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CHILD LABOUR AND AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT: AN OVERVIEW

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Abstract

In this paper, child labour in Africa is examined vis-a-vis other continents. Its implications for the development of Africa are also discussed. The paper reports that the number of children involved in full time economic activities has been on the increase in Africa starting from the 1980s while the reverse is the case in developed continents of North America and Europe. The negative consequences of this on the child's productivity at adulthood are presented. The situation, the paper submits, has dire consequences for Africa's development within the globalized world.

1. Introduction

Economic convergence and globalization characterized the late twentieth century. This wave of globalization has continued even stronger in the early twenty-first century. The current situation unlike the late twentieth century's places certain demands on nations if they must participate and benefit from globalization and achieve sustainable development. One of these demands is a high premium on scientific and technological capacity to innovate, adapt and to increase productivity and competitiveness. It requires knowledge-driven economies predicated on a labour force that is healthy and well equipped with knowledge and skills. Thus, emphasis is placed on human capital. Therefore, the problem of child labour – a phenomenon that could deny a nation of the needed future human capital, has recently, received considerable attention in development literature (See Gemmell, 1996; Incube, 1999; Basu, 1999).

Child labour is defined as the participation of persons below fifteen years in economic activity (ILO Convention No. 138). Child Labour is viewed, universally, as a problem of serious dimension. This arises from the belief that

employment is destructive to children's intellectual and physical development, especially the young children. Ashagrie (1993) report that in 1990, almost 79 million children between 5 and 14 years of age around the world were working full time. This figure has increased to 120 million children (ILO and Ashagrie, 1998). When part time workers were added, the number rose to 250 million. In Africa, 14,950,000, 14,536,000 and 16,763,000 children below 15 years were working in 1980, 1985 and 1990, respectively. These however are higher than the number in America, and Southeast Asia (Ashagrie, 1993)

Given that without adequate human capital development, new frontiers of knowledge required for improved growth and sustainable development can hardly be experienced, this paper discusses the child labour situation in Africa. It also presents the growth phenomenon in African countries. Lastly, the paper draws useful lessons for sustainable development of the continent.

2. Child Labour in Development Theory

A child is classified as a "labourer" if he/she is economically active (Ashagrie, 1993). Governments as well as international organizations usually treat a person as economically active or "gainfully employed" if the person does work on a regular basis for which he/she is remunerated or that results in output destined for the markets. The ILO Convention No. 138 specifies fifteen years as the age above which, in normal circumstances, a person may participate in economic activity. The convention has been ratified by a quarter of ILO membership and is internationally recognized and used as a blueprint for national policy and practice with respect to child labour.

The early theories or ideas on child labour can be traced to writers such as Karl Marx, Alfred Marshall and Arthur Pigou. Marx in his work Capital noted that with a rise in technology there would arise scope for employing those whose bodily development is incomplete, but whose limbs, are all the more supple. The labour of women and children was, therefore the first thing sought by capitalists who used machinery (Marx, 1867). Marx recognized the long term debilitating consequences of child labour. However, it was Marshall (1920) who sketched a dynamic argument to support this and concluded that the most valuable of all capital is that invested in human being.

Extant literatures indicate that child labour exploitation began during the Industrial Revelation between 1760 and 1832, in some European countries. In England during the early nineteenth century, children formed the bulk of the handloom weaving labour. In France, children from peasant and working class background were actively involved in numbers of odd activities earning a meager livelihood (Laskar, 1997). Villermie 1840, cited in Laskar (1997) described the condition of the children workers then in the following lines.

Child Labour and Africa's Development: An Overview

There are among them a multitude of women, pale, thin, walking barefoot through the mud, and being without umbrellas, pulling their underskirts over their heads to protect their faces and necks from the rain. There are even greater number of young children, no less dirty, no less drawn, covered in rags well greased by the machine-oil which splashes on them as they work.

The effects of child labour on development can be described through the dynamics of consequences of acquisition of human capital. Basu (1999) maintains that the dynamic consequences of child labour are likely to be large since an increase in child labour frequently causes decline in the acquisition of human capital. If a child is employed all through the day, it is likely that the child will remain uneducated and have low productivity as an adult.

We can understand this relationship better by considering the generation models as proposed by Basu (1999). In an overlapping generation model, each person lives for two periods, first as a child and then as an adult; and at the start of the second period gives birth to a child. As a child, a person can either work or go to school (that is, acquire human capital). If a full day is denoted by I, and a child works for a fraction e, of the day, then, the amount of human capital h, acquired by the child is

$$I - e = h$$
(1)

The productivity of an adult labour is a function of the amount of human capital acquired as a child. Assuming L is the number of labour units produced per adults then the labour produced per adult in time t is:

This implies that if a child works more, his productivity as an adult falls. Pigou (1920, p. 751) had noted that "many forms of unskilled labour at present open to boys not merely fail to train, but positively untrained their victims". Swaminathan (1977) also confirm this in a study of child labour in Gujarat, India. The study found that entering the labour force as a child lowered productivity when children become adults. This can further be buttressed if we make the normalization assumption that L(0) = I (i.e. the amount of labour produced by an unskilled adult is defined to be I). That means there is an inversed relation between child assuming that labour demand is elastic (and so wage rate v is constant), in periodt, and adult who as a child (i.e. in period t-1) had worked e_{t-1} amount, will have an income of

$$VL (I-e_t) = W_t(3)$$

Basu (1999) had demonstrated that the amount of work that a child is made to do in period t is a function of the parents' wages in period t.

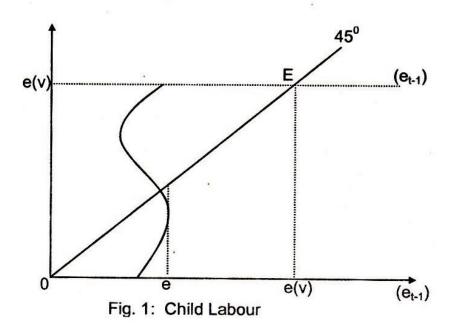
$$e_t = e(W_t)(4)$$
row equation (2) and (4) we obtain

$$e_t = e [VL (I-e_t)]$$
(5)

Equation (5) can be described in brief as

$$\mathbf{e}_{t} = \emptyset \ (\mathbf{e}_{t-1}) \ . \tag{6}$$

The generation model can further be explained by the child labour trap (fig 1). At point E, the poor parents make the child work full time. The child acquired no skills and so as adult earns very little and has to send his child in turn to work full time. The point 0 represents an equilibrium where a child gores to school, earns adequately as an adult and so can and does send his child to school. This, by contrast continues in a virtuous cycle 1. The model here would suggest that if an economy were caught in a child labour trap, it needs a large effort to educate one generation. This will keep the economy rolling towards the virtuous equilibrium where human capital development and indeed economic development can be achieved.



Human capital has several implications for sustainable development. Development was earlier considered on the basis of the growth of a country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP), National Income (NI), Net National Income (NNI), and other macro variables. The concept of development has been broadened beyond growth and structural transformation issues to equity issues and human security. It foes beyond satisfying the need of the present generation to ensuring that those of the future generations are guaranteed. This is embodied in the term sustainable development. The concept of human capital attaches high premium to human skills and knowledge as a factor of production in the development process. It is considered that human skills or productivity is just as important an input in the process of development as finance, natural wealth and physical plant. This has been confirmed by Berthelemy et al (2001) who identify three kinds of factors, which may influence development. These include

We assume in this analysis that (a) it is the parent who decides whether to send a child to work. (b) There is a wage W such that if adult income is below W, the parent sends the child to work full time, i.e. e=I. (c) there is a wage W≥W such that, if adult income exceeds W, he does not send his child to work at all (i.e. e = 0) (for further explanation see Basu 1999)

investments realized in the training of individual; the quality of education; and the possible waste of human resources in rent seeking activities. Here, education (which child labour deprives an individual) plays a crucial role in human capital formation and in the development process. Its relevance and importance in economic growth and development is now very well recognized in development planning (World Bank, 1994).

Development is currently shaped by the wave of globalization sweeping across both developed and developing countries. And, as earlier stated, globalization places a high premium on scientific and technological capacity to innovate and adapt to increase productivity and competitiveness. Growth in the knowledge driven economy is predicated on a labour force that is healthy and well endowed with knowledge and skills. This makes child labour undesirable in the current development paradigm. Therefore, any household, state or nation that desires, sustainable development must take actions to discourage child labour, in addition to other factors of underdevelopment.

3. Child Labour in Africa: An Overview

In this section, child labour situation in Africa is presented. This is done in comparison with other continents of the world so as to draw useful conclusions. Table 1 presents data on child labour in continents and sub-continents from 1980 to 1990. In 1980, about 88 million children were involved in economic activities worldwide. About 78% of this came from Asia, 45% from East Asia, 23% from South Asia and 17% from Africa. African is reflected to have fared better than other continents during the period. In 1985, 18% of the children that worked came from Africa, about 76% from Asia and about 42% from East Asia. Thus, while decrease in child labour occurred in Asia and East Asia, the phenomenon was rather on the increase in Africa (from 17% to 18%).

Table 1 Child Labour in Africa Compared with other Continents: Aggregate and Distribution.

Number of children (below 15 years) Working in thousand									
Total	1980	%of world total	1985	%of world total	1990	% of world total			
World	87,867		80,611	-	78516	-			
Africa	14,950	17%	14,536	18.0%	16763	21.3%			
Americas	4,122	4.7%	4536	5.6%	4723	6.1%			
Asia	68,324	77.7%	61210	75.9%	56784	72.3%			
East Asia	39,725	45.2%	33463	41.5%	22448	28.6%			
South East Asia	6,518	7.4%	6079	75%	5587	7.1%			
South Asia	20,192	22.0%	19834	24.6%	27639	35.2%			

Source: Computed from Ashagrie (1993)

Generally, incidence of child labour has declined globally. About 78 million children were working in 1990 compared with almost 88 million in 1980. this was the case in Asia, East Asia and South East Asia. This was not, however, the case in Africa. In Africa, incidence of child labour was 14,950,000 in 1980, marginally falling to 14,536,000 in 1985 and rising to 16,763,000 (21.3% of world total) in 1990. This result should be interpreted with caution. First, all figures quoted relate to full time work. If child labour is considered to include those who do part timework, the number may double. Second, the Asian figures are very large. It has to be kept in mind that Asian population is very large too. Therefore, the real situation in each continent may be gloss over if the result is considered on its face value. To give a clearer picture of the situation participation rate in child labour is therefore used Table 2.

Child labour "participation rate" is the percentage of children of the relevant age group who work as labourers. Table 2 shows that throughout the period under consideration, the situation was worse in Africa as compared with other continents. Although the situation has improved marginally over the years. African situation remained worse than that of Asia. Even in the year 2000 when child labour participation rate in Africa was 2.42%, Africa could not meet the European record of 0.02% participation rate.

Table 2: Participation Rate by children (10-14 years) in Africa and other continents.

	No of Particip	%	No of Particip	%	No of Particip	%	No of Particip -	%	No of Partici p.	%	No of Particip	%	No of Parti cip.	%
World	27.57	2.76	24.81	2.51	22.30	2.39	19.91	5.26	14.65	1.63	73.02	1.7	11.3	2.88
Africa	38.42	2.54	35.88	2.83	33.05	2.08	30.97	3.1	27.87	1.64	26.23	1.2	4.92	2.42
Latin/ Ameri ca Carib bean	19.36	2.83	16.53	1.93	14.60	1.96	12.64	1.41	11.23	1.46	9.77	1.56	8.21	2.74
Asia	36.06	3.83	2.26	3.91	28.35	4.93	23.42	8.23	15.19	2.42	12.77	2.59	10.1 8	4.58
Euro pe	6.49	2.94	3.52	1.9	1.62	1.2	0.42	0.32	1.10	0.04	0.06	0.02	0.04	0.02

Source: Computed from ILO (1996)

The impressive record in Europe can be explained by its being developed and expectedly addressing those issues that could discourage child labour. However, other continents like Latin America and Caribbean which share the rather unenviable label of "developing continents" with Africa, fared even better than Africa in all the periods under consideration. From 1950 to 1995, Africa recorded higher rate of child labour than any other continent in the world. improvement only occurred in 2000. This shows the degree and magnitude of the problem and portends serious danger to the future development of African The impact of this can be discerned from the fact reported by Okpukpara, et al (2001) that most child labourers are condemned to life-long poverty, misery, sickness, illiteracy and social dysfunction. Child labour is known to be detrimental to the child, household and human capital development. Human capital is the driving force in production, in the context of current global integration. This acquisition of knowledge and the quality of knowledge will increasingly be relied upon to give nations competitive edge in global economic relations and other spheres of human endeavours.

As earlier stated, child labour exploitation began early nineteenth century in Europe. However, by 1950, the situation had improved and only 6.49% of children participated in economic activities. By 1990, Europe had crossed to near-zero rate of participation. Projections are that it may record even less participation in 2000.

What has been the situation in Africa? The data in table 2 reveals that Africa has been trailing behind other continents in improving her child labour situation. Between 1950 and 2000, the continent has recorded only about 13% reduction in the rate of participation of children in economic activities. It is expected to record about 16% reduction by 2010 (ILO, 1996). The records here do not show any appreciable improvement in the child labour status of African continent. Even Nigeria with its oil rich economy does not show any sign of leading in child labour reduction. For instance, Oloko (1999) reported that child labour is a problem in Nigeria. This occurs more in the semi formal and informal sectors than the organized private sector. A country wide study conducted by FOS/ILO and reported in Okpupara, et al, (2001) reveals that 50% of femaleheaded household have children who work full time while 49% of male-headed household belong to this category. On the average, there is 37.9% of child labour participation rate in urban areas while there is 48.5% participation rate in rural areas. This problem is most severe in very poor households, again confirming and reinforcing the theory of the relationship between poverty and child labour (Table 3). The child labour incidence in Africa has some implications for Africa's stock of human capital and ultimately for development.

Table 3: Child Labour Situation; Example from Nigeria

(i) Type of Child Labour	Female	Headed	Male Hea	ded Household	
Decision	Household				
Work and School	57.0		43.0		3 4
Work only	50.0		49.1		
School	48.4		51.1		
(ii) Labour force participation	Urban %		Rural %		
rate	47.0		57.0		
Household welfare	36.0		45.0		
Mid poor	30.8		45.0	y n	
Non-poor	37.9		48.5	ž	
Average	/				
(iii) Distribution of Child	Working ch	ildren	School Ch	ildren	
Activities	Male(%) Fe	male(%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	All
Work for pay in household	10.00	20.0	10.7	10.4	12.8
r.		a ¹			
Work for pay outside household	20.7	11.7	20.0	. 10.7	15.8
Self employment		Taracara Sana		**	
	14.0	10.0	10.0	10.1	12.6
Paid apprentice		18. Obi	34 34 34 34 34 34 34 34 34 34 34 34 34 3		
	10.3	10.0	10.6	10.1	10.3

Source: Okpukpara, et al (2001)

4. Human Capital and African Development

African Development Bank (2001) reports that Africa has remained the slowest growing region in the developing world. While Asian economies were reported to grow at 6.7%, Latin American and the Caribbean by 4.3%, Africa trailed behind with an average growth rate of 3.2%. Africa macroeconomic indicators (as shown in table 4) reveal dismal performance of Africa particularly in those areas requiring competitiveness. For instance, trade balance has been fluctuating, with negative balances recorded in 1998 and 1999. terms of trade were -11.3% and -5.1% in 1998 and 2001 while real per capita GDP growth rate remained below 3% in the 1990s and early 2000s.

Table 4: Africa Macroeconomic Indicators, 1996-2001

	Indicators	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000/a	2001/b
1.	Real GDP Growth Rate	5.3	3.2	3.2	2.7	3.2	4.1
2.	Real Per Capita GDP	2.8	0.7	0.8	0.4	0.9	1.8
3.	Infiation %	27.0	14.1	11.2	12.0	12.7	10.2
4.	Investment Ratio (% of GDP)	18.1	18.2	20.2	20.4	19.9	20.3
5.	Fiscal Balance (% of GDP)	-2.6	-2.7	-3.6	-3.4	-1.0	-1.3
6.	Growth of Money Supply (%)	18.7	17.5	14.2	17.9	13.4	10.9
8.	Import Growth Volume (%)	2.5	6.8	4.7	2.6	4.8	5.1
9.	Terms of Trade (%)	4.8	0.6	-11.3	8.6	15.7	-5.1
10	Trade Balance (\$billion)	4.8	2.2	-17.5	-10.4	11.4	2.9
11.	Current Account (\$billion)	-5.3	-6.4	-24.6	-18.5	-2.0	-8.6
12.	Current Account (% of GDP)	-1.0	-1.2	-4.5	-3.4	-0.3	-1.4
13.	Debt Service (% of Exports)	22.9	19.2	20.4			20.6
	minary estimates, b/ forecast.	22.9	19.2	20.4	19.3	16.2	1

Source: Development Bank (2001)

Several empirical studies (Lucas, 1988; Barro, 1991, Gemmell, 1996) have confirmed that human capital plays a pivotal role in economic development. It has been described as an important vehicle of achieving equitable income distribution and a potent means of addressing the problem of poverty and for improving overall economic growth (Ncube, 1999). Human capital implies embodied knowledge and skills. It consists of better education at all levels, good on-the-job training and taking advantage of an embracing new technologies and ideas. This enhances advances in science and technology in order to improve economic development. From the human capital indicator in selected African countries presented in Table 5, there seems to be a discernable correlation between primary school enrolment rate, average number schooling years and adult illiteracy rate. Burkina Faso has the lowest primary enrolment rate and it also records the highest illiteracy rate. South Africa, which has the highest primary enrolment of 131, has the lowest adult illiteracy rate of 16. What this means is that lack of education at the primary and indeed childhood level breeds illiterate adults. A general view of the situation is given by Sahn and Younger (2001) who said school enrolment rates have at least stagnated in Africa in the last two decades. The authors identified institutional perspective and low quality of education as the most serious answer to the general enrolment question namely that there are simply not enough schools in Africa, and existing schools are not close enough to the widely dispersed mostly rural population. This is particularly so at the secondary school level where neither the physical infrastructure nor staff levels are sufficient. On the quality front, they submit that schools lack supplies, infrastructure is not maintained; teachers are poorly trained, poorly paid, and lack motivation. Glick and Sahn

(2000) confirm in their studies in West Africa that parents respond to poor school quality by not enrolling their children. The crisis in Africa's human capital is further compounded by the fact that fewer than 10% of school graduates advance to institutions of higher learning (Economic Commission for Africa ECA 2001). What is the nexus between weak human capital and Africa's development? ECA (1979) reports that Africa is yet to produce a critical mass of skilled and highly trained workers capable of initiating and sustaining a dynamic development path. Africa's capacity to generate knowledge and participate in knowledge society has continued to decline. The report adds that this has exacerbated the asymmetry between the rich and poor and the imbalance in the structure of global governance, widening the gap between the "connected" world and "isolated" Africa. A growing phenomenon, which will further jeopardize Africa's chances of sustainable development within the current framework of global economic integration, is child labour.

Table 5: Indicators of Human Capital in Africa 1996

Country	Primary Enrolment rate	Average Number of schooling years	Adult Illiteracy rate
Burkina Faso	39	1.0	80
Coted'Ivoire	71	2.8	58
Ghana	76	5.2	34
Mali	45	1.3	65
Tanzania	66	3.3	29
Uganda	74	3.3	37
Botswana	108	5.6	26
Mauritius	107	7.8	17
South Africa	131	7.0	16
Nigeria	-	-	43

Source: Berthelemey J. and J. Soderling (2001), Central Bank of Nigeria. 1998.

This is evidence of a correlation between human development and

countries is low, even relative to the best performers on the continent. Out of forty-seven (47) African countries ranked, 24 (51%) scored below 3.5 (only half the best practice score of 7). Only five (5) countries namely Seychelles, Tunisia, Egypt, South Africa and Mauritius scored above 5. On regional basis, except Seychelles, the north and southern African regions dominate the top ten (10). Countries of Central, East and West Africa are the (10) worst performers.

5. Conclusion

Several factors can be identified as constraining development of African countries. These include conflicts, corruption, policy instability, etc. Above all these, the mass of human capital possessed by African countries count most in their development dilemma. This, to a large extent, hinges on education both in quality and quantity. Education, through its impact on labour market may be an important determinant of development (Grabowski and Shield, 1996). Education is a priority in any effort to foster growth and reduce poverty. In Africa, this is true not only in the formal wage sector but also in agriculture and informal sector where Africa's poor are primarily engaged, (Schultz, 1975). Glewwe and Hall (1998), Barrette et al (2001) hold that more educated household are better able to deal with income and related macroeconomic policy shocks, and thus less vulnerable than less educated households. In the same vein, Bardhan and Mookherjee (1999) report that more educated people have greater political voice. This may imply reduction in the likelihood of return to the egregious type of macroeconomic policy distortion driven by rent-seeking elites, as well as related policy failures driven by corruption, waste and other manifestations of poor governance. Our discussion has revealed the problem of child labour in Africa, which has serious implications for Africa's development. It has also pointed to the unimpressive growth and development status of African countries. Africa is yet to produce a critical mass of skilled and highly trained workers capable of initiating and sustaining a dynamic development path. Africa capacity to generate knowledge and participate in knowledge society has continued to decline. And as ECA (1999) submits, this has exacerbated the asymmetry between the rich and the poor and the imbalances in the structure of global governance, widening the gap between the "connected" world and "isolated" Africa. In order to correct the imbalance and launch itself on the path of sustainable development, the masses of African children must be given quality education. The focus of the children must be stirred away from those activities, which will limit their productivity at adulthood so that they can contribute to the development of the continent. Therefore, anti-child labour policies need be pursued with vigour at continental level. It is also necessary to study the extent of implementation of anti-child labour laws/conventions in African countries. This will particularly help to identify constraints and the way forward. African child needs both quantitative and qualitative education.

Table 6: Human Development and Economic Sustainability in Africa

Country •	Life of Expectancy index	Education index	GDP Index	HDI	Economic Sustainability Index	Rank
Angola	0.3738	0.3793	0.280	0.344	2.89	36
Benin	0.4892	0.3719	0.274	0.378	3.04	31
Botswana	0.4457	0.7015	0.887	0.678	4.84	7
Burkina Faso	0.3555	0.1924	0.110	0.219	3.18	30
Burundi	0.3253	0.3113	0.086	0.241	2.94	43
Cameroon	0.5052	0.5739	0.363	0.481	4.02	13
Cape Verde	0.6777	0.6906	0.404	0.591	3.44	26
Central African republic	0.3903	0.4915	0.160	0.347	2.76	42
Chad	0.3707	0.4112	0.173	0.318	2.46	46
	0.4360	0.7253	0.395	0.519	2.86	38
Congo	0.4563	0.6513	0.041	0.383	3.60	22
Cong, DR		0.3929	0.263	0.368	3.87	17
Cote d' Ivoire	0.4472		0.193	0.324	N/A	N/A
Djibouti	0.4235	0.3745			4.17	12
Equatorial Guinea	0.4002	0.3768	0.260	0.465		N/A
Eritrea	0.4207	0.2621	0.142	0.275	N/A	
Ethiopia	0.3950	0.3025	0.057	0.252	2.81	40
Gambia	0.3500	0.3856	0.136	0.291	3.86	18
Ghana	0.3417	0.3212	0.167	0.277	2.89	37
Guinea	0.3417	0.3212	0.167	0.277	2.89	37
Guinea Bissau	0.3065	0.4627	0.115	0.295	2.71	44
Kenya	0.4805	0.6928	0.215	0.463	3.69	19
Lesotho	0.5517	0.6637	0.192	0.469	4.70	8
Madagascar	0.5433	0.4077	0.092	0.348	2.98	33
Malawi	0.2663	0.6280	0.108	0.334	3.20	29
Mali	0.3672	0.2672	0.075	0.236	2.86	39
Mauritania	0.4582	0.3792	0.245	0.361	2.94	34
Mauritius	0.7652	0.7552	0.978	0.833	5.12	5
Mozambique	0.3542	0.3500	0.138	0.281	3.44	27
Namibia	0.5135	0.7823	0.637	0.644	3.93	15
Niger	0.3750	0.1397	0.107	0.207	2.48	45
	0.4403	0.5457	0.188	0.391	3.32	28
Nigeria	0.7333	0.6900	0.166	0.563	N/A	N/A
Sao Tome and Principe		0.3297	276.	0.342	3.56	23
Senegal	0.4213	0.3098	0.084	0.185	2.25	47
Sierra Leone	0.1622		0.682	0.717	5.17	4
South Africa	0.6518	0.8169			3.63	21
Sudan	0.4525	0.4129	0.163	0.343	4.42	9
Swaziland	0.5628	0.7697	0.460	0.597		14
Tanzania	0.4265	0.5615	0.086	0.358	4.01	25
Togo	0.4243	0.5439	0.172	0.380	3.45	
Uganda	0.2585	0.5393	0.223	0.340	2.78	41
Zambia	0.2945	0.6955	0.143	0.378	3.48	24
Zimbabwe	0.3982	0.7958	0.328	0.507	4.27	11
All developing countries	0.6200	0.6612	0.4778	0.5864	N/A	N/A
Least developed countries	0.4360	0.4494	0.1462	3462	N/A	N/A
Industrial countries	0.8195	0.9336	0.9811	0.9114	N/A	N/A
World	0.6437	0.7225	0.9482	0.7715	N/A	N/A
Seychelles					5.62	1
Tunisia			3		5.48	2
Egypt Arab Republic	1.				5.31	3
Morocco					4.87	6
Algeria		1			4.35	10
Gabon					3.89	16
Benin		1			3.04	31
Comoros					3.00	32
Rwanda				+	2.99	35

N/A = Not Available

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