

Background Paper

The Human Resource Crisis in Health Services

In Sub-Saharan Africa

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Abstract

Addressing the current state of human resources in health, the paper highlights the critical situation of the health workforce in sub-Saharan Africa. It examines the most recent workforce statistics and trends, including geographical distribution. The factors that have and are influencing the availability of human resources are briefly reviewed, focusing on the workforce motivation, the serious brain drain of health professionals, and the increasing impact of HIV/AIDS. The paper suggests that without renewed emphasis on the health workforce crisis, it will be hard for African countries to attain the health-related Millennium Development Goals.

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I. Introduction

In 2000, all 189 United Nations member states endorsed the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). This represented an unprecedented agreement within the development community about key development outcomes (OECD, 2002). The MDGs are a set of 8 goals, 18 targets and 48 performance indicators relating to poverty reduction by 2015. Of these, 4 are directly related to better health outcomes: two-third reduction of infant and under five mortality, three-fourth reduction of maternal mortality, halt and reverse HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria epidemics, and halve the proportion of people suffering from hunger. By some estimates, US \$46 billion per year is required to scale up health services in low-income countries, or implement the needed operations to achieve these MDGs. The majority of these funds would go towards human resource costs, which is a necessary step to increasing the access of the world's poor to essential health services. Only, then, will the disease burden be brought down to the level of the MDGs (WHO CMH, 2001).

This paper addresses the issue of human resources in the health sector, focusing on the situation in Africa due to its particularly, critical state. First, we examine the current condition of the health sector workforce, including the latest statistics and trends. Second, we analyze the economic factors that influence the availability of human resources. Next, we take a close look at the brain drain phenomenon, or exodus of trained health care professionals. Then, a discussion regarding the impact of the HIV/AIDS epidemic on the workforce itself and working conditions follows. Last, we conclude with some issues that governments and development partners must tackle to address the growing human resources crisis in the African health sector.

II. Country Estimates of Health Sector Workforce

Up-to-date statistics on human resources for health in Africa are scant, and when available they remain difficult to standardize and compare internationally.² Despite this data challenge, published figures of health personnel to unit population ratios from the 1960s through the mid-to-late 1990s—and some more recent figures—clearly indicate that a serious crisis in human resources exists. The severe shortage and imbalanced distribution of trained health personnel poses a serious obstacle to the achievement of the MDGs and to the improvement of the overall health of the poor. Here is a quantitative overview of the extent of this crisis.

Latest WHO Statistics

There are a range of indicators that measure the level of human resources for health apparent in a country's health services. The principal indicator is the stock of health personnel, typically measured by the proportion of health personnel among the total population. There are comparability issues in occupational classification, and the distinction between headcount and full-time equivalent of job positions (Diallo *et al.*, 2003). The main problem with this measurement of total population in many developing countries (especially in Africa) is that census results are variable and underused, and often fail to produce micro-data. The roles and professions of health care workers vary as well, making them difficult to define.

² At the time of writing, the most current comprehensive list of health personnel to unit population ratios was a database compiled by WHO's Statistical Information Service (WHOSIS) in 1998, available at <http://www3.who.int/whosis>. WHO staff, however, are currently working on updating that data using a variety of national health surveys. More information on this topic can be found in Diallo *et al.* (2003).

For example, health care-related occupations are mainly categorized under two groups according to the International Standard Classification of Occupations classification system:

- 1) “professionals” (incorporating physicians, nursing and midwives, and other health professionals, such as dentists and pharmacists); and
- 2) “technicians and associate professionals” (medical assistants, dental assistants, physiotherapists, opticians, sanitarians, nursing and midwifery associate professionals and traditional medicine practitioners) (Diallo *et al.*, 2003).

Ostensively then, health personnel to population ratios are somewhat problematic for various reasons; nevertheless, they do provide the clearest starting point in recognizing the extent of the crisis.

The World Health Organization (WHO) Statistical Information Service lists such ratios for most countries and the figures for Africa are appallingly low, especially when compared to other emerging and developed countries. Figures 1 and 2 below summarize the relevant statistics for physicians, nurses, midwives, and pharmacists per 100,000 people in the population around 1998, where data was available. See also Tables 3 and 4 in the Annex. Ten African countries³, out of 45, had fewer than five physicians per 100,000 people, and except for Tanzania, those same countries had fewer than 25 nurses per 100,000 people. The average ratio of doctors per 100,000 people in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) was a meager 17.1, compared to an average of 303.7 in nine selected industrialized countries. For nurses, the same comparison was 89.7 in SSA and 723.6 in industrialized countries. On average, African countries had about 17 times fewer doctors and eight times fewer nurses than developed countries. Even compared to other emerging countries, SSA numbers are strikingly low. For India, Korea and Singapore and Vietnam combined, the average number of doctors per 100,000 people was 98.7; for nurses it was 221.1.

There is significant individual variation among countries throughout the continent. For example, Burkina Faso has 3.4 doctors and 19.6 nurses per 100,000 people compared to 202 doctors and 233 nurses per 100,000 people for Egypt. However, some others are faring a little better: Botswana has 23.8 doctors and 219.1 nurses per 100,000 people, while Congo has 25.1 doctors and 185.1 nurses per 100,000 people. South Africa is somewhat an anomaly with 56.3 doctors and 471.8 nurses per 100,000 people due to its unique history and population. Some of the out-migration issues South Africa faces are addressed in the section on brain drain. See Box 1 for the case of Malawi.

These statistics are not very determinative with regards to pharmacists. While they play a key role in people’s access to medicines, very little data had been collected on their numbers, as shown by the fact that only a handful of countries reported data—both for the industrialized and developing countries.

³ Burkina Faso, Central African Republic, Chad, Eritrea, Gambia, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Somalia, and Tanzania.

Figure 1

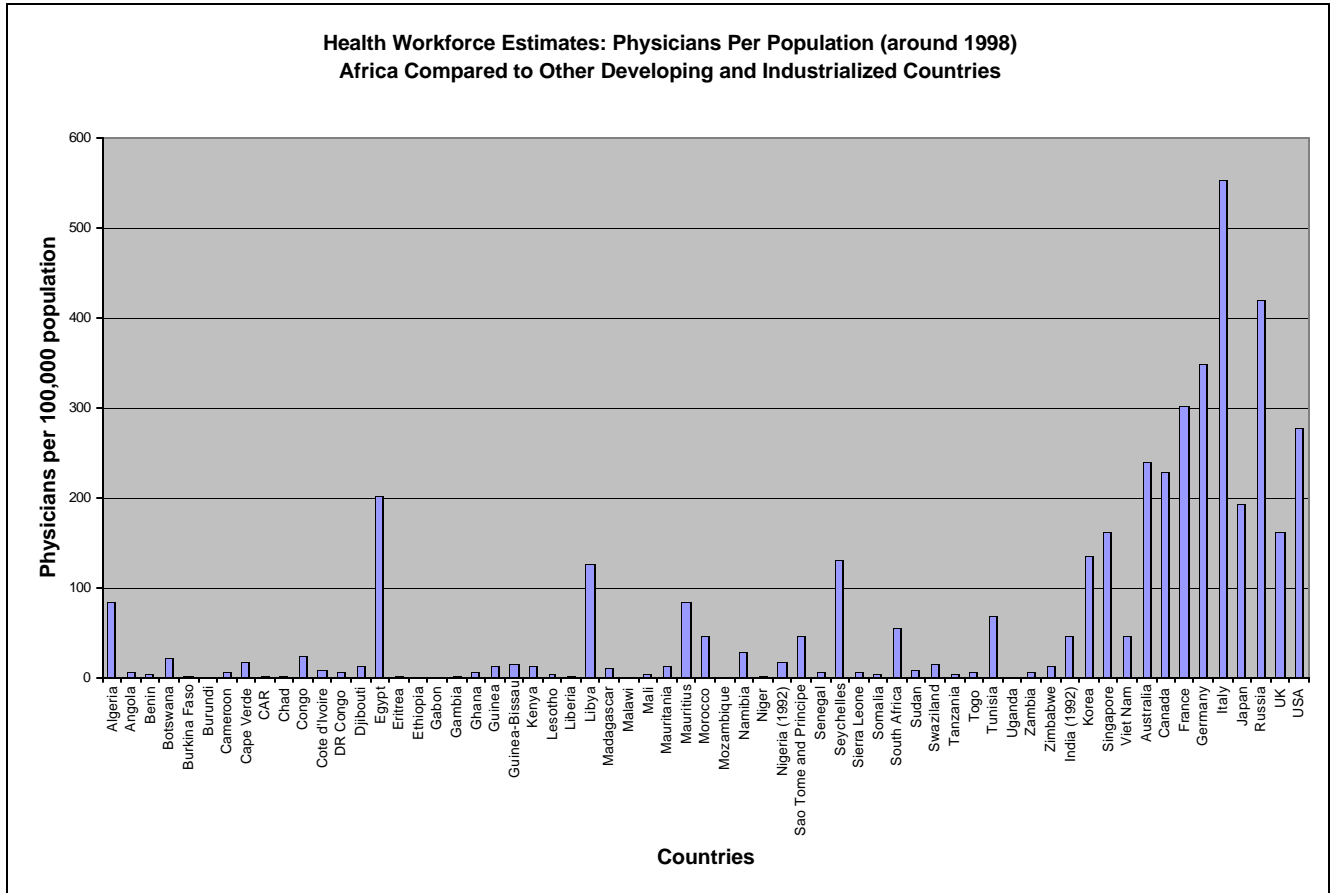
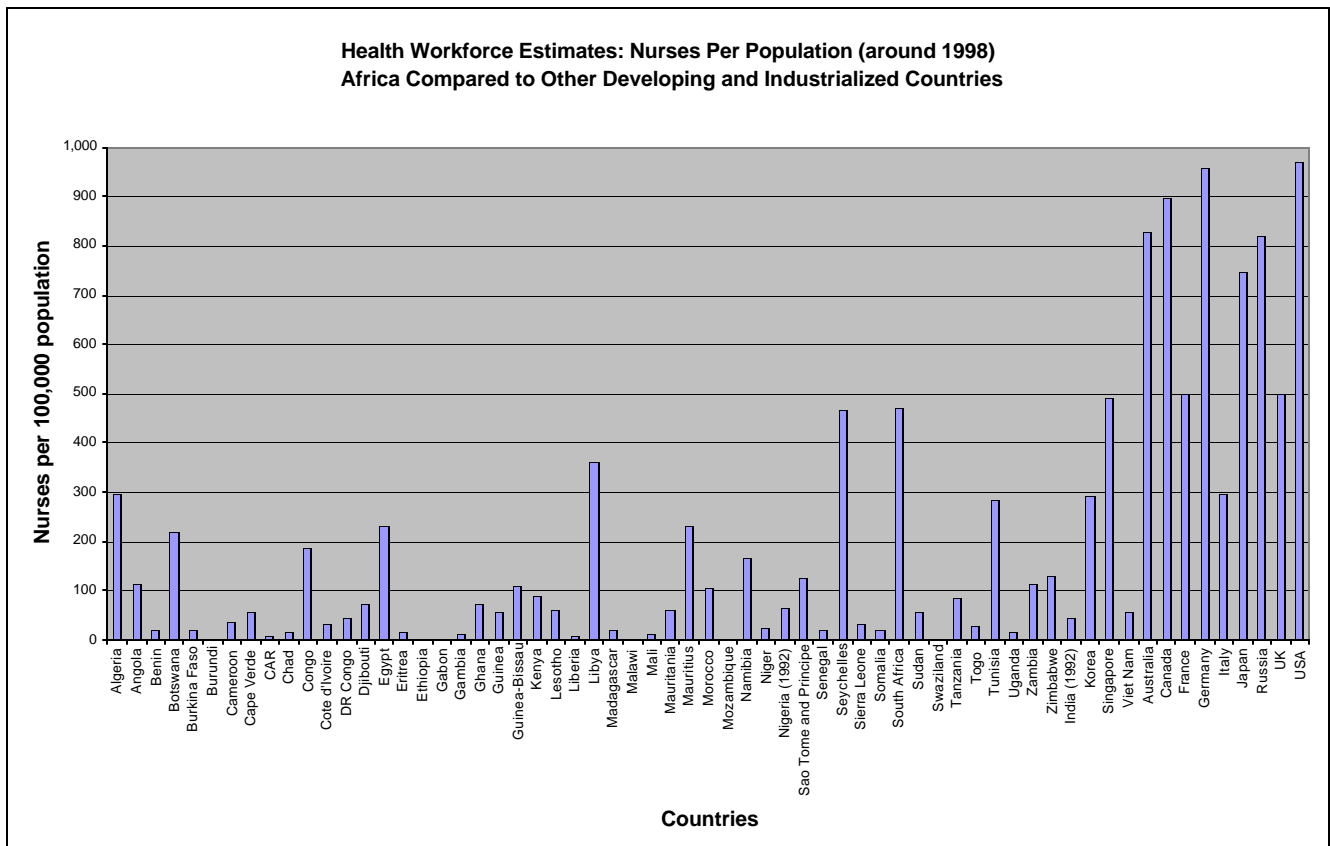


Figure 2



III. Trends in Health Workforce

The number of health sector workers has not even come close to keeping pace with the increasing population growth.⁴ Although these statistics paint a discouraging picture, they provide only part of a larger picture. Issues of health worker distribution within a country and workplace conditions further compound the current crisis.

Figures 3 and 4 summarize the trends in doctors and nurses to population ratios since 1960 for 10 African countries and India (used as a comparator). See also Tables 5 and 6 in the Annex. The following are a few key observations:

- When compared to figures from either the 1970s or 1980s, 7 out of the 10 African countries⁵ experienced a decline in doctors per population in the 1990s. Five of the African countries⁶ experienced the same trend for nurses.
- The proportion of health personnel to population has stagnated or declined in nearly every African country, since 1960. Meanwhile, India has made considerable progress—increasing its doctor to population ratio from 17.2 in 1960 to 48 in the 1990s, and improving its nurse to population ratio from 10.4 to 45 over the same period.
- These figures indicate that ameliorating the human resources for health situation in Africa is an enormous challenge that must be surmounted to adequately serve poor populations. The experience of India shows that it can be done.

In addition to these figures, confirmation that the crisis continues and may be worsening was presented at a recent Consultation of 17 African countries organized by the World Bank and WHO. Background papers documented the following:

- In 1998, medical doctor vacancy rates in the public sector were reported at 43% in Ghana and 36% in Malawi.
- In 1998, public sector nurse vacancy rate was reported at 48% in Lesotho.
- Fifty percent of doctors in public services in Namibia are reported to be expatriates.
- Cameroon had no public recruitment of health personnel for 15 years.
- Data from Ghana, Zambia, and Zimbabwe suggest that annual losses from public sector health employment continue at rates of 15-40% (WHO/WB, 2002).

⁴ As of 2002, SSA had an estimated population of 693 million, which is expected to increase to 1081 million by 2025 according to the Population Reference Bureau's 2002 World Population Data Sheet.

⁵ Cameroon, CAR, Ghana, Kenya, Madagascar, Tanzania, and Zambia.

⁶ Burkina Faso, Cameroon, CAR, Ghana, and Madagascar.

Figure 3

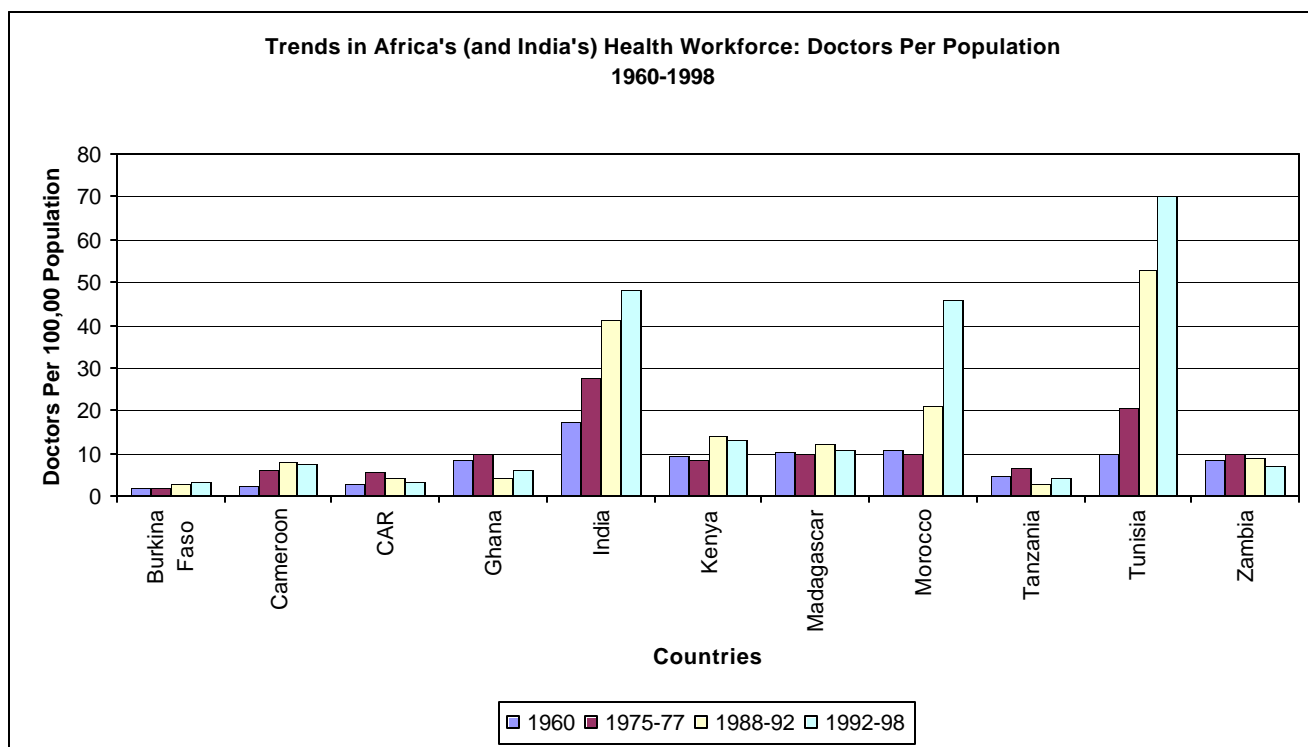
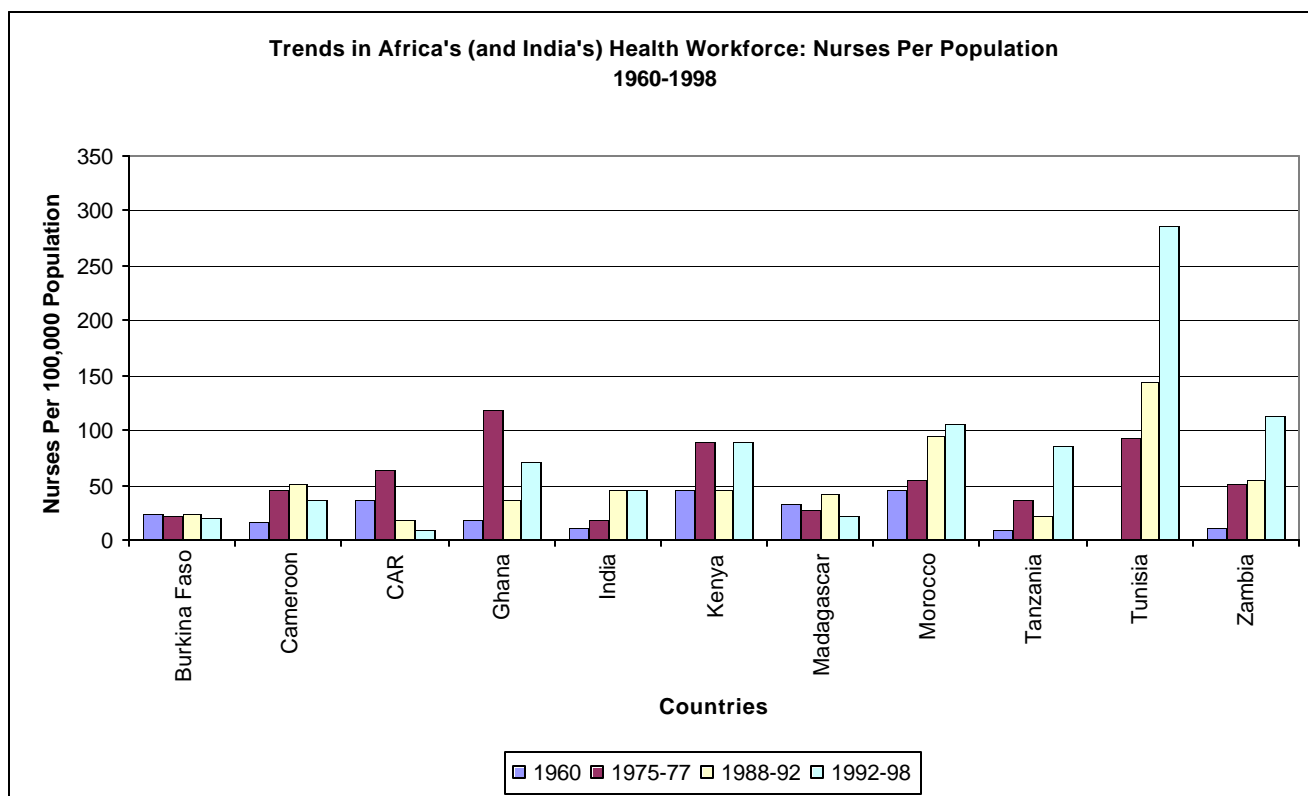


Figure 4



IV. Geographical Imbalances

Beyond national-level shortages of health personnel, imbalances in geographic distribution—especially between rural and urban areas—exacerbate the health workforce crisis (Dussault & Franceschini, 2003). In Ghana, Guinea, and Senegal, more than 50% of physicians are concentrated in the capital city where less than 20% of the population lives (Ghana MoH, 2002). In many countries, a similar situation exists for nurses, pharmacists, and medical technicians. For example, 55% of pharmacists in Ghana work in the Greater Accra region, which has only 16% of the total population; only 2% of Ghanaian pharmacists work in the Northern Region, with 10% of the population (Ghana MoH, 2002). See Annex Tables 5 and 6.

Other recent reports describe this urban-rural split dramatically. In Chad, for example, the capital region of N'Djaména was reported to have 71 physicians per 100,000 people in the population, whereas the Chari-Baguirmi region had only 2 physicians per 100,000 (Wyss *et al.*, 2002; Wyss *et al.*, in press, cited in Kurowski, 2003). A report from Mali shows a similar imbalance. Nationwide, Mali was reported to have about 5.15 doctors per 100,000 people, but that ratio ranged from 18.7 in the capital region (Bamako) to a mere 1.9 in the Koulikoro region (Ministère de Santé, Mali, 2002).

Studies on the health workforce in Tunisia (which has much more adequate nation-wide ratios), Angola, and South Africa equally show geographical imbalances, implying that the urban-rural split is likely to be found continent-wide (Bchir & de Brouwere, 2000; Fresta, Fresta, & Ferrinho, 2000). This indicates that rural populations have much less access to health care services than do urban dwellers, and are often forced to travel significant distances to find any health care, even for their most basic needs.

V. Impact of Reform Processes

The crisis in the African health workforce has been emerging over several decades. Starting from very low levels in the 1960s, many countries' workforces progressed somewhat in the 1970s and 1980s, but stagnated or even declined in the 1980s and 1990s following the well-known wave of economic crises that hit the continent. Macroeconomic constraints discouraged the expansion of personnel and services; thus, the international community and developing country governments have given little attention to health-workforce issues in the past two decades. The health workforce was seen as a drain on the budget rather than an asset for poverty reduction, and unemployment of health professionals even appeared in countries where needs were enormous⁷. Some countries even enacted complete freezes on recruitment of certain health personnel (Ngufor, 1999; WHO/WB, 2002).⁸

The impact from a series of reform processes, starting in the mid-1980s, has been an important factor, which has largely determined the present situation. When many African countries were confronted with a dramatic fall in public revenue from exports for commodities, a series of important reforms were introduced. In many of the countries, the

⁷ CREDESS, Paris, 1999 data for Ivory Coast, unpublished.

⁸ See, for example, the case of Cameroon, Congo, and Cote d'Ivoire

Box 1: Malawi Faces Grave Shortage

The World Bank sponsored a Population, Health, and Nutrition Project in Malawi from 1991–2000. The Implementation Completion Report (ICR) found that under-staffed and under-supplied facilities have become increasingly common, with adverse effects on quality of care. A survey conducted by KPMG in 1999 showed that many district hospitals do not have doctors, that lower-level staff were performing higher-skill functions, and that even in tertiary facilities patients rarely see a doctor.

Among SSA countries, Malawi has consistently had one of the worst population to health worker ratios, with 2.22 physicians per 100,000 people in Malawi, compared to 4.55 in Kenya and 9.09 in Zambia (Picazo, 2002). Currently up to 50% of the available nursing posts are now unfilled. Malawi has struggled with low numbers of health professionals in the past, but the situation has become more acute due to: 1) low pay and poor staff benefits of government workers; 2) an exodus of government workers into the private sector, which offer better salaries and benefits; and 3) the increasing demand for skilled nurses in neighboring countries and in Europe.

The Malawi Nursing and Midwifery Council has also insisted they should produce higher skilled registered nurses (mainly hospital-based, with a longer and more expensive training period) rather than the lower skilled, but more cost-effective community health nurses. In addition, a lack of nursing tutors, severe scarcity of secondary school graduates, limited science education, and increasing death and morbidity from the AIDS epidemic all continue to contribute to the Malawi nursing shortage. Without improvements in training and remuneration of health professionals, Malawi will continue to lose valuable human resources.

reforms were executed through structural adjustment programs (SAP) of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). A central tenet of these reforms included a better control of wages, reduction of public expenditures, privatization of public enterprises, elimination of subsidies, liberalization of the economy, and devaluation of currency in order to achieve sustained growth.

Results of these measures on public servants, particularly on health personnel, were not dramatically different from one country to another. The impact is a lasting one, largely determining the attitudes of health providers and the actual availability of health personnel. In most countries, the SAP reforms went along with public service reform and decentralization of the health sector. Case studies for Cameroon and Ghana, where detailed research is available including interview surveys with health personnel, are illustrative of the impacts (See Box 2).

Although availability of health personnel is a critical issue, a review of World Bank documents in six African countries found that this issue was not adequately taken into consideration—either in magnitude or in dimension (WB/OED, 1999). Moreover, health workforce issues were often not considered, when setting specific health objectives, or promoting civil service or health sector reforms, or not understood in terms of other incentives, preventing governments from addressing workforce shortages.

Box 2: The Impact of Structural Adjustment Programs in Cameroon and Ghana

In Cameroon, government reform was initiated in the early 1980s as part of their Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) administered by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). Measures affecting the health sector resulted in suspending recruitment, strict implementation of retirement at 50 or 55, limiting employment to 30 years, suspension of any financial promotion, reduction of additional benefits (housing, travel expenses, etc.), and two salary reductions—totaling 50% and a currency devaluation resulting in an effective income loss of 70% over 15 years. In addition, paramedical training for nurses and laboratory technicians was suspended for several years and schools closed.

The overall effect was dramatic. In 1999, the health sector budget had shrunk to 2.4% of the national budget from 4.8% in 1993. These adjustments occurred while in the private sector (40% of service provision—mostly denominational) income substantially increased adjusting again for the effects of the devaluation. Thus, the spread between public and private health worker income is large. Not surprisingly, in 1999, jobs in the public sector were about 80% unfilled, and Cameroon had a truly de-motivated health workforce.

Notwithstanding the efforts of many health workers to provide services, in general, a *laissez faire* attitude prevails—with under the table payments, absenteeism and a lack of attention to quality. The perception of punishment inflicted by the IMF and the World Bank is still common. On the positive side, however, budgets have been decentralized and are now available locally and the private sector has been strengthened. The serious shortage of health workers, though, has led to the direct recruitment of qualified personnel by communities and hospitals, which have the financial resources.

In Ghana, the reform process focused on national democratization, decentralization, and the creation of the Ghana health services. While the civil service lost 32,000 jobs between 1987-1989, the health sector remained somewhat a priority and fared better than other sectors. There was also meaningful sector reform with emphasis on the quality of services. Health workers have received some benefits—such as first priority housing in rural areas and increased salaries in urban areas. Despite the well-documented severe shortage of health workers and significant brain drain, the motivation of the health workforce remains good in Ghana (Wiskow, 1999).

VI. Brain Drain

Emigration of highly skilled persons from developing to developed countries has increased in the last decade (Lowell & Findlay, 2001). Growing concerns among many developed countries about actual or future shortages has initiated large-scale recruitment of foreign-trained health workers. Foreign-trained health professionals are estimated to represent more than a quarter of the medical and nursing workforces of Australia, Canada, the UK, and the US (OECD, 2002), and the needs are rapidly growing. This trend is expected to increase with health professionals being increasingly recruited from SSA. The number of overseas trained nurses and midwives registering with the United Kingdom Co-operative Council from SSA⁹ increased from 905 in 1998-99 to 2133 in 2000-01 (Martineau *et al.*, 2002). Moreover, it was estimated that 15,000 foreign nurses were recruited in the U.K. in 2001 and that 35,000 more are needed by 2008 (USAID SARA, 2003). The permanent departure of skilled labor, or brain drain, is depleting

⁹Statistics taken from South Africa, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Ghana, Zambia, Kenya, and Malawi.

human capital in many developing countries and further reducing the possibility for strong economic growth. Lowell and Findlay (2001) aptly interpret brain drain as “the emigration or flight of skilled human capital from one country to the other in search of better returns to one’s knowledge, skills, qualifications, and competencies.” Simply put, the emigration of an individual is a brain drain because s/he is an investment loss to her country by not using the education gained (up to university level) to work there.

A pattern has emerged where doctors and nurses are continually moving to countries with a perceived higher standard of living, creating what has been referred to as a “carousel” of movement (Martineau, 2002). Canada for instance recruits primary care physicians from South Africa to work in remote areas, leaving South Africa to fill vacancies by recruiting abroad as well. More than 600 South African doctors are registered in New Zealand, at a cost to South African taxpayers of roughly \$37 million, reports the University of Western Cape, South Africa. As of 1999, 78% of rural doctors in South Africa were from abroad, mostly from Cuba (OECD, 2002). South Africa presents a rare case because it is one of the few developing countries that pays comparatively higher salaries and is, thus, able to compensate for emigration. Many other sub-Saharan countries are not able to pay competitive salaries and are, therefore, not able to attract health personnel from abroad.

This brain drain is a particular problem in Africa where the challenge of developing and retaining human resources is extremely difficult and fundamental for development (Wadda, 2000). Although data on this phenomenon is sketchy, the International Office for Migration estimates that 300,000 African professionals live and work in the West (Shinn, 2002). Country-specific information shows large losses of health sector personnel. In Ghana, for example, a continuous flow of doctors, nurses, midwives, and pharmacists have left the country directly after receiving their degrees (See Box 3). According to its Health Minister, Kenya has only retained 600 of 6000 doctors trained in public hospitals. This number rose to 1200 after increasing compensation for doctors, which is still below the requirement. Similarly, 4000 Kenyan nurses have left for the UK and the US (Halting Africa’s health brain drain, 2003). In Zimbabwe, only 360 of 1200 doctors trained during the 1990s were practicing in their country in 2000; half of those trained in Ethiopia and Zambia have also emigrated (Frommel, 2002).

Box 3: Ghana's Loss of Health Sector Workers

The State of Ghanaian Economy Report 2002 states that 31% of trained health personnel, including doctors, nurses, midwives, and pharmacists, left the country between 1993-2002. This resulted in the current ratio of approximately 1.48 physicians per 100,000 people (Safo, 2003). This may be an underestimation when compared to a report on Human Resources by the Government of Ghana (Table 1), which includes significantly greater numbers of an array of categorized health workers lost in biannual trends from 1996 to 2002. While both reports signify the extensive degree of brain drain in Ghana, it is questionable whether any of the currently existing records demonstrate accuracy, consistency, and reliability, since variations occur from report to report. As seen in Table 2, the University of Ghana Medical School, the School of Medical Sciences of KNUST, and the UDS Medical School train approximately 150 medical officers annually. However, 50% of every graduating class leaves the country within the second year, while 80% leave by the fifth year (Safo, 2003).

This exodus of medical officers is mirrored in other health sector professions. Out of 944 pharmacists trained from 1995-2002, a total 410 had left the country by the end of 2002. The number of nurses and midwives immigrating to foreign countries is greatest compared to all other categories; of the 10,145 trained between that same period, 1,996 left Ghana by the end of 2002 (Safo, 2003). It is also noteworthy to mention that only 12 medical laboratory technologists are produced annually as of 2002 without guarantee of remaining in Ghana after graduation (Ghana MoH, 2002).

Table 1. Trends in Loss of Trained Public Sector Health Staff, Ghana

CATEGORY	1996	1998	2000	2002
Doctors	1,154	1,132	1,015	964
Nurses (including auxiliaries)	14,932	15,046	13,742	11,325
Pharmacists			230	200

Source: Ghana MoH. (2002). Human Resources Projections from Internal Report.

Table 2. Annual Output of Trained Public Sector Health Staff, Ghana

CATEGORY	Annual Production
Doctors	150*
Professional Nurses	500
Midwives	200
Community Health Nurses	200

Source: Ghana MoH. (2002). Human Resources Projections, Internal Report.

*Safo, A. (2003, July 7). 604 doctors abandon Ghana. *Public Agenda*.

Factors Contributing to Out-migration

To exactly define the factors contributing to out-migration is a difficult task because most health professionals do not report their intention to emigrate; they simply vacate their posts, resign, or ask for leave without pay for an infinite period of time (Awases *et al.*, 2003). Despite this, and that the causes and extent of emigration vary from one country to another, the most common causes can be reduced to poor economic performance, insufficient creation of new jobs, and a limited capacity to absorb qualified personnel. Negative side effects of SAPs, with their associated measures to eliminate or reduce budget deficits and public expenditure, downsizing or retreat of government from economic activity, and the liquidation or privatization of enterprises have also led to the emigration of professionals (Mato, 2002). Awases *et al.* (2003) report that other demotivating factors include a lack of opportunities for continuing education and training, mediocre quality education and training, and inadequate day care facilities for their children.

Political instability, poor working conditions, low salaries, and an overall demotivated workforce have also been cited as factors contributing to out-migration. Today, health professionals in SSA work in extraordinary circumstances. The pressure of having too many patients increases daily stress levels and leads to poor quality of care. Poor working conditions are reported to seriously undermine health systems performance by thwarting staff morale and motivation, and directly contributing to problems in recruitment, retention, and attrition (WHO, 1996). While the many aforementioned factors may demotivate and discourage health care workers, other studies have found that most individuals who do *stay* in the health sector, work hard and receive recognition and status from colleagues and family (Stillwell, 2001).

VII. Impact of HIV/AIDS on Health Sector

While we have touched upon some of the issues affecting the number, distribution, and performance of workers in the health sector, the enormous impact of the HIV/AIDS epidemic merits its own discussion. The epidemic has impacted health sector manpower in two ways: 1) direct costs—labor loss, disability and death benefits, and increasing medical aid costs; and 2) indirect costs—increased absenteeism, reduced productivity, and stressed workforce from additional staff recruitment and training of personnel (Kinoti, 2001).

With a generalized epidemic of HIV/AIDS in many African countries, health care workers themselves are being infected, as they are part of the adult, sexually active population. The impact of HIV/AIDS is serious and is estimated to be the cause of between 19-53% of all deaths of government health employees in African countries, today (Tawfik & Kinoti, 2001). This results in attrition due to death and absenteeism due to sickness. For example, by some estimates a person living with AIDS may be away from work for up to half the time of their final year of life (*ibid*). Caring for ill family members or dependents and attending funerals also contributes to worker absenteeism.

Caring for AIDS patients has made the work environment more complex, difficult and stressful as well as a chilling place to work—with the fear of infection and also with a constant observance of patients dying. One study of Zairean nurses indicated that they had to “work significantly more, sometimes at double effort, to care for AIDS patients” (Lombela, 1996; cited in Kinoti, 2002).

The HIV/AIDS epidemic has placed additional strain on the health care sector and contributed to the human resource crisis. But the extent of the impact of HIV/AIDS on the health care sector is not fully known. More comprehensive country-level assessments of the impact are needed.

VIII. Conclusion

Given the crisis in the health sector human resources outlined in this paper, the health-related MDGs are arguably difficult targets for most African countries to attain. However, MDGs are useful in highlighting underlying problems or constraints hindering their attainment. See Box 4 below for case studies.

Box 4: Requirements for Scaling Up: Case Study of Chad and Tanzania

In 2003, Kurowski *et al.* undertook case studies of Tanzania and Chad to look at the ‘role and importance’ of human resources for scaling up health services in low-income countries. This study examined the size, structure, and compositions of the health workforces; estimated future human resource availability and requirements for scaling up priority interventions as recommended by the Commission on Macroeconomics and Health.

The study indicates that future staff availability is grossly insufficient for the scaling up of priority interventions, accounting for only 40% and 20% of requirements in Tanzania and Chad, respectively, by 2015. Shortages are likely to be greater than indicated, since the total health workforce would not be available for the provision of priority interventions. Even if training capacities would be immediately increased by 50%, the 2015 workforce would constitute only 45% and 25% of total human resource requirements.

The study also identified four priority issues for scaling up, which merited further research: 1) geographical imbalances must better be understood and overcome; 2) more needs to be known about health staff attrition rates—especially due to emigration—which has implications for training; 3) how can staff productivity (estimated at approximately 50 to 65%) can be improved through better staff management; and 4) alternative service delivery mechanisms need to be developed. Finally, the authors urged decades-long international commitment to scaling up, to ensure that the efforts made are not wasted.

Some of the key issues that African governments and development partners should focus on, to address this human resource crisis in the health sector, include:

- Recognizing the importance to align health sector, civil service and macroeconomic policies and their objectives to improve the HWF performance
- Acknowledging that African countries must offer internally competitive wages and benefit packages to retain highly trained staff; this includes increasing compensation so that workers receive a living wage, and do not have to seek outside employment or under-the-table payments for services to survive
- Investing into training capacities, in particular training that is specifically oriented to the needs of national markets to stem brain drain
- Improving training and knowledge regarding HIV/AIDS to decrease risk for workers, address fears and misconceptions, and improve patient care
- Investing into HIV/AIDS prevention and care to mitigate the impact of the epidemic on the demand for health services and to prevent any further depletion of the workforce
- Exploiting alternative service delivery mechanisms (community based, syndromic approaches) to reduce the workload of health personnel
- Improving the non-monetary incentive frameworks faced by health personnel (e.g. continuous training, supervision, appropriate equipment) to improve motivation and thus the productivity and quality of the health workforce

The limited availability of human resources in Africa is likely to singularly determine the pace of scaling-up services and to limit the capacity to absorb additional financial resources.

* * *

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Annex

Table 3: WHO Estimates of Health Personnel Per Population From Africa

Figures are from one year between 1994-1998, unless otherwise noted

Country	Rate per 100,000 population / Year			
	Physicians	Nurses	Midwives	Pharmacists
Algeria	84.6	297.8	NA	NA
Angola	7.7	114.5	4.3	NA
Benin	5.7	20.4	7.9	NA
Botswana	23.8	219.1	0.0	NA
Burkina Faso	3.4	19.6	3.4	NA
Cameroon	7.4	36.7	0.5	NA
Cape Verde	17.1	55.6	NA	NA
CAR	3.5	8.8	4.9	NA
Chad	3.3	14.7	2.3	NA
Congo	25.1	185.1	24.9	NA
Côte d'Ivoire	9.0	31.2	15.0	NA
DR Congo	6.9	44.2	NA	NA
Djibouti	14.0	74.0	NA	2.0
Egypt	202.0	233.0	NA	56.0
Eritrea	3.0	16.0	2.2	NA
Gambia	3.5	12.5	8.2	NA
Ghana	6.2	72.0	53.2	NA
Guinea	13.0	55.7	5.2	NA
Guinea-Bissau	16.6	109.4	12.7	NA
Kenya	13.2	90.1	NA	NA
Lesotho	5.4	60.1	47.0	NA
Liberia	2.3	5.9	4.3	NA
Libya	128.0	360.0	NA	23.0
Madagascar	10.7	21.6	10.7	NA
Mali	4.7	13.1	3.0	NA
Mauritania	13.8	62.4	10.1	NA
Mauritius	85.0	232.9	NA	NA
Morocco	46.0	105.0	NA	11.0
Namibia	29.5	168.0	116.5	NA
Niger	3.5	22.9	5.5	NA
Nigeria (1992)	18.5	66.1	52.4	NA
Sao Tome and Principe	46.7	127.4	29.6	NA
Senegal	7.5	22.1	6.6	NA
Seychelles	132.4	467.6	394.6	NA
Sierra Leone	7.3	33.0	4.7	NA
Somalia	4.0	20.0	NA	0.1
South Africa	56.3	471.8	NA	NA
Sudan	9.0	58.0	NA	1.1
Swaziland	15.1	NA	NA	NA
Tanzania	4.1	85.2	44.8	NA
Togo	7.6	29.7	10.4	NA

Tunisia	70.0	286.0	NA	17.0
Uganda	NA	18.7	13.6	NA
Zambia	6.9	113.1	NA	NA
Zimbabwe	13.9	128.7	28.1	NA
Africa Region Average	27.2	106.6	30.9	NA

Source: WHO Statistical Information Service. May be accessed at <http://www3.who.int/whosis>.

Table 4: WHO Estimates of Health Personnel Per Population, Averages

Figures are from one year between 1994-1998, unless otherwise noted

Rate per 100,000 population / Year				
Country	Physicians	Nurses	Midwives	Pharmacists
Sub-Saharan Africa Average	17.1	87.4	30.9	1.1
Sub-Saharan Africa without South Africa Average	16.1	77.3	30.9	1.1
North African Average*	106.1	256.4	NA	26.8
Four Emerging Countries'				
India (1992)	48.0	45.0	NA	NA
Korea	136.1	291.2	NA	NA
Singapore	162.7	492.1	NA	NA
Viet Nam	48.0	56.0	17.6	NA
Four Emerging Countries' Average	98.7	221.1	NA	NA
Industrialized Countries				
Australia	240.0	830.0	40.0	NA
Canada	229.1	897.1	NA	NA
France	303.0	497.0	21.7	100.0
Germany	350.0	957.0	11.3	57.7
Italy	554.0	296.0	29.2	102.0
Japan	193.2	744.9	18.9	NA
Russia	421.0	821.0	62.5	6.2
UK	164.0	497.0	43.3	58.2
USA	279.0	972.0	NA	NA
Industrialized Countries' Average	303.7	723.6	32.4	64.8

Source: WHO Statistical Information Service. May be accessed at <http://www3.who.int/whosis>.

* Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia

Table 5: Trends in Physicians 1960-1998¹⁰

Country	Doctors per 100,000 population per year*			
	1960	1975-77	1988-92	1992-98
Burkina Faso	1.7	1.8	3.0	3.4
Cameroon	2.5	6.1	8.0	7.4
CAR	2.8	5.7	4.0	3.5
Ghana	8.2	10.0	4.0	6.2
India	17.2	27.6	41.0	48.0
Kenya	9.5	8.4	14.0	13.2
Madagascar	10.4	9.8	12.0	10.7
Morocco	10.6	9.9	21.0	46.0
Tanzania	4.8	6.5	3.0	4.1
Tunisia	10.0	20.8	53.0	70.0
Zambia	8.3	9.8	9.0	6.9

* Figures are from an individual year within the given period.

Table 6: Trends in Nurses 1960-1998⁷

Country	Nurses per 100,000 population per year*			
	1960	1975-77	1988-92	1992-98
Burkina Faso	22.9	22.1	24.6	19.6
Cameroon	16.3	44.8	51.2	36.7
CAR	36.2	64.1	18.0	8.8
Ghana	18.4	119.0	36.4	72.0
India	10.4	17.6	45.1	45.0
Kenya	44.8	89.3	44.8	90.1
Madagascar	32.2	28.2	42.0	21.6
Morocco	45.7	54.6	94.5	105.0
Tanzania	9.6	36.2	21.9	85.2
Tunisia		93.4	143.1	286.0
Zambia	10.1	51.8	54.0	113.1

* Figures are from an individual year within the given period.

¹⁰ Annual statistics from the World Bank and WHO. See: World Bank. 1978 and 1980. *World Development Report: World Development Indicators*; World Bank. 1993. *World Development Report: Investing in Health*. p. 208; and WHO. 1998. WHOSIS database. Available at <http://www3.who.int/whosis>.

Table 7: Health Personnel Statistical Database

	GDP (2002)	Income level	Region	Population (2002)	IMR 1990	IMR 2000-2002	Physicians per 100,000 (1995-1999)	Year	Nurses per 100,000 (1995-1999)	Year	Midwives per 100,000 (1995-1999)	Year	Dentists per 100,000 (1995-1999)	Year	Pharmacists per 100,000 (1995-1999)	Year
Afghanistan		1	3	27,963,000	167	165	11	1997	18	1997			1	1997	2	1997
Albania	\$1,071	2	4	3,195,100	37	23	129	1998	380	1998	59.1	1994	31.5	1996	40.6	1994
Algeria	\$1,657	2	5	31,320,000	42	39	84.6	1995	297.8	1995	...	...	28.2	1995	...	...
American Samoa				70,000	0											
Andorra		5	4	70,000	0	6	253	1998	283	1998	9.4	1998	53.1	1998	89.1	1998
Angola	\$598	1	1	13,896,000	166	154	7.7	1997	114.5	1997	4.3	1997	0	1997	...	...
Antigua and Barbuda	\$9,204	5	6	68,890	0	12	113.6	1996	330.3	1996	...	...	18.2	1996	...	...
Argentina	\$6,579	3	6	37,928,000	25	16	268.4	1992	76.8	1994	...	...	66.2	1997	...	...
Armenia	\$1,495	2	4	3,072,000	50	31	316	1998	481	1998	48.1	1998	27.6	1998	3.8	1998
Aruba		5	6	90,000	0											
Australia	\$24,801	4	2	19,581,000	8	6	240	1998	830	1998	40	1998	40	1998	...	...
Austria	\$33,480	4	4	8,140,900	8	5	302	1998	532	1998	18.6	1997	47.2	1998	52.8	1997
Azerbaijan	\$505	1	4	8,184,300	84	77	360	1998	767	1998	137	1998	27.1	1998	33.1	1998
Bahamas, The	\$13,836	5	6	313,990	24	13	151.8	1996	229.7	1996	...	...	25.4	1996	...	...
Bahrain	\$11,070	5	5	671,970	15	13	100	1997	283	1997			9	1997	20	1997
Bangladesh	\$396	1	3	135,680,000	96	51	20	1997	11	1997	...	...	...	...	...	...
Barbados	\$8,610	5	6	269,380	14	12	125.4	1993	330.3	1993	...	...	16.1	1993	...	...
Belarus	\$1,579	2	4	9,930,800	18	17	443	1998	1182	1998	67.6	1998	40.6	1998	30.7	1998
Belgium	\$31,333	4	4	10,320,000	8	5	395	1998	1075	1996	65	1996	68.2	1998	145	1998
Belize	\$3,227	3	6	253,330	39	34	54.8	1996	82	1996	...	...	10.6	1996	...	...
Benin	\$435	1	1	6,603,400	111	94	5.7	1995	20.4	1995	7.9	1995	0.3	1995	...	...
Bermuda		5	6	60,000	0											
Bhutan	\$580	1	3	850,820	0	74	16	1995	39	1995	56	1995	...	...	...	...
Bolivia	\$947	2	6	8,697,100	87	60	129.9	1997	69.4	1997	...	...	21.1	1997	...	...
Bosnia and Herzegovina	\$1,671	2	4	4,120,600	18	15	143	1998	452	1998	35.8	1991	19	1998	11	1998
Botswana	\$4,233	3	1	1,711,800	45	80	23.8	1994	219.1	1994	0	1994	2.2	1994	...	...
Brazil	\$4,644	2	6	174,490,000	50	31	127.2	1996	41.3	1996	...	...	85.1	1996	...	...
Brunei	\$17,650	5	2	350,630	10	6	84.8	1996	401.5	1996	...	...	12.8	1996	...	...
Bulgaria	\$1,733	2	4	7,868,000	15	14	345	1998	713	1998	70.6	1998	58.6	1998	18.5	1998
Burkina Faso	\$258	1	1	11,831,000	118	104	3.4	1995	19.6	1995	3.4	1995	0.3	1995	...	...
Burundi	\$143	1	1	7,071,000	114	114	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Cambodia	\$325	1	2	12,487,000	80	97	29.7	1998	73.8	1998	28.8	1998	1.8	1998	...	...
Cameroon	\$711	1	1	15,523,000	85	96	7.4	1996	36.7	1996	0.5	1996	0.4	1996	...	...
Canada	\$23,590	4	6	31,414,000	7	5	229.1	1995	897.1	1996	...	...	58.6	1997	...	...
Cape Verde	\$1,571	2	1	458,030	45	29	17.1	1996	55.6	1996	...	...	1.5	1996	...	...
Cayman Islands		5	6	35,000	0											
Central African Republic	\$348	1	1	3,828,000	115	115	3.5	1995	8.8	1995	4.9	1995	0.2	1995	...	...
Chad	\$248	1	1	8,144,400	118	117	3.3	1994	14.7	1994	2.3	1994	0.2	1994	...	...
Channel Islands		5	4	149,000	7	6										
Chile	\$5,436	3	6	15,579,000	16	10	110.3	1994	47.2	1996	...	...	41.5	1996	...	...
China	\$942	2	2	1,281,000,000	38	31	161.7	1998	98.6	1998	3.9	1998	...	...	...	...
Colombia	\$2,274	2	6	43,745,000	29	19	116	1997	48.3	1994	...	...	40.3	1994	...	...
Comoros	\$436	1	1	585,940	88	59	7.4	1997	34.1	1997	14	1997	14	1997	...	...
Congo, Dem. Rep.	\$87	1	1	53,797,000	128	129	6.9	1996	44.2	1996	...	...	1.1	1996	...	...
Congo, Rep	\$87	1	1	53,797,000	128	129	25.1	1995	185.1	1995	24.9	1995	...	...	...	...
Cook Islands	\$0			0	83	81	90	1997	200	1997	30	1997	90	1997	...	...
Costa Rica	\$3,927	3	6	3,941,800	15	0	141.1	1997	109.1	1997	...	...	39.4	1997	...	...
Côte d'Ivoire	\$712	1	1	16,775,000	100	102	9	1996	31.2	1996	15	1996	...	...	...	...
Croatia	\$5,549	3	4	4,376,900	11	7	229	1998	474	1998	33	1998	65.7	1998	45.5	1998
Cuba		2	6	11,263,000	11	7	530.4	1997	677.6	1997	...	...	84.5	1997	...	...
Cyprus	\$14,800	5	4	764,970	11	5	255	1996	447	1996	...	...	65	1995	104	1995
Czech Republic	\$5,691	3	4	10,210,000	11	4	303	1998	886	1998	44.7	1998	62	1998	44.3	1998
Denmark	\$39,211	4	4	5,373,300	8	4	290	1994	722	1994	21.1	1997	88.6	1995	18.2	1994
Djibouti	\$775	2	5	656,510	119	100	14	1996	74	1996	...	...	1.7	1996	2	1996
Dominica	\$3,157	3	6	71,800	19	14	49.3	1996	415.5	1996	...	...	5.6	1996	...	...
Dominican Republic	\$2,129	2	6	8,634,700	53	41	215.6	1997	29.9	1997	...	...	23.4	1997	...	...
Ecuador	\$17,046	2	6	13,112,000	43	24	169.6	1997	70.1	1997	...	...	63.9	1997	...	...
Egypt, Arab Rep.	\$1,250	2	5	66,372,000	76	35	202	1996	233	1996	...	...	25	1996	56	1996
El Salvador	\$1,763	2	6	6,523,900	46	33	107.1	1997	34.9	1997	...	...	35.6	1997	...	...
Equatorial Guinea	\$1,541	1	1	481,420	122	101	24.6	1996	39.5	1996	2.2	1996	1	1996	...	...
Eritrea	\$166	1	1	4,308,800	92	72	3	1996	16	1996	2.2	1996	0.1	1996	...	...

Estonia	\$5,000	3	4	1,358,000	12	11	297	1998	625	1998	37.4	1998	67.9	1998	53.5	1998
Ethiopia	\$124	1	1	67,335,000	128	116	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Faeroe Islands		5	4	50,000	0											
Fiji	\$2,910	2	2	823,300	25	18	47.6	1997	195.1	1997	...	...	4.3	1997	...	...
Finland	\$32,575	4	4	5,199,000	6	4	299	1998	2162	1998	78	1998	93.7	1998	145	1998
France	\$30,667	4	4	59,442,000	7	4	303	1997	497	1996	21.7	1996	67.8	1996	100	1997
French Polynesia	\$19,895	5	2	239,800	18	10										
Gabon	\$4,405	3	1	1,290,600	60	60	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gambia, The	\$370	1	1	1,375,700	103	91	3.5	1997	12.5	1997	8.2	1997	0.5	1997	...	...
Georgia	\$537	1	4	5,177,000	24	24	436	1998	474	1998	31.1	1998	35.3	1998	9.2	1998
Germany	\$32,807	4	4	82,495,000	7	4	350	1998	957	1998	11.3	1997	75.9	1998	57.7	1998
Ghana	\$432	1	1	20,071,000	74	57	6.2	1996	72	1996	53.2	1996	0.2	1996	...	...
Greece	\$14,157	4	4	10,631,000	10	5	392	1995	257	1992	18.5	1993	102	1995	69.2	1988
Grenada	\$3,516	3	6	101,710	30	20	49.5	1997	367.7	1997	...	...	8.6	1997	...	...
Guam		5	2	159,350	9	6										
Guatemala	\$1,545	2	6	11,992,000	60	43	93.3	1997	27	1997	...	...	13	1997	...	...
Guinea	\$628	1	1	7,744,400	145	109	13	1995	55.7	1995	5.2	1995	...	...	...	...
Guinea-Bissau	\$193	1	1	1,252,700	153	130	16.6	1996	109.4	1996	12.7	1996	0.9	1996	...	...
Guyana	\$938	2	6	771,970	65	54	18.1	1997	84.2	1997	...	...	3.8	1997	...	...
Haiti	\$344	1	6	8,286,500	102	79	8.4	1992	10.7	1997	...	...	1.2	1992	...	...
Honduras	\$711	2	6	6,755,100	47	31	83.2	1997	25.5	1997	...	...	16.8	1997	...	...
Hungary	\$5,735	3	4	10,166,000	15	8	357	1998	385	1998	18.6	1998	42.4	1998	47.3	1998
Iceland	\$31,835	4	4	283,990	6	3	326	1997	865	1998	85.9	1998	105	1997	83.1	1997
India	\$494	1	3	1,048,300,000	80	67	48	1992	45	1992	...	...	...	...	...	...
Indonesia	\$1,060	1	2	211,720,000	60	33	16	1994	50	1994	26	1994	...	...	...	...
Iran, Islamic Rep.	\$1,787	2	5	65,540,000	54	35	85	1996	259	1996	...	...	16	1996	11	1996
Iraq		2	5	24,256,000	40	107	55	1998	236	1995	...	...	5.7	1998	11.8	1998
Ireland	\$30,157	4	4	3,877,600	8	6	219	1998	1593	1998	411	1998	46.2	1998	77.8	1998
Israel	\$17,067	5	5	6,494,200	10	6	385	1998	613	1998	18.6	1998	116	1998	60.5	1998
Italy	\$21,233	4	4	57,919,000	8	4	554	1997	296	1989	29.2	1982	64.4	1997	102	1996
Jamaica	\$2,174	2	6	2,612,900	17	17	140.1	1996	64.5	1996	...	...	9	1994	...	...
Japan	\$44,108	4	4	127,140,000	5	3	193.2	1996	744.9	1996	18.9	1996	68.6	1996	...	...
Jordan	\$1,661	2	5	5,171,300	35	27	166	1997	296	1997	...	...	49	1997	77	1997
Kazakhstan	\$1,893	2	4	14,795,000	42	81	353	1998	649	1998	56.1	1998	25.1	1998	65.7	1994
Kenya	\$325	1	1	31,345,000	63	78	13.2	1995	90.1	1995	...	...	2.2	1995	...	...

Kiribati	\$575	2	2	94,700	65	51	29.6	1998	235.8	1998	...	...	4.9	1998	...	...
Korea, Dem. Rep.		1	2	22,519,000	26	42	297	1995	180	1995	60	1995	...	...	...	...
Korea, Rep.	\$14,280	4	2	47,640,000	8	5	136.1	1997	291.2	1997	...	...	33.4	1997	...	...
Kuwait	\$13,345	5	5	2,103,900	14	9	189	1997	475	1997	...	...	26	1997	35	1996
Kyrgyz Rep.	\$13,345	1	4	2,103,900	14	9	301	1998	750	1998	72.8	1998	27.4	1998	6.7	1998
Lao, PDR	\$477	1	2	5,530,100	120	87	24.3	1996	107.7	1996	...	...	4.3	1996	...	...
Latvia	\$3,100	3	4	2,335,000	14	17	282	1998	549	1998	33.2	1998	43.5	1998	...	...
Lebanon	\$2,868	3	5	4,441,200	32	28	210	1997	100	1997	...	...	80	1997	50	1997
Lesotho	\$577	1	1	2,086,700	102	91	5.4	1995	60.1	1995	47	1995	0.5	1995	...	...
Liberia	\$199	1	1	3,295,100	157	157	2.3	1997	5.9	1997	4.3	1997	0.1	1997	...	...
Libya		3	5	5,533,900	34	16	128	1997	360	1996	...	...	13	1996	23	1996
Lithuania	\$2,659	3	4	3,476,000	10	8	395	1998	884	1998	43.5	1998	61	1998	57.8	1998
Luxembourg	\$56,513	4	4	443,500	7	5	272	1998	782	1998	21.9	1998	65.8	1998	69.4	1998
Macedonia, FYR	\$2,418	2	4	2,038,000	32	22	204	1998	488	1998	66.6	1998	51.9	1998	14.9	1998
Madagascar	\$217	1	1	16,437,000	103	84	10.7	1996	21.6	1996	10.7	1996	1	1996	...	...
Malawi	\$162	1	1	10,743,000	146	114	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Malaysia	\$4,811	3	2	24,305,000	16	8	65.8	1997	113.3	1997	27.1	1997	8.6	1997	...	...
Maldives	\$1,990	2	3	286,680	80	58	40	1995	113	1995	185	1995	...	...	...	...
Mali	\$313	1	1	11,346,000	152	141	4.7	1994	13.1	1994	3	1994	0.1	1994	...	...
Malta	\$10,098	5	5	397,000	9	5	261	1998	1100	1993	77.1	1993	35.8	1998	49.3	1998
Marshall Islands	\$1,554	2	2	53,200	63	54	42.2	1996	148.8	1996	10.1	1996	5.1	1996	...	...
Mauritania	\$513	1	1	2,828,000	120	120	13.8	1995	62.4	1995	10.1	1995	2	1995	...	...
Mauritius	\$4,537	3	1	1,212,400	21	17	85	1995	232.9	1995	...	...	13.5	1995	...	...
Mexico	\$3,713	3	6	100,920,000	37	24	186.4	1990	86.5	1995	...	...	65.9	1990	...	...
Micronesia Fed. Sts.	\$3,713	2	2	100,920,000	37	24	57.3	1999	279	1999	0.8	1999	12.2	1999	...	...
Moldova, Rep.	\$729	1	4	4,255,000	30	27	350	1998	874	1998	87.1	1998	41.2	1998	67.5	1994
Monaco		5	4	30,000	0	0	664	1995	1621	1995	35.7	1995	121	1995	218	1995
Mongolia	\$440	1	2	2,448,500	77	61	243.3	1998	307.3	1998	...	...	13.5	1998	...	...
Morocco	\$1,476	1	5	29,641,000	66	39	46	1997	105	1997	...	...	4	1997	11	1996
Mozambique	\$229	1	1	18,438,000	143	125	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Myanmar		1	2	48,895,000	91	77	29.7	1999	26.1	1999	22.1	1999	2.1	1999	...	...
Namibia	\$2,412	2	1	1,823,200	65	55	29.5	1997	168	1997	116.5	1997	4	1997	...	...
Nauru*	\$0			0	65	55	157	1995	588	1995	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nepal	\$241	1	3	24,122,000	100	0	4	1995	5	1995	7.4	1995	...	...	...	...

Netherlands	\$31,160	4	4	16,144,000	7	5	251	1990	902	1991	9.1	1997	47.1	1996	17.4	1997
New Zealand	\$19,024	4	4	3,869,600	8	6	217.5	1997	771	1997	56.2	1997	39	1997	...	...
Nicaragua	\$437	1	6	5,334,900	52	36	85.6	1997	91.9	1997	...	...	18.6	1997	...	...
Niger	\$207	1	1	11,542,000	191	156	3.5	1997	22.9	1997	5.5	1997	0.2	1997	...	...
Nigeria	\$248	1	1	132,780,000	114	110	18.5	1992	66.1	1992	52.4	1992	2.6	1992	...	...
Niue*	\$0			0	114	110	130.4	1996	478.3	1996	87	1996	87	1996	...	...
Norway	\$38,843	4	4	4,538,700	7	4	413	1998	1840	1998	59.1	1998	118	1998	57.1	1998
Oman	\$6,277	3	5	2,539,400	25	12	133	1998	325	1998			9	1998	19	1998
Pakistan	\$527	1	3	144,900,000	96	84	57	1997	34	1996			2.3	1997	34	1996
Palau	\$5,435	3	2	19,900	0	24	110.4	1998	144	1998	5.6	1998	11	1998	...	...
Panama	\$3,839	2	6	2,940,400	27	19	166.8	1995	144.1	1997	...	...	83.8	1997	...	...
Papua New Guinea	\$856	1	2	5,373,300	79	70	7.3	1998	67	1998	...	...	2.7	1998	...	...
Paraguay	\$1,703	2	6	5,510,000	30	26	109.8	1997	23.9	1997	...	...	22.8	1997	...	...
Peru	\$2,404	2	6	26,749,000	58	30	93.2	1997	115.2	1997	...	...	39.6	1997	...	...
Philippines	\$1,195	2	2	79,944,000	45	29	123	1996	418	1996	163	1996	52	1996	...	...
Poland	\$3,762	3	4	38,626,000	19	8	236	1997	527	1990	64.3	1997	45.6	1997	53.5	1997
Portugal	\$13,151	4	4	10,032,000	11	5	312	1998	379	1998	8.3	1984	33.3	1998	75.3	1998
Qatar		5	5	610,490	19	11	126	1996	289	1996			21	1996	51	1996
Romania	\$1,611	2	4	22,355,000	27	19	184	1998	409	1998	39.6	1998	23.9	1998	7.3	1998
Russian Federation	\$2,734	2	4	144,070,000	17	18	421	1998	821	1998	62.5	1998	32.2	1998	6.2	1998
Rwanda	\$295	1	1	8,163,000	107	96	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Samoa	\$1,491	2	2	176,200	33	20	34.4	1996	155	1996	36	1996	4	1996	...	...
San Marino		5	4	30,000	0	4	252	1990	508	1990	26	1990	36.4	1984	52.1	1990
Sao Tome and Principe	\$347	1	1	154,210	69	57	46.7	1996	127.4	1996	29.6	1996	5.2	1996	...	...
Saudi Arabia	\$6,614	3	5	22,116,000	34	23	166	1997	330	1997			16	1997	21	1997
Senegal	\$628	1	1	10,007,000	90	79	7.5	1995	22.1	1995	6.6	1995	1.2	1995	...	...
Seychelles	\$5,715	3	1	83,590	17	13	132.4	1996	467.6	1996	394.6	1996	12.2	1996	...	...
Sierra Leone	\$165	1	1	5,235,500	185	182	7.3	1996	33	1996	4.7	1996	0.4	1996	...	...
Singapore	\$27,254	5	2	4,164,000	7	3	162.7	1998	492.1	1998	...	...	28.9	1998	...	...
Slovak Rep.	\$27,254	3	4	4,164,000	7	3	353	1998	708	1995	39.3	1995	48.2	1998	33.8	1998
Slovenia	\$12,326	5	4	1,992,000	8	4	228	1998	681	1998	32.7	1990	60.8	1998	36.3	1998
Solomon Islands	\$527	1	2	443,300	29	20	14	1995	119	1995	...	...	7	1995	...	...
Somalia		1	1	9,390,800	133	133	4	1997	20	1997			0.2	1997	0.1	1997
South Africa	\$4,183	2	1	43,580,000	45	56	56.3	1996	471.8	1996	...	...	17.8	1996	...	...
Spain	\$17,885	4	4	41,180,000	8	4	424	1997	458	1997	16.2	1988	38.5	1997	113	1997

Sri Lanka	\$891	2	3	18,968,000	19	17	36.5	1999	102.7	1999	41.9	1999	2.5	1999	4.5	1999
St. Kitts and Nevis	\$6,125	3	6	45,980	30	20	117.1	1997	497.6	1997	...	...	19.5	1997	...	...
St. Lucia	\$3,709	3	6	158,520	19	17	47.3	1997	263	1997	...	...	6.2	1997	...	...
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	\$2,471	2	6	116,720	21	22	87.7	1997	238.6	1997	...	...	5.3	1997	...	...
Sudan	\$356	1	1	32,365,000	75	65	9	1996	58	1996	...	...	0.7	1996	1.1	1996
Suriname	\$1,057	2	6	422,570	35	26	25.2	1996	156.3	1996	...	...	0.9	1996	...	...
Swaziland	\$1,528	2	1	1,088,200	77	106	15.1	1996	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sweden	\$32,117	4	4	8,924,000	6	3	311	1997	821	1997	71.8	1997	152	1997	67.3	1998
Switzerland	\$46,993	4	4	7,227,500	7	5	323	1998	779	1990	26.5	1990	48.8	1997	61.5	1998
Syrian Arab Republic	\$801	2	5	17,005,000	37	23	144	1998	189	1998	...	...	74	1998	53	1998
Tajikistan	\$453	1	4	6,315,700	98	0	201	1998	484	1998	65.4	1998	18.4	1998	12	1998
Tanzania	\$204	1	1	35,181,000	102	104	4.1	1995	85.2	1995	44.8	1995	0.7	1995	...	...
Thailand	\$2,986	2	2	61,613,000	34	24	24	1995	87	1995	...	...	...	...	...	...
Timor-Leste				753,000	0	85										
Togo	\$324	1	1	4,766,600	88	79	7.6	1995	29.7	1995	10.4	1995	0.7	1995	...	...
Tonga	\$1,750	2	2	101,160	25	17	44	1997	315.1	1997	31	1997	9.2	1997	...	...
Trinidad and Tobago	\$5,466	3	6	1,318,300	21	17	78.8	1994	286.8	1994	...	...	8.4	1997	...	...
Tunisia	\$2,580	2	5	9,788,300	37	21	70	1997	286	1997	...	...	13	1997	17	1997
Turkey	\$2,942	2	4	69,626,000	61	36	121	1998	109	1998	64.4	1998	21	1998	33.6	1998
Turkmenistan	\$1,787	2	4	5,545,400	80	69	300	1997	587	1997	78.4	1997	21.6	1997	33.5	1997
Tuvalu*	\$0			0	80	69	30	1999	300	1999	90	1999	10	1999	...	...
Uganda	\$367	1	1	23,395,000	100	79	...	...	18.7	1996	13.6	1996	0.2	1996	...	...
Ukraine	\$1,038	2	4	48,717,000	18	17	299	1998	736	1998	58.7	1998	39	1998	46.7	1997
United Arab Emirates	\$15,590	5	5	3,049,200	12	8	181	1997	341	1996	...	...	26	1996	81	1996
United Kingdom	\$23,015	4	4	58,858,000	8	6	164	1993	497	1989	43.3	1989	39.8	1992	58.2	1992
United States	\$31,977	4	4	288,370,000	9	7	279	1995	972	1996	...	...	59.8	1996	...	...
Uruguay	\$5,463	3	6	3,381,000	20	14	370.3	1996	70	1996	...	...	126.3	1996	...	...
Uzbekistan	\$525	1	4	25,391,000	53	52	309	1998	1011	1998	67.5	1998	24.4	1998	3.1	1998
Vanuatu	\$1,176	2	2	205,570	52	34	12	1997	260	1997	...	...	...	...	...	...
Venezuela, RB	\$2,978	3	6	25,093,000	23	19	236.3	1997	64.4	1997	...	...	57.1	1997	...	...
Viet Nam	\$2,978	1	2	25,093,000	23	19	48	1998	56	1998	17.6	1998	...	...	...	...
Yemen, Rep.	\$314	1	5	18,601,000	98	79	23	1996	51	1995	...	...	1.6	1996	4	1996

Zambia	\$410	1	1	10,461,000	108	112	6.9	1995	113.1	1995	...	...	...	...	...	...
Zimbabwe	\$522	1	1	12,967,000	53	76	13.9	1995	128.7	1995	28.1	1995	1.3	1995	...	...

***No WDI data**

Income level:	1 low income	Region:	1 SSA
	2 lower middle income		2 EAP
	3 upper middle income		3 SA
	4 high income OECD		4 ECA
	5 high income non-OECD		5 MENA

Source: Courtesy of Christophe Kurowski