that in 1993, 81.1% of the land in Swaziland was agricultural. Although the percentage of agricultural land has been increasing since the mid seventies, food production per capita has fallen in real terms. Cereals import has on the other hand increased, from 15,000 metric tons in the mid seventies to 85,000 metric tons in 1993⁹. Child nutrition has

⁹ Estimates of food sufficiency are beyond the scope of this study

been used as a proxy for the nutritional status of the population. Child malnutrition¹⁰ has been on the decline since 1985. Child malnutrition in Swaziland is estimated at 9.7 compared to 16 for Zimbabwe, 21 for Lesotho, and 27 for Zambia, Malawi and Tanzania respectively (WDR, 1996).

34. *A key indicator of nutritional status and welfare of the household, is the share of household income that goes to food. The share of food in total expenditure has often been used as a proxy for measuring household welfare. The household expenditure and income surveys (SHIES), show (see figure 9) that the share of food in total expenditure increased from about 30% in 1985 to about 48% in 1995¹¹. Average expenditure on housing and furniture increased from 25% of total expenditure in 1985 to about 31% in 1995. Theoretically, this would mean that household welfare declined in terms of food consumption and caloric intake, during these years.*



35. The Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA) explained in detail how households coped with the changing cost of living, and the reduction in food intake as a coping strategy. It described this as a “Food Security” measure. The assessment explained the following:

“Risk minimizing household strategies included drying food at times of surplus, and diversifying sources of income, in order to cope at times of crop failure. Teaching children not to waste food was also considered important....”

But above all, the report stressed that consumption strategies included reducing the size and number of meals a day, adults going without food, substituting cheaper and more filling foods, etc. Food security is an important policy area especially for poor households. Who the poor households are, is the topic for the next section.

¹⁰ **Malnutrition:** is defined as a worsening of health resulting from a relative or absolute shortage of one or more essential nutrients or calories.

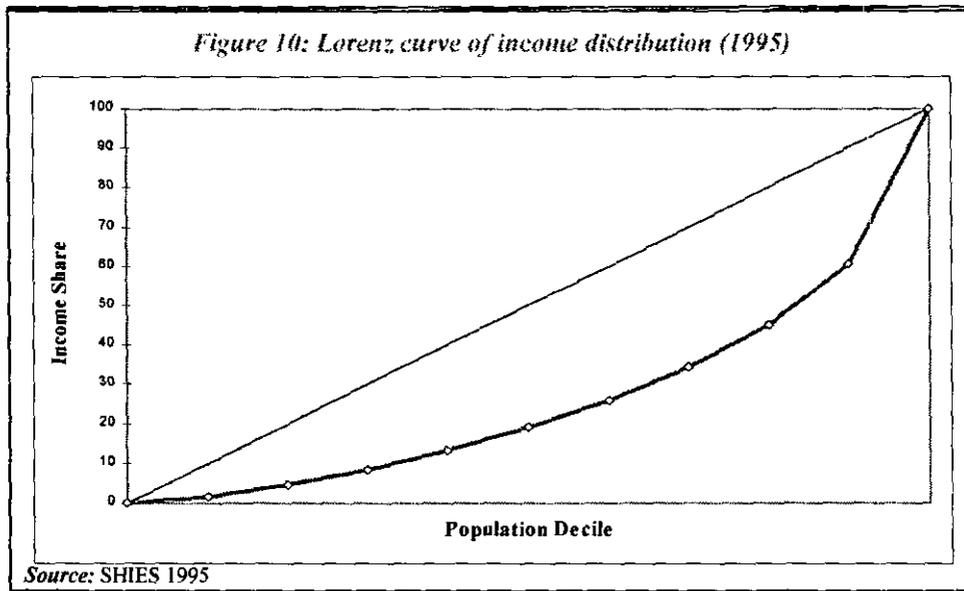
¹¹ Due to data problems it was not possible to compare absolute food expenditures (in real terms) across the years covered by this study.

4. INEQUALITY, INCOME DISTRIBUTION AND WELFARE

4.1 Inequality

36. The Gini coefficient¹² as well as per capita average expenditure spent on food from total expenditure per decile population has been used as a measure of income distribution and inequality. The Gini coefficient is an inequality index. When a large percentage of total national income is concentrated among a relatively small percentage of individuals, the Gini coefficient will be high. The Gini coefficient will increase when the distribution of income becomes more skewed or unequal. The Gini coefficient ranges between 0 and 1 inclusive, with a 0 representing complete income equality and 1 representing complete income inequality.

37. Expenditure has been used as a proxy for income in this report. The Gini ratios¹³ were computed using per capita expenditure. The population was divided into 10 equal groups beginning with the poorest 10% and so on to the richest 10%.



¹² *The Gini coefficient or index:* The gini index is a summary measure of how unevenly incomes are spread in a given population. The coefficient ranges from 0 (representing perfect equality) to 1 representing perfect inequality.

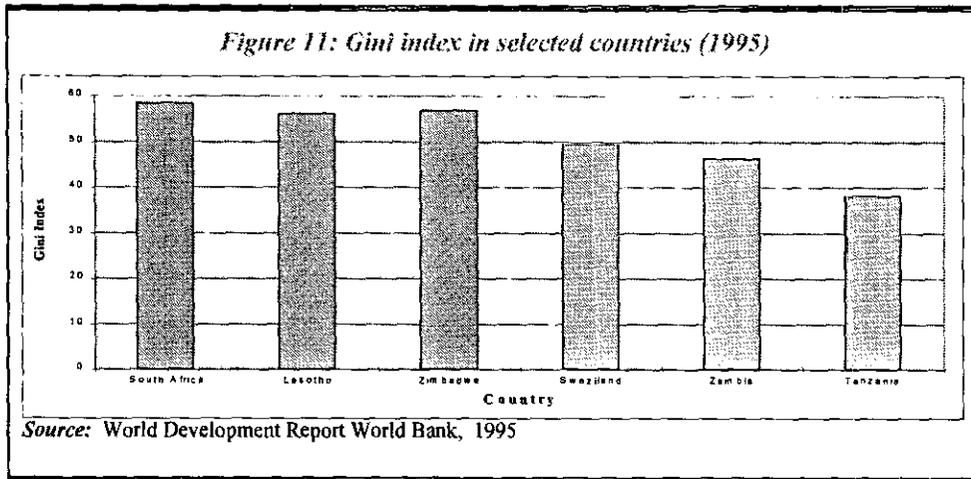
¹³ *The gini index:* The formula for the Gini coefficient is:-

$$G = 1 - \frac{2}{n} \sum_{i=1}^{n-1} (X_{i+1} - X_i)(X_{i+1} + Y_i)$$

Where X_i = cumulative proportion of households up to and including income (Expenditure) group i . And Y_i = cumulative share of income (Expenditure) up to and including income (expenditure) group i .

By definition $X_0 = Y_0$ and $X_{n+1} = Y_{n+1} = 1$.

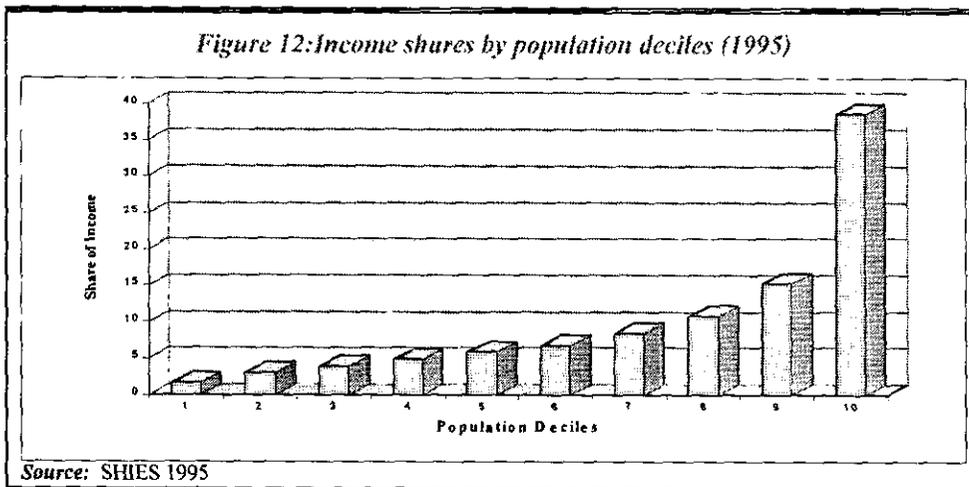
38. Figure 10 shows the Lorenz curve of income distribution in 1995. The gini index is estimated at 0.494 national, 0.428 rural and 0.560 urban. The figure shows a sharp jump after the ninth decile, showing that a very large proportion of total expenditure is by the 10th decile or the richest. The gap between the two lines shows that income in Swaziland is fairly evenly distributed at the lower end, which includes the poorest 80% of the population. The poor in Swaziland are included in this 80%. This clearly shows that urban income distribution is more highly skewed, than rural income distribution. Later we will look at the effect of improvements in the gini index, at the national and regional levels. Later, we will see the effect of a percentage point improvement in the index, coupled with a projection of these effects for the next 30 years.



39. Figure 11 shows gini index for some southern African countries. The figure shows that income distribution in Swaziland is better than Zimbabwe, Lesotho and South Africa, but also worse than Zambia and Tanzania.

4.2 *Income Distribution*

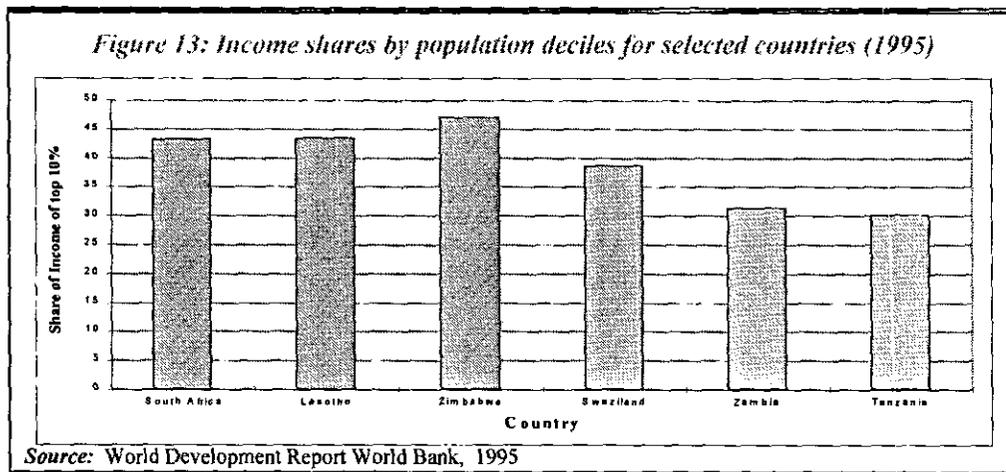
40. Improvements in income distribution, will benefit the poor as they form the entire bottom sixty percent of the population. About 54% of all expenditures are accounted for by the top two (ninth and tenth) deciles with the top decile accounting for 39% of all expenditure. The poorest 20% only account for about 5% of total expenditures. Income redistribution in favour of these groups will be a key policy to follow (Figure 12).



41. Figure 13 shows the income shares¹⁴ of the top 10%¹⁵ in some southern African countries. In Swaziland the top 10% account for 38.6% of all expenditure, while in Zimbabwe

¹⁴ *Income Share:* This represents the share of expenditure that is accounted for by a percentage of the population.

the share is estimated at 46.9%. Tanzania and Zambia do better than Swaziland with estimated share of the top 10% at 30.2% for Tanzania and 31.3% for Zambia. Lesotho (43.4%) and South Africa (43.3%) are higher than Swaziland.



42. It is worthwhile to isolate the 20% of the population that accounts for more than 54% of all expenditure in Swaziland. Table 9 shows that these households are spread across all regions and districts. In the rural areas, the average household expenditures are between 111.07 and 3764.5 Emalangenis per month. About 16% of these households are found in rural Manzini. The company towns (with about 29% of these households) contribute almost twice as much as the Gazetted towns.

43. These households are generally smaller than the average. Nationally, the average household has 6.3 persons compared to 4.2 for the top two deciles¹⁶. The table further shows that 45% of these households are of the monogamous types while 30% are single male headed.

¹⁵ Source: World Development Report: World Bank 1996

¹⁶ *Decile*: In order to create a decile, the population was ranked from the poorest to the least poor, by expenditure per capita. The population was then divided into 10 equal groups with the first group representing the poorest 10% of the population and the second group representing the next poorest 10% and so on to the 10th decile which represents the 10% least poor in Swaziland. The average per capita expenditure of the first 10% was estimated at 14.30 Emalangenis per capita per month about 80% below the poverty line. The average for the second group (20%) was estimated at 26.00 Emalangenis per capita per month. In the same way, the per capita expenditure for the top 10% was estimated at 350 Emalangenis per capita per month.

Table 9: Profile of top two deciles (1995)

<i>Expenditure Range</i>	
Rural	111.07 - 3764.5
Urban	111.18 - 5684.4
National	111.07 - 5684.4
Average Household Size	4.2
<i>Household Structure</i>	
Traditional Male Headed	45.4
Polygamous Male Headed	0.9
Single Male Headed	30.2
Defacto female	1.0
Dejure Female	22.6
<i>Distribution</i>	
Highveld	31.1
Middleveld	28.3
Lowveld	34.6
Lubombo Plateau	6.0
Hhohho Rural	13.2
Manzini Rural	15.7
Shiselweni Rural	10.4
Lubombo Rural	11.7
Gazetted Towns	19.8
Company Towns	29.2

Source: SHIES 1995

44. Table 10 shows the share of income that goes to food, by deciles. For the average Swazi, about 48% of all income goes to food, not leaving much for other non food basic necessities. The table shows that the bottom 60% of the population spend more than half of their income on food, compared to about 27% for the richest 10%. Per capita expenditure was computed for each 10% (Decile of the population).

45. The table presents this data in the form of total expenditure, and share of food expenditure from total per capita expenditure¹⁷. Most of food expenditure goes to cereals, understandably so as the mealie meal is the staple food in urban and rural areas. This is closely followed in urban areas by dairy products and in rural areas by vegetables. We will see later that the shares have worsened since 1985 indicating a decline of welfare for the Swazi population.

17

Consumption of own – produced consumed, including imputed rent of owner occupied dwellings, by households was valued and added to cash expenditure in order to compute total expenditure.

Table 10: Food share in total expenditure (1995)

<i>D e c i l e</i>	<i>P . C . E x p e n d</i>	<i>F o o d S h a r e</i>
F i r s t	1 4 . 3 0	5 0 . 5
S e c o n d	2 6 . 0 0	5 6 . 0
T h i r d	3 4 . 2 0	5 9 . 4
F o u r t h	4 2 . 1 0	5 7 . 8
F i f t h	5 0 . 4 0	5 3 . 0
S i x t h	6 0 . 1 0	5 3 . 0
S e v e n t h	7 3 . 9 0	4 6 . 2
E i g h t h	9 4 . 6 0	4 1 . 8
N i n e t h	1 3 4 . 7 0	3 7 . 6
T e n t h	3 5 0 . 0 0	2 6 . 6
A l l	8 7 . 9 0	4 8 . 4

Source: SHIES 1995

5. HUMAN RESOURCES AND POVERTY

5.1. Methods of measuring poverty

46. Measurement of poverty begins with the construction of a poverty line which forms the cut-off point between the poor and non poor . Poverty can be measured in either relative or absolute terms.

Relative Poverty describes an individual's or group's wealth relative to other individuals or groups. Relative poverty lines are usually set as a percentage of average income or expenditure per capita or per equivalent adult. For example 2/3 of the mean. This implies that all persons or households whose incomes or expenditure levels are below 2/3 of the mean are poor. The relative poverty line is thus dependent on the levels of income or expenditure of the particular group of study. It means that the poverty line can be set very high and persons with high incomes but lower than that set cut-off will be considered poor.

Absolute Poverty on the other hand constructs a poverty line based on a fixed poverty line using expenditure/consumption or income. Absolute measures of poverty assume that poverty exists when individuals or households are not able to acquire a specific level of consumption. Levels of consumption often used are those covering food and a proportion for other basic needs such as housing, water, sanitation, health and education. This report uses the food-basket approach of the absolute poverty measure.

The *Food-Basket* approach calculates the cost of acquiring basic food items that provide a basic minimum caloric requirements for an individual per month.

In defining a poverty line a choice is made between using expenditure/consumption or income for the measurement of poverty. Expenditure is usually preferred as households are more likely to report expenditure accurately than income. Income based poverty tends to be higher than expenditure based. This report uses expenditure in the measurement of poverty.

5.2 *Poverty Lines in Swaziland*

47. The construction of a poverty datum line requires the collection of household income and expenditure. In Swaziland there have been very few large scale surveys on incomes and expenditures before 1995. A very limited analysis on the dimensions of incomes and expenditures was done on the data. The survey lacked some background data needed for a detailed analysis.

5.3 *Basic needs approach to poverty*

48. To have a complete study of household welfare, there is a need to have indicators of households' access to the basic needs of life. The basic needs often referred to besides food are: safe water and sanitation, shelter, good health, education, and household's easy access both in terms of affordability and distance, to various economic and social infrastructure such as schools, health facilities, markets, public transport. It has become a practice for countries or groups of countries to set some goals to be achieved in a certain time period. ***Most countries now include in their plans, specific goals such as to reduce child malnutrition from a certain level to a lower level, by the year 2000, and so on and use the same goals to evaluate their performance each year in-between.***

49. The two surveys being used in this report collected information which have provided a number of social indicators such as school attendance rates, education levels attained by the population, incidence and prevalence of various illnesses, employment and other income generating opportunities, food production, victimization, political participation, under-five children's health and nutrition, prevalence of child labor, households who experienced deaths, households' access to various facilities such as quality housing, safe drinking water, sanitation, various social and economic infrastructure, and coping strategies. Details of these indicators are provided in separate reports.

5.4 *Overview of The Swaziland Household Expenditure and Income Survey*

5.4.1 *Survey Description:*

- *Implementation:* The survey was carried out by Central Statistical Office.

- *Funding:* The project was funded by the World Bank and technical assistance was provided by the Board of Investments and Technical Support (BITS) and Statistics Sweden.
- *Dates of data collection:* The data collection was spread over 12 month period, from November 1994 to October 1995.
- *Coverage:* National coverage, however, households located in urban areas were slightly over sampled.
- *Sample size:* Initially 6350 homesteads were sampled with systematic random sampling within the EA. But following correction for non-response in household expenditure and under-reporting, the total sample size was reduced to 6246 households, of which 4612 rural and 1634 urban.
- *Sampling design:* The 1986 census enumeration areas (EAs) was used as the primary sampling unit. The homesteads were used as secondary sampling unit, and a two-stage stratified random sampling was used to draw households. Out of 1079 EAs, 216 were sampled. The EAs were selected using probability proportional to size.
- *Type of survey:* Income and Expenditure survey
- *Number of visits:* Data collection performed on multiple visits to the household.

50. *Total expenditure variable:* Data on household expenses and consumption was gathered on a wide range of items, including food and non-food. However, food consumption and home produced food was underestimated during the data collection process. Moreover, over 20% of household lack information on rent. For these households, expenditure on food, owned produced food, and rent expenses were imputed for households missing these information in rural areas.

Method of imputation

- All food and rent expenses were subtracted from the total consumption expenditure in each household, and the per capita deciles were calculated from the residual expenditure.
- The households were then classified into these ten groups of expenditure decile.
- Missing values of total consumption in each household and across decile were imputed by the mean consumption of all own produced food in each decile.
- Similarly, the estimated mean of household expenditure on rent across decile for households with values of rent different from 0 was used to impute households lacking information on rent.

51. *Correction for seasonality:* Since the survey was conducted over a full year period, variation in total consumption expenditure could well be attributed to seasonality in the pattern of consumption. To account for these variations, price deflators were used to adjust for over time and regional price differences. In particular, a regression model with a host of independent variables, and total expenditure as dependent variable was used to estimate seasonal differences. Independent variables include months, education, housing, demographic. The intercept and monthly parameters were used to calculate the monthly weights which were then used as the basis for accounting for these variations.

52. *Industry and occupation variable:* The international Standard Industrial Classification of all economic activities (ISIC) available in the revised System of National Account (1993) was used to reconstruct the following two variables in the standardized data file: "Industry" for type of industry and "occupa" for occupation.

5.4.2 Other Sources of data are:

- The SHIES I (1985); Survey Report;
- The Africa Development Indicators (1997);
- World development Report: 1997

5.4.3 The poverty line

53. The approach¹⁸ used in this paper is based on the classification of the poor and non-poor households in relation to their level of total expenditure (food and non-food). This is done in two ways. First two lines are set relative to the standard of living in Swaziland: (i) a total poverty line equivalent to 67.25 Emalangenis per capita; and (ii) a food poverty line of 47.70 Emalangenis per capita per month. Households are classified into one of three mutually exclusive groups separated by these poverty lines, either as (i) food poor;¹⁹ (ii) total poor; or (iii) non-poor. Second, poverty indices are calculated for a variety of socio-economic groups within Swaziland.

54. For details on the construction of the poverty line, see “Poverty profile of Swaziland”: Statistics Sweden. 1997. Briefly, the poverty line involved selecting a food bundle that yields 2100 calories per person per day. the food bundle was typical of the food consumption of the poor households, where households in the first two deciles or the poorest 20% on the expenditure scale were considered as the poorest households. *The food bundle was then valued at median prices for each food item, to yield a food poverty line of 47.70 Emalangeni per capita per day.* Because of the cost of non-food items was significantly different between urban and rural areas, different adjustments were made to the food poverty line to yield *67.25 emalangeni for rural and 72.20 as upper poverty lines for urban areas.*

5.4.4 Poverty Indices

55. Three indices of poverty will be used to describe the distribution, depth and severity of poverty in Swaziland as developed by Foster, Greer and Thorbecke (1984). These indices are:

P_0 Is simply a *head-count ratio* or the *prevalence of poverty*. It indicates the proportion of the population below the poverty line. The higher the index, the greater the proportion of individuals or households who are poor.

P_1 indicates the *depth of poverty* or the *poverty gap index*. It shows the average gap between the expenditure or income of a poor individual or household and the poverty line. The higher the index number the greater the poverty gap.

P_2 Is the *severity of poverty index*, or the square of the gap of each poor individual from the

¹⁸ There is now a large literature on approaches to poverty measurement (see Sen, 1986; Donaldson and Weymark, 1986). However, the chosen measure of poverty must be able to capture a range of value judgements on the extent and significance of poverty, at the same time it must be easy to handle and interpret. One set of measures that have been found to be appropriate are those proposed by Foster, Greer, and Thorbecke (1984).

¹⁹ Food poor and Extreme poor have been used in this report to mean the population or households that fall in the group cut off by the bottom poverty line of E47.70.

poverty line. P_2 is more sensitive to the most poor persons in society by giving them a higher weight in calculating the depth of poverty. This means that the further away a person is from the poverty line, the higher the value of the P_2 index. The index will give a smaller weight for persons just below the poverty line than those much below. Therefore, the higher the value of this index, the more severe the poverty.

The general formula for the above indices is:-

$$P\alpha = \frac{1}{N} \sum_{i=1}^n \left(\frac{Z - Y_i}{Z} \right)^\alpha$$

Where: N = the total population in the group of interest.

Z = the poverty line.

n = the number of individuals below the poverty line.

Y_i = capita expenditure or income of the household in which the individual lives.

α = the parameter that takes the value 0,1,2.

$Z - Y_i$ = the gap between the poverty line and the income for each poor individual.

The indices are then derived as follows:-

$$P_0 = \frac{n}{N}$$

$$P_1 = \frac{1}{N} \sum_{i=1}^n \left(\frac{Z - Y_i}{Z} \right)$$

$$P_2 = \frac{1}{N} \sum_{i=1}^n \left(\frac{Z - Y_i}{Z} \right)^2$$

5.4.5 *Interpreting the tables*

The tables in the report are arranged as follows:-

1. Population in food and moderate poverty;
2. Total poverty (P_0). That is the food poor and all poor combined and their distribution across socioeconomic groups ;
3. Depth of poverty (P_1) which was explained earlier and their distribution across socioeconomic groups;
4. Severity of poverty (P_2) which was also explained earlier and their distribution across socioeconomic groups.

6. PROFILE OF THE POOR

The participatory assessment defined the poor in Lubombo as follows:

- ◇ the woman who has lost a husband;
- ◇ the woman who is old and cannot till the soil;
- ◇ the woman who does not have children;
- ◇ the woman who has been neglected by her children.

It goes further to define the temporarily poor as:

- ⇒ those who could feed themselves before the drought and are now hungry;
- ⇒ previously prosperous cotton farmers who are now struggling like everyone else;

A third category is the new poor, who are defined as:

- ◇ previously non poor who have lost their cattle through cattle rustling;
- ◇ widows whose husbands had left them cattle but who now have nothing to sell to educate their children.

Different definitions were used for different regions, because each group defined its own wealth categories, and its own boundaries between categories. Many of the focus groups were unable to quantify the number of households in each category.

The section that follows looks at three poverty indicators generated from the poverty lines. These indicators are described in the annex.

56. A poverty profile is a study in which (i) the incidence of poverty in specified regions and socioeconomic groups is measured by reference to a poverty line and (ii) the differences in the sources of income, the patterns of expenditure, and living standard achievements between the poor and non poor are measured. This should make it possible to identify targeted policy measures capable of reaching the poor and to evaluate the impact of proposed policy measures on the poor.

57. The poverty profile presented here is "static" in the sense that it refers to one particular point in time. The data for this analysis is from a 1995 Swaziland income and expenditure survey (SHIES) conducted by the Central Statistics Office (CSO), with a sample of 6350 households selected nationally, with 4776 rural and 1574 urban. The poverty profile therefore, serves as a point of comparison with the analysis of the 1985 and 1995 data which will permit "dynamic" or "over-time" analysis. At the same time, it is hoped that the analysis will serve the purpose of guiding policy decisions aimed at the reduction of poverty in Swaziland. An attempt has been made to make comparisons with poverty in Swaziland in 1985.

58. In order to define poverty, it is necessary to have a measure of the standard of living and to choose a level which separates the poor from the non-poor. Various methods have been

suggested, including income, expenditure, the proportion of expenditure allocated to food, caloric intake, and nutritional status, as well as "intangible" criteria such as freedom, the right to vote, gender equality, and other factors. The data available and used in this report does not lend itself to intangibles or physical quantities of food consumed. "Total Real Per Capita Expenditure" has been used as a proxy for the standard of living of the households interviewed by the SHIES of 1995.

6.1 NATIONAL POVERTY

59. Based on the poverty lines above, it is estimated that about 62% of Swazis live in poverty. 42% of who do not have sufficient income to meet their daily food needs of 2200 calories. These are called the food poor.

Table 11: Distribution of national poverty (1995)

REGION	Prevalence of Poverty (%)				Poverty Indices			
	Distrib- ution of		Distrib- ution of		Distrib- ution of		Poverty Severity Index	Distrib- ution of Poverty Severity Index
	Food Poor	food poor	Total Poor	Total Poor	Poverty Gap Index	Poverty Gap Index		
Urban	31.4	15.7	45.2	15.6	19.7	11.5	11.7	12.2
Rural	45.2	84.3	65.5	84.4	28.0	88.5	15.4	87.8
Swaziland (National)	42.2	100	61.2	100	26.7	100	14.9	100
Hhohho Rural	41.3	18.1	63.3	19.1	24.0	16.9	11.7	14.8
Manzini Rural	34.9	17.7	55.3	19.4	22.0	15.7	11.7	14.9
Shiselweni Rural	56.5	32.8	74.1	29.7	35.5	38.7	21.0	40.9
Lubombo Rural	45.9	15.9	69.1	16.3	29.2	17.4	16.3	17.4
Gazetted Towns	32.6	11.8	46.5	11.6	20.5	8.8	12.3	9.4
Company Towns	28.2	3.8	41.6	3.9	17.5	2.5	10.1	2.6

Source: SHIES 1995

60. About 57% of the population in Shiselweni rural live in food poverty, they make up the largest proportion of food poor accounting for about 33% of all food poor in Swaziland. Table 11 shows national poverty indices and the respective elasticities. The table shows the prevalence of poverty or headcount (P_0) index, estimated at 61.2% (42.2% food poor and 19.0% other poor) of the population in 1995. The first column shows the food poor at the urban, rural and national levels. The table shows that 31.4% of the urban and 45.2% of the rural population live in food poverty, the two adding up to 42.2% of the total population living in food poverty. The next column shows the distribution of the food poor. The column shows that 31.4% of the urban population is food poor, they only make up 15.7% of all food poor in Swaziland. About 57% of the population in Shiselweni rural live in food poverty, they make up the largest proportion of food poor accounting for about 33% of all food poor in Swaziland, more than double the number of food poor in all urban areas combined.

61. The next column shows that Shiselweni rural has 74.1% of its population in poverty, and accounts for almost 30% of all poor in Swaziland. The next two columns show the poverty gap index and its distribution. One finds again that the gap is largest in the rural areas, with Shiselweni rural accounting for almost 39% of the gap in poverty. What is true of the gap is even more so for the severity of poverty.

6.1.1 National Poverty Growth projections

62. Improvements in income inequality yields a (31%) more improvement in poverty gap than a 1% increase in income. The same improvement in inequality produces more than twice (2.1) times the effect of increases in expenditure on the severity of poverty. Table 12 shows the changes that will occur in the headcount with real increases in income all else equal. The first column shows that a 0.8% increase in the mean per capita income will be followed by a 1% decrease in the headcount. It also shows that a 0.3% improvement in inequality will be followed by a 1% decrease in headcount. Furthermore, the table shows that a 1% increase in real PC expenditures will be followed by a more than 1% decline in the poverty depth. In the same light, a 1% improvement in income distribution, will be accompanied by a 1.7% decline in the depth of poverty. A 1% increase in mean consumption yields a 1.5% decline in the severity of poverty, while a 1% improvement in income inequality yields 3.1% decline in the severity of poverty. As will be shown later, the incidence of poverty increased very slightly between 1985 and 1995. Although there was a slight decrease in poverty in the rural areas, this was offset by an increase in urban poverty. Growth and redistribution in urban areas only helped to increase the headcount, depth and severity of poverty.

Table 12: National poverty incidence and growth elasticities (1995)

Index	Value	Growth Elasticity	
		With respect to Mean Cons.	With Respect to Gini Index
NATIONAL (Gini Index=0.494)			
Headcount	61.2	-0.8	0.3
Poverty Gap	26.7	-1.3	1.7
Severity	14.9	-1.5	3.1
RURAL (Gini Index=0.428)			
Headcount	65.5	-0.9	0.1
Poverty Gap	28.0	-1.3	1.2
Severity	15.4	-1.6	2.3
URBAN (Gini Index=0.560)			
Headcount	45.2	-0.8	1.0
Poverty Gap	19.7	-1.1	3.6
Severity	11.7	-1.3	6.5

Source: SHIES 1995

6.1.2 Different Growth projections

63. Table 14 shows the effect of a 1% distributionally neutral growth on poverty levels. The table shows that if the poverty line stayed at 67.25 emalangeni and real income levels increased by 1% annually in the year 2005, poverty headcount would be reduced to about 55% of the population. Average income levels would have to be at 97.35 Emalangenis per capita per month. However, headcount would have reduced by 11%, of the 1995 levels. The depth of poverty and severity of poverty would have each reduced by about 14% for Gap index and the severity by 17% respectively.

64. A 3% growth would reduce the severity of poverty to 9% by the year 2005. The second set of numbers shown in each cell are the growth elasticities with respect to mean per capita income. Suppose that, instead of a 1% growth, the economy grows at 3%, what is the implication to poverty alleviation. Table 13 shows that in year 2005, an additional percentage growth in real

incomes would reduce poverty by 0.9% so that the head count in 2005 would be 52.7% instead of 54.5%. The poverty gap index would be 20.2% instead of 23% and the severity index would be 9.0% instead of the 12.4% shown in the table.

Table 13: effect of a 1% distributionally neutral growth on national poverty and elasticities with respect to mean per capita income (1996-2005)

Year	Per Capita Expenditure	Head-count Index	Poverty Gap Index	Poverty Severity Index
1996	88.13	58.9	26.2	14.9
		-0.8	-1.3	-1.5
1997	89.90	58.4	25.6	14.2
		-0.9	-1.3	-1.6
1999	91.71	57.5	24.9	13.7
		-0.9	-1.3	-1.6
2000	92.63	57.0	24.6	13.5
		-0.9	-1.3	-1.7
2002	94.80	55.8	23.8	13
		-0.9	-1.3	-1.7
2005	97.35	54.5	23.0	12.4
		-0.9	-1.4	-1.7

Source: SHIES 1995

65. Policies aimed at reducing the gap and severity of poverty in Swaziland should be aimed at income redistribution. While policies aimed at reducing the prevalence of poverty should be consumption enhancing. Policies that improve Income²⁰ distribution²¹ by 1% annually would reduce the severity of poverty on the average by 3.4% and poverty gap index by 1.9% on the average. Table 14 tells the story very clearly, policies aimed at reducing the gap and severity of poverty in Swaziland should be aimed at income redistribution. While policies aimed at reducing the prevalence of poverty should be consumption enhancing.

Table 14: Effect of a 1% distributionally neutral growth on national poverty and elasticities with respect to the gini index (1996-2005)

Year	Per Capita Expenditure	Head-count Index	Poverty Gap Index	Poverty Severity Index
1995	88.13	0.3	1.8	3.2
1997	89.90	0.3	1.8	3.2
1999	91.71	0.3	1.8	3.3
2000	92.63	0.3	1.9	3.4
2002	94.80	0.4	2.0	3.5
2005	97.35	0.4	2.1	3.7

Source: SHIES 1995

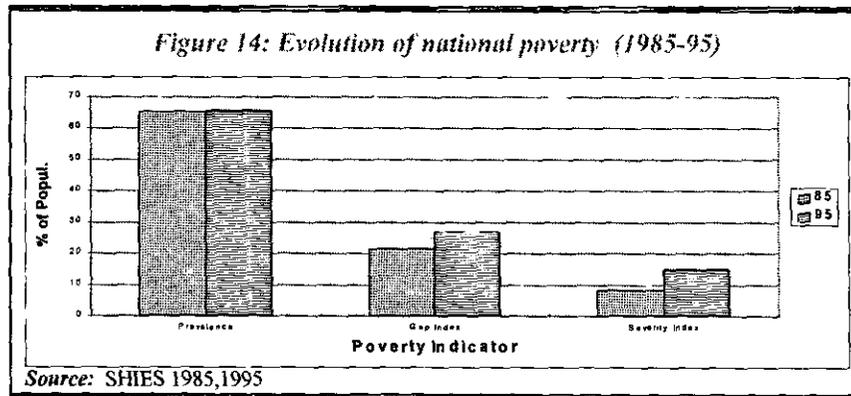
²⁰ Elasticities with respect to mean per capita incomes have an effect in the same direction as the sign before the elasticity. For example,

-0.9 means that an increase in mean per capita expenditures by 1% would reduce poverty by 0.9%.

²¹ The opposite effect is true of elasticities with respect to the gini index. for example, the elasticity of 3.2 means that an worsening in the gini index (implying a increase in the index) of 1% would increase the severity of poverty by 3.2% and vice versa.

6.1.3 How has national Poverty evolved

66. There was a slight increase in the depth and severity of national poverty between 1985 and 1995. Estimates using the SHIES for 1985 and 1995 show that there was a 5% increase in the depth and about 7% increase in the severity of national poverty. Figure 14 shows the estimated changes that have taken place in national poverty²². However, the increase in the prevalence of poverty was insignificant. It is estimated that there was a 0.4% increase in the prevalence of poverty.



67. If the poor are to be assisted in escaping the threshold of poverty, then it is important to know where they live. Consequently, data in the next section, has been disaggregated into rural and urban. The rural data was further disaggregated by regions, to give a clearer picture, while urban data was disaggregated in Gazetted and company towns.

6.2 RURAL POVERTY

6.2.1 Rural Poverty Indicators

68. Shiselweni rural is the area that ranks highest in terms of prevalence of poverty as well as the depth and severity of poverty which is more than twice as high as in "Company towns". The SHIES survey estimated that 96% of Shiselweni population is rural and accounts for at least 31% of the rural population in Swaziland. Per capita expenditures are lowest in Shiselweni where the rural per capita expenditures are estimated at about E61, compared to E75 for Hhohho and Lubombo respectively. Rural Manzini has the highest per capita expenditures of all rural areas. The same is true of urban areas. Shiselweni region as a whole is estimated to have a headcount of poverty of about 79%, higher than all rural areas. Rural poverty is lowest in rural Manzini where the incidence of poverty is 55% of the population compared to Rural Shiselweni

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Poverty estimates for 1985 were done (using "POVCAL" the poverty analysis software designed to handle grouped data) with grouped data, while the 1995 was done with the entire data set. The small differences could be due to the differences in estimation procedures. The comparisons should be done very cautiously.

(table 15). Shiselweni accounts for about 25% of the Swazi population but contributes to 36% of all poor in Swaziland. The depth and severity of poverty in Shiselweni is more than twice as high as it is in "Company towns" and 50% higher than it is in "Gazetted towns", as well as rural Hhohho, and rural Manzini.²³

Table 15: Indices of rural poverty (1995)

REGION	Prevalence of Poverty (%)				Poverty Indices			
	Distrib- ution of		Distrib- ution of		Distrib- ution of		Poverty Severity Index	Distribution of Poverty Severity Index
	Food Poor	food poor	Total Poor	Total Poor	Poverty Gap Index	Poverty Gap Index		
Hhohho Rural	41.3	21.5	63.3	22.7	24.0	19.0	11.7	16.8
Manzini Rural	34.9	21.0	55.3	22.9	22.0	17.7	11.7	17.0
Shiselweni Rural	56.5	38.9	74.1	35.2	35.5	43.6	21.0	46.4
Lubombo Rural	45.9	18.6	69.1	19.3	29.2	19.7	16.3	19.8
Swaziland (National)	42.2	100	61.2	100	26.7	100	14.9	100

Source: SHIES 1995

69. Rural Shiselweni contributes more twice as much as any two regions combined, when it comes to rural gap and severity indices. The distribution of the indices tells a more revealing story. Looking at column two of table 15, it becomes clear that the contribution of Shiselweni (38.9%) to national food poor in rural areas, is almost equal to that of Lubombo rural and Manzini rural combined (39.6%). This is also true of total poverty where Shiselweni contributes 35.2% compared to 19.3% for Lubombo rural and 22.7% for Hhohho rural. Let us now look at column 6 and 8 of the same table. We find that Shiselweni rural contributes 43.6% to all rural Gap index, more than any other two rural regions combined. the same is applicable to the severity of poverty shown by column 8.

6.2.2 Rural Poverty: Growth projections

70. Table 16, shows the effect of a 1% distributionally neutral growth on rural poverty, projected to the year 2005. The table shows that, with a 1% real growth in PC incomes, the rural poverty prevalence would fall steadily from 65% to about 59% in the year 2005, reflecting an 11% reduction in the prevalence of poverty from the 1995 value. This growth in incomes, assume however, that there is no change in the distribution of income. The table also shows that the depth and severity of rural poverty would decline to 24.3% and 13% respectively. The second set of figures, (for example -0.9 in column 3 row 4) shows the elasticity with respect to growth in mean income. In other words, in the year 2000, if incomes were to grow at 3% instead of 1% as described above, the prevalence of poverty would be reduced by a further 1.8% and the gap index would be reduced by 2.8% while the severity index would be reduced by 3.4%.

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The same information has been provided in tabular form, earlier in table 12.

Table 16: Effect of 1% distributionally neutral growth on rural poverty, with elasticities with respect to mean per capita income (1996-2005)

Year	Per Capita Expenditure	Head-count Index	Poverty Gap Index	Poverty Severity Index
1996	72.04	64.6	26.8	15.6
		-0.9	-1.3	-1.6
1997	72.76	64.0	27.5	15.1
		-0.9	-1.3	-1.6
1999	74.22	62.9	26.7	14.6
		-0.9	-1.4	-1.7
2000	74.97	62.0	26.4	14.4
		-0.9	-1.4	-1.7
2002	76.47	61.2	25.7	13.9
		-0.9	-1.4	-1.7
2005	79.58	58.9	24.3	13.0
		-0.9	-1.4	-1.7

Source: SHIES 1995

71. A percentage improvement in the rural gini index would have the effect of reducing the prevalence of poverty by about 0.1% on the average, but the severity index would be reduced by 2.4%. Table 17 shows the growth elasticities associated with the distributionally neutral growth in rural areas. The table shows the elasticities with respect to the gini index associated with a 1% distributionally neutral improvement in distribution of rural incomes. The table shows what was seen at the national level, that improvements in the distribution of income will have a higher effect on the severity index, than increases in the mean per capita income, all else equal. Take for example the year 2000, a percentage improvement in the gini index would have the effect of reducing the prevalence of poverty by about 0.1%, but the severity index would be reduced by 2.4%.

Table 17: Effect of 1% distributionally neutral growth on rural poverty and elasticities with respect to the gini index (1996-2005)

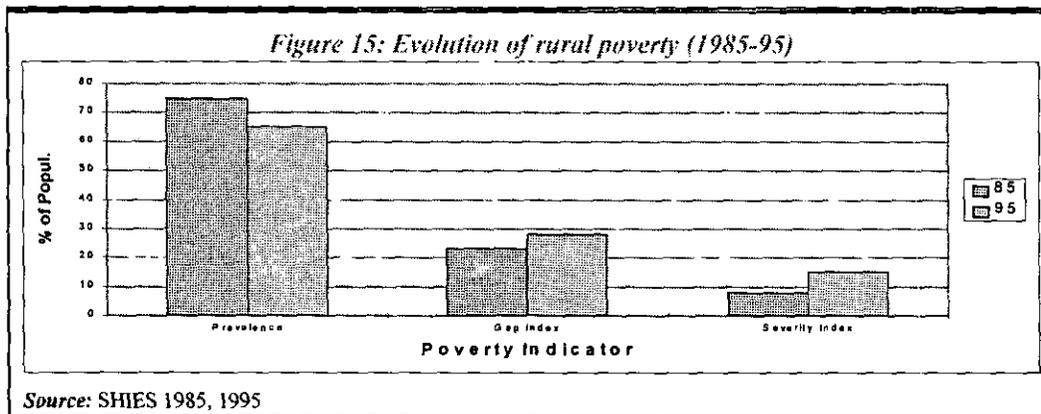
Year	Per Capita Expenditure	Head-count Index	Poverty Gap Index	Poverty Severity Index
1996	72.04	0.1	1.2	2.3
1997	72.76	0.1	1.2	2.3
1999	74.22	0.1	1.2	2.4
2000	74.97	0.1	1.3	2.4
2002	76.47	0.1	1.3	2.5
2005	79.58	0.2	1.4	2.7

Source: SHIES 1995

6.2.3 How has rural poverty evolved

72. There was a slight increase in the depth and severity of rural poverty between 1985 and 1995. Estimates using the SHIES for 1985 and 1995 show that there was a 5% increase in the depth of rural poverty, though there were improvements associated with rural growth and redistribution. There was a 5% increase in the depth and a 7.4% increase in the severity of rural poverty, between 1985 and 1995. It will be shown later that growth in rural incomes reduced poverty by about 8%, and redistribution by another 6%. Despite these improvements, rural poverty increased in depth and severity. One possible explanation could be

the huge change in the rural household size. Between 1985 and 1995, rural households increased from an average of 5.7 in 1985 to about 7.3 members in 1995.



6.3 URBAN POVERTY

6.3.1 Urban Poverty Indicators

73. Poverty contribution from Gazetted towns is three times as high as from company towns no matter what indicator you look at. Table 18 shows prevalence of poverty in urban areas in Swaziland in 1995. The table shows that poverty in Gazetted towns at (46.5% of the population) was higher, than in company towns with 41.7% of the population in poverty. Column two tells us that the Gazetted towns contributed to 75.5% of all urban food poor, more than three times the contribution of company towns (25.5%). The level of contribution to urban poverty by Gazetted towns seems to be consistent over all indicators.

Table 18: Indices of urban poverty (1995)

REGION	Prevalence of Poverty (%)				Poverty Indices			
	Distrib- ution of		Total Poor	Distrib- ution of Total Poor	Poverty Gap Index	Poverty Gap Index	Poverty Severity Index	Distribution of Poverty Severity Index
	Food Poor	food poor						
Gazetted Towns	32.6	75.5	46.5	74.8	20.5	77.7	12.3	78.3
Company Towns	28.2	24.5	41.6	25.2	17.5	22.3	10.1	21.7
Swaziland (National)	42.2	100	61.2	100	19.7	100	14.9	100

Source: SHIES 1995

6.3.2 Urban Poverty Growth projections

74. Table 19, shows the effect of a 1% distributionally neutral growth on urban poverty, projected to the year 2005. The table shows that, with a 1% real growth in PC incomes, the urban poverty prevalence would fall steadily from 41.6% to about 38.4% by the year 2005, reflecting an 8% reduction in the prevalence of poverty from the 1995 value. This growth in incomes, assume however, that there is no change in the distribution of income. The table also shows that the depth and severity of urban poverty would decline to 18% and 10.7% respectively. The

second set of figures in each cell (for example -0.8 in column 3 row 4) show the elasticity with respect to growth in mean income. In other words, by the year 2000, if incomes were to grow at 3% instead of 1% as described above, the prevalence of poverty would be reduced by a further 1.6% and the gap index would be reduced by 2.2% while the severity index would be reduced by 2.6%.

Table 19: Effect of 1% distributionally neutral growth on urban poverty and elasticities with respect to mean per capita income (1996-2005)

Year	Per Capita Expenditure	Head-count Index	Poverty Gap Index	Poverty Severity Index
1996	149.67	41.4	19.9	12.1
		-0.8	-1.1	-1.3
1997	151.17	41.0	19.7	11.9
		-0.8	-1.1	-1.3
1999	154.21	40.4	19.3	11.6
		-0.8	-1.1	-1.3
2000	154.21	40.4	19.3	11.6
		-0.8	-1.1	-1.3
2002	155.88	39.4	18.6	11.1
		-0.9	-1.1	-1.4
2005	163.69	38.4	18.0	10.7
		-0.9	-1.1	-1.4

Source: SHIES 1995

75. A percentage improvement in the urban gini index would have the effect of reducing the prevalence of poverty by about 1.1% on the average, but the severity index would be reduced by 6.5%. Table 20 shows the growth elasticities associated with the distributionally neutral growth in urban areas. The table shows the elasticities with respect to the urban gini index associated with a 1% distributionally neutral improvement in urban income distribution. The table shows what we saw at the national level, that improvements in the distribution of income will have a higher effect on the severity index, than increases in the mean per capita income, all else equal.

Table 20: Effect of a 1% distributionally neutral growth on urban poverty, and elasticities with respect to the gini index (1996-2005)

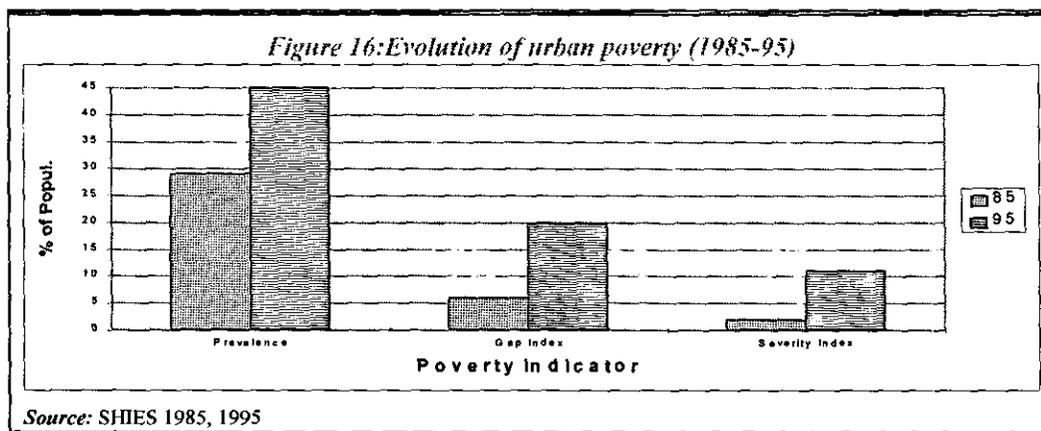
Year	Per Capita Expenditure	Head-count Index	Poverty Gap Index	Poverty Severity Index
1996	149.67	1.0	3.6	6.1
1997	151.17	1.0	3.6	6.1
1999	154.21	1.1	3.7	6.3
2000	155.75	1.1	3.8	6.4
2002	158.88	1.2	3.9	6.6
2005	163.69	1.2	4.1	6.8

Source: SHIES 1995

76. Take for example the year 2000. A percentage improvement in the urban gini index would have the effect of reducing the prevalence of poverty by about 1.2%, but the depth index would be reduced by more than 4% and the severity index would be reduced by 6.8%. Urban poverty reduction policies that stress income redistribution will be three times as effective in reducing the severity of poverty as policies that stress increasing consumption.

6.3.3 How has Urban Poverty evolved

77. There was an increase in the depth of urban poverty between 1985 and 1995. In 1995, there was evidence of a slight decline, but the levels were still higher than they were in 1985. In 1985 the depth of urban poverty was 46.4%, this declined to 19.7% in 1995. Given the high degree of urbanization in Swaziland, particular attention should be given to employment generation in the private sector. Particular attention needs to be paid to the economic role of women in the informal sector as well. Petty-trading is a major source of income for urban households. Access to credit for micro-enterprise in urban areas is limited and ineffective. We saw earlier that in 1995, poverty headcount, depth and severity was highest in Gazetted than in company towns. It will be interesting to find out which of these towns has shown an increase or decline in poverty over the years 1985 to 1995²⁴.



78. The severity of urban poverty is also on the increase. There was a rise in severity of urban poverty, though accompanied by a decline in the incidence of poverty means that the government has to pay attention to urban poverty. Figure 16 shows that the prevalence, depth and severity of urban poverty were higher in 1995 than in 1985. It is the high levels these indicators that most analysts are using to declare that there has been a rise in urban poverty. The rise in the depth of urban poverty raises some concern on poverty trends in Swaziland. Rural exodus, if not matched by increases in urban employment opportunities, is generally going to affect levels of urban poverty. Targeting in urban areas appears very simple. We have just seen that the Gazetted towns combined, have contributed more than three times as much to national poverty whether this is in reference to the prevalence, gap or severity index, the Gazetted towns should be areas of focus if the Swazis want to reduce urban poverty.

6.4 GENDER DIMENSIONS OF POVERTY

79. The gender dimensions of poverty are multiple and complex. Table 21 shows poverty by gender of head of household. The table shows that poverty levels were higher in households headed by females. However, the population living in male headed households account for

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Note: The 1985 data did not lend itself to this type of analysis.

about 70% of all poor in Swaziland. Differences in gender roles and capacities constitute a major obstacle to development and poverty reduction in Swaziland. Women's significant though understated roles in economic production (agriculture and informal sector) and their pivotal position in household management and welfare (food preparation, health and hygiene, child care and education) are central to economic development and social survival.²⁵

Table 21: Poverty by gender of head of household (1995)

GENDER OF HEAD	Prevalence of Poverty (%)				Poverty Indices			
	Distrib- ution of		Distrib- ution of		Poverty Gap Index	Poverty Gap Index	Poverty Severity Index	Distrib- ution of Poverty Severity Index
	Food Poor	food poor	Total Poor	Total Poor				
Male Headed	40.5	69.0	59.8	70.3	26.4	68.9	14.7	68.6
Female Headed	46.9	31.0	65.2	24.7	28.2	31.1	15.9	21.4
Swaziland (National)	42.2	100	61.2	100	26.7	100	14.9	100

Source: SHIES 1995

6.4.1 Poverty and Household Structure

80. In order to look at the effect of household structure on poverty, the household was classified according to the gender of the head as well as the number of spouses in the household. The first structure refers to a traditional household which is male headed and a single spouse, with or without other members of household. The second (polygamous), is also male headed but with more than one spouse in the household. The third, a single male, (bachelor) with no spouse, completes the list of male headed households. The fourth is a defacto female headed, where the female is head by default, either because the spouse went off to work away from home (say in the South African mines), or is absent for some other reason, but in his absence, he is still recognized as the head of household. The final structure is the single female, who has either never been married, or is widowed or divorced.

Table 22: Poverty and household structure (1995)

HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE	Prevalence of Poverty (%)				Poverty Indices			
	Distrib- ution of		Distrib- ution of		Poverty Gap Index	Distrib- ution of Poverty Gap Index	Poverty Severity Index	Distrib- ution of Poverty Severity Index
	Food Poor	food poor	Total Poor	Total Poor				
Traditional Male HH	41.2	61.6	60.9	62.9	26.2	61.0	14.6	61.0
Polygamous Male HH	45.7	2.7	60.5	2.4	27.5	2.5	15.3	2.5
Single Male	31.5	4.8	47.7	5.0	23.2	4.3	12.1	4.0
Defacto female HH	62.5	3.5	76.0	2.9	39.8	4.3	24.0	4.6
Dejure Female HH	45.4	27.5	64.2	26.8	28.0	27.9	15.6	27.9
Swaziland (National)	42.2	100	61.2	100	26.7	100	14.9	100

Source: SHIES 1995

²⁵

While it may seem self-evident to state that, in Swaziland, as elsewhere, both men and women participate in and are affected by economic change and adjustment, what is often not recognized by policymakers is that this occurs in different ways for men and for women, because men and women play different roles, have different needs and face different constraints in responding to economic change and to shifts in policies, incentives and relative prices and costs. This combination of differences arise from fundamental imbalances in the respective rights and obligations of men and women and translates into men and women having highly differential economic capabilities, as reflected in their access to, use of and control over economically productive resources.

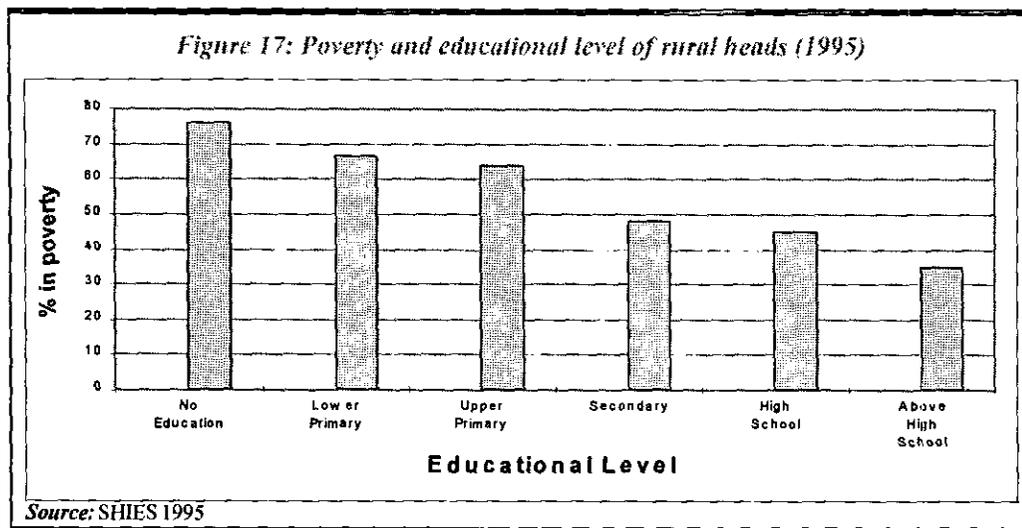
81. Table 22 shows poverty by the different household structures. Column 1 shows that the prevalence of poverty is highest in households headed by defacto females, with 62.5% of the population in these households is in food poverty. However, they contribute only 3.5% to national food poverty and 81.2% in total poverty. Although poverty levels are lower in dejure female headed households, there is a steady increase in the headcount in the family structures. In 1985, 37% of dejure female headed households were in poverty. This increased to 39% in 1993 and to about 45% in 1995²⁶.

82. The gender dimensions of poverty are multiple and complex. They range from the status of female versus male headed households, women's role in the society to discrimination in school attainments as well as in the labour markets.

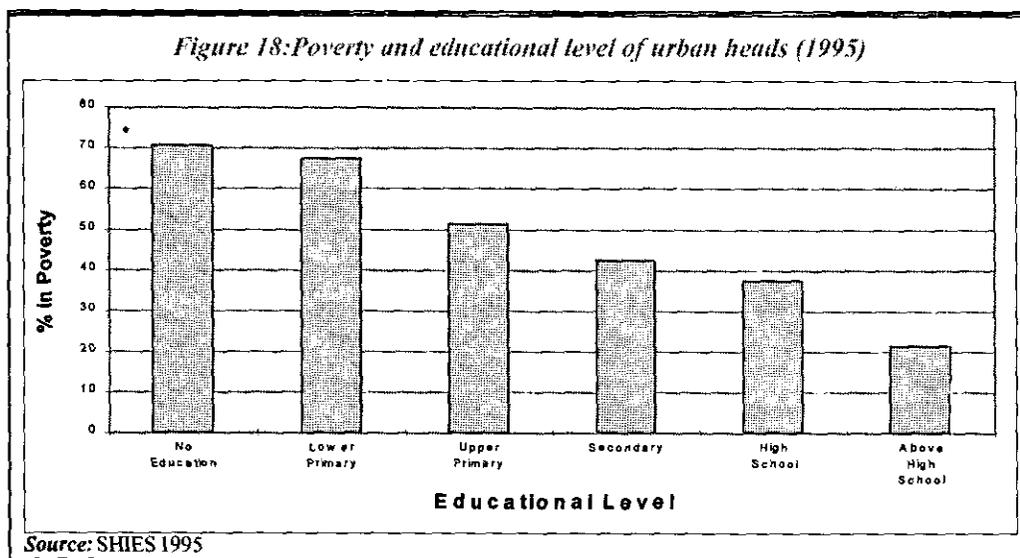
6.5 POVERTY BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF HEAD

83. Figure 17 shows the relationship between poverty and the level of education of the head of household in the rural and urban areas respectively. The table shows that poverty reduces very rapidly with increases in the level of education of the head of household. In the rural areas, more than 75% of the population that lives in households whose heads are illiterate, live in poverty. When the heads attain primary level education, this level reduces by more than 10%. The decline continues with the attainment of each level of education.

²⁶ *Source:* 1985, 1995 Swaziland Income and Expenditure surveys (SHIES).



84. Figure 18 shows the levels of poverty by education levels of urban heads of households. The figure shows that there even a sharper decline in urban poverty with increasing levels of education of the heads. The figure shows that the population living in an urban household whose head has no education, is twice as likely to be in poverty than a household whose head attains just secondary level schooling and three times as likely as a household whose head attains high school education or above. These numbers stress the importance of education as a human resource in Swaziland. Assuring high school education for all will reduce poverty by 60% of the 1995 level.



6.6 POVERTY BY HOUSEHOLD SIZE

85. *Households with one to two members are almost certain to be non food poor. In rural areas where there is greater need for labor at family farms, the size of the household might be an asset as the household then relies on its members to supply the labour needed to work on the farms. In the urban areas, some households are large because of recent migrants who live with relatives who had come to the urban area earlier. In some of these households, one would find low levels of poverty because there are several members of the household who are employed. In the urban areas therefore, the poverty level of the household often depends on the number of working adults in the household. Unfortunately in most cases, the size of the household has a strong correlation to its level of poverty.*

86. *The prevalence of food poverty in households with more than 11 members is more than 11 times the prevalence in households with one to two members. Table 23 shows poverty levels by household sizes. The size of the household, however, should be considered along with other variables to draw any meaningful conclusions. Looking at the first column of the table it is clear that about 5% of the population living in household with one to two members are food poor, the prevalence of food poverty more than triples when household size increase to between three and four members. Households with one to two members, show incidence of poverty below national average. When household size increases to between 5 and 8, the incidence of poverty increases to close to 65%. When household size increases further to between 10 and 20, the household has more than 70 percent probability of being in poverty. The prevalence of food poverty in households with more than 11 members is more than 11 times the prevalence in households with one to two members.*

Table 23: Poverty and household size (1995)

HOUSEHOLD SIZE	Prevalence of Poverty (%)				Poverty Indices			
	Distrib- ution of		Distrib- ution of		Poverty Gap Index	Distrib- ution of Poverty Gap Index	Poverty Severity Index	Distrib- ution of Poverty Severity Index
	Food Poor	food poor	Total Poor	Total Poor				
1 to 2 members	5.1	0.3	12.9	0.8	3.4	0.1	1.6	0.1
3-4 members	16.9	3.9	34.5	5.5	10.7	2.0	4.8	1.6
5 to 6 members	31.1	13.0	51.5	14.8	19.0	9.9	9.5	8.8
7 to 8 members	42.7	22.0	64.5	22.9	26.3	21.1	14.3	20.4
9 to 10 members	52.1	39.1	70.8	36.6	32.5	41.8	18.8	42.9
More than 11 members	58.8	21.7	76.5	19.4	36.8	25.1	21.7	26.3
Swaziland (National)	42.2	100	61.2	100	26.7	100	14.9	100

Source: SHIES 1995

87. *The depth and severity of poverty increases monotonically with increasing household size. In one to two member households the poverty gap is 3.4%. This increases to 10.7% when household size increases to between three to four members. The poverty gap index jumps up to 19% when household size increases to between 5 and 6 members, and continues to increase to the national average when household size is between 7 and 8 members. Beyond 8 members the gap index jumps further to 32.5% and finally to 36.8% when the household has more than 11 members. The same scenario is seen with the severity index. The results from this table are very straight forward. Household size should be limited to at most 6 members. Anything beyond, puts the household at the risk of poverty beyond the national average.*

6.7 POVERTY BY AGE GROUP OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

88. The age of the head of household has a bearing to the level of poverty of the household. Younger heads, say between 15 and 25 just entering the job market, have the tendency to be poorer than older heads who have accumulated wealth over the years. However, after the effective working ages, 15 to 64 households whose heads are retired have the tendency to be poorer.

Table 24: Poverty and age group of head of household (1995)

AGE GROUP	Prevalence of Poverty (%)				Poverty Indices			
	Distrib- ution of		Total Poor	Distrib- ution of Total Poor	Poverty Gap Index	Distrib- ution of Poverty Gap Index	Poverty Severity Index	Distribution of Poverty Severity Index
	Food Poor	food poor						
15-25	29.0	1.4	45.0	1.5	19.8	1.1	11.6	1.1
26-35	31.4	8.6	48.2	9.1	20.2	6.8	10.5	6.4
36-45	38.2	21.0	57.8	21.9	24.4	19.9	13.5	19.7
46-55	44.7	27.4	63.0	26.7	27.0	26.8	14.9	26.4
56-64	45.4	20.9	65.6	20.8	28.6	22.2	16	22.1
65+	49.1	20.7	68.7	20.0	31.4	23.3	18.2	24.2
Swaziland (National)	42.2	100	61.2	100	26.7	100	14.9	100

Source: SHIES 1995

89. With that in mind let us look at table 23 which shows the prevalence and distribution of poverty by the age group of the head of household. Column one and two show that the prevalence of food poverty, and total poverty increases rapidly with the age group of the head of household. The same is true of the gap and severity indices, however, the increases in these two indices is slower with increases in the age cohorts.

7. EXPENDITURE PATTERNS OF THE POOR

90. In this section we look at the food expenditure patterns of the poor and non poor. First we look at the food expenditure shares of the food poor, then the total poor and finally the non poor. Table 25 sheds light into the food expenditure patterns of the poor. Column one shows the food expenditure patterns of the food poor. We will concentrate on items that take up more than 5% of the food expenditure. For the rural food poor, the following items are identified, in order of the share of food expenditure that it uses up: *Own consumption* (26.9%), *Cereals* (18.7%), *imputed food* (11.1%), *vegetables* (7%), *sugar* (6%) and *bread* (5.4). For the urban food poor: *Cereals* (16.8%), *bread* (12%), *dairy products* (11.4%), *vegetables* (8.4%), *other foods* (8.3%), *beef* (6%), *oils and fats* (5.8%), *chicken* (5.6%), and *sugar* (5.5%).

Table 25: Food expenditure patterns of the poor (1995)

Source	Food Poor		Other Poor		Non Poor	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Cereals	18.7	16.8	20.4	17.0	21.6	16.6
Bread	5.4	12.0	4.7	9.3	4.7	7.5
Beef	2.2	6.1	2.5	6.2	2.8	5.8
Chicken	2.4	5.6	2.5	5.5	3.3	4.7
Fish	1.8	2.3	1.3	2.3	1.5	2.3
Other Meats	1.3	4.5	1.4	4.6	2.2	5.6
Dairy Products	3.8	11.4	3.9	10.4	4.1	8.9
Tubers	1.5	2.1	1.2	2.3	1.4	2.2
Vegetables	7.0	8.4	5.1	9.3	5.4	7.6
Fruits	1.1	1.9	1.0	2.1	1.1	2.1
Oils and Fats	3.4	5.8	2.6	5.5	3.0	6.0
Sugar	6.0	5.5	5.3	3.7	4.8	4.7
Other foods	5.0	8.3	4.4	9.8	5.4	12.0
Misc. foods	0.9	3.2	0.9	4.5	0.9	6.2
Alcohol	0.7	1.8	1.0	2.0	1.2	2.4
Beverages	0.9	2.4	0.8	3.6	0.8	3.0
Imputed Food	11.1	0.1	11.8	0.1	8.9	0.1
Own Consumption	26.9	1.8	29.4	1.7	27.0	2.3
Total Food	100	100.0	100	100	100	100

Source: SHIES 1995

91. The same pattern is shown by the total poor, both in the urban and rural areas. with the non poor, mostly the same pattern is shown, however, the consumption of sugar becomes less prominent with this group, but the consumption of other meats now bears a larger weight in consumption of the urban non poor.

8. DECOMPOSITION OF POVERTY

92. In the extensive literature on the relationship between growth, distribution and poverty, or between population shifts, intra-sectoral shifts and interaction between sectors and poverty, some empirical questions have always been asked by policy makers and analysts. How much of observed changes in poverty are due to changes in the *distribution* of income, as distinct from the *growth* in average incomes, or how much of the changes in poverty are demographic - due to movements within regions or sectors. Standard inequality measures can be very misleading in this context.

93. The first set of decompositions in the tables below offer tools for rigorously quantifying the contribution of distributional changes to poverty alleviation controlling for growth effects,

and the contribution of growth, controlling for distributional changes. The second set of decompositions allow for another rigorous quantification of the contribution of population shifts to poverty alleviation, controlling for intra-sectoral shifts and interactions within sectors and the contribution of intra-sectoral shifts to poverty alleviation controlling for population shifts and interaction between sectors. However, like any descriptive tool, these decompositions have their limitations. For example, the decomposition cannot explain if an alternative growth process with better distributional implications would have been more effective in reducing poverty or not.

94. The changes in poverty which occurred in Swaziland between 1985 and 1992 are the net result of two effects: a rise in the mean level of household expenditure per capita and a change in the distribution. It is useful to separate out the two effects, in order to properly assess the policies of the period and to see where future policy needs to be focused. Following Ravallion and Datt (1991), the change in P_a can be written as the sum of a growth component, a redistribution component and a residual. Let

$$P_{a,t} = P_a(U_t/Z, p_t)$$

where Z is the poverty line, U_t is the mean per capita expenditure and p_t is the distribution of expenditure in year t . This decomposition is discussed in detail in Ravallion and Datt (1991), but the basic idea is as follows. For any two periods or dates 0 and 1, the *growth component* of a change in the poverty measure is defined as the change in poverty due to a change in the mean per capita expenditure from U_0 to U_1 , with no change in income distribution. The *redistribution measure* is defined as the change in poverty due to a change in income distribution, with no change in mean per capita expenditure. Hence the decomposition can be written as follows:

$$P(U_1/Z, p_1) - P(U_0/Z, p_0) = [P(U_1/Z, p_0) - P(U_0/Z, p_0)] + [P(U_0/Z, p_1) - P(U_0/Z, p_0)] + \text{Residual}$$

$$\text{Change in Poverty} = \text{Growth Component} + \text{Redistribution comp.} + \text{Residual}$$

The change in P_a between 1985 and 1992 can then be written as

$$P_{a,92} - P_{a,85} = G(85,95;r) + D(85,95;r) + R(85,95r)$$

where r refers to the reference point, which logically will be 1985. With 1985 as the reference year the components will be as follows:

$$G(85,95;85) \circ P_a(U_{95}/Z, p_{95}) - P_a(U_{85}/Z, p_{85})$$

$$D(85,95;85) \circ P_a(U_{85}/Z, p_{95}) - P_a(U_{85}/Z, p_{85})$$

95. The growth component thus captures the changing level of mean expenditure between 1985 and 1995, while maintaining the 1985 income distribution. The redistribution component shows the effect of the changes in distribution between 1985 and 1995, while maintaining mean expenditure at the 1985 level. The residual reflects the interaction between changes in the mean and the distribution. Since the poverty line is kept fixed for both periods, it is important to ensure that the means have been adjusted for changes in the cost of living over the two dates.

Table 26: Decomposition of changes in poverty (1985-95) into growth and redistribution components

<i>P_a</i> Indicator	Total Change	Growth Component	Redistribution Component	Residual ²⁷
<i>NATIONAL</i>				
<i>P₀</i> (Poverty Prevalence)	-0.004	-0.115	0.014	0.105
<i>P₁</i> (Poverty Gap Index)	0.052	-0.099	-0.066	0.217
<i>P₂</i> (Severity Index)	0.077	-0.051	-0.041	0.169
<i>RURAL</i>				
<i>P₀</i> (Poverty Prevalence)	-0.040	-0.082	0.016	0.026
<i>P₁</i> (Poverty Gap Index)	0.050	-0.081	-0.064	0.195
<i>P₂</i> (Severity Index)	0.074	-0.041	-0.036	0.151
<i>URBAN</i>				
<i>P₀</i> (Poverty Prevalence)	0.166	0.028	0.126	0.012
<i>P₁</i> (Poverty Gap Index)	0.137	0.022	0.139	-0.024
<i>P₂</i> (Severity Index)	0.096	0.009	0.100	-0.013
<i>Source: SHIES 1985, 1995</i>				

96. Table 25 shows the estimates of the decomposition of changes in national, rural, and urban areas. The table gives the changes in percentage points, in the two periods of our study 1985 and 1995. For example, the national headcount is estimated to have been 65.1 % in 1985 and increased by 0.4 points to 65.5% in 1995. By components, distributionally neutral growth accounted for a decline of 11.5 points, while the distributional shifts accounted for an increase by 1.4 points; the residual effect contributes to increasing poverty by 10.5 points. The growth component has worked in rural areas to decrease poverty headcount, depth and severity, but in the urban areas, both the growth and distribution components have contributed to increases in all poverty indicators.

9. IMPLICATIONS TO TARGETING

97. From various aspects of the inter-temporal poverty profile presented thus far, one can draw out the implications for targeting, by using two targeting indices. The indices relate to how much impact on aggregate (national) poverty can be expected from a given transfer across different groups defined by a particular household indicator or characteristic. This paper focuses on two benchmark criteria. These correspond to the additive (or uniform) and multiplicative or (proportional) transfers. Additive transfers are generally defined as those transfers where the

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Note: at the national level and in the urban analysis of table 25, the residual has remained high. For example for the poverty gap index at the national level, the residual is 0.217. The explanation for the high residual is simply that *Growth and Redistribution* do not do a good job of explaining the changes that have occurred in poverty in these regions. Further analysis into effect of *population shifts, intra-sectoral shifts and interaction between sectors and poverty*, are some empirical questions that need to be addressed, unfortunately the data available for this analysis did not lend itself to such a detailed analysis.

amount transferred is the same for all persons within the group. These transfers are progressive if it translates into increased or higher proportion of expenditure for the relatively poor. In the second case of multiplicative transfers, the amount received is proportional to the recipient's income or expenditure, these are distributionally neutral transfers. As shown in Kanbur (1987) and Datt and Ravallion (1990), it turns out that, to minimize P_a transfers, groups should be targeted in the order of the observed values of:

$P_{a-1,j}$, for additive transfers and,

$(P_{a-1,j} - P_{aj})/U_j$ for multiplicative transfers.

where U_j is the mean per capita expenditure for group j . The poverty estimates in this paper already provide the needed information on the targeting index for additive transfers; the multiplicative index is easily calculated as will be shown below. In an earlier discussion on the FGT class of indicators, we saw that the squared poverty gap index, with $a=2$ (P_2), assumes that the policy objective is to accord a greater weight to reducing poverty for those who are relatively poorer.

98. Our focus will thus be on P_2 , these indices have been normalized by the national values of the same index and expressed as percentages. Thus, for additive transfers, the relative targeting index is simply given as the poverty gap for group j , as a percentage of the national poverty gap, and similarly for the index for multiplicative transfers. Groups with relatively high values of both indicators may be considered good choices for targeting or for design of policies favoring them. Table 26 shows that between rural/urban areas, the rural sector becomes a favored choice for targeting. Additive and multiplicative transfers for rural areas are 104.9 and 131.1 respectively, compared to 73.8 and 40.0 for the other urban areas.

99. In general, households living in rural Shiselweni, whose heads have no schooling, among the employed, the self-employed, female headed households, feature high in order of preference for targeting. In terms of household structure, rural defacto female headed and polygamous households are good candidates for targeting.

Table 27: Targeting indices by various socioeconomic groups (poverty line E67.25)

Groups and Indicators	Targeting Indicator for Additive Transfers		Targeting Indicator for Multiplicative Transfers	
<i>Swaziland</i>	100.0		100	
Rural	104.9		131.1	
Urban	73.8		40.0	
<i>Region</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>
Hhohho	71.5	89.9	37.9	122.9
Manzini	77.2	82.4	43.3	97.2
Shiselweni	88.4	133.0	75.4	177.3
Lubombo	67.4	109.4	33.3	128.1
<i>Educational Level</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>
No Education	118.7	129.2	71.3	197.8
Lower Primary	121.7	111.6	82.9	155.9
Upper Primary	83.9	96.6	54.8	122.3
Secondary Education	63.7	70.0	39.2	70.4
High School	55.4	60.3	24.9	48.4
University Dipl.	27.3	46.4	14.2	29.9
<i>Employment Status</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>
Employer	168.9	82.4	280.3	117.8
Self Employed	87.6	95.9	60.9	119.6
Employee	56.6	87.6	30.7	99.5
Unpaid Family Worker	164.8	131.5	188.1	193.4
Sick Leave	148.7	127.3	214.2	109.1
Other	130.7	120.2	83.8	165.3
<i>Household Structure</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>
Traditional male HD	75.3	102.2	49.8	124.5
Polygamous male HD	70.0	107.1	35.4	151.1
Single male HD	30.3	101.9	10.4	117.4
Defacto female HD	46.4	151.3	24.2	227.1
Dejure female HD	97.0	106.4	58.0	137.2
<i>Household Size</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>
1-2 members	11.6	16.5	3.5	9.4
3-4 members	39.7	40.4	27.1	36.3
5-6 members	76.0	68.9	61.0	77.6
7-8 members	88.4	100.4	62.9	128.0
9-10 members	125.1	121.4	94.2	176.2
11 and more members	172.3	136.0	93.6	214.8

Source: SHIES 1995

10. GLOSSARY

Absolute poverty: constructs a poverty line based on a fixed expenditure or consumption level. Absolute measures assume that poverty exists when individuals or households are not able to acquire a specific level of consumption.

Relative poverty: describes an individual or group's wealth relative to that of other individuals in the group under study. relative poverty lines are usually set as a percentage of average income or expenditure of the group. Very often 2/3 of the mean expenditure per capita has been used as the poverty line. This implies that all persons or households whose consumption falls below the threshold, are considered poor.

Average per capita consumption: The average amount of consumption accruing to each equivalent adult in the household. The scale assigns a weight to each member of household depending on their age. The weight of 1, is assigned to all persons 13 and above, etc.

Child Mortality: Number of children dying between 12 and 59 months often expressed as a share per 100 live births.

Extreme Poverty: Households with per capita expenditures of K20,181 or below, were considered to be in extreme poverty. The consumption is considered insufficient to meet even the required daily food intake.

Food- Basket approach: calculates the cost of acquiring basic food items sufficient to give 2200 calories for an individual on daily basis. To this amount is added a fraction for non food basic needs.

Gini coefficient/income inequality: The gini coefficient is a summary measure of how unevenly incomes are spread in a given population. the coefficient ranges between 0, representing perfect equality and 1, representing perfect inequality.

GNP per capita: Gross national product (GNP) measures the total domestic and foreign value added, created by residents of a country. GNP per capita is therefore the value of GNP for every individual in the country.

Gross enrollment: the total number of children enrolled at a certain level of schooling (whether or not they belong to the relevant age group for that level) expressed as a percentage of the total number of children in the relevant age group for that level.

Inflation: Increase in the amount of money needed to purchase the same basket of goods and services as time passes by. the increase is generally reflected in a sharp increase in the price level and the cost of living.

Infant Mortality: Number of children dying before their first year, often expressed as a share of 1,000 live births.

Malnutrition: A worsening of health resulting from a relative or absolute shortage of one or more essential nutrients or calories.

Poverty depth or gap: The average gap or distance between the income of the average poor and the poverty line. More specifically, the extent to which the incomes of the poor lie below the poverty line.

Poverty incidence: Also referred to as the *headcount ratio*, is defined as the fraction of the population below the poverty line. For example the proportion of people in the total population whose consumption fell below E71.70 per capita per day.

Poverty line: The value of consumption both food and other items per equivalent adult that is needed for a healthy living, is defined as the poverty line. For example, Swaziland's poverty line was defined as E71.70 per equivalent adult for 1995.

Purchasing power: The number of Emalangenzi required to buy the same amount of goods and services as a U.S dollar would buy in the United States of America.

Real wages: The current value of the earnings of workers adjusted for inflation in consumer goods.

Stunting: Slow growth also known as *chronic malnutrition*, resulting from frequent episodes of acute malnutrition or long-term food deficiency.

Under-5 mortality rate: The probability of a newborn dying before reaching the age of 5, often expressed as a share of 1,000 live births.

Wasting: Also known as acute malnutrition, is defined as a rapid weight loss due to malnutrition.

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11. ANNEX 1

Table 28: Changes in welfare in Swaziland (1985-95)

	Rural				Urban				National			
	1985		1995		1985		1995		1985		1995	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
WATER												
Piped in	7584	7.9	1982	2.2	7901	40.1	21394	44.2	15485	13.4	23376	16.7
Piped Outside	25353	26.5	11165	12.2	8665	44.0	20280	41.9	34018	29.5	31445	22.5
River	47661	49.8	52953	57.8	1593	8.1	3919	8.1	49254	42.7	56872	40.6
Well/borehole	10797	11.3	21386	23.4	924	4.7	2602	5.4	11721	10.2	23988	17.1
Other	4316	4.5	4068	4.4	632	3.2	177	0.4	4948	4.3	4245	3.0
All	95711	100	91554	100	19715	100	48372	100	115426	100	139926	100
HEATING												
Electricity	6353	6.6	2099	2.3	6432	32.6	21802	45.1	12785	11.1	23901	17.1
Coal	10101	10.6	674	0.7	2997	15.2	4194	8.7	13098	11.3	4868	3.5
Wood	76010	79.4	84387	92.2	4508	22.9	7023	14.5	80518	69.8	91410	65.3
Paraffin	1904	2.0	2588	2.8	5327	27.0	11207	23.2	7231	6.3	13795	9.9
Other	1343	1.4	1806	2.0	451	2.3	4146	8.6	1794	1.6	5952	4.3
All	95711	100.0	91554	100.0	19715	100.0	48372	####	115426	####	139926	100.0
COOKING												
Electricity	5874	6.1	1972	2.2	5784	29.3	16642	34.4	11658	10.1	18614	13.3
Bottled Gas	1523	1.6	1906	2.1	1271	6.4	7317	15.1	2794	2.4	9223	6.6
Wood	75594	79.0	85382	93.3	4074	20.7	7776	16.1	79668	69.0	93158	66.6
Coal	9763	10.2	593	0.6	2741	13.9	6355	13.1	12504	10.8	6948	5.0
Paraffin	2365	2.5	1357	1.5	5820	29.5	9520	19.7	8185	7.1	10877	7.8
Other	592	0.6	344	0.4	25	0.1	762	1.6	617	0.5	1106	0.8
All	95711	100.0	91554	100.0	19715	100.0	48372	####	115426	####	139926	100.0
ROOF												
Corrugated Iron	39962	41.8	54961	60.0	15462	78.4	35379	73.1	55424	48.0	90340	64.6
Tiles	528	0.6	1332	1.5	704	3.6	1171	2.4	1232	1.1	2503	1.8
Grass	41830	43.7	33799	36.9	630	3.2	1242	2.6	42460	36.8	35041	25.0
Wood	1299	1.4	1082	1.2	9	0.0	309	0.6	1308	1.1	1391	1.0
Other	12092	12.6	380	0.4	2910	14.8	10271	21.2	15002	13.0	10651	7.6
All	95711	100.0	91554	100.0	19715	100.0	48372	####	115426	####	139926	100.0
WALL												
Stone	1559	1.6	13018	14.2	43	0.2	726	1.5	1602	1.4	13744	9.8
Prefab	181	0.2	383	0.4	112	0.6	727	1.5	293	0.3	1110	0.8
Brick	29857	31.2	31578	34.5	12319	62.5	36111	74.7	42176	36.5	67689	48.4
Mud	27898	29.1	42246	46.1	5253	26.6	9921	20.5	33151	28.7	52167	37.3
Wood	35278	36.9	3967	4.3	1850	9.4	530	1.1	37128	32.2	4497	3.2
Other	938	1.0	362	0.4	138	0.7	357	0.7	1076	0.9	719	0.5
All	95711	100.0	91554	100.0	19715	100.0	48372	####	115426	####	139926	100.0
TOILET												
Flush	17924	18.7	1582	1.7	10461	53.1	25425	52.6	28385	24.6	27007	19.3
Pit	28752	30.0	63195	69.0	8104	41.1	21367	44.2	36856	31.9	84562	60.4
Other	49035	51.2	26777	29.2	1150	5.8	1580	3.3	50185	43.5	28357	20.3
All	95711	100.0	91554	100.0	19715	100.0	48372	####	115426	####	139926	100.0
ALL	95711		91554	65.4	19715		48372	34.6	115426		139926	1E+05

Source: SHIES 1985, 1995

Table 29: Male/female educational levels by region (1985-95)

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	Rural		Urban		National	
	1985	1995	1985	1995	1985	1995
	Popul. %	Popul. %	Popul. %	Popul. %	Popul. %	Popul. %
Males						
No Education	72049 ###	44617 ###	3808 12.1	7402 8.9	75857 33.0	52019 14.5
Primary	112467 ###	155512 ###	14734 46.9	32521 39.2	127201 55.3	188033 52.3
Secondary	16226 7.8	46480 ###	6809 21.7	20458 24.7	23035 10.0	66938 18.6
Tertiary Education	7530 3.6	29742 ###	6058 19.3	22611 27.2	3869 1.7	52353 14.6
All	208272 100	276351 100	31409 100	82992 100	229962 100	359343 100
Females						
No Education	85965 ###	51529 ###	4697 14.0	6631 8.4	90662 32.4	58160 15.5
Primary	129924 ###	162592 ###	16255 48.4	30764 38.8	146179 52.3	193355 51.4
Secondary	23261 9.5	55928 ###	7295 21.7	23211 29.3	30556 10.9	79139 21.0
Tertiary Education	6714 2.7	27031 9.1	5314 15.8	18704 23.6	12026 4.3	45737 12.2
All	245864 100	297080 100	33561 100	79310 100	279423 100	376391 100

Source: SHIES 1985, 1995

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