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ABSTRACT

This United Nations Economic and Social Council study concerns priorities for planning and action during the "Second Development Decade" in relation specifically to children and adolescents in the less developed countries. It has been undertaken in the hope that it may assist individual countries, agencies of the United Nations, and, in particular, the United Nations Children's Fund, in taking a long-range view of the needs of children and adolescents and in integrating these appropriately into the total design of economic and social development. The study summarizes the development trends of the decade of the sixties and the larger economic and social factors which are expected to influence development during the seventies. The second part of the study reviews some of the lessons to be drawn from national and international experience in developing those essential social services, and in seeking greater community participation and voluntary effort in their planning and implementation. The third part of the study attempts to bring together the main conclusions bearing on planning for children and adolescents at the national level. The appendix includes a tentative discussion on priorities for children in different regions of the less developed world. (Author/CS)

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<u>Contents</u>	<u>Pages</u>
Foreword	2
Introduction - Approach and objectives of the study	3 - 12
Chapter 1. Development patterns and priorities	13 - 34
Chapter 2. Resources and planning for children	35 - 50
Chapter 3. Health services and their impact on children	51 - 73
Chapter 4. Improved nutrition for children and mothers	74 - 94
Chapter 5. Educational opportunities for children and adolescents	95 - 120
Chapter 6. The young child: growth and development	121 - 132
Chapter 7. Children in national planning: operational tasks	133 - 149

* A summary of this document can be found in E/ICEF/627/Summary.

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FOREWORD

At its 1972 session, the Executive Board of UNICEF considered a draft version of the study on Children and Adolescents in the Second Development Decade: Priorities for Planning and Action.

In submitting the draft to the Board, it was stated that the document would be revised in the light of comments and suggestions received from the members of the Board, from agencies of the United Nations and other agencies concerned with development. The hope was expressed that, in its final form, the study might serve as a background paper, along with national documentation, to assist individual countries in considering and formulating their own long-range goals and priorities in relation to children and adolescents for the period of the Second Development Decade.

In the course of discussion, members of the Board welcomed the study and the emphasis it placed on intersectoral programming and on a unified approach to economic and social development. They stressed the need for UNICEF to concern itself with critically important aspects of development affecting children and pointed to the relevance of long-term objectives to country programming. Members of the Board also made a number of other suggestions.

After the meeting of the Board, the draft study was circulated extensively by the Secretariat and the field offices and many helpful comments have been received. In particular the ILO, FAO, UNESCO and WHO have contributed a series of important observations. Helpful suggestions were also made by a number of international non-governmental organizations.

On behalf of the UNICEF secretariat, I wish to express our sincere gratitude for the valuable comments and suggestions which have been offered on the draft study. These have been taken into consideration in preparing the thoroughly revised version, which is now being submitted to the Board.

The secretariat hopes to take advantage of the further discussion in the 1973 session of the Board in making the study available for use in considering problems and priorities concerning children and adolescents at the international, regional and country levels.

Henry R. LABOUISSÉ
Executive Director

INTRODUCTION: APPROACH AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. This study concerns priorities for planning and action during the Second Development Decade in relation specifically to children and adolescents in the less developed countries.
2. The study follows the guidelines laid down in the Declaration of the General Assembly of the United Nations on the International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade. It has been undertaken in the hope that it may assist individual countries, agencies of the United Nations, and, in particular, the United Nations Children's Fund, in taking a long-range view of the needs of children and adolescents and in integrating these appropriately into the total design of economic and social development.
3. Through wise policies and measures, the attitudes and capabilities of children, adolescents and youth can be influenced and their contribution to society greatly enhanced. More than in the past, under the present changing conditions, the level of well-being of children and adolescents and the attention given to their growth and development can have far-reaching effects on the shape of the future. Therefore, keeping in view the present and future needs of the rising generation, it is important to consider how the pattern of growth and development during the seventies and beyond may itself be modified.

New compulsions and possibilities

4. During the Second Development Decade, each nation and the world community as a whole is being presented with new compulsions and possibilities. In the last analysis, each country bears primary responsibility for its own development. However, rightly directed and on a scale in keeping with the challenges to be met, in the present phase of development, international co-operation can make a substantial contribution in the critical areas of economic and social progress. Both for individual nations and for the world community, as stressed in the International Development Strategy, the common starting point is that the level of living of millions of people in the less developed countries is still pitifully low. Far too many of them are under-nourished, without opportunity for education and work, and wanting in many of the elementary amenities of life.

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5. In the development of national communities and, therefore, in the priorities for co-operation between the more and less developed countries, certain problems will become increasingly important during the seventies. The influence of population growth and urbanization and of migration from rural to urban areas is already pervasive and cuts across many sectors of activity. In larger or smaller degree, it affects the pace and direction of development in every country. Therefore, all less developed countries are seeking ways to expand opportunities for productive employment and the utilization of available manpower, to assure minimum acceptable living conditions for all, and to meet the basic aspirations for social justice. The desire to participate actively in the social process in all its forms is being felt and expressed strongly by all sections of the community, and, in particular, by those who have been left behind in the past. Less obvious, though no less real, are the changes now under way in family organization, child-rearing practices, social relationships, and social attitudes and values.

6. None of the problems which loom large over the Second Development Decade can be said to be new. What is new perhaps is their growing intensity and the degree to which each problem interacts with others. In different degrees, each of the less developed countries is confronted with formidable gaps in social services and institutions and in the development of human resources. Yet, resulting from past development, there have been significant gains, and there is greater knowledge to draw upon. Thus, it is being increasingly realized that important social problems cannot be dealt with effectively within a limited sectoral context. This is altogether true of the basic needs of children in health, education and nutrition and in terms of family welfare, as also in relation to the wider aspects of the human environment as a whole. The growth of the modern sector, increase in economic capacities in agriculture, industry, and other infrastructures, and larger reserves of trained manpower, have given to the Governments of the less developed countries a wider range of options than in any earlier period. The ability of countries to improvise and adapt and make do with meagre resources is not to be under-estimated. Despite handicaps, Governments are now much more willing and better equipped than a decade ago to accept larger obligations for the well-being of children and adolescents. The support which individual countries have received from the world community through multilateral and bilateral sources has been uneven. However, in many countries, even the limited external support available has helped

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generate a larger and a more varied domestic effort and now makes possible development on a scale and in directions that could not be anticipated in an earlier phase.

Reorienting development planning

7. Among countries, commonly described as less developed, there are both similarities and differences in the basic economic and social problems and in the forces at work. Among similarities may be reckoned the prevalence of widespread poverty and of inequalities of income, education and employment opportunities, deterioration of living conditions of large sections of the population under the impact of population growth and urbanization, and lack of essential social services. On closer examination, however, the differences are often more striking than the similarities. At this point of time, the problems of each country have to be approached inevitably in its own specific context. Nevertheless, among the less developed countries, those reckoned as being the least developed doubtless call for a series of special measures in support of their development effort. One of the principal tasks in the Second Development Decade is to devise appropriate international policies to this end.

8. As between countries, so also within each country, the problems of different sections of the population and of different regions have to be identified separately.

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Significant as they are by themselves, general measures and policies and broad movements by way of social action are not sufficient for achieving such goals as assuring minimum levels of living to the poorer or weaker groups within a country, or reducing regional economic and social disparities, or achieving the development of human resource potentials on any significant scale. It was for this reason that, in preparation for the seventies, the Stockholm Group on Social Policy and Planning had urged that progress in realizing essential social objectives called for very specific measures of planning and implementation.^{1/} It has become increasingly clear that willingness to undertake the precise social and institutional changes needed and to provide resources in terms of money, personnel and organization are essential for meeting squarely the basic impediments to change.

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1/ United Nations, Report of the Meeting of Experts on Social Policy and Planning, (Stockholm, 1 to 10 September 1969, Document E/CN.5/445), page 25.

9. This conclusion is borne out by the experience of many countries in relation to the present and future needs of children and adolescents. It is also a lesson to be drawn from UNICEF's participation, in partnership with WHO, UNESCO, FAO, ILO and other agencies of the United Nations, in many national development programmes of concern to children and adolescents. In recent years, in growing measure, these programmes have come to form part of national development plans. This marks a genuine advance. However, the principal approaches in social and human resources development continue to be largely sectoral in nature and are conceived in comparatively short-time spans. There is an implicit assumption that the vital needs of children and adolescents may somehow be met as an indirect consequence of the general scheme of economic and sectoral development. This can be true only up to a point. The central issue remains of evolving both a long-range and a reasonably integrated approach to problems of direct concern to large sections of the population and, more especially, to the future well-being of children and adolescents.

10. There are real difficulties to be overcome before a unified approach to economic and social planning and national development as proposed in Resolution 2768 (XXVI) of the General Assembly of the United Nations can be applied in practice in the formulation and implementation of public policy in important areas of economic and social development. These difficulties and ways of overcoming them are presently a subject of expert examination.^{2/} In most of the less developed countries, economic constraints severely restrict the choice of policies and priorities. These constraints have to be diminished to the utmost extent possible by action within countries as well as internationally. In planning for the development of children and adolescents, a variety of factors which may appear at first sight to be only indirectly related have to be taken into consideration before specific policies and measures can be proposed. Close attention must be given, for instance, to rates of economic growth and the pace of development, to projections for the future growth of population and changes in age-composition, to the distribution and levels of income and consumption and the state of development of different regions within a country, and to the factors which limit the capacity to save and to finance development or
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^{2/} United Nations, Economic and Social Council, Report on a Unified Approach to Development Analysis and Planning. Report of the Secretary-General on the Expert Group Meeting on a Unified Approach to Development Analysis and Planning held at Stockholm from 6 to 10 November 1972 (Document E/CN.5/490, 23 January 1973).

influence the size and direction of transfers of resources from the more to the less developed countries.

11. To equip each upcoming generation more adequately than in the past, essential as it is for its own sake, is no less crucial for preparing society to meet the requirements of change and growth. For this reason, in the present study, in each important area of concern to children and adolescents, there is a twofold emphasis. First, there is the plea for broader concepts of development, for better ordering and linkages between the basic priorities, for action directed to the needs of those who have remained weak and vulnerable, for improved planning and management, and for programmes and projects designed specifically to achieve the desired results. Secondly, there is the emphasis on the careful determination of priorities within each sector of development, on relating them more effectively to priorities in other sectors, on assuring adequate resources, personnel, and organization and manpower to realize the agreed objectives, and on improved performance and delivery of services. Further, whatever the nature of the action envisaged, if the objectives of the Second Development Decade are to be attained, it will be essential also to discover new ways of promoting greater social responsibility and initiative and greater capacity to mobilize resources at intermediate levels and through local communities and non-governmental organizations.

Estimates of numbers and growth

12. A main purpose of the present study is to weigh the lessons of past experience and to point to directions in which timely action and appropriate combinations of policies and measures may diminish the costs of development and make for larger real gains in the future. Such an exercise in balance and selection has to be undertaken in terms of over-all as well as sectoral approaches. The conclusions reached should be of help in approaching questions of resource allocation, programme and project development, manpower planning, and community action. The essential judgements have to be made by each country for itself, keeping in view its limitations, opportunities and preferences. It is only within the framework of such national judgements that, in co-operation with other agencies of the United Nations and the international community, UNICEF can endeavour to contribute to the development of children and adolescents in the less developed countries.

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13. From the standpoint of human resources, the children and adolescents of each country have to be thought of together as a group and also as comprising several sub-groups corresponding, as it were, to certain stages in the life cycle. The limits may appear somewhat arbitrary, for, the growth of the child and the emergence of new needs and capabilities are continuing processes. From the perspective of social policy, it appears necessary to distinguish at least the following sub-groups: infants, pre-school (or young) children, elementary or primary school-age children, younger adolescents, and older adolescents. For understanding the statistical dimensions involved, at UNICEF's request, the United Nations Population Division have tabulated their estimates of population at five-yearly intervals between 1965 and 1985 in terms of the age groups 0-6, 7-12, 13-15, 16-18 and 19-24. Because of weaknesses in vital registration, it is not feasible at present to provide separate breakdowns of numbers up to one year of age. Since the population census provides estimates by single years of age, it is possible for a country to ascertain the numbers in each age group according to whatever classification may appear appropriate to its own conditions and the policies it wishes to implement.

14. More detailed breakdowns by age groups are cited in later parts of this study. The following table shows the estimated numbers for different sub-groups within the population of children and adolescents between 1970 and 1985 in the less developed regions of the world. The estimates are based on the medium variant projections of the United Nations. For convenience of reference and because of their role in society, the numbers in the age group 19-24 are also shown in the table.

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Estimated numbers of children, adolescents and youth
in the less developed regions

(in thousands)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Infants and pre-school children</u> (0-6)	<u>Elementary school-age children</u> (7-12)	<u>Younger adolescents</u> (13-15)	<u>Older adolescents</u> (16-18)	<u>Children and adolescents</u> (0-18)	<u>Youth</u> (19-24)
1970	558,499	387,167	175,707	160,560	1,281,933	272,628
1975	628,410	434,901	191,660	181,963	1,543,620	318,631
1980	688,243	499,329	219,000	196,881	1,603,453	359,313
1985	749,321	553,218	250,039	251,437	1,784,075	396,665

Estimated increase (per cent)

1970- 1980	23	29	25	23	25	32
1970- 1985	34	43	42	44	39	45

The proportions represented by each sub-group within the estimated population of children and adolescents in the less developed regions of the world are shown below:

Proportion among children and adolescents (0-18)

(percentage)

<u>Age group</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1985</u>
0- 6	43.6	42.9	42.0
7-12	30.2	31.1	31.0
13-15	13.7	13.7	14.0
16-18	12.5	12.3	13.0

Areas of concentration

15. Whatever influences the course of development in a country bears directly on the well-being of children and adolescents. Therefore, it is necessary to weigh the implications of all major economic or social policies for their short-term as well as long-term impact on different sub-groups and on the child population as a whole. Similarly, action taken on behalf of children and adolescents has important social and resource implications which will influence different sectors of development in different ways. While too sharp a line can never be drawn, it is in the

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following areas that much of the specific action envisaged in the interest of children and adolescents has to be concentrated:

- (i) Development of services for health, maternal and child health, family planning, supply of potable water, and environmental sanitation;
- (ii) Improved nutrition, especially for infants and young children and pregnant and nursing mothers;
- (iii) Development of human resources, including provision of minimum educational opportunities for children, educational and vocational preparation of adolescent boys and girls, and expansion of opportunities for absorbing adolescents and youth entering the labour market into productive work; and
- (iv) Development of appropriate welfare services, community institutions and voluntary agencies to provide, in particular, for the growth and development of the young child. More generally, it will be necessary to strengthen the family and the community, to prepare citizens for responsible parenthood, and to develop skills and opportunities for gainful and productive work for girls and women.

These are critically important areas of action both in themselves and for their implications in related fields of social policy. Each of them falls specially within the purview of one or more sectors of development and it is important to strengthen planning and implementation within each sector. However, in working with children and adolescents, the gains can be considerably enlarged if different activities are undertaken in an interrelated manner so that, at each stage, they become mutually supportive of one another, and action in one field makes possible and stimulates action in others.

16. In this study, different aspects of development are considered against the background of available experience with three principal objects in view:

- (i) to analyse developments foreseeable over the next decade which will have a special bearing on the well-being and development of children and adolescents;
- (ii) to assess the possibilities of action during the Second Development Decade, viewing the period as a stage in the larger task of meeting, in each country, the long-range needs of children and adolescents; and
- (iii) to suggest priorities for planning and action in the light of the financial, administrative and other constraints, as well as the favourable opportunities which may be expected to emerge in the coming years.

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17. In considering separately the themes mentioned above, it must be stressed that several common issues of economic and social policy run through each of them. Therefore, to the utmost extent possible, within each country and, within each region or area, the constant aim should be to work towards integrated strategies and to adapt policy and action to local needs and conditions. Contributions from different sectors and from within and outside each community should supplement one another so as to achieve a cumulative and growing impact.

18. It is to be hoped that, during the Second Development Decade, larger national resources and international assistance (from multilateral, bilateral and non-governmental sources) will become available for the children of the less developed world. At present, policies and measures of the greatest significance are being continually thwarted because, for one reason or another, even the minimum support needed cannot be obtained. Whatever the limitations, it is scarcely necessary to state that, at each stage, the available resources must be put to work so as to promote the well-being of children and adolescents and, at the same time, to strengthen the base for over-all economic and social development within the national and local communities to which they belong. A long-term view at the national level of the requirements of children and adolescents, accompanied by carefully worked out strategies for action, in keeping with the social conditions and economic prospects of each country, could make a significant contribution in furthering these objectives.

19. This study is divided into three parts. It begins with an attempt to summarize the development trend of the decade of the sixties and the larger economic and social factors which are expected to influence developments during the seventies. These latter have a profound bearing on the well-being of children and adolescents. The nature of planning and resource allocations on behalf of children will largely turn on the scale and direction of economic development and the priority given in each region and in each country to the development of human resources and expansion of work opportunities and to the strengthening of the social base and the development of elementary social services. The second part of the study reviews some of the lessons to be drawn from national and international experience in developing those essential social services which are of particular concern to children, in relating these services to one another,

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and in seeking greater community participation and voluntary effort in their planning and implementation. The third part of the study attempts to bring together the main conclusions bearing on planning for children and adolescents at the national level. It draws attention to differences in income levels and levels of development between countries and to the practical significance for planning and programme development of variations in conditions which prevail within each country.

20. Suggestions for long-range planning for children at the country level contained in the final section on the study have to be considered in the light of the tentative discussion in the Appendix on priorities for children in different regions of the less developed world. In this discussion, the expression 'region' refers to UNICEF's administrative regions for co-operating on behalf of children with the less developed countries. In view of the large canvas and vast differences in existing economic and social conditions and in the political and other circumstances which affect future development, the Appendix concentrates on a few limited themes and is intended at this stage to serve as a discussion draft.

CHAPTER 1.

DEVELOPMENT PATTERNS AND PRIORITIES

1. The past few years have been a period of intensive re-appraisal of the experience of development in the less developed countries since the early fifties and, more specially, during the decade of the sixties.^{1/} Increasingly, international as well as national strategies of development are being called into question on the ground of failure to secure the right kind of effort and the right kind of results.

2. The general directions in which development strategies should be modified have been outlined broadly in a series of Resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The most important of these are the Declaration on the International Development Strategy, Resolution 2681 (XXV) on the unified approach to economic and social planning in national development, and Resolution 2768 (XXVI) on special measures in favour of the least developed among the developing countries. These declarations on behalf of the world community

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^{1/} From the extensive literature on re-appraisal of post-world war II development experience, attention may be drawn in particular to the following: United Nations, World Economic Survey, 1967, 1968 and 1969-70 Reports of the Committee for Development Planning; Partners in Development: Report of the (Pearson) Commission on International Development (Praeger, 1969; International Labour Office, The World Employment Programme (1969) and Poverty and Minimum Living Standards (1970); Food and Agriculture Organization, Provisional Indicative World Plan for Agricultural Development (1969) and Agricultural Commodity Projections, 1970-1980 (1971); United Nations, Report of the Meeting of Experts on Social Policy and Planning in National Development (1969) and Report of the Symposium on Social Policy and Planning (1970); Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, The Employment Problem in Less Developed Areas (1971), Development Assistance, 1970 and 1971; Reports and Studies for the Second Development Decade by the Economic Commissions for Africa, Asia and the Far East, and Latin America; Reports and studies by UNCTAD, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Monetary Fund and regional development banks; and selected papers by UNESCO and WHO. Among contributions from individual scholars, attention is drawn to Gunnar Myrdal, The Asian Drama, An Enquiry into the Poverty of Nations (Pantheon, 1968), and The Challenge of World Poverty. A World Anti-Poverty Programme in Outline (Pantheon, 1970), and Raul Prebisch, Change and Development Latin America's Great Task (Inter-American Development Bank, Washington, D.C., 1970). The process of reappraisal is being carried progressively to the country level as in reports prepared by inter-agency teams sponsored by the International Labour Office, notably, Towards Full Employment A Programme for Colombia (1970), Matching Employment Opportunities and Expectations. A Programme of Action for Ceylon (1971), Employment, Incomes and Equality. A Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya (1972), and Employment and Income Policies for Iran, 1973

constitute the essential framework within which policies for the well-being and development of children and adolescents should now be assessed. Any appraisal has to be made against the background of past experience and the developments which can be anticipated over the decade of the seventies and beyond.

3. By virtue of Resolution 417 (V) passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1950, the United Nations Children's Fund has co-operated with other agencies of the United Nations in activities on behalf of children and adolescents with the governments of more than 100 countries. These activities fall broadly within the sectors of Health, Nutrition, Education, and Welfare and Community Services. Gradually, concepts underlying these sectors have grown. They are being continuously adapted to the changing conditions and requirements of individual countries. Assistance on the part of UNICEF has taken the form of supplies, support to training, planning and evaluation, and measures for strengthening the technical and administrative implementation of policies, programmes and projects. As far as possible, through the approach of 'country programming', these different elements are brought to bear together at the country level. UNICEF has also participated in assessing the requirements of children and adolescents in several countries as well as in the development of broader national policies. In some of these efforts, groups of countries have joined together to co-operate on a regional or sub-regional basis, thus pooling their experience and concerns. In the present study an attempt is made to set the major conclusions which can be drawn from the experience thus far in the context of the emerging needs and the developments which can be anticipated during the Second Development Decade.

4. The period of economic and social development which has been under review with the object of evolving strategies for the seventies is itself quite short. For some countries it extends to about two decades, for many others, to a little more than a decade. Developments in this recent phase cannot be altogether separated from those of the earlier decades. Yet, it would be true to say that, for the first time in history, in the midst of political and other difficulties,

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a large proportion of the poorer countries of the world have been engaged in a deliberate and wide-ranging attempt to transform their economies and strengthen their social infrastructures. For the first time also, despite many weaknesses, there has been a broad movement in the direction of greater co-operation between the more and the less developed countries for achieving more rapid development on a world-wide scale.

Trends in the sixties

5. The leading trends in development performance during the decade of the sixties are summarized in Table 1.^{2/} Statistics summarized in the table underline the enormous gaps which prevail in levels of income and productivity between the more and the less developed regions of the world. These gaps are an expression of the material, technical and social conditions which currently prevail in each group of countries. They also reflect the historical processes which have been under way. The relationships indicated in the table can now be altered in the main only through long-range strategies implemented on the basis of world-wide co-operation.

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^{2/} Estimates of gross domestic product such as those summarized in the table present obvious difficulty by way of data, concepts and methods of calculation, especially when a large number of countries are considered together. The assumptions on which they are based and their limitations are stated carefully in Part I - General Methodology, in FAO's study on Agricultural Commodity Projections 1970-1980 (CCP 71/20, 1971). FAO's estimates have a special interest. In view of their comprehensiveness and common basis, they provide at least a broad view of relative dimensions between regions and countries at the present stage of development, such as is scarcely available from any other source.

It should be noted that FAO's estimates of population, while generally following the medium variant projections of the United Nations Population Division, differ somewhat from them. Thus, for the total world population we have (in thousands):

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>
UN Population Division	2,981,620	3,289,002	3,631,797	4,456,688
FAO	3,038,192	3,363,233	3,718,979	4,575,183

There are also some differences in the composition of geographical regions in FAO's classification and in that followed by the Population Division.

Table 1 - Changes in Gross Domestic Product, 1960-1970
(At 1970 constant market prices)

	Population in 1970 (million)	Total gross domestic products				Per capita gross domestic product			
		Amount \$MS (million)		Annual rates of growth		Amount (\$)		Annual rates of growth (%)	
		1960 (3)	1970 (5)	1960-65 (6)	1965-70 (7)	1960 (8)	1970 (10)	1960-65 (11)	1965-70 (12)
1. World	3,719	1,818,623	2,986,697	5.2	5.0	599	803	3.1	3.0
2. Developed market economies (a)	727	1,274,828	2,063,410	5.3	4.6	1,960	2,838	4.1	3.6
North America	227	704,466	1,059,106	4.9	3.5	3,547	4,674	3.4	2.4
Western Europe	356	464,052	738,441	5.1	4.4	1,423	2,076	4.1	3.6
Japan	104	68,759	280,439	10.0	12.6	738	1,933	9.0	11.5
3. Developing market economies	1,760	234,464	385,429	4.7	5.5	173	219	2.1	2.8
Africa	282	27,479	39,630	3.3	4.1	125	140	0.9	1.5
Latin America	283	93,363	153,825	4.9	5.4	438	543	2.0	2.5
Near East	167	29,512	57,546	6.9	6.9	230	344	4.3	4.2
South Asia	707	50,025	75,520	3.6	4.9	91	167	1.1	2.3
East and South- east Asia	316	33,356	57,684	5.0	6.3	137	182	2.3	3.6
4. Centrally planned economies (b)	1,232	309,331	537,858	5.3	6.1	301	437	3.4	4.3
Asia	884	64,915	85,550	2.5	3.1	91	97	0.4	1.0
USSR and Eastern Europe	348	244,416	452,308	5.9	6.8	782	1,299	4.7	5.9

Source: FAO, Agricultural Commodity Projections, 1970-80, Vol. II, Part II, Statistical Appendix, Tables 2, 5 and 6.

Note: (a) includes also Australia, New Zealand, Israel and South Africa;

(b) includes estimates for the People's Republic of China, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Mongolia, and Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

6. Together, the less developed countries, including both market and centrally planned economies, hold 71 per cent of the world's population, but could account in 1970 roughly for about 16 per cent of the total world output of goods and services. In the developed countries also, a proportion of the population is close to levels of poverty as understood in their own context, but clearly these countries have at hand the means to eliminate such poverty. In the less developed countries, a substantial part of the population, often exceeding one half, lives near subsistence levels. Therefore, differences within countries are as much a matter for concern and action as differences between countries. Greater efforts on the part of the less developed countries to diminish their own internal economic and social disparities will doubtless hasten the adoption of international policies designed to diminish the prevailing gaps between the more and the less developed parts of the world. This, of course, is not to suggest that international disparities are to be viewed as a secondary problem. In fact, the existence of international disparities has a powerful and continuing impact on the domestic conditions of the less developed countries and on their ability to undertake policies which will bring about both economic development and basic changes in social institutions and structures. Therefore, next only to the preservation of world peace and an end to the arms race, reduction of these disparities through every available means - trade, aid, investment and social policies - must continue to be among the most urgent policy objectives of international development.^{3/}

Interpreting rates of growth

7. Appraisals of the development experience of the sixties have been undertaken for individual countries as well as for groups of countries. Depending on the data available, international agencies have endeavoured to extend their analysis of overall and sectoral development to as many countries as they could. It must be admitted that, aside from a few investigations into processes and factors underlying economic and social development, the greater value of comparative

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^{3/} Total world military expenditures are placed at 30 times the level of official development assistance and at about two and a half times the estimated total of publicly financed health expenditures. See United Nations, Economic and Social Consequences of the Armaments Race and its Extremely Harmful Effects on World Peace and Security. Report of the Secretary-General (Document A/8469, 22 October 1971) paragraphs 56 and 105. Also, United Nations, Disarmament and Development. Report of the Group of Experts on the Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament, 1972 (Sales No. E.73,IX.1).

investigations has been in raising issues which call for international concern or require closer study. They are less able to point the way to clear and tested solutions of difficult problems met with at the national level. Moreover, economic and statistical examination has been directed mainly to those aspects of development which are measurable, however imperfectly, and for which some kind of statistical information could be obtained. It is clear that economic growth and development in the less developed countries are complex phenomena. They can be illustrated, but not fully explained, in terms of rates of economic growth and related economic indicators, such as rates of savings and investment and relative rates of growth of output in agriculture, industry and exports. On aspects such as employment, income and wealth distribution, the working of social factors, or the impact of social and structural changes, the available information has been generally scanty and systematic analysis has not advanced very far.

8. Reasonably high rates of growth are a necessary though, by no means, a sufficient condition for expanding employment, or reaching social objectives, or furthering the well-being of children and adolescents. However, the factors responsible for whatever rates of growth are realized by each country have to be analyzed both in quantitative and in qualitative terms. They have to be examined in depth in terms of the basic conditions of development prevailing in the country, the obstacles by which it is confronted at each stage, and the nature of the developmental effort which was found feasible or is proposed for the future. This is a difficult undertaking even for a single country. The rate of growth realized in an economy over a period is a final result of a number of elements of varying importance which interact with one another. Some of these are of a short-term character, others are long-term and involve changes in the economic and social structure. How the various elements reinforce or counteract one another has to be analyzed carefully.

The First Development Decade

9. When proposing goals for the First Development Decade, it was thought that the less developed countries should be able to achieve an average annual increase of 5 per cent in total output. The Centre for Development Policy, Planning and Projections in the United Nations has estimated on the basis of data for 96 countries (generally for the period 1960-1968) that nearly half the countries exceeded this "target" and one eighth of the countries were within one per cent

of the objective. However, in one-fourth of the less developed countries under study, growth in total output had not kept pace with increase in population. Since several of the countries in this latter group had large populations, about three-fourths of the people of the less developed world were living in countries in the middle range of growth rates, that is, between the lower quartile of 2.7 per cent a year and the upper quartile of 6.7 per cent or more.^{4/}

10. In a study^{5/} undertaken by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development of economic development in 59 countries, four groups of countries were distinguished, namely:

- i. 9 petroleum producing countries and countries receiving large amounts of foreign aid and investment (population 145 million);
- ii. 9 relatively large countries (population 1,108 million);
- iii. 24 countries with per capita gross domestic product of more than \$200 in 1968 (population 136 million); and
- iv. 15 countries with per capita gross domestic product of less than \$200 in 1968 (population 141 million).

Rates of growth for these four groups of countries over the period 1960-1970 are summarized below:

<u>Rates of growth</u>	<u>i</u>	<u>ii</u>	<u>iii</u>	<u>iv</u>
Gross domestic product	7.6	4.1	4.8	4.3
Agriculture	4.8	2.7	3.0	3.2
Manufacturing	12.4	7.3	6.9	6.3
Exports	11.4	4.3	5.4	4.8

11. The experience of countries under differing conditions of growth and at varying levels of development over the period of the First Development Decade merits much closer study at the international level than has been possible up to this time. In studying the performance of any country or, for that matter, of a group of countries, due consideration has to be given to such aspects as the structure of

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^{4/} United Nations, World Economic Survey, 1969-1970, The Developing Countries in the 1960's: The Problem of Appraising Progress, 1971, pages 9-10.

^{5/} UNCTAD, The Mobilization of Domestic Resources, Mobilization of Resources for development 1960-1970. (Document TD/B/C.3/95 dated 4 October 1971).

a country's economy, the prevailing levels of technology, the size, distribution and productivity of the labour force in relation to its natural resource endowments, its social and institutional conditions and the influence on them of public policies, and its sources of public and private savings. An important factor in a country's record is its scheme of relative priorities as these affect physical investments in plant and construction, commitments for the provision of social services, development of human resources and expansion of employment opportunities, and efforts to secure more even distribution of income and wealth and to create conditions of more equal opportunity for different sections of the population. The role of 'economic' and 'welfare' criteria in the allocation of resources, including the relative priority given to short-term and long-term investments, and the efficiency with which the available resources are utilized, have also to be studied. While appraisals in depth are available only for a few countries, the broad conclusion drawn from the decade of the sixties is of course correct, namely, that in the past development policies were influenced too strongly by the general bias in favour of economic growth as the dominant aim to which other objectives were subordinated. Therefore, in relation to the Second Development Decade, there has been a movement in favour of a wider and more long range and, to the extent possible, a more unified approach to economic and social planning and development.

Search for new 'strategies'

12. The reaction to the overriding emphasis on increase in aggregate output in development policies of the past decade and more has stimulated the search for combinations of policies which may become in time a feasible alternative to the so-called 'growth strategies'. An adequate formulation of such an alternative which is also reflected in the actual allocation of resources and in political and administrative action, has yet to be achieved. It is, therefore, important to specify the elements which were earlier missed and which must now be secured in combination with economic growth. Without reasonably rapid and continuous economic growth, the less developed countries will be unable to solve their social problems or realize their minimum social objectives. In fact, what has been in question is not the necessity of economic growth, but excessive and unbalanced emphasis on the growth of the domestic product considered as an entity, without due consideration being given to its composition, to patterns of consumption and production, and to effective utilization of available resources including, specially, human resources.

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13. Among the main weaknesses in the past was the lack of an adequate view of the major directions of social policy in relation to society as a whole and to the condition of different groups of which it is composed. Since long-term growth required that possible short-term gains in output should be maximized, expansion of employment opportunities, reduction of inequalities in income and wealth, and social and institutional changes were frequently thought to involve unjustified sacrifice of economic growth. Each of these objectives was given a relatively low priority. Sufficient account was not taken of the fact that a substantial and, often, the greater part of the population was engaged in farming and other activities at a low level of productivity and that this represented the critical point of departure in moving towards a more comprehensive view of economic development. In many countries, price and agriculture policies served to keep the traditional and labour-intensive agriculture at a low level of profitability, while subsidies and other forms of support encouraged commercial agricultural and processing activities. These latter were focused mainly on the urban market and were much less oriented towards increased labour utilization. Those in the weaker segments of agricultural and rural activity received too little support or attention. Neither agricultural technologies, nor agricultural and economic policies, nor even legislatures and political movements, were yet ready for them.

14. As the modern industrial and tertiary sectors began to develop, gains in income accrued mainly to better organized business units, to skilled workers and to holders of properties which could quickly appreciate in value. Consequently, the already dualistic character of the economy and of the social system became even more marked. Highly productive activities engaged but a small part of the population, leaving the bulk of the people largely outside the influence of new potentials for change and development. Thus, as between countries, so also within each country, disparities in income, economic opportunities and living standards increased still further. These developments, implying a degree of stratification, were not expected to become cumulative in character. There was an underlying assumption that there had to be perhaps a necessary sacrifice of present gains and consumption in favour of future increases in output and productivity. In the long run, it was thought, this might increase a country's economic capacity for resolving basic social problems.

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15. Factors such as the upsurge of population growth, pressures of urbanization and rural-urban migration, the growth and deepening of urban and rural unemployment and under-employment, disparities in income distribution and levels of living, and the denial of minimum standards operate simultaneously. This heightens their total effect and adds greatly to the tensions of development. In turn, it becomes more difficult to correct, much less to reverse, distortions due to past biases in development. Hence the search for greater unity and interdependence between economic and social objectives side by side with programmes of action on a scale commensurate with the tasks proposed in the International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade. It is against such a background that projected rates of urbanization and population growth, the need for broad-based opportunities for employment, action to arrest deterioration in the environment and the living conditions of vast numbers of people, and the urgent requirements of human and social development, have to be considered together as part of an interrelated pattern of development. These larger aspects of development have their immediate and most far-reaching consequences for children, adolescents, and youth.

Demographic and economic perspective

16. Through the Second Development Decade, there will be large differences in the conditions and patterns of development which are likely to take shape in different countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Each country will face both short-term and long-term problems and, in developing its policies, it will be obliged to respond to varying internal as well as external factors. Less developed countries differ widely in population size, resource endowment, investment and income levels, and in the character of their human resource and social base. Since a country's priorities and general scheme of development are strongly conditioned by its overall economic, social and political circumstances, realistic choices can only be made by each country in the context of its own conditions and preferences. In turn, these choices and the effectiveness with which they are implemented will determine the impact on different sections of the population and, more specially, on the rising generations.

17. In any perspective view of development, the outstanding element of social change is the growth of population, its distribution between rural and urban areas, its age composition, and the extent to which it is expected to be absorbed within and outside agriculture. Next to population growth, the rate at which the total

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Table 2 - Population and Labour Force, 1970 and 1980
(in thousands)

	1970					1980				
	Less developed regions (2)	East Asia (3)	South Asia (4)	Africa (5)	Latin America (6)	Less developed regions (7)	East Asia (8)	South Asia (9)	Africa (10)	Latin America (11)
A. Population										
1. Total	2,584,007	826,432	1,125,843	344,482	283,250	3,303,850	979,006	1,485,714	456,719	377,170
2. Rural	1,894,971	606,617	892,791	267,835	124,042	2,237,495	638,468	1,125,280	331,434	137,593
Urban	689,039	219,816	233,052	76,652	159,209	1,066,351	340,539	360,430	125,288	239,578
Urban/total (%)	27.0	27.0	20.7	22.3	56.2	32.0	35.0	24.3	27.4	63.5
3. Population dependent on agriculture	1,661,190	561,222	763,176	239,278	117,895	1,874,396	578,051	892,529	290,034	130,619
Proportion to total population (%)	64	68	68	69	42	57	59	60	63	35
B. Labour Force										
1. Total Labour Force	1,026,739	375,697	428,631	132,479	88,156	1,259,183	440,485	537,504	165,379	113,554
2. Population economically active in agriculture	671,993	237,864	292,731	95,073	36,601	727,666	262,412	325,081	108,848	39,229
3. Proportion to total population (%)	65	69	68	72	41	58	60	60	66	34

Sources: For A-1 and 2, United Nations Population Division; for B-1, International Labour Office, International Labour Force Projections, 1965-1985 (1971); for A-3 and B-2, Food and Agriculture Organization.

Note: "East Asia" and "South Asia" include countries as shown in United Nations Population Division classification.

Less developed regions include East Asia less Japan, South Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Oceania less Australia and New Zealand.

and per capita output of an economy are likely to grow and the levels they are expected to attain, have far-reaching effects on all aspects of social development. The contribution to economic growth of changes in the structure of the economy, in modes of production, and in patterns of distribution and consumption, can be anticipated at best only in general terms. Table 2 sets out in summary form for the decade 1970-1980 for the less developed parts of the world estimates of growth of population and the labour force, distribution between rural and urban areas, and extent of dependence of the population and the labour force on agriculture. Table 3 summarizes estimates prepared by the Food and Agriculture Organization concerning changes which may be expected over the Second Development Decade in levels of per capita domestic gross product in various geographical regions. Table 4 shows changes in the numbers and proportions of the population of less developed regions accounted for in 1970 and 1980 by infants and pre-school children, elementary school-age children and adolescents. These estimates follow the medium variant projections of the United Nations, and their validity will depend on how far the assumptions made are borne out in practice. Attention should also be drawn here to the series of studies undertaken in preparation for the Second Development Decade by the United Nations Centre for Development Planning, Projections and Policies, the specialized agencies and the regional economic commissions.^{6/}

18. It will be seen from the tables that, during the Second Development Decade, of the increase of about 720 million in the total population of the less developed world, as much as 71 per cent is expected to be in Asia, the shares of Africa and Latin America being placed respectively at 16 and 13 per cent. Over the same period, in the less developed countries, the number of children and adolescents may go up by about 321 millions, the proportions accounted for by Asia, Africa and Latin America being respectively 67, 19 and 14 per cent. The urban component in the population of countries in Latin America, at present estimated at around 56 per cent,

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^{6/} Among the studies undertaken by the Centre for Development Planning, Projections and Policies, reference may be made specially to papers on Methodology of World-wide Projections (E/AC.54/L.21, 6 April 1967), Developing Countries in the Nineteen Seventies: Preliminary Estimates for some Key Elements of a Framework for International Development Strategy (E/AC.54/L.29/Rev.1, 14 June 1968) and The Second United Nations Development Decade: Preliminary Framework for an International Development Strategy (E/A.56/L.2 and E/AC.54/L.33, 12 February 1969).

Table 3 - Estimated Gross Domestic Product and Annual Rates of Growth, 1970-1980
in Less Developed Regions*
 (at 1970 constant market prices)

	Per Capita GDP (US \$)			Annual Rates of Growth (%)			
				Total GDP		Per Capita GDP	
	1970	1980	1980	1970-1980	1970-1980	1970-1980	1970-1980
	(T)	(H)	(T)	(H)	(T)	(H)	
<u>Developing market economies</u>							
Africa	140	153	166	4.5	5.8	1.7	3.0
Latin America	543	696	797	5.5	6.9	2.6	4.0
Near East	344	426	470	6.2	7.1	3.3	4.2
South Asia	107	130	147	4.6	5.9	2.0	3.3
East and South East Asia	182	245	273	5.8	7.0	3.0	4.2
<u>Centrally planned economies in Asia</u>							
	97	113	124	3.6	4.6	1.6	2.6

* Source, FAO, Agricultural Commodity Projections, 1970-1980, Volume II.

Note: FAO's main projections for gross domestic product in the less developed countries are related to a "trend" assumption (T) in line with historical trends. A "high" alternative (H), considered as the maximum growth rate for the economy compatible with the assumptions made for the Second Development Decade, was added for the purpose of making alternative projections of food demand in the less developed countries and for use in subsequent work in FAO.

Table 4 Children and Adolescents in Less Developed Regions

1970

1980

(1)	1970					1980				
	$\frac{0-18}{(2)}$	$\frac{0-6}{(3)}$	$\frac{7-12}{(4)}$	$\frac{13-15}{(5)}$	$\frac{16-18}{(6)}$	$\frac{0-18}{(7)}$	$\frac{0-6}{(8)}$	$\frac{7-12}{(9)}$	$\frac{13-15}{(10)}$	$\frac{16-18}{(11)}$
<u>A. Numbers (000)</u>										
<u>Total</u>	1,281,933	558,499	387,167	175,707	160,560	1,603,453	688,243	499,329	219,000	196,881
East Asia	376,574	150,986	117,160	56,962	51,466	409,182	162,043	130,534	60,775	55,830
South Asia	582,065	262,347	172,555	76,531	70,632	765,784	333,459	239,405	102,513	90,407
Africa	179,187	82,016	53,209	21,967	20,995	241,665	111,275	72,094	30,597	27,699
Latin America	143,698	62,890	44,044	19,296	17,468	189,262	82,507	58,065	25,416	23,274

B. Proportion among children and adolescents (%)

<u>Total</u>	100.0	43.6	30.2	13.7	12.5	100.0	42.9	31.1	13.7	12.3
East Asia	100.0	40.1	31.1	15.1	13.7	100.0	39.6	31.9	14.8	13.7
South Asia	100.0	45.1	29.6	13.2	12.1	100.0	43.6	31.2	12.7	11.5
Africa	100.0	45.8	29.7	12.8	11.7	100.0	46.0	29.8	12.7	11.5
Latin America	100.0	43.7	30.7	13.4	12.2	100.0	43.6	30.7	13.4	12.3

C. Proportions to total population (%)

<u>Total</u>	49.7	21.7	15.0	6.8	6.2	48.6	20.9	15.1	6.6	6.0
East Asia	45.6	18.3	14.2	6.9	6.2	41.8	16.6	13.3	6.2	5.7
South Asia	51.7	23.3	15.3	6.8	6.3	51.5	22.4	16.1	6.9	6.1
Africa	52.0	23.8	15.4	6.7	6.1	52.9	24.3	15.8	6.7	6.1
Latin America	50.7	22.2	15.5	6.8	6.2	50.2	21.9	15.4	6.7	6.2

Note: Less developed regions include East Asia less Japan, South Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Oceania less Australia and New Zealand. East Asia and South Asia include countries as in the United Nations Population Division classification.

is expected to rise to over 63 per cent by 1980. This factor as well as the considerably higher levels of per capita income suggest that, qualitatively, the economic and social situation of countries in Latin America is on the whole markedly different from that of the great majority of countries in Asia and Africa. This difference is reflected also in the proportions of the population in 1970 and 1980 dependent on agriculture and in the proportions of the economically active labour force in agriculture (Table 2).

19. The data above probably understate the extent of dependence on agriculture in the less developed countries because many occupations described as non-agricultural are closely related to agriculture and their productivity depends on the condition of agriculture. This relationship is of crucial importance in the great majority of countries in Asia and Africa. It is obvious that during the Second Development Decade the well-being as well as the productive contribution of the greater part of the population in the less developed world, particularly in countries in Asia and Africa, will be influenced decisively by the progress of agriculture and the rural sector as a whole. Changes in other sectors, however important in themselves, have to be viewed against the requirements and growth of agriculture and the rural economy and improvement in the living conditions and employment and other opportunities available to rural populations.

20. Estimates of changes and rates of growth in per capita income are always subject to serious limitations, more so when they concern future years. In the absence of accurate data, only very rough orders of magnitude can be presented. It can be inferred clearly from the statistics cited in Table 2 that, except in some countries already well above the world "poverty line", however this might be defined, the measure of increase in per capita gross product which, even on generous assumptions, may be expected during the 1970's, will be fairly modest. By itself, it may add only a little to the present levels of living, at any rate, for the greater part of the population. This is an economic reality to be kept in mind in evolving social policies for the decade. If a more appreciable difference is to be made to the living conditions of the people as a whole, the emphasis must turn to the urgent pursuit of progressive social policies. These will include, especially, income re-distribution, expansion of employment opportunities and of basic health, education, nutrition, welfare and other services, and social and institutional changes. In each country, according to its conditions and preferences,

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it will be necessary to undertake a wide-ranging effort to correct distortions which are inherent in its economic and social structure and which may have been accentuated in the recent past by predispositions in favour of economic growth seen as an end in itself. Without measures along these lines, the social order in each country will rest inevitably on weak foundations. This is a critical consideration in proposing priorities for the Second Development Decade.

Beyond 1980

21. Two aspects of the perspective that can be fairly anticipated at present should be looked at well beyond the Second Development Decade, perhaps to the end of the century, namely, population growth and urbanization. According to the medium variant projections of the United Nations, between 1980 and the year 2000, world population may increase from around 4.5 to 6.5 billion, with the population of the less developed regions increasing over this period from 3.2 to 5.0 billion. The following table brings together estimates for less developed regions concerning birth and death rates, gross reproduction rates and life expectancies over the period 1970-2000:

Table 5 - Projected growth of population in less developed regions,^{7/}
1970-2000

	(medium variant projections)			
	<u>1970-75</u>	<u>1980-85</u>	<u>1990-95</u>	<u>1995-2000</u>
Total population at beginning of quinquennium (million)	(1) 2,541	(2) 3,247	(3) 4,102	(4) 5,040
Urban population	635	990	1,496	2,155
Proportion of urban/total population (%)	25.0	30.4	36.3	42.6
Crude birth rate	39.0	34.9	29.9	27.4
Crude death rate	14.3	10.9	8.5	7.6
Gross reproduction rate	2.6	2.3	1.9	1.7
Life expectancy at birth (both sexes)	52.4	58.0	63.0	65.3
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^{7/} In this table, less developed regions do not include Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay. In column 4, the first three items on population refer to the year 2000, the remaining items to the quinquennium 1995-2000.

22. At this point, it is not possible to say how far the assumptions on which the above estimates are based will be borne out, and what other assumptions may have to be made in the future. Inevitably, there will be large variations as between different geographical regions as well as among individual countries in the same region. The more developed countries also face problems of population growth, especially in the context of quality of life and the use of environmental resources. As a recent study has pointed out, the socio-economic implications of the population issue have a global character. Hitherto, the discussion has focused mainly upon technical and administrative problems. However, the demographic variable takes different shapes in different societies, depending on the socio-economic and technological stage of development at which each nation finds itself. Beyond the current debate, there are still other issues to consider, including the state of the human environment, patterns of human personality development and behaviour, and the humane running of society.^{8/}

23. Estimates for the Second Development Decade under the medium variant assumptions of the United Nations anticipate an average population growth rate exceeding 2.5 per cent per annum in many of the less developed countries. It appears likely that birth rates will decline significantly in the relatively more advanced among the less developed countries, while in the poorer countries population may continue to increase at considerably higher rates. Changes in rates of population growth imply corresponding changes in age distribution, which have far-reaching implications for social planning. For the less developed regions as a whole (not including the countries of temperate South America), while the proportion of the population under 15 may decline from 41.3 per cent in 1970 to 40.7 per cent in 1980 and 35.1 per cent in the year 2000, in absolute numbers, the population under 15 at these dates is estimated respectively at 1,052, 1,321 and 1,772 million.

24. A word should be added on the subject of migration from rural areas to cities and towns. Generally, from the economic standpoint, in many countries, such migration has occurred at rates exceeding the absorptive capacity of cities and towns. Consequently, under-employment and disguised unemployment in agriculture have increasingly surfaced as open unemployment, especially in the larger urban centres. Rural-urban migration predominantly involves young people, bringing

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^{8/} Theodore K. Ruprecht and Carl Wahren, Population Programmes and Economic Social Development (OECD Development Centre, 1970), pages 73-74.

proportionately greater dependency burdens to the cities and accentuating a general sense of disillusionment with social, economic and political institutions. Again, while the rural labour force may increase at lower rates than in the past, the urban labour force will increase in many countries at rates varying from 4 to 5 per cent per annum. Labour force participation rates are not likely to be significantly reduced through urbanization, because later entry by adolescents, if they should remain longer in school, is likely to be offset by increasing labour force participation rates among women.

Employment opportunities

25. As is being increasingly recognized, in most of the less developed countries, employment expansion is lagging seriously behind labour force growth. This trend is likely to continue and may even worsen. Current estimates of urban and rural unemployment appear to understate the problem inasmuch as they do not take sufficient account of the numbers engaged in low income and low productivity occupations, which are frequently of the nature of service activities. Also, perhaps, they do not give enough weight to the long spells during which continuous work is not available. Even allowing for their limitations, unemployment statistics do not bring out the social and economic implications of the waste of human resources and the sense of injustice which fills a society when large numbers of adolescents and youth, at their period of greatest promise, can neither be in school, nor become part of the productive labour force. It also remains true that, given the competitiveness of the urban labour market, it is the better qualified workers who are able to obtain the more productive employment opportunities. Moreover, employment conditions differ markedly between the modern and traditional segments, emphasizing still further the dualism which has increasingly characterized the economies of most of the less developed countries.

26. These different aspects of the problem of employment and unemployment in less developed countries are being studied everywhere with growing concern. Many of the estimates of expansion of employment opportunities put forward in national development plans have tended to be either optimistic or to rely heavily on traditional small-scale manufacturing services and agriculture. As a recent review of employment prospects during the seventies undertaken by the OECD Development Centre has stressed, it is essential that employment policies should become a central focus in development strategy in the less developed countries. In the

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majority of the less developed countries, this reorientation in development planning can only be achieved if, at the same time, agricultural development becomes the first priority.^{9/} This conclusion is in line with earlier studies of countries in Asia and Latin America which pressed for fuller labour utilization and concerted attempts to deal with problems of employment.^{10/} In other words, it is imperative that there should be large-scale changes in the pattern of development, in priorities given to social services and rural development, in the approach to education and human resources, to tax systems, and to institutional and structural changes. Concern with employment and human resources development has the effect of placing the formulation and implementation of national development plans in a radically new social, economic and political context. This approach has been developed in some detail in studies which have been completed in Colombia, Sri Lanka, Kenya and Iran by special missions sponsored by the International Labour Office under the World Employment Programme.^{11/} These missions have stressed the significance of resource constraints in achieving patterns of development which could provide for greater employment and fuller use of available human resources at the same time as they strengthen the social base and secure reasonably rapid economic growth.^{12/}

Agriculture and the 'green revolution'

27. The less developed countries have before them a long period of transition before their economies will become sufficiently balanced and integrated to be able to provide expanding productive work opportunities for their labour force. While efforts proceed in these directions, it is through the growth and diversification

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^{9/} David Turnham, assisted by Ingelies Jaeger, The Employment Problem in Less Developed Countries. A Review of Evidence (OECD Development Centre, 1971), pages 93-120.

^{10/} Gunnar Myrdal, Asian Drama, op.cit, Volume II, Part Five on Problems of Labour Utilization; Raul Prebisch, Change and Development op.cit, Chapter II and Chapter IV A; United Nations, Economic Commission for Latin America, Social Change and Social Development Policy in Latin America, 1970, pages 123-147.

^{11/} ILO, Towards Full Employment, Matching Employment Opportunities and Expectations, and Employment, Incomes and Equality, Employment and Income Policies for Iran, op.cit.

^{12/} The Report of the ILO mission to Sri Lanka (Ceylon) has pointed out that two-thirds of that country's gross fixed domestic investment was financed in 1969-1970 by domestic savings and that an increase of savings by 7 to 8 per cent of the gross national product would be required if the investment rate were to be sustained, while maintaining balance in foreign payment. (ILO, Matching Employment Opportunities and Expectations, op.cit, pages 57-58.)

of their agriculture, the provision of essential economic and social services, particularly in the rural areas, and better co-ordinated rural and urban planning and development, that these countries can hope to enlarge employment opportunities, raise the levels of income and productivity of the greater part of the population, and thus provide at least tolerable living standards. The emergence of high-yielding varieties of cereals in recent years and their ready acceptance, often referred to as the "green revolution", have introduced new dimensions in the agricultural development of several countries, especially in East Asia, South Asia and South-west Asia. This is not the place to dwell on the possibilities or on the problems which are implicit in this new phase of innovative agriculture and its significance for the health and well-being of children. As a recent report by the Administrative Co-ordination Committee of the United Nations to the Economic and Social Council has pointed out, while the value and the promise of high-yielding varieties have been clearly established, if the "green revolution" offers great opportunities, it also poses new problems.^{13/}

Significance for children and adolescents

28. Reappraisals of development experience which have taken place in preparation for the Second Development Decade have already shown that various social and economic policies and measures have a differing impact on different sections of the population. Under conditions of rapid increase in population and in urbanization, objectives such as economic growth, increase in employment opportunities, improved income distribution, institutional changes, assuring of minimum levels of living to the population as a whole, and a better balance between economic and social priorities, cannot be pursued in isolation from one another. There is a particularly intimate connexion between policies adopted in support of these different objectives, the place given to human resources and social development in the total scheme, and the present and future well-being of children and adolescents. Current dilemmas in development policy have their roots largely

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^{13/} United Nations Economic and Social Council, Special Report prepared by the ACC on the Implications of the "Green Revolution" (Document E/50/2, Part II, dated 6 May 1971). Even before the agricultural setbacks in 1972 in several regions of the world, there was ground for caution against excessive and hasty expectations of the short-run potentials of high-yielding varieties of cereals. See FAO, The State of Food and Agriculture, 1971, pages (ix), (xii) and 1-7, and The State of Food and Agriculture, 1972, pages (vii), (viii) and 1-14.

in the interrelationships between poverty and other failures in the economic and social situation. It is important that a strong determination, equally with a clearer understanding of the causal factors and relationships, should emerge from the considerable body of work which has been recently in progress in agencies of the United Nations and in different countries.^{14/}

Contribution of the more developed countries

29. A few words should be added here on a major objective which is already becoming less easy to realize than was visualized in the International Development Strategy. The Strategy had sought to provide a basis for partnership between the more and the less developed countries in overcoming serious impediments to economic and social change and in accelerating the processes of growth and development in all their varied aspects. Therefore, there was emphasis on international action in the sphere of trade, finance of development, and measures to reduce the technological gap between the more and the less developed countries. Under the Strategy, economically advanced countries were expected to endeavour to provide annually to the less developed countries total resource transfers of at least 1 per cent of their gross national product at market prices in terms of actual disbursements. The Strategy also called upon the advanced countries to raise their official development assistance to the less developed countries by the middle of the decade to a minimum net amount of 0.7 per cent of their gross national product at market prices. The goals set in the Strategy were accepted by all members of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. However, as the 1971 Review by the Development Assistance Committee pointed out after assessing the prospects for the seventies, the commitments made by several of the richer countries are not specific enough and some countries have indicated reservations about the date by which the 0.7 per cent target for official development assistance might be reached. The outlook for substantial absolute increases in the immediate future or in the proportion of gross national product

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^{14/} Attention may be invited here to United Nations, Attack on Mass Poverty and Unemployment. Views and Recommendations of the Committee for Development Planning, (Sales No.E.72.II.A.11, 1972), the study on Income Distribution in Latin America undertaken by the Economic Commission for Latin America (1971); Section III on 'The Social Implications of Development' in the study prepared by the Economic Commission for Latin America on Trends and Structures of the Latin Americas Economy (Document E/CN.12/884, 4 March 1971); the Report of the Meeting of Experts on Social Policy and Planning. Report on a Unified Approach to Development Analysis and Planning (Document E/CN.5/490, 23 January 1973).

currently transferred as official development assistance has been described authoritatively as being "anything but favourable". Even after allowing for a small improvement in the volume of official development assistance in 1971, the level reached is still just half of the United Nations target of 0.7 per cent of GNP.^{15/} Thus, in one area of great importance for the seventies, where the richer countries are in a position to assist, the present lags cannot but influence adversely several aspects of development of intimate concern to the well-being of the children of the less developed world.

^{15/} OECD, 1971 Review. Development Assistance (December 1971), pages 47-59, 1972 Review. Development Co-operation, page 11. Attention should be drawn here to views expressed on the subject of resource transfers from the more to the less developed countries in Partners in Development. Report of the Commission on International Development (Pearson Commission) (Praeger, New York, 1969), pages 208-230; Gunnar Myrdal, The Challenge of World Poverty op.cit, pages 363-365; Raul Prebisch, Change and Development op.cit, pages 148-149; David Whitman, The Economic Interest of the Industrial Countries in the Development of the Third World (United Nations Centre for Economic and Social Information, 1971) pages 46-55; Jan Tinbergen, Shaping the World Economy. (The Twentieth Century Fund, 1962), pages 120-121.

CHAPTER 2

RESOURCES AND PLANNING FOR CHILDREN

National development planning

1. In the less developed countries, proposals for the development of children are being conceived increasingly within the framework of national development planning. Therefore, the time horizon against which a country's development plan is formulated, the strategies of economic growth and social change and the priorities embodied in it, and its size and scope, have decisive influence on what will and will not be done for children. Since these aspects have a dominant role in the allocation of resources, planning for children requires that careful consideration be given to the economic and social assumptions on which a country proceeds with its over-all development.

2. Before turning to a discussion on resources, it should be stated that in each country, the process of development is guided, not only by immediate economic, social, or technological requirements but, even more, by certain national values. These may include, for instance, modernization, strengthening of the national community, preservation and enrichment of the cultural heritage, moral and religious values, evolution of the family structure and of community institutions and other aspirations. These aspects lie beyond the scope of the present study. Nevertheless, it is necessary to recognize their impact on policies concerning children and adolescents and their role in the general direction of policy. Many important decisions in each country, which have direct or indirect significance for children and adolescents, are made in a political context which is unique to it and serves as a starting point for more specific economic and social choices. Therefore, in applying policy considerations such as those outlined in this chapter, the diverse background of various countries and the broad aims before them should be kept in mind.

3. A national development plan is formulated in the light of the specific problems facing a country and the opportunities open to it. The total perspective against which these problems and opportunities are seen is of great

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significance. The tasks to be undertaken for the development of children and adolescents are not of a short-term character and quick solutions should not be expected. A development plan provides at the same time for (a) strategies of an over-all character, (b) development in different sectors, and (c) development in different regions. Policies and measures visualized under these heads have to be harmonized with one another to the utmost extent possible in relation to each given plan period, while keeping in view longer range needs. In deciding upon different courses of action, choices have to be made at every step between the present and the future, between the short-term and the long-term, and between direct and indirect approaches. Because there is always a constraint on resources, choosing one course inevitably involves giving a higher or a lower priority to another. The opportunity costs involved, have to be assessed along with the benefits, and both must be spelt out carefully in relation to the feasible alternatives. The assumptions or criteria followed in distributing resources have to be evaluated at successive stages in terms of the benefits actually realized. In the light of experience gained in countries in making decisions of concern to the development of children, it is proposed to state here a few considerations which might assist planners and others in reaching practical conclusions.

Related strategies

4. A fully developed national plan includes a complex of related strategies, whose value has to be continually tested in terms of performance. As mentioned earlier, in the past, economic growth has been followed in practice as the principal criterion in allocating resources. A unified approach to economic and social development is far from having become a working rule of national planning. Human resources development, the development of basic social services, and social and institutional changes, do not yet form an integral part of development policy. However, since the need for a wider approach to development is being increasingly accepted, the central issue should now relate to the means through which the objectives of development can be speedily attained.

5. As a result of experience in the sixties, there is now greater appreciation of the importance of evolving strategies which are pointed to given needs. Thus, strategies for regional and urban development, for expansion of employment, for

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human resources development, for meeting the minimum and immediate needs of the people, for dealing with acute problems of scarcity and hunger and, more generally, for accelerating social change and the process of modernization, are important extensions of the simpler approaches which had earlier received so much emphasis. Planning for children and adolescents falls within this extended group of strategies which serve to give to national development planning new tools of implementation and reach into the core of social life and institutions.

6. It will be observed that all the extensions of development policy mentioned above call for action simultaneously in a number of sectors. They assume that the necessary co-ordination will be achieved between activities in different sectors, especially at the point of implementation. To be fully effective, programmes directed towards children and adolescents have also to be multi-sectoral in approach, both in their preparation and in their execution. At the same time, they must be adapted to the precise circumstances of different sections of the population and of different regions. At each stage, the question arises as to how the specified objectives of these programmes could be realized at minimum cost and in the shortest time. On this aspect, proven solutions are seldom available, and there has to be considerable testing on the ground as well as appraisals from time to time.

7. In considering such issues, it is necessary to counter two assumptions which frequently influence decisions on resource allocations as they affect the development of children and adolescents. First, there is the common bias in favour of short-term economic growth as a main justification for making resources available. The second assumption, which is a sequel to the first, is that, given economic growth, it should become possible to provide adequately for the development of social services. At any rate, over a period, the needs of children should be met along with those of other sections of the population. Under the influence of these two assumptions, up to the present, insufficient attention has been given to the role of education, health and welfare services in raising the quality of the population, in raising the productivity of the labour force, and, more generally, in strengthening the human and social base for development. One of the main lessons of the past decade is that for achieving specific objectives, which society regards as important, specific policies and measures must be pursued consistently

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over a period of years side by side with policies seeking economic growth and as part of a more comprehensive approach to economic and social development.

Children as an integrating factor in development

8. Since the Round-Table Conference in 1964 in Bellagio, there have been a number of regional and national consultations on the basic needs of children in the less developed countries.^{1/} Broad surveys and studies of the situation of children have been undertaken in some countries.^{2/} Surveys are also being currently planned in a few others. Various reviews and investigations have drawn pointed attention to the principal problems facing the young: infant and child mortality, high sickness rates and resulting debility, malnutrition and under-nutrition, illiteracy and excessive school drop-out rates, neglect of adolescents, and lack of work opportunities for adolescents and youth. These problems go together and are indications of the many directions in which there is urgent need for an intensive effort. Along with action in different fields, the need has been felt for

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^{1/} UNICEF, Georges Sicault ed., The Needs of Children (1963), Children of the Developing Countries. A Report by UNICEF (1963), Planning for the Needs of Children in Developing Countries. Report of the Round-Table Conference, (Herman D. Stein ed., 1965), Children and Youth in National Development in Latin America (1965), Children and Youth in National Planning and Development in Asia (1967), Integration of the Problems of Children and Youth in National Economic and Social Development in Africa (E/ICEF/549, 30 July 1966), Strategy for Children (1967), Children and Adolescents in Slums and Shanty-Towns in Development Countries (E/ICEF/L.1277 and Add.1, 5 March 1971), United Nations, Report on Children (Sales No. E.71 IV.3), and Division of Social Affairs, Geneva, Provision of Facilities for Children and Young People in Relation to Prospective Population Growth in Developing Countries (MSO A/6/70, GE 70-14320); Children, Youth, Women and Development Plans: The Lomé Conference, Les Carnets de L'enfance (Assignment Children), No. 20, October-December 1970 and related country studies; Conferencia sobre la familia la infancia y la juventud de Centroamérica y Panama, Informe Final, 1973.

^{2/} For instance, in Asia, Republic of Korea, Philippines, Thailand and Iran; in Africa, the Arab Republic of Egypt, Zambia and countries participating in the Lomé Conference in May 1972 (Cameroon, Chad, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Togo); and in the Americas, the Central American Republics and Panama, Peru, Colombia and Paraguay.

expansion of welfare and community services in relation to children, for increased training facilities, especially for girls and young women, and for strengthening planning and implementation.

9. The place of children in the strategy of development can be seen clearly when it is realized that in any country development has to be spread over a long period and that it tends to proceed unevenly as between different sections of the population and as between different regions. There is in fact an ever-present trend towards a widening of gaps in levels of development which, in the ordinary course, it is extraordinarily difficult to reverse. Despite the emphasis in principle on a unified approach to development planning, in every country, there are strong pressures for channelling a large part of the meagre resources available towards the building up of productive capacities and of overheads which are related functionally to them, such as transport or energy, or provision of facilities for training higher and middle levels of manpower. When investments in social development are looked upon as consumption expenditures, it is not surprising that social and human needs should remain relatively neglected for long periods. The effects of this neglect are particularly harsh for young children, whose potentials remain under-developed and under-utilized far beyond any measure that can be explained or justified only in terms of existing economic constraints.

10. The conclusion which follows, then, is that the scheme of national development must be so devised that within a foreseeable period, all children, adolescents and youth are able to obtain fair and, as nearly as possible, equal opportunity. At any rate, this must be the commitment, each short-range or medium-term plan being designed to secure a measurable advance in this direction. This proposition has two important implications for a country's development policy. First, the general and specific priorities in each sector of development should be examined in terms of their value, both in the short-run and in the long-run, for the well-being of children and adolescents. Secondly, the priorities should be translated into concrete policies and programmes to which practical effect can be given. Simultaneously, the conditions of effective administrative implementation should be assured. In proposing equal opportunities as a central focus in development policy, it has to be acknowledged that this is an exceedingly difficult aim to realize and that it calls for stupendous efforts as well as for social and political

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determination at every level of national life. Although this may appear to be an over-all social objective rather than an objective directly related to children, it is true that whatever can be done by a country to hasten progress in the direction of real equality of opportunity is of the greatest possible importance for children and adolescents. From the limited standpoint of the present study and the range of action envisaged here, what requires to be stressed is that, in the interest of society as a whole, each upcoming generation needs to be better prepared physically and better equipped with the skills and attitudes required to participate productively and creatively in the dynamic processes of change and modernization. This central aim may be described as the running thread between different sectoral and community efforts which are discussed in later chapters. Several recent appraisals of development have shown that the low levels of productivity of a considerable part of the young labour force in the less developed countries is to be attributed to a prolonged denial of a fair share of the available resources for health, nutrition, education and welfare services during the critical periods of childhood, adolescence and youth and to the failure to harness adequately the concern and potential resources of local communities.

'Economic' and 'welfare' objectives and human resources development

11. Proposals concerning services of interest to children and adolescents often encounter objections based implicitly on the possible economic disadvantage of diverting resources away from activities which appear to be more productive and more needed in the first instance. This must always be a serious consideration and a realistic balancing of competing advantages and priorities is to be welcomed. It has to be stressed here that a country's resources include not only readily investible savings but, above all, its human resources. An outstanding feature of the condition of the less developed countries is the existence of vast under-utilized labour resources at low levels of productivity. Alongside these, there are enormous and often urgent and unfulfilled needs which can be met substantially through domestic effort and through more effective utilization of manpower and other available or potential resources. In the circumstances of the less developed countries, development policy is distorted if too sharp a distinction is drawn between 'economic' objectives, implying increase in the output of goods and services,

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and 'welfare' objectives, which envisage increase in consumption, especially over the short period. Even in their restricted meaning, economic objectives cannot be dissociated from the development of social services, especially of services for children and adolescents. To cite but one example, the modernization of agriculture and rise in its productivity will be held back without considerable extension of agricultural and community services, educational opportunities, and basic health services, which can reach out to the entire population and will, in particular, enhance the well-being of children and adolescents and of women and the family.^{3/} Expenditures which raise the future productivity of children and adolescents are justified as investments in human capital formation. Some expenditures which involve long gestation periods may be essential for sustaining a high rate of economic growth in the future as well as for expanding employment and improving living conditions. In fact, it is always desirable to ensure a certain balance between investments which are directly productive and those which are indirectly productive, for they may be complementary in nature and may contribute jointly to economic and social development. Moreover, not only direct benefits, but also those which reach children and adolescents indirectly require to be considered.

12. Expenditures on children and adolescents which are directed to essential purposes and form part of a well-conceived package of investments have another important economic benefit which is sometimes overlooked. They help prevent later costs that may have to be incurred for curative and remedial purposes. A pertinent example of this is the provision of proper nutrition in early childhood and for mothers during the period of pregnancy and nursing. Another example is the need to avoid losses incurred through premature school drop-outs or through denial of opportunity to a child to attend school or to have other carefully devised learning experiences. Unless children are able to obtain at least a minimum by way of learning opportunities, their upward mobility is seriously thwarted. A society which fails to provide equal access to social services even at a basic minimum level makes, in effect, discriminatory pre-selection among future members of the labour force and pre-determination of their lifetime expectations and possibilities. In
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^{3/} Part 7 of Gunnar Myrdal's *Asian Drama*, op.cit., Vol. III, pages 1531-1828 discusses this important theme in all its aspects. See also Chapter 3 on 'Education and Training for Development' in FAO, The State of Food and Agriculture, 1972, pages 125-140.

other words, as suggested above, even on economic criteria, human resources development has a purpose well beyond meeting manpower requirements for employment in modern economic activities. Unless priorities for resource allocation are oriented towards realizing the inherent productive possibilities of broader segments of the labour force, human resources development will fall seriously short, both in raising the level of welfare and in creating effective capacity for economic growth. Human resources development, then, has to be an integral part of an over-all strategy of development whose central objective is to bring steadily increasing proportions of the population (both male and female) within the processes of economic and social change. The further investments needed for this purpose have also to be assured. Income redistribution in the form of social services alone will not be sufficient to achieve this wider goal.

13. Even as between two clear alternative economic objectives, the choice can be seldom determined completely on the basis of estimated returns to investment. At all times, this is a difficult concept, and its application to social investments involves, necessarily, a further set of assumptions and value judgements. Nevertheless, even in the social sectors, to avoid possible waste or inefficient choices, it is important to insist on suitable criteria and procedures for analyzing expenditures. Before commitments are made, there should be explicit consideration of the underlying premises and a careful appraisal of costs and benefits.^{4/}

14. Objectives requiring decisions on allocation of expenditures rarely stand alone. More often, the choice to be made lies between different combinations of objectives. These frequently raise inter-sectoral considerations and, therefore, call for broader concepts. They also require at every point that costs and benefits should be assessed over varying time spans. Since what is under appraisal are social costs and benefits, it is important that the value premises be stated explicitly. The expenditures in view refer to both public and private resources; in

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^{4/} United Nations, Methods of Determining Social Allocations. Report of the Secretary-General. (Document E/CN.5/387, 31 March 1965), pages 57-82. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Geneva, Cost-Benefit Analysis of Social Projects. Report of a meeting of experts held in Rennes, France, 27 September - 2 October 1965, Annexes I, II and VII.

fact, often the private expenditures involved are of even larger magnitude. Decisions affecting allocation of resources refer, in the first place, to public and private expenditures. But tax policies, subsidies, price policies, and controls of all kinds also influence the total allocation of resources within the community and, therefore, the extent and quality of benefits reaching individual families and their children.

Some working guidelines

15. In the light of what has been learnt from past experience, some broad suggestions can be offered as a starting point in an attempt to relate the needs of children and adolescents to the main strategies for economic and social development. In this connexion, the first proposition to be advanced is that since, the most important single constraint in the less developed countries is almost always that of resources available for investment, the general economic policies followed must be calculated to enhance the welfare of the great majority of the population, not merely that of select groups. This is a major consideration in favour of employment-oriented policies and of a high priority being given to agriculture and the rural sector. Its realization in practice provides the setting in which expenditures undertaken directly in support of children and adolescents will bear the greatest fruit.

16. Along the same line of thinking, there is another principle of choice to be commended. To the extent to which economic and social benefits are combined and greater complementarity can be established between them, both become easier to sustain. The introduction of a social component, be it health, education, nutrition, or welfare, gives greater significance to the economic objective; in turn, economic advance assures the necessary capacity to maintain and enlarge the social gains. The principle of complementarity can be expressed through carefully designed linkages between different activities whose main thrust is social, for instance, between provision of clean drinking water and environmental health and the provision of simple health care, or between improved nutrition for children and mothers and school children and education in health and nutrition. Another example may be the manner in which improved earnings due to increase in employment opportunities or higher productivity could be used to promote wiser social and individual spending, increase in savings, and the support of those in need.

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17. On a still broader plane, there are two major directions in which interdependence between economic and social development could be encouraged and built into the general design of development. The Lomé Conference of countries in West Africa, held in May 1972, highlighted the possibility of strengthening the social and human resource components of large-scale development projects for industry, agriculture, irrigation and economic infra-structures which are becoming an increasingly important element of national development plans. Large domestic and external resources are applied to such projects, but the social gains are often exceedingly small and may sometimes be even negative. The Lomé Conference, therefore, urged a parallel and intensive effort in relation to food and agriculture, employment, popular awareness and education, protection of the lives of children and mothers and improvement of the health of the population, and greater community participation and involvement. The second direction, now being increasingly emphasized, specially in the development plans of countries in Latin America, is the integrated development of different services at the regional level, with particular attention to the welfare of children and youth and the family.

18. The needs of children, adolescents and youth have to be seen in their totality so as to determine their place in the general scheme of development and to consider how economic growth, social and institutional changes, and the development of social services could together contribute effectively to their well-being and increased productivity. However, for planning specific measures, it is necessary also to envisage the distinctive requirements at different stages in the life cycle—the periods associated roughly with infancy and early childhood, elementary school-age, the earlier and later phases of adolescence, and youth. From adolescence on, consideration must be given also to some of the distinctive requirements and possibilities of boys and girls. In proposing policies and programmes addressed to the various sub-groups, an essential object is to secure the necessary linkages and continuity and to avoid courses of action which weaken one another.

19. Both in their individual and social aspects, different stages in growth are interrelated. The physical aspects have to be provided for equally with the cognitive and the social, the development of personality and attitudes, and the skills needed to enter upon a life of productive participation as citizens and workers. Clearly, the period of early childhood is the most sensitive, and its

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priority for the allocation of resources stands on a special footing. Conceding this principle, there is still room for choosing between specific forms of action. In particular, there is need to avoid errors and loss of resources and potential which may occur from neglect or indifference at any stage and failure to see each phase as part of a longer period of continuous growth and development. Limitations of resources will frequently cause some of the essential aims to be pursued to an inadequate degree. Nevertheless, recognizing this problem, a coherent and integrated approach to different sub-groups among children and adolescents could assist in realizing the best combinations of priorities for action at each given stage of development. Moreover, these priorities may not be the same in different regions or for different sections of the population of a country. In posing the problem in this manner, there is the possibility, at any rate, of presenting alternative combinations of measures from which what may appear as the optimum choices in the given circumstances can be determined. Admittedly, even under favourable conditions, this is never an easy undertaking and will call for objective analysis of facts and implications for future development

20. A comprehensive approach, which yet takes account of the separate needs of different sub-groups, is required both in sectoral and inter-sectoral decisions. This is not only because child development is an organic and many-sided process, but also because services for children have a unique place in the over-all development of social services and social institutions. While making a direct contribution to the well-being and development of the beneficiaries, they can have a far-reaching influence on priorities and patterns in the organization of social services in general and on the future shape of social institutions. In all areas of social development prospects of steady growth are contingent on the right priorities and patterns of organization being adopted at each stage, especially when the first fundamental choices are being made. In the less developed countries, children in their early years have to be reached through the family, and the family is reached primarily through and with the help of the community. Therefore, effective and economic delivery of whatever services are provided is a condition of successful social planning. Approaches which meet this test in relation to services for children in any social sector are also likely to meet several other tests that may be applied to sectoral and inter-sectoral choices.

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21. Resource limitations and the pressure of immediate needs suggest that in the less developed countries a pre-eminent goal must be to assure a minimum level of basic social services and economic opportunities to the population as a whole. Given a reasonable time-horizon, choices on policy and organization which are calculated to serve the greater part of the population are to be preferred to those which can effectively serve only limited groups and, therefore, tend to be elitist in nature.

22. During the Second Development Decade and beyond, the capacity of Governments and public authorities in the less developed countries to provide the social services needed will continue to be severely restricted. Therefore, in different aspects of social development, especially as these concern children and adolescents, there has to be considerable emphasis on services which can be developed largely at the local level by supporting and stimulating various forms of community action and voluntary initiatives. These can be described as supplementary services, that is, they add to and enlarge the impact of those social services which are expanded largely at the instance of public authorities through budgetary provisions based on the national development plan. As the range of the general services available to the entire population expands and new social needs take shape, the line between the general and supplementary community-based social services will of course continue to shift, and new activities will come within the scope of local community effort. The essential point is that in determining resource allocations, care should be taken to design the general social service programmes in such a way as to stimulate the mobilization of local resources and assist the growth of supplementary community services and participation of non-governmental agencies.

Lags and priorities in developing services for children

23. Concern with services for children brings up at once the question of identifying lags and weaknesses in development to which innovations in health, education, nutrition, welfare and other fields should be addressed and the norms and indicators by which progress could be assessed continuously. Study of comparative levels of development and of approaches evolved in different countries in developing social services is of some help in proposing priorities and patterns. It has to be stressed, however, that the shortcomings which require attention are highly specific to the conditions prevailing in each country. Therefore, the focus must

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be (a) on analysis of the precise situation as it exists in each country and its different regions, and (b) on practical solutions which are in keeping with the conditions and limitations under which development is being actually undertaken.

24. Many current deficiencies are so apparent that most programmes or activities likely to be proposed will at first sight appear as being consistent with the essential priorities. However, it will take many of the less developed countries possibly two or three decades before they come to possess an adequate network of social services, and especially services for children and adolescents. Therefore, in the early stages of development planning, a country has much to gain from systematic consideration of priorities and the organizational and manpower patterns through which, over a period, it expects to be able to meet the essential needs of the population in health, education and other fields both in rural and in urban areas.

25. Lags in social development and in services of interest to children are commonly described separately in terms of sectors such as health, education, nutrition and welfare. In fact, these are interrelated so that, at the same time as they accentuate one another, they also point to opportunities for complementary action and for improved inter-sectoral planning. The requirements of inter-sectoral planning go well beyond social development. This is because the existence of poverty and of wide disparities in the distribution of income modifies the very nature of the problems to be resolved. The provision of social services constitutes an important part of the answer but, for the developmental process to reach out to the children of all groups in the population, the strategies for action have to encompass a whole range of social, economic and institutional elements.

26. Leaving aside immediate compelling needs, as in emergencies, within each sector there are two sets of priorities to be formulated. Firstly, there are priorities related to the time-horizons in view, according to whether these are short-term, medium-term, or long-term. In the social sectors time-priorities are determined by the character of the service proposed to be provided and the period required for developing the necessary personnel and extending the service

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in some form to all areas and to the population as a whole. The problem of coverage and effective delivery suggests a second set of priorities, namely, priorities for what the Government and public authorities undertake to do, and priorities for what communities or groups (in rural or urban areas, as the case may be) should be enabled or assisted to do. As an example of gains when the two sets of priorities are in line with one another, we may mention supply of protein-rich foods for young children being accompanied by action by the local community to provide volunteers, to arrange for the education of mothers in nutrition, and to improve village sanitation.

27. Co-ordination between sectors takes the form mainly of joint or parallel decisions on planning, resource allocations and organization, especially at the periphery. As will be seen in later chapters, in health, education, nutrition and social welfare, in each direction in which large advances must be achieved during the seventies, it will be necessary to ensure, at the same time, innovation and expansion based on the application of cross-sectoral approaches, and co-operation between public agencies responsible for different activities, and measures to harness the contribution of local communities and voluntary organizations.

Integrated approaches

28. Although the principle that contributions from different sectors should be mutually complementary is the very basis of national development planning, it is extremely difficult to translate it into administrative practice. In the customary scheme of administration, the emphasis is on sectoral responsibilities and there is a considerable amount of fragmentation at each level. Therefore, having regard to the conditions of development, it is necessary to identify situations in which integrated strategies could be applied with the maximum effect. As has been stated earlier, where there is growth and development, even under favourable circumstances, some groups in the population and some regions in the country are able to achieve greater economic advance than others. Parallel developments, such as rapid growth of population, rural-urban migration, growth of cities and towns, new applications of science and technology, and other changes bring certain gains, but also cause further differentiation or even stratification between various groups. A wide range of policies and measures must be combined and implemented together to deal with such trends and to ensure that the community as a whole gains adequately from the investments which are undertaken.

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Policies and measures which are so combined with a view to the fulfilment of given objectives, whether in relation to an area or region, or in relation to a section of the population, can be appropriately described as integrated strategies.

29. Such integrated strategies require to be adopted both in situations which present possibilities of more rapid change and growth and also in those marked by serious lags. For the disadvantaged in the population, in particular, integrated strategies are of the greatest significance. In pursuing economic development and concomitant progress in social services, and especially in services directly benefiting children and adolescents, the rural areas have to be distinguished clearly from the urban areas. More specifically, keeping children and adolescents in view, it will be necessary to consider the following sets of conditions:

- (i) the more backward rural areas, as distinguished from those undergoing more rapid growth and change;
- (ii) the population of slums and shanty-towns of urban areas as distinguished from those living in better urban neighbourhoods;
- (iii) disadvantaged groups who, though organically part of the rural community, will require special measures of assistance within the general scheme of development; and
- (iv) groups who are still largely outside the mainstream of modernization, such as nomadic communities, who will benefit if development policies for education, health and other services are oriented specially to their conditions.

In each of the contexts mentioned above, with a view to evolving plans for integrated development, it will first be necessary to assess the relevant economic, social and institutional factors at work and to relate these to the wider picture of growth and development for the country as a whole. In each situation, there will be shortcomings to be corrected as well as opportunities on which to build. The development needs of children and adolescents are a singularly good test by which to identify the main priorities and methods of work in the over-all expansion of social services and the use of community and voluntary institutions. Further, the total impact is likely to be greater if, at

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each stage, integrated strategies directed to particular areas or particular sections of the population of a country are planned as part of the process of formulating and implementing the national development plan.

Local resources, community institutions and local planning

30. By way of conclusion to the present discussion on resources and planning for children, attention should be drawn here to two aspects which are considered more fully in a later chapter. Observation of the manner in which services for children actually become available to individual families suggests that institutions such as schools, health centres, child care centres, or agricultural extension centres, are able to meet by themselves only a part of the felt needs of the people. In each field, complementary 'non-formal' approaches have to be developed and combined increasingly with the available 'formal' approaches. In many of the less developed countries, without such combinations of formal and non-formal methods of development, it would be most difficult, within a foreseeable period, to assure a minimum set of services for all children.

31. The possibility of widening the scope of development beyond what may be expected from the normal institutions and structures which governments are able to establish depends largely on the extent of involvement of local communities and their civic institutions and of non-governmental organizations. Thus, there has to be greater emphasis on education and participation at the regional and local levels, so that each community may act increasingly as its own principal agent of change. This has two important implications. First, the local community (defined flexible enough according to the circumstances of a country and its various regions) and its civic and voluntary organizations should share in the making of decisions which concern its own well-being, in the use and delivery of services, in maintaining services already established, and in undertaking financial and other obligations. Secondly, the concept has to be stressed that the community makes itself more and more responsible for seeking the welfare of all its members, whatever the initial economic or social handicaps with which they might start.

CHAPTER 3

HEALTH SERVICES AND THEIR IMPACT ON CHILDREN

1. Of all organized social services, the health system of a country has the highest significance for children and their future.
2. During the past two decades, in many less developed countries, the expectation of life has increased and death rates and infant mortality rates have fallen. Statistics on these aspects commonly cited are still unreliable, but the conclusion itself is borne out by other evidence. It is true also that substantial efforts are being made by most of the less developed countries to control communicable diseases, to organize immunization for children, and to strengthen health services, with particular attention to maternal and child health. The gaps which remain are still exceedingly large, especially as they affect rural areas and the poorer sections of the population. Therefore, social and political pressures on health services are increasing rapidly, and everywhere health administrations are faced with severe limitations in finance, personnel, organization, and methods of reaching the people.

Towards national health systems

3. In many countries, control or eradication of communicable diseases and maternal and child health services emerged at first as separate priorities. After a period, it was seen that both required certain common support: effective delivery systems, and a developing infrastructure of health services, including high level personnel, institutions for training and research, facilities for diagnosis and treatment, and technical and administrative organizations for supervision, supplies, planning and evaluation. Therefore, in principle, as much from their own experience, as from interchange with others, the less developed countries have generally agreed on the necessity of an integrated approach to the administration and development of their basic health services.^{1/}

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^{1/} WHO, National Health Planning in Developing Countries (Technical Report No. 350, 1967), Organization of Local and Intermediate Health Administrations (Technical Report No. 499, 1972), Organizational Study of the Executive Board on Methods of Promoting the Development of Basic Health Services (Document EB/WP/6, 3 January 1972), and Fifth General Programme of Work Covering a Specific Period (1973-1977), (Document A24/A/1, 18 March 1971).

4. The main elements in seeking the 'optimum development' of a national health system are known, but in practice there are marked shortcomings. In structure, basic health services comprehend the complete network of peripheral, intermediate and central health establishments. They may be staffed by varying proportions of professional and auxiliary personnel. In principle, besides undertaking functions for which they are directly responsible, the health authorities in a country have to consider and plan for the health of the population in its broader aspects. Maternal and child health care, which is often taken up as a first phase, can be properly viewed as the core of a country's health system. In the evolution of the basic health services, three objectives have been frequently reiterated. These concern (a) increased coverage and effective delivery of health services, (b) greater integration of specialized programmes, and (c) strengthening of administration, training and research, and support to field services. In practice, thus far, it has been possible to realize these objectives only partially.

5. In many of the less developed countries, through the seventies, the present limitations in resources, personnel and organization will be accentuated by rapid increase in population, growth of cities and towns, the filling up of urban slums and shanty-towns by workers and families, and greater consciousness of existing deficiencies and disparities. Secondly, with increase in risks, there will also be greater recognition of the interaction between health conditions, lack of safe drinking water, under-nutrition and malnutrition, low levels of living, and social and economic disadvantages. Thus, problems of maternal and child health have to be viewed now equally as being problems of care before, during and after child birth, malnutrition, and proneness to infection. In these circumstances, in the work of health services, two other objectives, which have been only implicit in the past, will require to be stressed.

6. To a far greater degree than before, health services are required now to accept a central responsibility for guiding and co-ordinating action by way of preventive health services, environmental health, health education, health teaching in schools, and attention to personal hygiene and the maintenance of

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clean and healthy living conditions.^{2/} When the role of health services is viewed in this broader perspective, the further question arises as to how local communities could be best involved in a total health effort and be assisted to develop the necessary capacity for their own health care. Community participation in health planning and development forms part of a wider approach to rural and urban development, and action by citizens in one field promotes action in others. Community participation has to be nurtured as an extension activity on the part of health administrations and as a process of education for the people. There is no gainsaying that, through the remaining years of the Second Development Decade, co-ordination of different aspects of the work of health services with efforts to eliminate extreme poverty, to change social attitudes, to enlarge the area of community action and responsibility, and to enhance the quality of social life, hold the key to improved standards of family health and, in particular, the health of children.

Health planning

7. The health of a community and especially of children is influenced by a variety of factors. To some of these, the contribution of the health services may be only indirect or partial. In addition to health and medical services and training of personnel, at the very least, health planning should be concerned with supply of drinking water, nutrition, environmental health, health education, community participation in health care, and personal hygiene. Other agencies and sectors of development will be involved in planning some of these activities side by side with the health services. The role of each agency has to be clearly stated within a composite scheme of development.

8. In health, as in other sectors, each country faces its own specific problems and constraints. These must be identified with some precision if the country's potential resources in personnel, organization and finance are to be built up and utilized effectively. Though this is no reason for inaction, the fact remains

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^{2/} The notion of 'environmental health' has at the base the provision of safe water supply and disposal of raw excreta, but also takes into account a whole range of health problems which are intensified on account of industrial and economic development and urbanization. See WHO, National Environmental Health Programmes. Their Planning, Organization and Administration. (Technical Report No. 439, 1970), pages 10-11.

that in many countries the existing knowledge of the prevailing conditions of health of the population as a whole, and specially of children, is often insufficient and even inaccurate. Data on rates of mortality, especially infant and child mortality statistics, morbidity rates, expectation of life at different ages, and the incidence of various diseases of children are altogether unsatisfactory, and concerted efforts to improve them are still rare. Being largely administrative in origin and very limited in their purpose, the existing health statistics fail to draw pointed attention to critical long-range health priorities at the regional level or for different groups within the population. In particular, they tell little specifically about the health status of under-privileged groups, about rural areas, whether advanced or backward, and about the low-income and slum populations of cities and towns.

9. In the very early stages of the development of health services, the measures required are apparent enough. However, as the health network expands and more complex choices have to be made, rational planning on the part of health administrations and other development agencies is facilitated by better health statistics and information. Systematic improvement of health statistics through administrative agencies and gathering of health information through the population census and household enquiries have a complementary role. Differences in vital rates and in the health hazards of children and other vulnerable groups within a country may often be as large as those which exist between countries. Therefore, improved performance by health administrations, even under the existing limitations, requires that the facts concerning the prevailing conditions of sickness and health should be fully exposed and that the factors that lie behind them should be subjected to careful appraisal at all levels of national life.^{3/} Thereby, the health services will be under greater compulsion to deliver more adequately, to

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^{3/} Here, it is necessary to state that although the essential requirements by way of health statistics, health indicators and other information are well-known, practical action towards the collection and utilization of relevant data has tended to lag behind. Health statistics at sub-national levels receive little attention. See WHO, Morbidity Statistics (Technical Report No. 389, 1968), Statistics of Health Services and their Activities (Technical Report No. 429, 1969), Statistical Indicators for the Planning and Evaluation of Public Health Programmes (Technical Report No. 472, 1971), and Report on Consultation on Health Statistics Projects (September 1971).

concentrate on high priority tasks, to ensure action in such allied fields as environmental sanitation, provision of drinking water, nutrition, and health education, and to work with communities with greater understanding of their needs and their possibilities for self-help.

The health sector in national development plans

10. When the resources available are limited, there is all the greater need to deploy them so as to produce the maximum impact on the health of the population. Therefore, assessments at regular intervals of the incidence of diseases affecting children, the nutritional status of children and of pregnant and nursing mothers, health conditions of new-born children, and health conditions of pre-school children and elementary school-age children (whether in school or out of school) are an essential element in drawing up health development plans.

11. Plans for the health sector as embodied in the great majority of national development plans seldom present their policy objectives in explicit terms.^{4/} Their main attention is given to specific projects and programmes and to proposals for developing health infrastructures. They limit themselves invariably to sectoral activities without emphasizing the possible or the desired linkages with other sectors of activity. Frequently, their time-horizon is limited more or less to the period of the national development plan, without sufficient emphasis being given to the need for longer-range commitments and perspectives. Often, they fail to examine the need for alternative methods of delivery under differing regional conditions from the point of view of the vast numbers now remaining unserved and their possible implications in terms of future costs and benefits. In view of constraints on resources, which are inevitable at all stages and levels of development, it is important that national health plans propose practical measures to enable groups and individuals to contribute to health care and to share in the real costs of development.

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^{4/} WHO's Report on the World Health Situation, 1965-1968, refers to 56 countries with a health component in their development plans: 31 in WHO's African region, 7 in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7 in South-East Asia, 9 in the Western Pacific, and 7 in the America's Region. (Document A23/P and B/4, Part I, 6 April 1970), pages 40-42.

12. A careful examination of national health plans is likely to show that declarations of health objectives and priorities which are set out in official documents are not adequately translated into actual allocations for the health sector and into specific programmes and projects. Undoubtedly, in relation to the less developed countries, there is need to evolve appropriate concepts for analyzing and presenting health expenditures and for measuring performance against expenditures which are incurred. Proportions of gross national product devoted to health, which are often cited, are apt to be misleading. A more dependable test in the less developed countries might be provided by proportions of public expenditure devoted to different categories of services. Information of this kind is not readily available. An international study based on information obtained from 29 countries showed, for instance, that hospital expenditures, including medical staff, represented one-half of the total expenditures on health. In low-income countries, 45-55 per cent of the expenditure on health was accounted for by in-patient care, 35-45 per cent for personal health care, 2-4 per cent for non-personal health care (environmental health, control and eradication, and supporting services), and 2-4 per cent for teaching.^{5/} A word of caution is due also on another score. Resource allocations for health which appear in national development plans and in government budgets are subject in practice to sizeable cutbacks which affect social expenditures to a greater degree than expenditures on economic projects. In most low-income countries, budgetary uncertainties continue to be a real impediment to the smooth implementation of programmes for the development of health services, including those of particular importance for child health.

Basic health services: role in child health

13. The Fourth Report on the World Health Situation pointed to differences observed between the advanced countries and the less developed countries. In the former, many communicable and other diseases have ceased to be a health hazard. In the latter, the epidemiological situation still gives cause for deep concern. In recent years (reflecting also better systems of reporting)

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^{5/} WHO, Brian Abel-Smith, An International Study of Health Expenditure and its Relevance for Health Planning (Public Health Papers, No. 32), pages 94-102.

there appears to have been some increase in the incidence of several parasitic and infectious diseases. There has also been greater appreciation of the social factors which influence health conditions. Concepts of health services are now beginning to come up in the less developed countries which are different from those familiar in the developed world. The principal differences concern patterns of health organization and health services at the peripheral level. Here, a concerted effort to reduce maternal and child mortality through immunization and ante-natal, natal and post-natal services for the mother and the care of the child during infancy are the first needs. Over the years, it has become increasingly clear that, to become fully effective, maternal and child health services must be planned and operated as part of a general health structure. Measures for immunization and control against various child diseases require to be pursued systematically through the basic health services rather than through special campaigns such as were in vogue in earlier phases of development. Setbacks encountered in implementing global strategies for eradicating malaria showed that the objectives and the means had to be realistically adapted to conditions prevailing in individual regions and countries. Action against diseases required greater attention to improved nutrition and the supply of drinking water. Serious constraints in resources had to be reckoned with at every step.^{6/}

14. Under these conditions, a unified approach which encompassed both maternal and child health services and basic health services appeared desirable. Elements common to both included the need for effective delivery services, the role of the

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^{6/} WHO, Fourth Report on the World Health Situation (Document A/23/POB/4, 6 April 1970 and Addenda), Fifth General Programme of work covering a specific Period (1973-1977), Document A/24/A/1, 18 March 1971, Expert Committee on Malaria, Fourteenth Report (Technical Report, Series No. 382, 1968), Re-examination of the Global Strategy of Malaria Eradication. Report by the Director-General of WHO (December 1969), Implications of the Revised Strategy of Malaria Eradication in Future. Joint UNICEF/WHO Assistance to Anti-Malaria Activities (Document SC/17/UNICEF-WHO/70 3 and 17.2), Report on the Malaria Eradication Programme (Document A 25/39, 9 May 1972), Smallpox Eradication (Technical Report Series No. 393, 1968), Smallpox Eradication. Report of the Director-General (Document A 2519, 8 May 1972), Mass Campaigns and General Health Services by C.L. Gonzalez (WHO Public Health Papers, No. 29, 1965); UNICEF, UNICEF Assistance to Leprosy Control. Report by the Director-General of WHO (Document E/ICEF/L.1262, 28 March 1966).

community, the provision of training facilities, and the integration of preventive, curative and educational activities. With many differences in structure, the focus of basic health services, especially in relation to rural areas, has come to be on a "primary" health centre serving a given area and a given population. The specific functions assigned to such health centres include the health care of mothers and children, provision of midwifery services, provision of first aid and emergency medical care, detection, treatment and prevention of common diseases, and the improvement of environmental sanitation. Their broader and more general functions include routine immunization, case detection and mass treatment, nutrition programmes, health education, and encouragement of community participation in measures to improve environmental and personal hygiene. Wide-ranging functions of this nature can only be attempted from points close enough to local communities. Therefore, the concept of the health centre has been enlarged to include a varying number of sub-centres. These latter are expected to provide simple medical care, essential maternal and child health services, and assistance towards provision of drinking water, environmental health and health education, including education in nutrition. In countries offering family planning advice and services in terms of family health, concern with family planning rather than with the health of the population in its wider meaning, has appeared increasingly as the impulse behind the development of networks of sub-centres attached to health centres. This has implications which should be considered.

15. In the evolution of a national health policy, a crucial turning point is reached once a government takes the decision to establish a system of basic health services which will cover the entire country through health centres and sub-centres. This is also the beginning of a new set of problems which still remain to be resolved in almost all less developed countries. The provision of health centres and sub-centres in the number required is a long-term undertaking involving considerable expenditure on buildings, equipment and training of personnel. In addition to capital or developmental outlays, substantial recurring expenditures have to be incurred on maintenance of facilities. Even where they have made some progress in setting up rural health centres and sub-centres, according to their circumstances, the less developed countries have to do much to deepen and improve the delivery systems of their health structures. This is a long road and, in a sense, every country finds itself looking for answers.

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The social and extension aspects of health assume critical importance in working with dispersed communities with little day-to-day contact with health personnel.^{7/}

16. How the great majority of the population could be reached depends partly on methods of organization and partly on the character and training of the available personnel. The most difficult problems arise in countries in which, over large areas, even the rudiments of a health organization do not yet exist, and a considerable period is likely to pass before these can be provided. A proportion of the country may possess health networks on "approved" patterns, although the service rendered by them may be altogether inadequate. In other parts of the country, the minimum starting points may have to be established as a first step. A country like Ethiopia provides an example of such a situation. In these circumstances, deliberate experimentation with intermediate patterns of organization of health services could be of some value. For instance, along with modest medical care, for a period, the principal emphasis could be given to immunization, provision of drinking water, health education, community action in environmental health, and improved nutrition. Health and medical personnel operating from centres within reach could be rendered more mobile. Referral services could be developed so as to cater for local areas which are still lacking in their own health structures. Given well-conceived long-term plans, there could be a conscious process of phasing in health services in keeping with the resources of the country and the situation of different regions and areas. Thus, over a period of years, adapting and experimenting as it proceeds, each country could work step by step towards a more even development of health services.

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^{7/} Margaret Read, Culture, Health and Disease (Tavistock Publications, London, 1966) Chapters 8 and 11; Milton I. Roemer, Evaluation of Community Health Centres (Public Health Papers No. 48) pages 20, 33-38; WHO, Research in the Organization of Community Health Services (document A25/6, 13 April 1972); D.B. Jelliffe, Aspects of Maternal and Child Health in Developing Regions (US Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1964); Narangwal Rural Health Research Centre Ludhiana, Punjab, India, Integration of Health and Family Planning in Village Sub-centres (November 1970) pages 1-2 and 59-67.

17. Finally, as mentioned earlier, to maintain conditions of healthy living, a positive role must be given to the local community viewed as social organization. This is a role for which the community has to be seriously prepared through education, demonstration and provision of the minimum health and medical care and of preventive services such as supply of potable water and observance of sanitary and hygiene practices. Considering the impact of housing conditions on health, each community can do much through mutual self-help to promote simple improvements in housing. Here, the direct responsibility may well be with other development agencies, but the health services can give a great deal of practical help and advice. In the conditions of less developed countries, extension techniques at the community level have a contribution to make to the improvement of family health which could be no less important than their role in agricultural and rural development. As a further example of ways in which communities could do more for themselves in health care and maintenance of a healthy environment, local populations could be encouraged and guided to survey from time to time their own health needs and conditions. In turn, such an effort would stimulate them to evolve methods for the fuller utilization of the available health services and for supplementing them by their own voluntary efforts.^{8/}

18. The development of a system of basic health services implies that the health services, and specially health centres and sub-centres have a functional relationship with local communities. This is seen more clearly and, under favourable conditions, is achieved more readily in rural than in urban conditions. In urban areas, there has tended to be in the past greater emphasis on curative rather than on the preventive and community aspects of health services. The more common working concept has been that of the hospital and the dispensary as against a centre serving the total health needs of the population and encouraging the

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^{8/} WHO, Local Health Service. Third Report of the Expert Committee on Public Health Administration. (Technical Report No. 194, 1960).

participation of the people. Municipal, private and state agencies and voluntary groups concerned with urban health, have failed to evolve a common set of objectives, in support of which their resources could be pooled and further augmented. In the process, the health needs of low-income groups in the population tend to be neglected. Yet, it is these groups, living invariably under crowded unhygienic conditions in slums, shanty-towns and the poorer urban localities, who are often willing and can be persuaded to implement a community approach in the development of health services, especially for those of concern to mothers and children. Along with these latter, as part of the community approach to health, related activities in health education, improvements in housing and living conditions, environmental sanitation, provision of drinking water and nutrition can be readily combined. In some cities, the greater need now is to utilize the available facilities and to reorient their future expansion in terms of the needs of the weakest sections of the urban population.

19. Projects for agriculture, irrigation, industrialization and development of communications have often important health aspects which are apt to be neglected in sectoral plans. It is desirable that from the beginning health action should be envisaged as an integral component of such projects. Such an approach is greatly facilitated where regional or integrated development planning is undertaken, especially in rapidly developing rural regions.

Protecting children against disease

20. For many years, in organizing programmes for the protection of young children, the main concern was with infectious and parasitical diseases. In the great majority of the less developed countries, there are still enormous gaps in the application of well-tried methods of immunization, for instance, against measles, whooping cough and poliomyelitis. In these and other child diseases, in recent years, the contribution of general public health measures and health education, and of nutrition, clean drinking water and improved living conditions has come to be increasingly stressed. This contribution and the importance of action during early childhood have been emphasized recently in diseases to which

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less systematic attention was being given in earlier phases, notably, in trachoma, xerophthalmia and onchocerciasis.^{9/}

21. In each of these diseases, there is need for a combination of specific measures and of long-range public health measures adapted closely to priority needs and to the status of health services in different parts of a country. Thus, in addition to specified control measures, steps have to be taken to integrate the control of trachoma and activities concerning eye infections generally into the day-to-day work of health services. At the same time, weaknesses observed in trachoma control programmes in the past, which have been identified, will call for remedial action, for instance, for improved delivery of services, education of community leaders, and better co-ordination at the local level with other development services. Vitamin A deficiency has been acknowledged to be a major cause of blindness in a number of countries. Children between the ages of 1 and 5 are highly vulnerable to it, especially among the poorer groups in the population. While improved nutrition, control of infections and improved sanitation provide the ultimate answer, projects for administration of varying doses of vitamin A have also an important contribution to make. Onchocerciasis, which leads to impaired vision and blindness, occurs in children early in life, even though the symptoms may not appear until adolescence. In the age group 4 to 8, the prevalence of the infection in many parts of Africa reaches a level of 30 - 40 per cent. In endemic areas in particular, there is need simultaneously to intensify public health action and to undertake projects directed to the control of onchocerciasis.

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^{9/} UNICEF, Review of the Trachoma Control Programmes assisted by UNICEF and WHO 1948-1970 (Document E/ICEF/CRP/72-3, 9 February 1972), Note on Xerophthalmia (Document E/ICEF/CRP/72-5, 17 February 1972), and UNICEF-WHO Joint Committee on Health Policy. Report of the nineteenth session. (Document E/ICEF/618, 6 March 1972), pages 15-17.

Family planning and maternal and child health

22. Some of the most critical family health problems arise from the process of human reproduction, growth and development. For this reason and because of the increasing concern in many countries over the rate of growth of population, advice and assistance in responsible parenthood, in spacing births, in deliberate control over fertility, and in motivating parents to have fewer but healthier children, are being increasingly thought of as a natural extension of the role of maternal and child health services. As a UNICEF-WHO Joint Committee on Health Policy has observed, children and women of child-bearing age, making up together some 70 per cent of the population, constitute a vulnerable group which demands priority attention in family health care. Among the main components of family health care are maternal and child health, family planning, nutrition, health education and the control of infections. By its very nature, family planning care calls for a multi-disciplinary approach, including joint planning and participation of the related components, maternal and child health services, occupational and environmental health programmes, education and training, health education, nutrition, nursing, better health data, etc. These different elements can be brought together in a maternity centred family planning programme which involves the mutual strengthening of maternal and child health and of family planning.

23. In organizing services for family planning as part of the existing health services, duplication is avoided and the total effort is likely to be strengthened. Two sets of considerations should, however, be stressed. First, if additional responsibilities are to be borne successfully by the health services, the resources and personnel available to them have to be suitably augmented and utilized in a unified manner. It is necessary that, despite pressures for intensifying family planning efforts, health personnel should be able to devote the time and attention needed for realizing the distinctive health objectives which each country stipulates for itself. To create an environment of good health in any area and to provide health care for the bulk of the population are tasks with clear administrative and resource implications of their

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own. They also require action to combat the effects on health of poverty, poor housing, poor nutrition and lack of minimum amenities such as drinking water. The common elements have to be strengthened at the same time as the distinctive components of health and family planning services are given the support needed.

24. Secondly, it is important to recognize that side by side with measures to strengthen health delivery systems there has to be a more broad-based and continuing social approach if family planning is to become an integral part of the design of life which individual families choose to follow for their own welfare. Essential to this approach are measures for improved nutrition for the mother and the child, active support to population education in schools and for adolescents as part of the education for adult life, expansion of education and literacy for adults, especially women, training of community leaders, policies for increasing opportunities for remunerative full-time and part-time work for women, and a wide range of social incentives in favour of the small family norm. The role of social welfare activity in promoting family limitation as an integral element in the improvement of social conditions and acceleration of social change is also receiving greater recognition. Social welfare personnel and institutions have a considerable contribution to make to health and family planning services both directly and in preparing individuals, families and communities to become their own agents of change.^{10/} In view of the variety

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^{10/} United Nations, Report of the Interregional Meeting of Experts on the Social Welfare Aspects of Family Planning, 22-25 March 1971 (Sales No. E.71.IV.II), pages 5-7.

of efforts required, the work of the health services can be strengthened through closer integration with other activities. This has led to proposals in some countries for top-level structures of the nature of Population Commissions which are in a position to stimulate and support multi-sectoral approaches in giving effect to population policies and can bring together the principal government and non-government agencies concerned.

25. In a long-range view, the education of the people in matters affecting the quality of the population may have the same importance for safeguarding the health of women and children that health education has for creating the conditions of healthy living, or nutrition education for changing food habits and raising general levels of nutrition. Population education aims ultimately at bringing about fundamental changes in human behaviour. It may be approached in different contexts in terms of education for better family living, greater awareness of the welfare implications of population growth, or more strictly, as sex education. At the national level, activities in support of population education would include teacher education and social work training programmes, preparation of curriculum materials, in-service training programmes among various grades of public officials, and introduction of appropriate instruction in primary and secondary schools.^{11/}

26. Preoccupation with numbers and rates of growth of population is and should be intimately linked to concern with the total well-being of the people. In this field, therefore, there is much to be gained by broadening and diversifying the prevailing concepts in national policies as well as in assistance from the international community. Through the United Nations Fund for Population Activities,

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^{11/} Population and Family Education, Report of an Asian Regional Workshop (UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Asia, Bangkok, 1971); Meeting of Population-Education Experts, Santiago, Chile, 28 September - 1 October 1970, Final Report (UNESCO Regional Office of Education for Latin America and the Caribbean, March 1971); International Planned Parenthood Federation, Europe and Near East Region, and University of Keele, England, Social Development and Planned Parenthood Report on an International Seminar, July 1970; The Population Council, New York, Population Education: A Review of the Field (Studies in Family Planning, No. 52, April 1970).

international agencies as well as bilateral donors will find increasing opportunities for joining together with individual countries in efforts which will continue over a long period. Correctly applied, the external resources and other support reaching the less developed countries could be of the greatest value in solving the problems of health care and social improvement at the base of the community, especially in relation to children, at the same time as they assist countries to mobilize their own social and technical capacities to pursue programmes which bear more directly on population growth and change.^{12/}

Development of personnel

27. A long-range national development plan for health services, maternal and child health, family planning and related social services requires personnel in adequate number and fully oriented to the tasks to be fulfilled. As stated earlier, health development plans in the less developed countries often tend to be both short-range in their proposals and insufficiently supported with budgetary resources. A recent assessment undertaken by the UNICEF-WHO Joint Committee on Health Policy on the basis of field visits to nine countries has reiterated the view that the basic premise in examining problems of personnel in predominantly rural countries should be the fact that the need for improved rural health services is unlikely to be met in the foreseeable future by patterns of organization and delivery, and by categories of personnel now in vogue.^{13/} Up to the present, there has been excessive reliance on medicine and nursing based exclusively on hospital practice. Therefore, radical changes are needed along the following directions:

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^{12/} United Nations, Measures, Policies and Programmes Affecting Fertility, with Particular Reference to National Family Planning Programmes (Sales No. E.72.XIII.2, 1972); World Bank, Population Planning, Sector Working Paper (March 1972); U.S. Agency for International Development, Population Programme Assistance (December 1971); Population Council, New York, Reports on Population/Family Planning, Population Growth and Economic Welfare (February 1971), and Population Pressure on Family Size and Child Spacing (August 1971); United Nations, Population Commission, Report of the Ad Hoc Consultation Group of Experts on Population Policy, 15-17 December 1971 (Document E/CN.9/266, 23 May 1972).

^{13/} UNICEF, Assessment of Education and Training Programmes Assisted by UNICEF and WHO (Document E/ICEF/L.1278, 22 January 1971), pages 32-38, and UNICEF, Appraisal of MCH Programmes (Document E/ICEF/L.1267, 15 February 1967), pages 32-39; UNICEF, Review of Maternal and Child Health Activities and Related Training of Professional and Auxiliary Health Workers (Document E/ICEF/347, 22 July 1957), pages 33-36.

- (i) Depending on the circumstances of each country, rural health services have to be based on appropriate combinations of fully qualified doctors and well-educated auxiliary workers at somewhat lower levels, such as medical assistances (or feldshers);
- (ii) A complement of auxiliary workers for nursing, midwifery, sanitary and other duties, are required both in rural and in urban areas. As with medical assistants, with other categories of auxiliary personnel also, each country has first to work out an adequate long-range manpower plan related to its scheme of development and the specific objectives it wishes to attain.
- (iii) For all categories of personnel, and even more for those requiring long periods of training, it is of the utmost importance to bring students and teachers into the community and to bring the community into teaching hospitals and other institutions engaged in training. Therefore, demonstration and training areas should be provided as an essential part of institutional training.
- (iv) To improve education in the health and related fields, particular attention must be given to teacher training, adaptation of curricula to local conditions and to changing circumstances, and adoption of modern teaching methods. In each phase the approach should be one of improvization and economic ways of achieving results.
- (v) Health care and family planning require that workers from a variety of disciplines should work directly with local communities, incorporating elements of health action within their own specific functions and co-operating with health personnel to the maximum extent possible. Thus, school teachers, community development and agricultural extension workers, home economics personnel, social workers and those whose activities impinge in some degree on the health of the population, should be drawn (where necessary by providing additional short-term training) into continuous participation in the work of the health services.

28. A number of countries have traditions and practices of their own in health and medicine which, on a first view, have often been assumed to be in conflict with modern or "scientific" systems of medicine. Since conditions differ much from one country to another, considering the unfulfilled needs of health care among the larger part of the population, it would appear that, suitably trained and oriented village midwives and practitioners of indigenous systems of medicine have a real contribution to make towards meeting the health needs of the population. There may, of course, be some difficulties in making use of traditional personnel alongside persons trained in "modern" systems of medicine. Yet, through systematic

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training and a chance to work as part of a growing health service, practitioners of indigenous systems and village midwives could become a competent and fully accepted component of the system of basic health, maternal and child health and family planning services. In this way, the capacity of health services to reach the population as a whole could be enhanced significantly.

Community water supply and
environmental sanitation

29. Safe water and a sanitary environment are inescapable minimum needs in any community. They constitute a priority as much for public health policy as for development policy in its broadest aspects. Given the material resources and the necessary technical guidance, in the rural areas supply of drinking water is best undertaken as a community-supported activity. Community action to maintain a clean and healthy environment is a natural accompaniment of rural water supply. Where the two activities are pursued together, local resources can be harnessed, mutual self-help strengthened, and a general awareness of health needs spread among the people. Diseases transmitted by or connected with the conditions of supply of water and disposal of excreta account for a high proportion of child morbidity and child mortality. Therefore, in rural communities water supply is both a necessity and a promising starting point for the development of health services and improvement of child care. From the beginning, availability of water should be seen, not in isolation, but as part of a larger scheme of preventive health action and health education. Such a scheme has to be supported progressively by provision of simple medical care and measures to improve the nutritional levels of children and mothers and, more generally, of disadvantaged groups within the population.

30. In any less developed country, a commitment to provide facilities for safe drinking water to all rural communities and to the rapidly growing urban centres involves considerable investment over a period of perhaps 15 to 20 years. The

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global dimensions of the task involved should not be under-estimated.^{14/} Therefore, it is essential in each country to survey conditions in different rural regions and in the urban centres, determine clear priorities for action by government agencies and by local communities (distinguishing the more urgent requirements from those which can wait or can bear with limited attention for a period), and prepare specific technical and administrative plans for each region. These latter must be supported by allocations of finance and the necessary construction equipment and materials. At the level of implementation, as was shown by a survey of experience in seven countries carried out in 1968, difficult problems of planning, finance procurement, training and availability of personnel, and co-ordination with other health and development activities, have been met with in every country which has undertaken community water supply programmes on any scale. On the other hand, this is a field in which successful beginnings find a ready response and action on a much larger scale can be developed swiftly. In some areas, construction of latrines has also followed after water became available. However, generally, this aspect has not been given a high enough priority.^{15/} Experience in several countries has also underlined the need to press on with a combination of other health action, notably, health education and preventive services, simultaneously with provision of water.

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^{14/} According to enquiries made by the World Health Organization in respect of 90 selected countries, in 1970, out of an urban population of 232 million, 50 per cent were served adequately but, out of 1,026 million in rural areas, only 12 per cent were served adequately. External resources of the order of \$1,243 million were devoted to community water supply during the period 1958-1971, about two-thirds of these being given as loans to countries in Latin America. For providing by 1980 safe water to the entire urban population and to twice the present population in the rural areas, the total cost of construction through 1971-1980 would be of the order of \$13,200 millions. WHO, Community Water Supply Programme. Progress Report by the Director-General (Document A25/29, 20 April 1972), pages 6-9; PAHO, Facts on Progress, 1971 (September 1971).

^{15/} UNICEF, Assessment of Environmental Sanitation and Rural Water Supply Programmes Assisted by UNICEF and WHO (Document E/ICEF/L.1271, 4 March 1969), pages 3-12 and Kenya Country Study (Document JC 16/UNICEF-WHO/WP/69.3); WHO, Community Water Supply (Technical Report Series No. 420, 1969), pages 18-20; WHO, National Environmental Health Programmes: Their Planning, Organization and Administration (Technical Report Series No. 439, 1970, pages 54-55).

31. Rural and urban water supply constitute two very distinct tasks. They differ in scale of investment, sources and methods of finance, the technical organizations and inputs required, and the nature and extent of possible community participation. Rural supplies are focused on meeting an urgent need at a minimum level. Urban water supply schemes are linked with wider aspects of urban planning and development and call for long-range anticipatory action.^{16/} In larger cities, as part of overall water supply projects, particular consideration must be given to distribution systems serving slums and shanty towns and the poorer neighbourhoods, which are too apt to be neglected. External resources become available to an extent for urban schemes; because of the magnitude of the need, rural water supply schemes also require similar support.

32. Reference has been made already to the need to give greater attention to disposal of excreta and other wastes. Indeed, this should be an essential element in planning. Much of the effort in this area has been short-lived and sporadic. In the past, especially in rural areas and in the smaller towns, action has been impeded by cultural factors as well as financial and technical difficulties. Expansion of education and the importance of maintaining an environment of good health in areas in which large-scale projects have been or are being developed are two new factors which will favour action during the coming years. Given the necessary priority and support at the national level, development of suitable projects of waste disposal could become a regular component of regional and local health services. Such projects have particular value for the welfare of women and children. Problems of disposal of excreta and other wastes in rural areas and in small communities are common to many countries, and constitute a useful area for comparative study and interchange of experience, especially between groups of countries with similar conditions.^{17/}

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^{16/} WHO, Bernd H. Dietrich and John M. Henderson, Urban Water Supply Conditions and Needs in Seventy-five Developing Countries (Public Health Papers, No. 23, 1963).

^{17/} WHO, E.G. Wagner and J.N. Lanoix, Water Supply for Rural Areas and Small Communities (1959), and Excreta Disposal for Rural Areas and Small Communities (1958); also Government of Uttar Pradesh, Planning Research and Action Institute, Lucknow, India, Rural Latrine Programme, U.P. (1962) and Induced Change in Health Behaviour. A Study of a Pilot Environmental Sanitation Project in U.P. (1967).

Health education

33. The need for concerted efforts to promote health education has appeared as a common element in the effective delivery of health services, improved nutrition, and environmental health. However, health education has remained largely isolated from other action programmes. Often, the use of teaching and display materials which are produced stops at the point of demonstration instead of leading to more sustained activity. Health education should now be considered in a much broader context than that of the health services alone. It should be viewed in fact as a common concern of all agencies working with the people. Most important of all, it must become a component of activities at the community level which involves young children, school and school-age children, and mothers. Therefore, besides health, the other agencies to be directly involved will be rural and community development, agricultural extension, education, welfare, and home economics. Thus, various development services, civic and voluntary organizations, public and private enterprises, education institutions, women's groups, and others engaged in field work have much to contribute, both in their own separate spheres and in co-operation with others. Their key workers should receive the necessary orientation through practical participation in health education programmes. Available media of communication have to be fully employed and, to the extent needed, strengthened to take the message to the people.^{18/}

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^{18/} Much can be learned from the experience of countries which have assigned a high priority to health education in implementing their health services. By way of example, attention may be drawn to the work of the network of health education centres which exist in USSR. In USSR, health posts in collective farms and industrial undertakings are manned throughout the country by members of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Society working as volunteers. In Burma, environmental sanitation and health education are among the main activities of rural health centres. Health education has also been a major preoccupation of rural health centres in China. See WHO, Expert Committee on Health Education of the Public. First Report (1954), Expert Committee on Training of Health Personnel in Health Education of the Public Report (1958), Teacher Preparation for Health Education: Report of a Joint WHO/UNESCO Expert Committee (1960), Planning and Evaluation of Health Education Services. Report of a WHO Expert Committee (1969), Research in Health Education. Report of a WHO Scientific Group (1969) and Health Education in Health Aspects of Family Planning (Technical Report Series No. 483, 1971); UNESCO/WHO, C.E. Turner, Planning for Health Education in Schools (1966); Ministry of Health of the USSR, The System of Public Health Services in the USSR (Moscow, 1967), pages 63-65, Government of the Union of Burma, Health Report of the Director of Health Services, Burma (Rangoon, August 1971), pages 125-130, 207-211.

34. Emphasis on the health education aspects of health and other development services has to be supported, in turn, by measures to strengthen health education services through the provision of qualified and experienced personnel and greater contact between local populations and the staff of rural health centres and sub-centres. Greater attention has also to be given to health education aspects in the training of teachers. Of course, the programme of health education in any area should be built around the social, cultural and psychological factors connected with the life of the people as well as the specific health priorities which have been identified.

Priorities for the seventies

35. Priorities have been proposed for the Second Development Decade for different regions of the World Health Organization. They are intended primarily to assist individual countries to determine their own specific goals. Considered in relation to present resources of the less developed countries as a group, they indicate the dimensions of the task which remains to be undertaken.^{19/} It is obvious that conditions of development and financial capacity differ so widely that realistic long-range planning of health services can only be undertaken at the country level.

36. In varying measure, all countries in the less developed world face severe constraints in personnel and organization. Yet, compared to a decade or more ago, many of them have gained considerable experience of their own and are engaged in a search for new, more effective and more economic ways of providing health services. For each country, the growth of population and increase in urbanization, side by side with greater expectations on the part of the people, make the action needed ever more urgent. In planning health services, greater attention has now to be given to the influence of socio-economic factors, such as differences in levels of income and living and the needs of the more disadvantaged groups. The cost of providing the minimum services and infrastructures is increasing from year to year,

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^{19/} WHO, Long-term Planning in the Field of Health, Biennial Programming and Improvement of the Evaluation Process (Long-term Financial Indicators). Report by the Director-General (Document EB47/15, 28 November 1970).

so that the existing resource limitations are being further accentuated. All these are valid reasons for placing greater emphasis during the coming years on "strategic approaches" aimed at long-range policy formulations, to which specific action can be related at each step.^{20/}

37. In relation to the Second Development Decade, in view of its limitations and possibilities, each country will need to direct its long-term plan of health development to certain basic, even rudimentary, priorities. How can the poorer sections and those in the remoter areas be reached with simple health care, especially services for the child and the family? How can the capacity of each community to create an environment or optimum health be enhanced? How can better organization at the community level, with the minimum unavoidable burden upon budgetary resources, help improve the delivery services? How can the extent of malnutrition among children be diminished and its serious incidence be countered through care and treatment in the early stages? How can larger national and local resources be found for channelling into health and the related social services?

38. In the circumstances of the less developed countries, the basic health services have to be constantly seen as part of a broadly conceived development effort in which the people of each area assume a considerable responsibility. In the past, it was perhaps permissible to hope that, over a period of years, perhaps within two decades or so, patterns of health development which were being introduced, in some areas to begin with, could be extended eventually to all other areas in a country. This is now seen as a longer-term undertaking than had appeared earlier. In the light of practical experience, larger numbers, and the other complexities which have been mentioned above, many countries are now being compelled to re-examine their priorities as well as their methods of organization and manpower policies around two central objectives. These are: first, to help create a healthy environment for the people to live in and, secondly, to provide a system of basic health services, with a dominant emphasis on maternal and child health services and various aspects of family health, which they can build up and sustain largely from their own resources.

^{20/} WHO, Fifth General Programme of Work Covering a Specific Period. (1973-1977). (Document A24/A/1, 18 March 1971.)

CHAPTER 4

IMPROVED NUTRITION FOR CHILDREN AND MOTHERS

1. Among the important goals proposed in the International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade is the improvement of levels of nutrition, with special emphasis on the needs of vulnerable groups in the population. This declaration is the culmination of prolonged national and international concern over the critical problems of food and nutrition.^{1/}

Nutrition as a problem of development

2. On the broader aspects of the approach to nutrition, there is now wide agreement at the expert level. It is recognized that undernourishment and other dietary deficiencies are as much an obstacle to development and welfare as they are the consequences of lack of development and welfare. It is also generally agreed that while international assistance can be of value to individual countries in designing their nutrition policies and in taking to them a measure of material and other support, the basic assessments and decisions have to be made by each country for itself. Under-nutrition and other forms of malnutrition are a reflection of a country's levels of development, its socio-economic and cultural environment, including long-established food habits, its resource situation, and its present limitations in policy and administration.

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^{1/} There have been several stages in the efforts of the United Nations and its agencies to draw attention to the problems of nutrition in the less developed countries and to assist in their solution. Among these should be mentioned specifically (i) FAO's Freedom from Hunger Campaign in the early sixties, (ii) establishment of the World Food Programme, (iii) the setting up of the Protein Advisory Group of the United Nations, which now includes FAO, WHO, UNICEF and the World Bank, (iv) the Report of the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development on International Action to avert the impending Protein Crisis, 1968, (v) analyses presented by FAO in its Indicative World Plan (1969) and in Agricultural Commodity Projections, 1970-1980, (1971), (vi) the Strategy Statement of the United Nations Panel of Experts on Action to Avert the Protein Crisis in Developing Countries (1971), and (vii) Resolution 2848 (XXVI) on Protein Resources adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations. See also WHO, FAO/WHO Expert Committee on Nutrition, Eighth Report, Food Fortification, Protein-calorie Malnutrition (Technical Report series 477, 1971). Bilateral aid agencies in a number of countries, including the United States, Sweden and others as well as international non-governmental organizations like CARE and OXFAM have also made considerable efforts over several years.

An attack on under-nutrition and malnutrition involves not only an appraisal of the conditions of nutrition and a national food and nutrition policy, but also identification of priorities in terms of target groups, regions or locations requiring special action, and the measures and policies proposed to be implemented.

3. A food and nutrition policy consists of a complex of priorities, objectives and measures which are undertaken as an integral part of national development. It aims at assuring the requisite supply of food products for the entire population, along with the social, cultural and economic conditions needed for securing an adequate level of nutrition and food nourishment. Such a policy is rightly regarded as a prerequisite for all the agencies concerned to put forward a concerted and sustained effort. In most countries, a food and nutrition policy evolves over a period of years and is built around a variety of partial efforts and experiences gained in dealing with different aspects of problem of food and nutrition.

4. In this chapter, the discussion is focused on the needs of children and mothers and, more generally, on the 'vulnerable groups'. In relation to children, the question of food has to be considered first from the standpoint of the vast majority. Among them, there will be a proportion for whom certain specific forms of complementary action will be needed. In other words, action to deal with the problems of nutritional deficiencies is seen as part of the total food policy of the country. How effective the general measures taken are has a bearing on the extent of under-nutrition and malnutrition found among the vulnerable groups.

5. The vulnerable groups include infants, young (pre-school) children, especially from birth up to three years of age, and pregnant and nursing mothers. Besides these, at the next level of priority, it will be necessary to provide for mothers and children who are considered to have 'high risk', families in transition from a rural to an urban or peri-urban environment, and elementary school-age children. The expression 'high risk' is taken to refer to factors which intensify the risks to which children and mothers may be exposed, such as very high birth rates, extreme poverty, conditions of low productivity and life

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under severe environments, as in arid zones, mountainous regions, forest areas and coastal areas. In relation to the different vulnerable groups, the food intake is undoubtedly the most important single consideration. However, closely related to it are other factors which influence the total environmental situation, such as social stimulation and interaction with the family and the community, sanitation and personal hygiene.

Prevailing nutritional deficiencies

6. Action to improve the nutritional status of children and mothers requires that the facts of the nutritional deficiencies as they affect them directly should be reasonably established. Often, a number of nutritional deficiencies exist together, with one or other among them usually predominating. The relevant facts have to be interpreted in relation to the overall food and nutrition situation of the country as a whole at the given stage of development as well as on a perspective view of the future. An assessment of the total situation with a view to formulating a national food and nutrition policy calls for data on (a) overall shortfalls in supply in relation to changes in the composition of demand, (b) food consumption as related to income levels, (c) deficiencies in staple diets in common use in terms of the nutritional requirements of different groups in the population, (d) nutritional status of the population with particular reference to the situation of children and mothers, and (e) prevalence and incidence of malnutrition. Although there will always be an element of approximation in such data, they have to be weighed together with a view to systematic planning and co-ordination of long-range activities for improving the nutrition of the population and, more specifically, of children and mothers. An operational approach to the collection and utilization of data could be of real help in designing effective action programmes. Gradually, further refinements could be introduced.^{2/}

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^{2/} The Food and Agriculture Organization have devoted considerable attention over several years to food consumption surveys. More recently, studies leading to the Indicative World Plan and Agriculture Commodity Projections, 1970-1980 have enabled the FAO to present global, regional and national perspectives of per caput food supply and demand on assumptions which are considered to be reasonable. These provide a broad frame for the nutrition problem in terms of estimated intakes of calories and vegetable and animal proteins in various countries during the period 1962-1970 and for the Second Development Decade. Thus, there exists now a comparative picture which, with the fuller national data at its disposal, each country could use in making a careful assessment of its own overall nutritional situation and prospects. The FAO are also endeavouring to develop and test methods for ascertaining food consumption in relation to different age-groups as part of such household consumption and budgetary surveys as are undertaken. A recent

7. A considerable number of local or specialized clinical and biochemical nutrition surveys have been undertaken in recent years, frequently as part of the training activities of nutrition institutes and university departments concerned with nutrition. Though limited in scope, such surveys have helped governments to appreciate the urgent need to raise the nutritional standards of vulnerable groups. The known nutritional deficiencies from which these groups suffer - as much from the interaction of deficient diets and infectious diseases as for reasons of ignorance, poverty, and lack of timely assistance - are soon reflected in the wide prevalence of malnutrition.^{3/} In most countries, while the medical evidence is far from comprehensive, there can be no doubt as to the seriousness of malnutrition. It has been observed that malnutrition encompasses a diversified group of problems for which protein-calorie malnutrition provides the central focus.^{4/} Protein-calorie malnutrition covers the

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^{2/} food and nutrition survey undertaken by the Government of Barbados with the assistance of the Caribbean Food and Nutrition Institute, the Pan American Health Organization and FAO provides an excellent example of policy-oriented information required by countries in planning for improved nutrition, both generally and for the vulnerable groups (PAHO, The National Food and Nutrition Survey of Barbados, 1972).

^{3/} Evidence on the prevalence of kwashiorkor and nutritional marasmus as well as moderate cases of protein-calorie malnutrition gathered in community surveys undertaken in recent years in several countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America has been summarized by Dr. J.M. Bengoa in Recent Trends in the Public Health Aspects of Protein-Calorie Malnutrition (WHO Chronicle, volume 24, No. 12, pages 552-561), and in a paper on Significance of Malnutrition and Priorities for its Prevention (International Conference on Nutrition, National Development and Planning, Cambridge, Massachusetts, October 1971).

^{4/} FAO, P.V.Sukhatme, Summation and Findings of the Protein Problem (Ess: Misc./71/6, 21 July 1971).

clinical forms known as kwashiorkor and nutritional marasmus as well as less clinically evident combinations of protein and calorie deficiency. There is yet no ground for assuming that in many countries the number of kwashiorkor cases has declined compared to 10 or 20 years ago. Nutritional marasmus is apparently increasing with earlier weaning, especially in urban areas. Early weaning has almost always led to deleterious results, especially where families are unable to provide other foods suitable for infants and, even when such foods are available, lack the requisite knowledge for using them. Many children in the less developed countries show lasting signs of having been malnourished in early childhood. The decline in the rate of mortality of children under five which has been noted in some countries is to be attributed to improvements in public health mainly in areas other than nutrition. Cases showing the most severe forms of malnutrition appear to have diminished, but the less severe forms, involving stunted growth and development, are widespread and may even be increasing.

6. Severe malnutrition in the early months of life is particularly alarming because this is the time of rapid brain growth and development which extends through the second post-natal year. It is known that malnutrition or, indeed, any factor which inhibits growth does lead to retarded brain development. Adequate nutrition in pregnancy is needed both for the protection of the mother and to prevent low birth weight which puts the new-born at special risk. There is growing evidence also of the damage to the fetus in utero due to maternal malnutrition, particularly in the last trimester of pregnancy.^{5/}

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^{5/} See Chapter 6 on 'The Young Child: Growth and Development'. Also UNICEF, Supplementary Programmes for Mothers and Young Children, (Paper prepared for UNICEF by WHO Nutrition Unit, E/ICEF/CRP/72-11, 14 March 1972); also, Chapter 3 on 'Present Status of Nutritional Diseases Among Children in the Subtropics and Tropics', in D.B. Jelliffe Infant Nutrition in the Subtropics and Tropics, (WHO, 1963); Maternal Nutrition and the Course of Pregnancy (National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C. 1970), WHO Programme Review: Nutrition (E/B/49/30, December 1971). C. Gopalan, Effect of Nutrition on Pregnancy and Lactation, (WHO Bulletin, 1962).

9. Besides kwashiorkor and nutritional marasmus, surveys in several countries have confirmed the wide prevalence of deficiencies of certain vitamins and minerals. These include iron deficiency anemia, folic acid deficiency anemia in pregnancy, iodine deficiency goitre, and vitamin A deficiency which reduces resistance to infections and sometimes leads to blindness. In some countries, vitamin A deficiency has been observed to be a main cause of blindness in young children.^{6/} In addition, dental caries is a growing problem.

10. In view of the wide prevalence of under-nutrition and malnutrition, there is need for periodical household surveys to ascertain the nutritional status of the population in different regions in a country and of those belonging to the weaker and disadvantaged groups. Since information concerning earnings, employment, health and living conditions bears directly on nutrition, there may often be an advantage in introducing questions on nutrition into more comprehensive socio-economic surveys. As a recent study on nutrition undertaken in Iran shows, nutritional action could be greatly aided by accurate information, for instance, in respect of regions in which the population is exposed to periods of scarcity or hunger, tribal populations, those living in the slums and shanty-towns of urban areas, and the poorer sections in other areas. As children and mothers are specially affected, the surveys should seek information about them.

11. In some less developed countries, there is already a body of information on the nutritional characteristics of traditional diets. How these should be supplemented or, where appropriate, substituted by other foods, has received less consideration. There are many countries in which available information concerning traditional diets and food habits is quite meagre. Changes in child feeding practices and food habits generally are known to be taking place, especially in urban areas and among populations coming within the influence of modernization.

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^{6/} W.R. Aykroyd, Conquest of Deficiency Diseases (WHO, Basic Study No. 24, 1970); UNICEF, UNICEF-WHO Joint Committee on Health Policy, Report of the Nineteenth Session. (Document JC/9/UNICEF-WHO/72/4, February 1972), pages 16-17.

Their nutritional effects under certain conditions have been known to be negative but, as a rule, public policy has lagged behind.^{7/}

Nutrition policy and nutritional interventions

12. As suggested earlier, a policy for improving nutritional levels for the entire population of a country has to be broad-based in nature and must take a long-term view. It must include, for instance, the promotion of better food habits, increased supply of protective foods, economic and social policies for assuring stable purchasing power to the relatively poorer groups, raising of levels of productivity, and measures to mitigate the incidence of seasonal and other variations in production and supply, specially in periods of scarcity and shortage. Action along these lines calls, necessarily, for widespread education of the people, training of personnel in several related fields, improved methods of preparing, processing and preserving food, and the production and distribution of protein-rich food supplements. From the administrative aspect, a number of responsible government agencies will be required to plan jointly and to co-ordinate their respective activities at the national, intermediate and local levels. Among these agencies, those most intimately associated are the departments concerned with agriculture, health, education, urban and rural water supply, community welfare and rural development, food distribution, employment, wages and prices, and social security. The requirements of a national nutrition policy are of a multi-disciplinary character, and several elements have to be brought together and focused on the priority groups and the priority areas to which nutritional interventions are proposed to be directed.

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^{7/} Illustrations of the theme will be found, for instance, in Social and Cultural Aspects of Food Patterns and Food Habits in Five Rural Areas in Indonesia (National Institute of Economic and Social Research (LEKNAS), Lipi, and Directorate of Nutrition, Department of Health, Republic of Indonesia, Djakarta, December 1970); University of Ibadan, Nigeria, Food Science and Applied Nutrition Unit, Technical Report on Osegere Village Nutrition Survey, 1969; The International Paediatric Association, New Urban Families. Conclusions and Recommendations of a Workshop on Nutrition. (Vienna, 28 August 1971); National Institute of Nutrition, Hyderabad, India, C. Gopalan and B.S. Narasinga Rao, Nutritional Constraints on Growth and Development in Current Indian Diets; M.D. Sathe, Consumption Pattern of a Tribal Community (Artha Vijnan, Poona, India, Vol. XIII, No. 1, March 1971, pages 38-51).

13. As FAO, WHO, and UNICEF are due to present to the 1975 session of the UNICEF Executive Board a joint assessment on the problems of child nutrition and the experience gained in dealing with them, it is proposed to limit the present discussion to a brief statement of nutritional activities undertaken over the past decade and the priorities for the Second Development Decade which can be inferred from this experience. The earliest interventions at the international level related to distribution of skim milk powder, milk conservation and dairy development. In the next phase, attention was given to the development of high-protein foods. In some countries, in which the first initiatives came from international agencies, including UNICEF, the preparation of protein-rich foods, which can serve as supplements in child nutrition, is now beginning to assume the proportions of an indigenous industry. Through the decade of the sixties, applied nutrition programmes have been undertaken among rural communities in some sixty countries. Among the common elements which have formed part of applied nutrition programmes in larger or smaller measure are: education of rural communities in nutrition, training of government personnel and local community leaders, training of women in home economics and applied nutrition, local production, a special feeding component for young children and pregnant and nursing mothers, and nutrition activities undertaken through schools. In particular, applied nutrition programmes have served to highlight the importance of educating the public and of training in nutrition of personnel from different agencies or from different sectors of development. Finally, over the past several years, thanks to supplies made available by the World Food Programme or from other sources, useful experience has been gained in supplementary feeding of young children and of children in schools with a variety of foods and food mixtures. In a number of countries nutrition rehabilitation centres for the treatment of young children have been an important development.

Milk conservation and dairy development

14. In co-operation with FAO, for a period of nearly two decades, UNICEF provided assistance in setting up fluid milk and milk drying plants. Of these, 57 were located in the less developed countries. An appraisal of the contribution of milk conservation programmes was undertaken in 1966.^{3/} In view of the
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^{3/} UNICEF, The Milk Conservation Programme. An Appraisal of UNICEF/FAO assisted milk conservation programme, 1948 to 1966. (Documents E/ICEF/L.1257, E/ICEF/L.1258, March 1966.)

progress achieved in dairy development in many countries, further support along these lines from UNICEF was not considered necessary, with a possible exception being made, when needed, in favour of countries in Africa in which dairy development had not yet taken place on any scale. In recent years, in some African countries, support has been extended to rural milk collection centres. These centres and the dairy plants which they have supplied have helped increase the total output of milk. It is not known how the sale of milk to growing urban markets may have affected consumption of milk by children and mothers in rural areas. At least for a period, the opening up of a market for milk could even reduce such consumption. On the other hand, increased income could provide, at any rate over a period, for opportunities to improve the general nutritional status of children. Valuable as it is for improving the nutrition of vulnerable groups, as a rule, the price factor puts milk beyond the reach of those most in need. Since the production of milk and milk products is governed mainly by economic considerations, children and mothers in the economically disadvantaged groups can gain directly only where deliberate public policy makes this possible. In future, where sizeable supplies of skimmed milk powder become available to a less developed country, it would be desirable to utilize institutions like schools, child care centres and women's associations as channels for special distribution schemes for improving the nutrition of children and mothers in the poorer rural areas and in urban centres. Such distribution schemes could be useful for sustaining community support and for developing popular nutrition education.

Development of high-protein foods

15. Expressions such as "protein crisis" or "protein malnutrition" are a shorthand description for a wide range of nutritional deficits, which include both proteins and calories and, frequently also, certain vitamins and minerals. The general incidence of these deficits and, specially, the effects on infants, young children and expectant and nursing mothers have drawn pointed attention to the need for measures directed to these groups. Of course, a large number of other factors, such as incomes, prices, employment and availability of supplies influence the prevailing patterns of consumption. As in the extract below from

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the Strategy Statement on Action to Avert the Protein Crisis, the problem of protein supplies has to be placed necessarily in a wider context:

"Action is necessary on many fronts; through increased production of protein from agriculture and fisheries; through reduction of losses in the field during harvest, storage, processing, distribution and utilization; through the development of protein-rich food mixtures and modernization of food preservation and processing industries; through research and development of unconventional sources such as single cell protein and various protein concentrates; through education and training, including consumer education; through a broad programme of environmental sanitation and prevention of infectious diseases, especially in childhood; through studies providing better information on dietary intake and on the factors which determine it. All this must fit into national plans for economic development, aimed at increased purchasing power and social advance."^{9/}

16. Within the broad range of measures described above, as part of the strategy for protein, processed protein-rich foods have a special value in assuring adequate nutrition for young children between, say, six months and three to five years. Assuming that breast feeding has been satisfactory during the first six months, this is a critical period when damage by protein malnutrition may become serious and possibly irreparable. In the weaning and post-weaning periods, protein-rich foods are to be viewed as a complement to breast milk or mixed diet rather than as a complete substitute. As has been suggested earlier, protein-rich food supplements should, in fact, be regarded as a primary public health input and, when needed, their provision should be taken as a priority in the delivery of health services to children and mothers.

17. Research and technology have been already brought to bear on the development of protein-rich mixtures based on locally available raw materials and suitable

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^{9/} United Nations, Strategy Statement on Action to Avert the Protein Crisis in the Developing Countries, (ST/ECA/144 E/5018/Rev. 1, 1971), pages 7-13, and Resolution 1640 (LI) Edible Protein, (adopted by the Economic and Social Council), 9 August 1971; Resolution 2848 (XXVI) of the General Assembly on Protein Resources. (A/RES/2848 (XXVI), 11 January 1972); Statements and Guidelines issued by the United Nations Protein Advisory Group; Lyle P. Schertz, Economics of Protein Improvement Programs in the Lower Income Countries (U.S. A.I.D., Foreign Economic Development Report II, July 1971); Agricultural Commodity Projections, 1970-1980, (FAO), Chapter III, 'Food Demand and Nutrition' (CCP 71/20, 1971), pages 43-62.

for use as weaning foods. Examples of these efforts, with which UNICEF, WHO and FAO, and in some cases individual donor countries, have been associated, include Superamine or like products in Algeria and Egypt, Sekmama in Turkey, Faffa in Ethiopia, Saridele in Indonesia, Incaparina in Guatemala and Colombia, Balahar in India, as well as mixtures of the corn, soy and milk powder (CSM) type. The supply of suitable local materials for protein-rich foods has been generally found to be only a short-term problem. Given, when necessary, a start with some imported component, within a reasonable period indigenous materials can be developed. The main difficulties in the development of such mixtures are now economic and organizational rather than technical. They arise from such issues, as the determination of target populations and methods of reaching them, costs of production, prices and subsidization, and arrangements for marketing and delivery. Allied to poverty and economic disadvantage, these difficulties have tended to limit seriously the consumption of protein-rich mixtures.^{10/}

Home-prepared weaning foods

18. A high priority should be given to helping families to prepare nutritious weaning foods from available resources.

Food fortification

19. Fortification of staple foods normally given to young children with vitamins and minerals is an important development. Serious efforts are under way also to supplement such foods with proteins and aminoacids. The effectiveness of iodization of salt in preventing goitre has been demonstrated in a number of countries, and this approach deserves to be extended more widely.

Fats and bread have been successfully fortified with vitamin A. Fortification of these and perhaps other foods should be considered where vitamin A deficiency is a public health problem.^{11/}

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^{10/} FAO/WHO/UNICEF Protein Advisory Group, Report of the Ad Hoc Working Group on Feeding the Pre-School Child, December 1969; Commentary on the World Protein Situation, (P.A.G. Document 1.2.3/5, 1970); Guideline on Protein-rich Mixtures for Use as Weaning Foods (P.A.G., 1971); Bo Wickstrom, Marketing of Protein-rich Foods to Combat Malnutrition, (P.A.G., Document 2.22/21, 1971).

^{11/} WHO, FAO/WHO Expert Committee on Nutrition. Eighth Report. Food Fortification. Protein-calorie Malnutrition. (Technical Report Series No. 477, 1971); Elizabeth Orr, The use of protein-rich foods for the relief of malnutrition in developing countries: an analysis of experience (Tropical Products Institute, London, 1972).

Applied nutrition programmes

20. In applied nutrition programmes in the less developed countries, with which FAO, WHO and UNICEF have been jointly associated since the late fifties, emphasis has been placed on those activities which can be best undertaken with the support and participation of rural communities. When these programmes were first introduced, concepts concerning national food and nutrition policies had not developed to the extent they have in recent years.^{12/} From available evaluations and reports of expert consultants it is clear that, though they often bear a common name, there are substantial differences in the content, approach and methods of organization in the programmes of different countries. Moreover, over the years, in many instances, the original scheme of work has been modified at several points. For future action in the field of nutrition, there is need to summarize and to draw lessons from experience gained globally in two major areas, namely, supplementary feeding for young children (referred to later in this chapter) and applied nutrition programmes in rural areas undertaken in co-operation with local communities. In relation to rural nutrition activities, a broad view at the international level of elements of strength and weakness could be of material help to individual countries in reorganizing their existing applied nutrition activities and in integrating them more completely into broader national nutrition policies and related developmental activities.^{13/} /...

^{12/} UNICEF, Assessment of Applied Nutrition Projects (1966), Report by James M. Hundley, (E/ICEF/L.1266, 19 December 1966) with separate reports on Applied Nutrition Projects in Philippines, India, Ivory Coast, Colombia and Trinidad (E/ICEF/L.1266/Add.1, 20 December 1966). Also FAO, Report of the FAO/WHO Technical Meeting on Methods of Planning and Evaluation in Applied Nutrition Programmes, (1965), and Planning and Evaluation of Applied Nutrition Programmes (FAO Nutritional Studies No. 26, 1972).

^{13/} From a wide range of materials on the subject of applied nutrition programmes attention may be invited here to discussions on applied nutrition in Senegal, Brazil, Peru and India in FAO, Nutrition Newsletter, Vol. 7, No. 4, October-December 1969; Technical Assistance Reports submitted by FAO experts, specially, Republic of Korea, Applied Nutrition Project (No. TA 2841, 1970); India, Aspects of the Applied Nutrition Programme 1964-1969 (CEP Report No. 57, 1969) and Nutrition Education and Training in the Applied Nutrition Program with Special Reference to South India (CEP Report No. 42); Swaziland, Applied Nutrition Programme (No. TA 2508, 1968); Indonesia, Food and Nutrition Policy in Relation to the Food Needs (Nutrition Consultants' Reports Series No. 14, 1970);

21. It is commonly acknowledged that, whatever their practical limitations, applied nutrition programmes have succeeded in bringing a certain awareness to rural populations of the importance of nutrition and especially of improved nutrition for children and mothers. As a consequence, Governments have also become better informed of these problems and have begun to move consciously towards the formulation of national policies. By their nature, applied nutrition programmes assume a great deal of co-operation and co-ordination between the Government agencies concerned with food and agriculture, health, education, rural extension, rural water supply, co-operation and community development, and social welfare. It is true that the tasks to be undertaken at each level have not been always clearly defined, nor were the criteria by which fulfilment was to be judged established in advance by the agencies concerned. It is to be admitted also that, as against the need for flexibility and adaptation in programmes which are implemented under such varying economic and social conditions, having been first sponsored from above (often at the suggestion of international agencies), there has been a bias towards rigidity and execution according to rule. There was a tendency in some countries to spread applied nutrition programmes too rapidly and extensively. This militated against a more rigorous approach in designing applied nutrition programmes, carrying them out first in limited areas, testing out the difficulties and the possibilities, and then undertaking expansion on a larger scale. These are not surprising conclusions. There have been similar findings in several other areas of rural development, for instance, agricultural extension and introduction of new technologies, rural credit and co-operation, works programmes in rural areas, development of village institutions, etc.

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13/ Philippines, A National Food and Nutrition Plan (National Consultants Reports Series No. 23, 1971); An Evaluation of the Nutrition Component of the Applied Nutrition Programme in Lesotho (1969). Within India, where applied nutrition programmes have been implemented on a national scale and the need for a national policy on food and nutrition began to be felt from the late fifties, several evaluations have been undertaken at different stages. Among these, reference may be made to Planning Commission, Programme Evaluation Organisation, Report of Current Evaluation of the Applied Nutrition Programme, 1964-65, May 1965; Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, Applied Nutrition Programme, An Evaluation Study (1971); Government of Maharashtra, Report of the Evaluation Committee on Applied Nutrition Programme, 1971; and Madras Institute of Development Studies, Rajammal P. Devdas, Nutrition in Tamil Nadu, 1972. There are also other State studies of the applied nutrition programmes, including Uttar Pradesh and Orissa.

22. Differences between applied nutrition programmes in different countries arose from their diverse administrative structures and development policies but, as observed already, there were also several common elements. The emphasis on these elements has varied not only from country to country but also in different regions within the same country and sometimes in the course of evolution within the same region. A careful assessment even for a single country or region would require that attention should be given to these differences along with the similarities which exist. In both instances, it would be necessary to examine how and why the differences arose, how they influenced the operation and impact of the programmes, and the conclusions that could be drawn for future use with a view, at any rate, for raising questions which require further study. In this chapter it is proposed to offer a few general remarks based partly on available documentation and partly on field observations.

Training in nutrition

23. From the beginning, as a component of applied nutrition programmes, training and education in nutrition were viewed as being essential for promoting improvements in nutrition among all segments of the population. Gradually, it became clear that nutrition training had to be approached comprehensively to include several categories of persons. At the local level, the groups involved are: (a) community leaders and voluntary workers, (b) school-teachers and (c) sub-professional and extension workers at the field level in different areas of development. When applied nutrition programmes began to be implemented, it was found necessary that high-level professional and administrative officials from different sectors of development had also to be suitably oriented to the special problems of nutrition. Such orientation was further seen as a method of bringing about greater understanding between departments concerned with agriculture, health, education, welfare, co-operation and community development, rural extension, urban development and planning. Finally, with a view to facilitating consideration of major issues of national policy affecting nutrition, it was found necessary to arrange for the orientation of policy-makers in different fields, including planning.

24. Some of the practical lessons which have been learned over the past decade can be stated briefly. The content of training has to be carefully designed for

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each separate group of workers. For higher level workers and indeed for others as well, the method of discussion and interchange of experience has provided the best preparation for action. While there are specialized components, as far as possible, nutrition education should be embodied within the regular training programmes adopted in different sectors. Schools have a vital role in nutrition education. Appropriate curricula have to be evolved for primary and secondary schools, for girls, and for teacher training and other training institutions.

25. In view of the substantial resources now being devoted by Governments to the training of higher level workers in nutrition, it is important that such training should be developed as an integral part of a carefully planned scheme of action. In view of the multi-disciplinary requirements of nutrition programmes, a group or team approach in the selection of participants may often yield the best results. Nutrition training institutes or departments of nutrition in universities, which have come into existence in recent years in several countries, are a most important resource. Their contribution to future action could be considerably enhanced if 'project areas' were assigned to them. Their trainees could engage in developing practical action in nutrition in co-operation with development agencies and officials serving the project areas; as a result better extension practices and methods of delivery could be evolved.

26. There is an important relationship between activities broadly described as Home Economics and measures to raise the nutritional levels of rural and urban communities. Various studies as well as field observations suggest that, as they are directed to the improvement of family life, home economics activities should be strengthened and dovetailed more fully into applied nutrition programmes. The latter would gain from closer association with activities such as infant and child care, family education, home management, sanitation, and improvement in living conditions. Both home economics and applied nutrition are fields in which women can make the largest contribution and children are the principal beneficiaries. It has been also suggested that efforts should be made through available social forums to convey to the people generally, and more especially to women, information of a practical nature to assist in detecting signs of malnutrition and in improving nutritional levels with the resources which are readily available to them.^{14/}

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^{14/} Derrick B. Jelliffe, Child Nutrition in Developing Countries (U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1968), pages 95-114.

Nutrition education of the public

27. Education through professional and para-professional personnel in various fields (agriculture, health, education, etc.) and through other channels can be strengthened considerably through well-conceived and co-ordinated communications support services. This would require close co-operation between communications specialists and nutritionists. Such efforts have been made in a few countries, and further possibilities are beginning to be explored.^{15/}

Local production

28. An aspect of applied nutrition programmes which has led to diverse comment concerns proposals for the increased production of local protective foods, such as vegetables and fruits, eggs and poultry, fisheries, etc. Experience in developing production units at the local level along the lines of kitchen or home gardens, community gardens, school gardens, poultry units and village fish ponds, has by no means been uniform, and some forms of production have fared better than others. Examples of comparative success and failure deserve careful study. It is conceded that even where they have not altogether succeeded, such productive units have been useful as demonstrations and for nutrition education. Generally, local officials and community workers have learnt much from their association with production schemes under applied nutrition programmes. It is true that production at the local level is increasingly influenced by market opportunities and by current conditions affecting prices, supply of production requisites, credit, storage and transport. Economic incentives count heavily in production activities other than home gardens and school gardens. In its wider aspect, nutrition policy is expected to give due attention to conditions favourable to production for the market. At the same time, although the quantities involved may be marginal, where a large proportion of the population produces its own food, in relation to protective foods in particular, non-commercial forms of production deserve to be encouraged. For the small marginal farmer and the agricultural labourer, material assistance in producing protective foods for household consumption can be a very real benefit. Certain plant foods, for instance, legumes for protein and green

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^{15/} In September 1972, the Committee on Nutrition Education of the Public of the International Union of Nutritional Sciences convened an interdisciplinary meeting in Mexico to discuss experiences and opportunities in this field.

leafy vegetables for certain essential vitamins and minerals can make up for serious deficiencies in the diet. For these, as a rule, pressure to sell the total production in the market is not as great as in the case of animal products. Moreover, establishment of a reliable supply of seeds and seedlings can be an important factor in promoting the production and consumption of these foods.

Restructuring applied nutrition programmes

29. It is apparent that, partly because of their own experience and partly because of the thinking that has gone on for sometime at the international level, in many countries applied nutrition programmes are now passing through a period of review and re-examination. Several new initiatives, even when described as applied nutrition, have been mainly concerned with one or other element of nutrition education and training. If their essential purpose and their value for action and education at the community level are kept in mind, a systematic appraisal of the experience gained in developing and carrying out applied nutrition programmes could stimulate large-scale nutritional action during the remaining years of the Second Development Decade. In a field in which all other nutritional interventions inevitably affect only small numbers of children, features of proven value in applied nutrition programmes deserve to be strengthened and embodied within the strategy of economic and social development applicable to diverse rural and urban conditions. In some countries there will be need for a measure of rephrasing of existing programmes with a view to designing more effective ways of reaching children and mothers, intensifying the coverage in areas where the programme is being implemented, and reducing overhead costs. Moreover, in view of the need for a strong local base, efforts have to be concentrated on improving nutrition at the level of the family. One essential consideration is that in areas in which applied nutrition programmes are introduced they should reach as large a proportion of the families as possible, and dispersed and uneconomical forms of action should be reduced to the minimum. Viewed in their totality and closely related to the overall national effort in development, applied nutrition programmes can provide large-scale opportunities for constructive work at the community level. Other efforts, such as the provision of protein-rich supplements and supplementary feeding schemes, can then become an integral part of the continuing task of improving the nutrition of children and mothers. The child

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nutrition component of applied nutrition programmes has been generally weak, both because of limitations of local resources and because additional supplies of supplementary foods for children have been a somewhat irregular feature of programmes of nutritional improvement in most of the less developed countries.

Planning and implementation at regional levels

30. The nutritional situation within a country differs markedly from region to region. Both for national and local nutritional action, it is imperative that the total programme for improving nutrition, especially in its aspects of production and consumption, should be worked out in each country at the middle or the regional level. This may begin with a few selected regions with well-known nutritional deficiencies. It is at this level that agencies with administrative responsibilities in different fields of development, along with institutions engaged in training and research, can co-operate completely in defining the key problems of the region and developing in relation to them practical long-range and short-range programmes of action, including the training of different groups of workers as well as citizens. Such a regional approach could give greater meaning to national nutrition policy and stimulate nutritional efforts through local communities.

Supplementary feeding programmes and reaching the young child

31. In recent years, supplementary feeding programmes which have been undertaken on a limited scale in a great variety of countries have come under review, especially at the international level.^{16/} The General Progress Report of the

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^{16/} An international symposium on 'young child nutrition programmes' was held at Zagreb, Yugoslavia, in August 1971. The International Union of Nutritional Sciences took 'community organization for nutrition programmes' as the main theme for the meeting of its Committee on Nutrition Education of the Public held in Mexico in August-September 1972. Experience gained in supplementary feeding programmes for young children in countries in Africa and their place in national nutritional policy were considered at a seminar held at Uppsala in 1972 under the auspices of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, see Bo Vahlquist ed., Nutrition, A priority in African Development; (The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Uppsala, Sweden, 1972, pages 205-222). Work in Uganda has been recently reviewed in an elaborate study, V.F. Amman, D.G.R. Belshaw and J.P. Stanfield ed., Nutrition and Food in an African Economy (Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda 1972). Attention should also be invited to Protein Advisory Group, Feeding the Pre-school child, Report of a PAG Ad Hoc Working Group (Document 1.14/5, October 1971), Margaret Cameron ed., Manual on Feeding Infants and Young Children (PAG Document 1.14/26, December 1971), a paper jointly prepared by the World Food Programme and the Nutrition Division of FAO on Strategies for Establishing National Supplementary Feeding Programmes (PAG Document 1.17/6, November 1971), and to WHO Nutrition Unit, Supplementary Feeding Programmes for Mothers and Young Children, op.cit.

Executive Director of UNICEF for 1972 gave an account of UNICEF's association since its inception with supplementary child feeding programmes and concluded that there was need in the less developed countries to establish permanent supplementary child feeding together with certain other nutritional services. Urging special attention for the children among the weaker socio-economic groups, the Progress Report referred specially to the needs of infants, weanlings and pre-school age children as the first priority.^{17/} As mentioned earlier, the trend to premature weaning of infants was a matter of serious concern, since nutritional deprivation during the early months of life is more difficult to repair. There was need also for rehabilitation and treatment for young children suffering from severe malnutrition. Among obstacles to the development of permanent supplementary child feeding programmes, attention was drawn to the lack of satisfactory distribution channels which could reach the pre-school child, irregular availability of foodstuffs and the high costs involved. Since investigations are to begin in the new future for a comprehensive assessment of the problems of child nutrition, in this chapter it will be sufficient to offer a few broad observations.

32. Supplementary feeding programmes have been undertaken over the past decade under quite different conditions, more especially (a) in situations of natural or other disasters, (b) as part of the rehabilitation and treatment of young children suffering from different degrees of malnutrition and (c) with a view to improving the nutritional levels of children. Available experience of supplementary feeding programmes which have been undertaken as part of long-range programmes directed to the vulnerable groups is still limited. A recent example is a special nutrition programme introduced in India in 1970 whose coverage extended rapidly to two million children and to some 15,000 feeding centres. After a period, the necessity for placing supplementary feeding programmes on a continuing basis and combining

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^{17/} Supplementary Feeding Programmes for Mothers and Children, op. cit. UNICEF, General Progress Report of the Executive Director (Document E/ICEF/616) pages 9-16 and Report of the Executive Board, 24 April - 5 May 1972 (Document E/5128 E/ICEF/624) pages 9-12.

with them improved health care and nutrition education was recognized, and currently proposals for a programme of integrated child care services are being evolved. There is general agreement that supplementary feeding programmes should be undertaken as far as possible as a key element in a compact package of related developmental activities. Their basic purpose should be to help improve nutritional levels and to contribute to the development of a country's young human resources. Supplementary feeding programmes provide exceptional opportunities for educating, stimulating and involving the local community and directly improving nutrition within the family. They also offer opportunities for experimenting with different ways of reaching the young child and the mother, for instance, through informal institutions, popular social occasions, and extension workers at the field level. Permanent nutritional gains are more likely to be achieved when, under the stimulus of supplementary feeding programmes and allied activities, improved food habits become part of the routine of feeding within the family and the obligation to provide continuous support to supplementary feeding activities becomes a part of the culture of the community. Supplementary feeding programmes encounter such practical problems as lack of trained workers, lack of volunteers, unsatisfactory methods of preparing food, insufficient supplies of food available compared to the number of children assembled, difficulties of transport, and irregular provision of funds. Better organization of supplementary feeding activities, greater attention to nutrition education and specially to the education of parents, and more systematic programming at the higher levels of administration in relation to problems met with in implementation could win greater support from national planning agencies as well as from local communities.^{18/}

Opportunities for the seventies: a summing up

33. Support to nutritional intervention programmes on behalf of vulnerable groups can do much to accelerate the evolution of a practical broad-based food and nutrition policy. To assure the necessary conditions of success, the effort to raise nutritional levels for the population as a whole and more specially for children and mothers has to be seen as a national undertaking. At the policy level,
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^{18/} Rajamal P. Devadas ed. op. cit Nutrition in Tamil Nadu, pages 31-32 and 39-48.

consideration must be given to interrelationships between improved nutrition for children and mothers and those critical social and economic issues which are at the heart of development policy in each country. A national nutrition policy requires long-range commitments by way of personnel, organization and resources. As has been stressed already, the focal point of action must be the local community and the individual family. In designing programmes and projects, the question of costs is, of course, of the utmost importance. Here, the costs in view are not merely those incurred by public authorities, whether by way of investment or recurring expenditures, but also private expenditures which families and individuals are required to meet. For nutritional levels to improve, at every point, key linkages have to be emphasized, for instance, between nutrition and water supply, health education and efficient delivery of health services, adult education and literacy, specially for women, and the involvement of schools and other educational institutions, or the training of community leaders and the education of parents.

34. The tasks to be carried out during the Second Development Decade in pursuance of national nutrition policies and programmes for improving the nutrition of children and mothers are in themselves most difficult, and few countries are yet adequately equipped for them. However, at the present stage of development, there are some positive factors to be noted. Among these should be mentioned the availability of trained personnel and the existence of a network of regional and national institutions for training and research in nutrition which can participate directly in innovative activities. There is also greater appreciation within countries of the interdependence between improved nutritional levels and other aspects of development. Developments in other sectors, as in agriculture, education and expansion of employment, have much to contribute to the improvement of the nutritional levels of vulnerable groups. Finally, measures which are directed to the community as a whole may yet leave out substantial numbers of families who are disadvantaged. Therefore, as in other areas of development, nutritional programmes on behalf of children and mothers will also call for appropriate combinations of general and specific measures, for adaptation to conditions prevailing in different regions, and for constant emphasis on the needs of the weaker socio-economic groups.

CHAPTER 5

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS

Present concerns and basic tasks

1. The content, direction and adequacy of educational policies have recently come under intensive review at the international level. Proceeding from a view of education as a lifelong process and the need to evolve steadily towards a 'learning society', the International Commission on the Development of Education has urged action simultaneously in two directions, namely, internal reform and continued improvement of existing educational systems, and a search for innovative forms, for alternatives and fresh resources. Educational systems being 'the highest experience of each people's national consciousness, culture and traditions', the Commission has emphasized that, while each country has much to learn from the experience of others, decisive action in education can only take place at national strategy level.^{1/}

2. Many of the less developed countries are currently faced with a number of difficult problems in relation to the expansion of educational opportunities for children and adolescents. In some ways, the most important of these is that large numbers of children continue to remain outside the limited educational systems developed thus far. From amongst those who enter school, a considerable number leave prematurely and are allowed to drift. It is true that substantial resources have been devoted to the building up of school systems and that the less developed countries are finding it increasingly difficult to undertake larger expenditures on education. Yet, only a proportion of the children of the elementary school age-group are presently served, the rest being denied even the minimum learning opportunities. The numbers attending school are still limited; however, there is already a growing imbalance between numbers completing each stage of school education and the available work opportunities. This becomes a political question raising, in turn, a series of educational issues, notably, about the content of education, its practical utility and value in human and social terms, and the attitudes and manual and other skills which pupils carry into work-a-day life. Finally, as a rule,

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^{1/} UNESCO, Learning To Be. The World of Education Today and Tomorrow (Report of the International Commission (Faure Commission) on the Development of Education, 1971), pages 177-178.

there is no focus of responsibility within a country for assisting adolescents and youth in their critical years of transition so that, for large numbers among them, the prospects of gaining in skill and productivity and obtaining fair economic opportunities remain uncertain.

3. An encouraging feature of recent educational reappraisals is the greater readiness of those directly involved in educational policy and administration to explore possibilities of change both within and outside the established structures. Looking beyond children in school, they are beginning to seek new ways to fulfil the larger responsibility which each society owes to all its children and adolescents, the more fortunate equally with the less privileged and the disadvantaged. An educational system can be said to be adequate when it develops effectively the human resource potentials of each growing generation seen as a whole, at the same time putting the financial and other resources made available to educational institutions to efficient use. The broader approach to education calls not only for changes in educational institutions and modes, but also for parallel social initiatives and innovations. Therefore, a reformulation of educational tasks and objectives implies and indeed requires also a reformulation of social and economic objectives and the development of practical strategies for their attainment. The two sets of objectives have to be consciously integrated at all stages, for each is a necessary condition for the success of the other.

4. The relationship between education and employment has emerged as a central issue in most of the less developed countries. It has been highlighted in several national documents and, most recently, in studies undertaken by missions to Colombia, Sri Lanka, Kenya and Iran, which were sponsored by the International Labour Office under the World Employment Programme.^{2/} Basically, the purpose of education is to prepare the young in a variety of ways to participate creatively and productively in activities in which a society is engaged and in those which it plans to undertake in the future. In turn, in the range and character of the opportunities which it affords, each society is under obligation to ensure that all young men and women will be able to employ their talents and skills in a positive and constructive manner. An important part of the answer will always

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^{2/} International Labour Office, Towards Full Employment op.cit, Chapters 1 and 15; Matching Employment Opportunities and Expectations, op.cit, Chapters 2 and 9; Employment, Incomes and Equality, op.cit, Part I, Chapter 14 and Part II, chapters 23-25; Employment and Income Policies for Iran, Chapter 6.

lie in institutional and other formal arrangements for education and for the training of various levels of skilled manpower. However, in many countries, the proportion of economic activity for which the higher grades of trained manpower have to be prepared is still small. Over the larger part of the economy, as represented by agriculture and allied activities, small industry and trade, the element of training has often to be non-formal rather than formal in character and has to be built into the scheme of work itself.^{3/} The approach to education and training and, more generally, to learning has, therefore, to be much more broad-based than that followed in conventional manpower planning. The underlying concepts here are those of human resources development, of education as an essential ingredient in human and social development, and of basic opportunity to every individual child to grow up in a healthy and socially responsive environment.^{4/}

5. The subject of educational change and development covers extensive ground. Some aspects such as changes in curricula and methods of teaching, use of new educational technologies, and re-examination of the purpose and directions of international aid in education have recently received a measure of attention.^{5/} In 1972, following a special study undertaken on behalf of UNICEF in co-operation with UNESCO, revised guidelines were formulated with a view to securing the optimum use of such resources as UNICEF could make available for assistance to education.^{6/} In view of these guidelines and the consultations and studies which preceded them, the following discussion is devoted to four key objectives of pre-eminent importance to children and adolescents:

- (i) Provision of a minimum of educational opportunity to every child;

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^{3/} International Council for Educational Development, Non-Formal Education for Rural Development. Strengthening Learning Opportunities for Children and Youth. Interim Report (Prepared for UNICEF, January 1973), especially Chapter IV.

^{4/} Frederick H. Harbison, Human Resources as the Wealth of Nations (Oxford University Press, 1973), pages 3-4, 80-82, 157-158.

^{5/} World Bank, Education, Sector Working Paper (September 1971); Britain and the Developing Countries. Education (Central Office of Information, London, November 1970); OECD, 1971 Review. Development Assistance, pages 16-18; UNESCO, Learning To Be, op.cit, Chapter 9.

^{6/} UNICEF, H.M. Phillips, UNICEF Aid for Education. Review of Policy (Document E/ICEF/L.1279/Add.1, 16 March 1972); UNICEF Assistance to Education (Document E/ICEF/L.1279, 16 March 1972).

- (ii) As an outstanding aspect of (i), action required for ensuring minimum educational opportunities to girls;
- (iii) Action to assist adolescents (with or without earlier schooling experience) to move into their later role as adult citizens, equipped with the necessary comprehension and skill and the ability to achieve a fair livelihood; and
- (iv) As an aspect of (iii), but also of critical importance in its own right, provision of adequate educational opportunities for adolescent girls and young women.

6. Underlying these four themes is the basic proposition that there must be certain minima by way of education and preparation for their role as citizens which every society will undertake to provide, within a certain period, to all its children and adolescents, to girls no less than to boys. In the great majority of the less developed countries, the desired minima will not be reached until well past the Second Development Decade. What is postulated, therefore, is that, as part of the strategy of development for the seventies, accepting the well-being of children and adolescents as a central aim, individual countries will set their course unambiguously in respect of the four objectives stated above and endeavour to achieve the maximum progress that may be within their means. Secondly, in the measure in which international educational aid can be made available to the less developed countries, the four objectives considered here should be counted among the principal priorities.

7. In limiting the present discussion to action to ensure a common minimum to all children, a word of explanation should be added. Learning opportunities for pre-school children are being recognized in the more developed countries as an essential step to equal opportunity in education and in later development. In the less developed countries, as explained in a later chapter, although there are emerging needs for day-care services, and day-care is also the commonest means for providing pre-school education, it is still early to propose pre-school education for all children as a general educational programme. Aside from this question, education has to be viewed as a continuum. This is true of education both in its formal and non-formal aspects. In the less developed countries, the scheme for primary or elementary education cannot be seen separately from the next higher stage, namely, secondary education. Questions relating to secondary education are bound up partly with the future requirements of trained manpower and

partly with progress in assimilating improved technologies into agriculture, small industry and other elements of economic and social change. Increasing thought is now being given in the less developed countries to changes in the content and method of science teaching, provision of vocational and technical components in secondary courses, linkages with the higher stages of education, search for talent, and other aspects of educational development. For obvious reasons, these questions do not fall within the scope of the present chapter.

Assuring an educational minimum

8. The International Commission for the Development of Education stated as a fundamental issue for educational strategy the principle that 'all children must be guaranteed the practical possibility of receiving basic education, full-time if possible, in other forms if necessary'. From this the Commission proceeded to recommend that universal basic education, in a variety of forms depending on possibilities and needs, should be the top priority for educational policies in the 1970s.^{7/} As a point of departure in proposals for improving and broadening the prevailing systems of education, there is growing acceptance of the view that the minimum in education should be stated as far as possible in terms of certain learning objectives. These refer, in particular, to literacy and numeracy (as specified) and, more generally, to attitudes and understanding required for growing into citizenship and acquiring the requisite capacity for further education and personal development and for productive employment.^{8/} Such learning objectives require to be further defined in relation to different phases in the life cycle, such as elementary school-age, or adolescence, or youth, and in relation to the given conditions and objectives of development. Moreover, frequently,

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^{7/} UNESCO, Learning To Be, op.cit. pages 192-193.

^{8/} The interim study by the International Council for Educational Development on Non-formal Education for Rural Development referred to earlier has elaborated six essential learning needs as appropriately adapted to the conditions of any given (rural) area. These are, briefly, (a) positive attitudes, (b) functional literacy and numeracy, (c) a scientific outlook and an elementary understanding of the processes of nature, (d) functional knowledge and skills for raising a family and operating a household, (e) functional knowledge and skills for earning a living, and (f) functional knowledge and skills for civic participation.

in identifying the learning needs of a group, the involvement of those within the group and of the communities of which they form part will have considerable value. The components of a minimum, as defined, will need to be tested out on the ground before they can gain sufficient precision or acceptance.

9. For children in the elementary school-age group, traditionally, primary education has been described as being equivalent to a certain number of years in school. Judged in terms of learning needs, such a standard is open to criticism. Perhaps, what should be sought is a middle approach, which can be adapted to a variety of circumstances and avoids rigid norms as to the number of years of education required, but provides for on learning objectives which are expressed in a fairly exact manner. In relation to the young in particular, while allowing for variations appropriate to the talents of individual children, as a matter of practical administration, educational systems have also to envisage the process of education in terms of stages, and even of grades. This is the essential reason for distinctions which are commonly adopted by countries between the first, second and third levels of education and become, in turn, a basis for educational statistics. What should be stressed here is that, whatever the minimum in education agreed to within a country (allowing for the necessary variations), in the course of a certain period, such a minimum should come within the reach of all areas and of all sections of the population. Given this principle, much can be left to be determined through innovative experimentation and the actual experience gained.

10. The over-all picture of first level education in Africa, Asia and Latin America is set out in summary form in Table 1 below:

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Table 1 - First level education, 1968 ^{a/}

	<u>Africa</u>	<u>Latin America</u>	<u>Asia</u>
A. <u>Pupils enrolled at first level in 1968</u>			
1. Total number (000)	34,421	50,851	171,437
2. As proportion of number enrolled at all levels (%)	85.2	80.1	77.3
3. Number of girls enrolled (000)	11,583	19,879	51,415
4. Girls enrolled as proportion of total number (%)	40.0	49.0	39.0
B. <u>Teachers at first level (1968)</u>			
1. Number (000)	730	1,257	3,708
2. As proportion of teachers at all levels (%)	75.0	61.7	64.9
C. <u>Annual rates of increase, (1960-1968) (%)</u>			
1. Total enrolment at first level	5.6	5.3	5.4
2. Enrolment of girls at first level	6.6	5.3	5.7
3. Teachers at first level	5.4	6.1	3.3
D. <u>Wastage at first level</u> ^{b/}			
1. Range of input-output ratios	1.24-3.55	1.53-2.42	1.00-2.48
2. Median input-output ratios	2.00	1.90	1.31

^{a/} Source, UNESCO, A Summary Statistical Review of Education in the World, (ED/BIE, CONTINUED, 33/REF., 15 June 1971). (In the table, statistics for Asia do not include the People's Republic of China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.)

^{b/} 'Input-output ratio' is one of the indicators commonly used in estimating educational wastage. It describes the relationship between 'normal duration' and 'pupil-years invested' which, in an educational system working under optimum conditions, should be 1.00. Since there are large differences between educational systems, comparative statistics of educational wastage have to be interpreted with extreme caution.

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Implementing the minimum: points of action

11. In implementing policies in support of an educational minimum, among the issues to which many countries will need to address themselves very specifically during the Second Development Decade are the following:

- (i) The institutional role of schools in making available educational opportunities at the agreed minimum levels to all children;
- (ii) Measures which may be taken to ensure at least some elements of learning to children of the elementary school-age group who are not in school, or who drop out of school in the course of the first two or three grades;
- (iii) Steps required for reducing wastage in the existing educational system and increasing the effectiveness of current educational expenditures;
- (iv) Action by way of improvements and innovation in the content and methods of teaching provided within and outside the school system; and
- (v) Provision of resources for assuring minimum educational opportunities to all children.

Problems of inequality in educational opportunity between different areas within a country, specially between rural and urban areas, and as between the poorer and the better off and more advanced sections of the population, also require action in each of the categories described above. To the extent such action is effective, differences in educational levels should diminish. Lags in the enrolment of girls and the extent to which girls give up going to school call for all the measures envisaged above as well as for other additional action related to those social and cultural factors which have a direct bearing on the education of girls.

Role of schools

12. It is now acknowledged that the primary school does not constitute a sufficient approach to the provision of educational opportunities for children. The school has to be supplemented in many ways by activities outside the school, within the family and the community. The content of what the school imparts and its methods of teaching have to be greatly improved and reformed. Once education is defined as 'learning, wherever and however it occurs', the requirements which at present lie beyond the school as an institution must also be envisaged.^{9/} As has been

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^{9/} UNESCO, Consultation on UNESCO and the Second Development Decade (Paris, 22-25 April 1970, Document SHC/MD19, 6 July 1970).

pointed out, instruction is too often equated with education, and this itself has been an important element in the 'failure' of the school.^{10/} Other criticisms of the school as an institution, which are generally regarded as valid, include the lack of integration between schooling and working life, inability of the school to equip its pupils so that they become better workers or farmers, and the 'elitist' bias which results from the conventional emphasis given to examinations, certificates and other instruments of social selection.^{11/}

13. The deficiencies mentioned above have led to a search for ways to re-orient education imparted in schools as well as for non-formal approaches to education which could supplement and strengthen the existing formal systems. The subject of reform and innovation within school systems is touched upon later. Here, it should be stated that, up to the present, there has been too little practical experience of non-formal systems of education in relation to children in the elementary school age-group.^{12/} It is unlikely that there will be substantial progress unless deliberate attempts are made to develop new approaches in out-of-school non-formal education. These latter are also closely linked with the school and the teacher. It is important that teachers should be motivated to participate in innovative changes. Encouragement and guidance from the intermediate and higher levels of educational administration are **essential** for teachers to make their appropriate contribution to educational reconstruction.

14. An essential starting point in a serious exploration of the possibilities of non-formal education for elementary school-age children has to be a clear view of the place of the school itself in the scheme of educational development. Attention is sometimes called to the distinction between the functions which have been fulfilled by the school as an institution in the more developed countries through

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^{10/} W.D. Wall and others, Failure in School (UNESCO Institute for Education, Hamburg, 1962, page 57); Robert Dottrens, The Primary School Curriculum (UNESCO Monographs on Education, No. 11, 1962, page 80).

^{11/} Torsten Husen, "Priorities of International Research in Education" in Education and Development Reconsidered, Volume Two (Papers prepared for a conference at Bellagio, Italy, 3-5 May 1972, sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation and the Ford Foundation), pages 192-199).

^{12/} International Council for Education Development, Interim Report: Non-formal Education for Rural Development, op.cit., pages 67-68.

its evolution since the middle of the nineteenth century, and the needs of the less developed countries at their present stage of development.^{13/} While this proposition has an element of truth, it is important to remember also that, in their different ways, the economies and societies of all less developed countries are passing through a transition. Therefore, all institutions, including the school, are seen by these countries in the context of the future rather than of the past. The main problem for the less developed countries, then, is one of transforming the school and of finding ways of supplementing it. There is need in each country for a massive effort to expand the school system, at the same time enlarging the concept of education and interweaving non-formal and other new elements into it. For the less developed countries generally, a considerably reformed and strengthened school system will continue to be a principal, through by no means a self-sufficient way of assuring on a continuous basis whatever is deemed to be the agreed minimum of education for all children. Formal and non-formal approaches to education have to be seen as complementary and converging lines of development with the goal, eventually, of evolving a composite system of community-oriented education from which all children will benefit.

Other learning opportunities for elementary school age-group children

15. Administrative agencies responsible for education concern themselves primarily with children who come to school. Neither the scope of the information collected by them, nor the responsibility which they exercise, extends at present to all children within a given age-group. Any proposal for developing comprehensive learning opportunities for the elementary school age-group should be based on the premise that the school age-group in a community is to be thought of as a whole, even though some among them may never go to school and some others may not long remain in school. Frequently, those who miss or leave school do so under the compulsion of circumstances, such as the economic or social disadvantages under which they and their families labour, or insufficient motivation on the part of parents. The factors at work are apt to be complex and varied. Nevertheless, even before the stage of adolescence is reached and the desire to seize upon a

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^{13/} For instance in Torsten Husen, op. cit.

second chance becomes stronger than in childhood, it should be possible for many children who might have been deprived of education in the early school years to catch up with other children. An urgent need, therefore, is for the systematic development of a variety of interests and activities in which boys and girls of elementary school-age can engage as part of a socially-designed approach to learning, to work-experience, and to socialization and sharing in the larger life of the community, the region and the nation.

16. In developing such interests and activities and methods of learning appropriate to the young, significant hints could be obtained from closer study of traditional methods and systems. Even if there were no schools, or if all children without exception went to school, there would still be need for activities in which different peer groups could participate within their own community and with similar groups from other communities. Carefully prepared innovative experiments adapted to the setting of each country might soon establish the types of activities which are likely to appeal to out-of-school children and to stimulate their creative impulses. Traditional and modern games, singing, drama, drawing and painting, handiwork of various kinds, excursions, gardening, growing trees, vegetables and flowers, raising poultry, care of animals, and running of co-operatives are among the possible activities that appear promising. For children outside school, much learning of a formal nature could also be built into such activities. To be able to do so, it would be essential to draw the local school and its teachers into an active complementary role. They too will have much to gain from such involvement in part-time educational activity. Progressively, several of the activities which start initially at the community level could become an integral part of school education itself and, as an institution, the school could also give a larger role to non-formal methods of learning.

17. There are examples already of countries in which the school serves in addition as the cultural development centre of the village or the neighbourhood, as a place not only for the pupils but also, outside school hours, for adults and parents and for the entire local community. Behind this approach there is the consideration that, with the social changes now everywhere under way and the rapid growth of mass media, the school has itself to be opened to out-of-school information and to find ways of assimilating and interpreting such information as part of its own normal,

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educational activity.^{14/} In brief, if concepts of education and educational policy are to be broadened, and planners, administrators and specialists in education are to be prepared for carrying such concepts into everyday life, it will be important for each country to prepare for large-scale experimental and innovatory action through the Second Development Decade. In turn, support for such action should become an important priority for international agencies like UNESCO, UNDP and UNICEF as well as for non-governmental organizations engaged in international work.

Reduction of wastage

18. The expression 'educational wastage' may be interpreted either broadly or narrowly. It may refer to certain features of inadequacy or inefficiency in the educational system. Thus, it may include failure to provide universal education, failure to recruit children into the system to the extent of its capacities, failure to hold children within the system, and failure of the system to set appropriate objectives and to achieve them effectively.^{15/} Or, with an eye to measurement, the concept of 'wastage' may refer in particular to 'premature leaving', or dropping out from school and 'repetition' of grades and retardation.^{16/} Though differing in degree, some features of the problem of educational wastage are to be found in most of the less developed countries. Thus, the extent of wastage is considerably larger in rural than in urban areas and is much greater for girls than for boys. Rates of wastage are particularly high for the comparatively poor or disadvantaged sections of the population. They are high in regions with a relatively harsh physical and economic environment. There is also greater wastage in the case of children who are 'overage' at the time of joining school, that is, those who are significantly older than other children. The maximum wastage appears to occur in the first two years in school. Often, what begins as irregular attendance prepares the way for finally dropping out from school.

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^{14/} Marcel Hicter, Necessary school reforms, as seen by an out-of-school educator (UNESCO, International Commission on the Development of Education. Series B: Opinions No.45, 1971).

^{15/} M.A. Brimer and L. Pauli, Wastage in Education, A World Problem (UNESCO, International Bureau of Education, 1971, pages 9-21); The Reduction of Educational Wastage (UNESCO, International Conference on Education, 32nd Session, July 1970, Document ED/BIE/CONFINED 32/14, 31 March 1970).

^{16/} The Statistical Measurement of Educational Wastage (UNESCO, International Conference on Education, 32nd Session, July 1970, Document ED/BIE/CONFINED 32/Ref., 24 June 1970).

19. The main factors underlying educational wastage are broadly known. In some countries, these factors have been identified through special studies. Broadly, they fall into two groups. The first group includes factors internal to the educational system, like multiple classes, absence of teaching facilities beyond the first two or three grades of primary school, lack of adaptation to local agricultural and other needs, rigidity and narrow scope of curricula, poor teacher preparation, insufficient relevance of teaching to the requirements of the community, and excessive emphasis on formal tests and examinations, leading in turn to repeated failures and stagnation. The second group of factors are external to the educational system. These include pressure of domestic demands, seasonal and other work required for agriculture, poverty, insufficient education or interest on the part of parents, failure to involve parents in the educational process, traditional attitudes to the education of girls, and social and economic handicaps under which disadvantaged groups generally live and work.^{17/}

20. The very dimensions of the problems of educational wastage require that action should be taken at two levels, namely, (a) overall educational policies accompanied by resource allocations to support programmes along the desired lines, and (b) measures specific to the given situation in a rural region or an urban centre, both in its educational and its socio-economic aspects. The two sets of measures - the general and the specific - are complementary in character. Because wastage is so widespread a problem in the less developed world, in each country there is need for concerted action to bring about a substantial reduction in the extent of wastage. This could be done, to begin with, in a few areas, so that the practical lessons gained could be applied more extensively. Since conditions differ widely from one area to another, the measures required in any area selected for this purpose have to be addressed to those elements which are of special importance to it. As many of the elements which have to be dealt with in any

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^{17/} The Social Background of Students and their Chances of Success at School (UNESCO, International Conference on Education, 33rd Session, September 1971); Government of India, Report of the Education Commission, 1964-1966 (1966), pages 154-161; University of Delhi, Primary Education in Rural India: Participation and Wastage (1970); National Council of Educational Research and Training, New Delhi, India, Educational Wastage at the Primary Level. A Handbook for Teachers (December 1970), and A Handbook for Supervisors (April 1971).

action programme are deeply embedded within the social, economic and educational structure, to produce significant results, the measures proposed must be pursued over a sufficient length of time. There are many problems to which answers can only be found through intimate co-operation between those concerned with the administration of education, leaders and parents in local communities, the teachers and the pupils. In developing a programme of action, the aptitudes, the talents and the limitations of individual children and the problems of home environment and community environment have to be taken into consideration. When the school and the community join hands in dealing with elements of educational wastage which are of immediate concern to them, they will be better able to prepare public opinion and the parents for action that may not be otherwise feasible. It will also be necessary to give to local administrators and teachers sufficient flexibility to adjust existing curricula, methods of teaching and the school hours to the agricultural and other requirements of the area; in this way, the school could be brought effectively into the life of the community and the community could be brought into a close and responsible partnership with the school.

21. A number of constructive ideas for eliminating or reducing educational wastage have been put forward in recent years. They have to be tested and developed to a point where they become more generally operational in relation to conditions in a country or a region. Thus, introduction of non-graded classes, improved techniques for teaching multiple classes, shifts in school hours, mid-day meals, enlightened supervision within the educational structure, closer association between students, teachers and parents, and more individual attention to pupils and their family circumstances are among proposals which have been recommended for implementation. Undoubtedly, the two most important conditions for success are a personal relationship between the teacher and the pupil and understanding between the teacher and the parents. The precise difficulties experienced by a family in leaving its boys and, even more, its girls, in school, require an individual approach on the part of the teacher as well as concern on the part of educational administrators and local community leaders. Briefly, the answer to problems of wastage in any area has to be found in achieving combinations of educational change and social innovation which are appropriate to the given conditions. Therefore, the main thrust in reducing wastage during the coming years must be the preparation and implementation of carefully designed programmes which are

based on study and analysis and local community participation and are undertaken on a scale large enough to influence overall educational policy and administration. In proposing such programmes it would be of considerable value to entrust the design, technical guidance and subsequent evaluation to institutes of education such as are being established in many countries. Their association could be of material help to educational administrations both in the initial stages and in following up the results.

Improvement and innovation

22. The theme of improvement and innovation in education has been set by the International Commission on the Development of Education in the total context of the place of education in society, the economic and social challenges to be met, and the technological possibilities available. In relation to the problems discussed in this chapter, a few short observations will suffice. First, there are significant efforts in reform and innovation under way in the more as well as the less developed countries which should become better known. This involves gathering of information, evaluation of experiences, and dissemination of results. Such a service is best organized both at the regional and the international levels. Such interchange could be of value to groups of countries in their efforts to improve science teaching, reform primary school curricula, extend the use of modern educational media, strengthen teacher training, and make school teaching more directly relevant to the local environment. Secondly, programmes of innovation have to be directed specially to rural areas and to the poorer neighbourhoods in cities and towns in which the existing educational levels are generally lower than elsewhere. Thirdly, since a large proportion of children in the rural areas and in the slums and shanty towns are obliged to go to work in their early adolescence without a chance to get to higher levels, it is important to give to their education a certain practical orientation from the very beginning. This would help them to develop positive attitudes to work as well as the skills most needed by them in the future. The introduction of work experience into the curriculum in all grades of primary and elementary education is one of the main reforms to which resources and attention should now be directed. In some countries,

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there are beginnings already in this direction.^{18/} Finally, for any scheme of educational reform to succeed, teachers and teacher educators have to be trained and equipped. At the same time, they have to be given a position of trust and responsibility in preparing the child and the community for the future.

Resources for assuring minimum educational opportunities

23. All but a few of the less developed countries now face the prospect of being unable to implement the programmes of educational expansion postulated for the Second Development Decade.^{19/} Therefore, the question has to be faced as to how the means to assure minimum educational opportunities to all children will be found. There are no simple answers to this financial dilemma. Data on budgetary expenditures should receive closer scrutiny. Developmental and maintenance expenditures in education have to be separated, and expenditures incurred on different levels of education have also to be distinguished. Since national statistics do not generally provide breakdowns of education expenditures between rural and urban areas, it is important that the gaps in relation to rural areas should be identified, and resources applied to the reduction of these gaps. Next, could unit costs be reduced significantly? From such studies as are available, it would appear that, while reduction in unit costs should be the aim, factors operating to raise them are considerably stronger. In many countries there have been and are inflationary price increases, and costs on account of teachers' salaries, buildings and teaching apparatus are rising from year to year. As a rule, new educational technologies cost more, not less, than the traditional ones. Therefore, whatever might be the circumstances in the distant future, at the present stage of development, increases in unit costs have to be regarded as being likely.^{20/}

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^{18/} Developing work experience as a normal component of the educational process provides a rich area of innovative experimentation in the less developed countries. In this connection, two documents prepared by the National Council of Education Research and Training, New Delhi, which summarize proposals based on discussions and experience in India in recent years, may be of wider interest: The Concept of Work Experience (January 1970) and Work Experience as an Integral Part of Primary Education (October 1970).

^{19/} UNESCO, Learning To Be, op. cit., pages 40-48.

^{20/} UNESCO, International Commission on the Development of Education, R. Poignant et al, The Financing of Educational Expenditure, 1970-80 (Series B: Opinions No.15).

24. In these circumstances, there may be three main lines of action to be pursued. First, as part of an attempt to reshape educational priorities, in view of the large numbers at present deprived of the opportunity to attend school, a higher proportion of additional resources made available to education might be diverted to non-formal systems of education.^{21/} At this point, readily worked out proposals for providing non-formal learning opportunities, especially for elementary school-age children and for young adolescents, are seldom available. Therefore, in the main, resources provided for non-formal education for this age group will have to be devoted to planned experimentation. A second line of action would be to increase the efficiency of existing educational expenditures, in particular, through reduction of wastage. In this manner, although aggregate expenditures may increase, cost per pupil may be reduced. At present this might well be the most important direction in which resources available for education could be employed more effectively. The third direction in which, on a long-range view, significant results could be obtained is for each country to evolve methods of extended sharing of educational expenditures between the national, regional and local levels of administration. In other words, rural and urban communities should be induced to undertake larger, more specific, and more continuing obligations for the education of their children. This could be an important way of realizing ~~the objectives of an educational minimum for all children within a foreseeable~~ period. It should be added, however, that placing larger financial burdens at the local level implies also a readiness to decentralize certain administrative and developmental responsibilities.

Educational opportunities for girls

25. The provision of universal education for girls in their elementary school-age period is the first condition for expanding economic and social opportunities for women and enabling them to make their due contribution to future development. Continuance of the present disparity between girls and boys in their early years later turns into an obstacle which it is almost impossible to overcome. There is no question that lags in the education of girls affect the future of society

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^{21/} UNESCO, Learning To Be op. cit., pages 47-49.

in a variety of ways. In particular, high rates of illiteracy severely restrict opportunities open to women to supplement the income of the family and thereby provide more adequately for their children.^{22/}

26. Since the early fifties, there has been a substantial increase in the absolute number of girls enrolled for the first level of education. However, in Africa and Asia, seen as a proportion of total enrolment, there is still a considerable lag.

Table 2. Enrolment of Girls

	<u>Number of girls enrolled for first level (000)</u>			<u>Percentage of girls in total enrolment</u>		
	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>
Africa	2,570	6,935	11,583	30	37	40
Asia	18,883	32,974	51,415	35	38	39
Latin America	7,373	13,157	19,879	48	49	49

In considering statistics relating to girls in school, it should be noted that there are very large differences between countries and, within the same country, between its different parts and different sections of the population. Also, as a note of caution, statistics of enrolment for girls may be in some ways even less dependable than those for boys.

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^{22/} In this context the following observations of an expert group on integration of women in development are worth citing: 'A major factor limiting women's contribution to economic and social development was that illiteracy rates were nearly always higher among women than men'. The group of experts expressed serious concern that a large share of the children, particularly girls, who would still be young and productive members of the labour force in the twenty-first century, would grow up illiterate or semi-illiterate (Economic and Social Council, Commission for Social Development, Integration of Women in Development. Report of the Secretary-General, E/CN.5/481, 14 November 1972). See also UNESCO, Study on Equal Access of Girls and Women to Literacy (Commission on the Status of Women, Document E/CN.6/538, 13 February 1970); also Study on the Equality of Access of Girls and Women to Education in the Context of Rural Development (Commission on the Status of Women, Document E/CN.6/566, 27 January 1972). UNICEF, Assessment of Projects for the Education and Training of Women and Girls for Family and Community Women and Education in the World Today (Document ED/WS/183, 30 June 1970).

27. It is an error to assume that disappearance of the educational handicaps of girls is largely a question of time and that, as economic development occurs and modernizing attitudes come to prevail, girls will be able to secure equal access to education. Since, in many societies, educational measures on behalf of girls require considerable adaptation to the cultural, social and economic conditions of different regions and groups, the general advance of education must be supported by quite specific and precise steps to promote the education of girls. Even under favourable circumstances, a long period of transition has to be foreseen. Projects for accelerating the education of girls, which are currently being undertaken in some countries in co-operation with UNESCO, may provide lessons of more general application. Some of the measures which have been found useful in a number of countries can be briefly mentioned. One of the most important steps would be to raise as rapidly as possible the proportion of women teachers in primary schools. In many countries women teachers still constitute only a fourth or a fifth of the total number of teachers. They could do much to bring the school closer to the family and especially to mothers. Since the problem of girls' education arises in the most acute form in the rural areas, training opportunities for potential women teachers from rural areas and provision of residential facilities for them in proximity to the school could be of considerable advantage.

28. Attention has been drawn to administrative policies for the employment of women teachers, involving specially regulations concerning age and education and the provision of requisite facilities. For instance, it is necessary to make it easier for women with family responsibilities to remain in the profession and to undertake teaching on a part-time basis when full-time work is not feasible.^{23/} In most countries, even within a common curriculum, there is need for well-designed components which are more directly related to the interests of girls and their future role. For girls, part-time facilities and non-formal means of education and training are of even greater importance than for boys. In some countries, in institutions in which there are no women teachers, the appointment of "school mothers" has been recommended as a measure likely to assist in increasing the number of girls attending school and continuing in school. In co-educational

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^{23/} UNESCO, Special Inter-Governmental Conference on the Status of Teachers,
cords of the Conference (Paris, 1966).

institutions, lack of simple amenities for girls has been found to be an inhibiting factor. Above the primary level, lack of residential facilities has proved to be a real barrier to the continuance of schooling. Other suggestions on these lines could be made according to conditions prevailing in each country. What has to be stressed is that national programmes for accelerating the education of girls should constitute a top priority in themselves and should also be viewed as a promising area of educational innovation.^{24/} Given the needed support, non-governmental organizations could make a valuable contribution to such innovation. Finally, international development assistance ought to be a significant factor in strengthening national efforts towards assuring an educational minimum for all girls.

Educational and vocational preparation of adolescents

29. To prepare its adolescent boys and girls for their later role as young men and women entering life as citizens and workers is a vital component of a country's social, economic and educational plans. The numbers involved are large and adolescence represents a phase in the life cycle in which it is still possible to a large extent to overcome the effects of earlier lacks and to become better equipped for the more difficult phases to follow. Table 3 summarizes estimates by the International Labour Office of the numbers of younger and older adolescents in the less developed world for 1970 and 1980 and those already in the labour force.

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^{24/} Government of India, Ministry of Education, Report of the National Committee on Women's Education (1959), pages 40-55 and 93-114.

Table 3 - Estimates of adolescents in less developed regions in 1970 and 1980
(in thousands)

	1970			1980		
	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls
A. Younger Adolescents (13-15)						
Asia	133,493	67,821	65,672	163,288	83,563	79,725
Africa	22,967	11,489	11,478	30,597	15,321	15,276
Latin America	19,296	9,788	9,508	25,416	12,893	12,523
Less Developed Regions	175,707	89,076	86,631	219,000	111,614	107,386
B. Older Adolescents (16-18)						
Asia	122,098	62,001	60,097	146,237	75,057	71,180
Africa	20,995	10,502	10,493	27,699	13,854	13,845
Latin America	17,468	8,830	8,638	23,274	11,791	11,483
Less Developed Regions	160,560	81,332	79,228	196,881	100,534	96,347
C. In the Labour Force						
1. Age-group 10-14						
Asia	40,526	23,309	17,217	38,563	21,617	16,945
Africa	8,711	5,523	3,187	9,600	6,021	3,579
Latin America	2,870	2,175	694	2,626	1,972	654
Less Developed Regions	52,237	31,083	21,152	50,935	29,689	21,245
2. Age-group 15-19						
Asia	105,990	65,616	40,375	111,834	70,636	41,198
Africa	18,263	12,095	6,168	21,802	14,502	7,300
Latin America	12,053	8,994	3,059	13,944	10,284	3,661
Less Developed Regions	136,552	86,854	49,699	147,889	95,605	52,235

Note: Data under A and B were obtained from the United Nations Population Division and are based on the medium variant projections of population growth. Data under C are drawn from ILO, Labour Force Projections, 1965-1985 (1971).

30. The table calls attention to the problem presented by more than fifty million child workers in the age-group 10-14. A large proportion of these children are being thrown prematurely into the labour market without the benefit of primary schooling and without any vocational preparation. The World Employment Programme had called already for a major effort to reduce the magnitude of the problem of child workers through the provision of more extended facilities for basic education and further training and orientation of a vocational nature.^{25/} Those in this group are easily identified. Special programmes need to be devised. In urban areas, these could be in association with various development agencies and industrial, commercial and social service organizations and, in rural areas, along with schemes for agricultural and rural development.

31. For more than a decade, agencies of the United Nations, and especially ILO, FAO, UNESCO and UNICEF, have been associated with projects for "pre-vocational training". As assessment undertaken in 1969 on the basis of experience gained in Tunisia, India, Costa Rica, British Honduras and the Arab Republic of Egypt led to a series of important conclusions.^{26/} More recently, case studies of schemes of vocational preparation and training undertaken in the Republic of Korea, Zambia, Tunisia and Brazil have been carried out on behalf of ILO and UNICEF. Before turning to the lessons which may be derived from these investigations, a few words should be said on the nature of the task itself.

32. It is far from easy to draw sharp lines (a) between adolescents and youth and (b) between 'pre-vocational' and 'vocational' training. However national or international agencies may view their specific concerns, to achieve results of real value, adolescence and youth and the various phases of training from pre-vocational and preparatory to vocational and technical have to be viewed together.

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25/ ILO, The World Employment Programme, 1969, pages 23-24.

26/ UNICEF, Assessment of Pre-vocational Training Projects assisted by UNICEF and ILO (Documents E/ICEF/L.1272 and E/ICEF/L.1272/Add.1, March 1969). Experience in the USSR in this field formed the subject of a Joint USSR-UNICEF Seminar on Pre-vocational Training, Education and Vocational Orientation within and outside Schools (October 1970). Also see ILO, Meeting of Experts on Programming of Pre-vocational Training schemes. Report (REP.VT./1968/X, September 1968) and Towards Full Employment. A Programme for Columbia op.cit., pages 239-243; Government of India, Department of Social Welfare, Report of the Study Team on Pre-vocational Training Programme, 1968, pages 19-29 and Proceedings of the Conference on Pre-vocational Programme (February 1970).

Indeed, in planning action programmes, there is advantage in providing deliberately for components which are in nature pre-vocational and can lead on to those which are specifically vocational.^{27/} The process of planning must include also the provision of reasonably assured work opportunities. All the programme experiences which have been studied have brought out the importance of a clear view of future occupational needs and employment prospects (including self-employment) and for relating periods of preparatory and vocational training to later work.

33. In the less developed countries, the vocational preparation of adolescents involves separate approaches to three groups of adolescents.^{28/} These are: (a) adolescents who have missed the primary school or dropped out at an early stage, (b) primary school-leavers, and (c) adolescents continuing school education. Unequal starts in education have a decisive influence on subsequent stages of work and training and different types of measures have to be proposed in relation to each of the three groups. To a large extent, the vocational preparation of the third group has to be undertaken through the introduction of additional streams of learning and diversification of courses in the secondary grades and the introduction, progressively, of various forms of work experience right from the earlier grades. The two main groups to be provided for, therefore, are the adolescent drop-outs or illiterates and the primary school-leavers. If those in the former group are first assisted to acquire the basic elements of numeracy and literacy, the two groups can be taken together in organizing pre-vocational training or other preparatory courses with a view to subsequent vocational or technical instruction. In practice, schemes for pre-vocational training have limited themselves to primary school-leavers and have more or less left out the much larger numbers of adolescents who could not begin or, having begun, could not complete their primary schooling. This should be regarded as one of the main lacunae in the efforts thus far on behalf of adolescents. The second major lacuna is that comparatively few girls have benefited from the pre-vocational training programmes which have been organized so far in co-operation with international agencies.

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^{27/} UNRISD, Ulrike Von Buchwald, Survey of Experiences in Vocational Training (September 1972), Chapter VII, 'Conclusions and Recommendations'.

^{28/} J.P. Naik, 'A Crash Programme for the Education of Out-of-school youth in the Age-group 14-21' in Education and Development Reconsidered, Volume Two, op. cit., pages 183-192; Eugene Staley, Primary Secondary Education and the Occupational s of Development (December 1969, mimeographed); The Indian Institute of Public
ERIC ion, New Delhi, A Wasted Asset. A Survey of Rural Youth in Two Indian Districts,
Volume 1 and 2 (1972).

34. Some of the conclusions drawn from the experience of recent years can be stated briefly. "Pre-occupational" preparation of young adolescents has to provide generally for two components, namely, general education and more specific training leading eventually to a vocation. If the period of preparatory training were to lead back to further institutional training, whether vocational or otherwise, the practical objective in view would not be served. Therefore, pre-occupational preparation should be conceived primarily as a step to practical training, as in apprenticeship schemes and, at the next stage, to absorption in productive work, whether in wage employment or by way of self-employment. The school system has an important contribution to make in enabling primary school-leavers to obtain additional general education or refresher courses as well as in giving an opportunity to adolescents who have missed early schooling to obtain a minimum education. Therefore, in any area, schools should be closely associated with institutions or organizations which set out to provide pre-occupational preparation. Experience gained in functional literacy programmes in a number of countries can be utilized effectively in developing educational methods suited to the needs of adolescents. Pre-occupational preparation should be possible both on a full-time and a part-time basis. In fact, greater resources should be devoted to the extension of part-time facilities. To a large extent, future work opportunities will lie in the rural sector, especially in the development of ~~agriculture and rural services and other infra-structures.~~ It is necessary, therefore, to provide for schemes of pre-occupational preparation and other forms of training as an integral component of regional and other integrated rural development programmes. At the same time, in formulating proposals for training, practical ways in which those receiving training will in fact be absorbed into work should be worked out in advance.

Adolescent girls

35. As has been already observed, compared to adolescent boys, too little has yet been done for adolescent girls by way of vocational preparation. Undoubtedly, the problems involved here are more difficult. Levels of productivity and well-being in a community as a whole may be expected to rise substantially when comprehensive opportunities for education and for gaining new skills become available to girls. To a large extent, this has to happen before marriage. The existence of widespread illiteracy, higher drop-out rates in schools and early

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marriage place a large proportion of girls and young women under considerable handicap. In urban centres; an increasing proportion of girls are beginning to have the opportunity to go beyond the primary school, to learn a trade and to find remunerative work, often on a full-time basis. The pattern of life in rural areas places heavier burdens on women. It has now become increasingly important that girls and young women in rural areas should be able to learn skills which they could use to augment the family income, when possible on a full-time basis but, more frequently, on a part-time basis. This should now be regarded as an essential condition for enlarging welfare services for children.

36. Besides general social education and reduction of illiteracy among women, the main line of advance in rural areas would appear to be through the teaching of relatively simple skills and vocations to adolescent girls and to young women, as far as possible, within short distances of where they live. The benefits will accrue in many directions, including improved nutrition, better care of children and, generally, a rise in the quality of rural life. In view of the key role of women in agriculture, many of the skills needed will relate directly to the application of improved agricultural practices. Increase in agricultural production and changes in rural consumption also will present new possibilities for supplementary cottage industries. In the rural areas and, to a considerable degree, even in urban areas, much of the training has to be non-formal and in the nature of continuation and part-time education adapted to better family living. In other words, development of education and training facilities for adolescent girls and young women has to be undertaken as an integral part of the expansion of education, health, family planning and welfare services, agricultural extension, co-operation and rural development, home economics and small industries. In pursuing these activities and planning for further development, it is important that the various agencies concerned dovetail their proposals more closely and look to community institutions and non-governmental organizations as partners in working with adolescent girls and young women.^{29/}

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^{29/} UNICEF, Assessment of Projects for the Education and Training of Women and Girls for Family and Community Life (Document E/ICEF/L.1275, 16 March 1970); Commission for Social Development, Integration of Women in Development. Report of the Secretary-General op.cit., Ester Boserup, Women's Role in Economic Development (London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1971), especially Chapter 12, 'The Design of Female Education'.

Adolescents and youth

37. As suggested earlier, while the requirements of adolescents by way of opportunities for education and training can be seen quite clearly, in preparing action programmes, the lines between the younger and older adolescents and between the latter and those in the age-group 19-24, who are commonly described as youth, tend to become somewhat blurred. The provision of work, of training facilities, and of opportunities for social service are now an urgent pre-occupation of Governments in many countries. Greater attention is being given to youth both at national and international levels. A body of experience is also available. Consideration of programmes for youth falls outside the scope of this chapter. Therefore, in drawing attention to the subject, the proposition to be stressed is that the obvious compulsion upon Governments to find satisfactory answers to the economic and social problems of youth and to secure the participation of youth in national development offer a real chance to create facilities at the same time for vocational preparation and training related directly to the needs of adolescent boys and adolescent girls. Both within countries and at the international level, programmes on behalf of adolescents and on behalf of youth should be seen as complementary and should be planned so as to pool the available resources and ensure a combined approach on the part of all the agencies concerned.^{30/}

^{30/} On this subject, attention is invited, amongst others, to the following discussions. ILO, Towards Full Employment, op.cit., Chapters 15 and 16; Matching Employment Opportunities and Expectations, op.cit., Chapters 9 and 11; Employment, Incomes and Equality, op.cit., Chapter 14; Employment and Income Policies for Iran, op.cit., Chapter 6; Commission on Social Development, Report on Youth. Report of the Secretary-General (Document E/CN.5/486, 8 January 1973); International Council for Educational Development, Interim Report. Non-formal Education for Rural Development, op.cit., Chapter IV; African-American Institute, James R. Sheffield and Victor P. Diejomaoh, Non-formal Education in African Development, 1972, pages 199-210; United Nations, Long-term Policies and Programmes for Youth in National Development, 1970 (Sales No.E.70IV.12), Chapter IV; Youth in National Development (ST/SCA/103, 1970); Youth and World Development in the Second Development Decade (ESA/SD/Meeting II/4, 4 May 1971); Participation of Youth in Local and National Development: Patterns and Issues (ESA/SD/Meeting II/5, 24 May 1971); FAO, Considerations for the Formulation of National Strategies vis-a-vis Rural Youth in the Developing Countries (Document ESR/MIS./72/19, November 1972); ILO, Special Youth Employment and Training Schemes for Development. Report (VIII(1), 1969), Youth, Work and Employment: A Note on ILO Activities (ESA/SD/Meeting II/6, 1969), and E. Costa, Cost-Benefit Analysis of Youth Training and Employment Schemes in Developing Countries (November 1970).

CHAPTER 6

THE YOUNG CHILD: GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

1. Both for the industrialized and the less developed countries, concern with the young child as a distinctive area of social policy is relatively recent. In the more developed countries, this concern has focused on day-care, pre-school education and the protection and care of children subject to neglect. With larger proportions of women entering the labour force, the demand for day-care services increased rapidly. The development of services for the young child was further spurred by recognition of the special needs of the disadvantaged child reared in poverty. Experience has driven home the lesson that the requirements of the young child, especially in the weaker social groups, are related directly to the level of living of the family, education of parents, the quality of the maternal and child-health delivery systems, and availability of the essential welfare services.

2. In less developed countries, the social services that can be drawn upon on behalf of the young child form part of services which are initially developed in terms of different sectors, such as the provision of clean drinking water, maternal and child health, nutrition, and family and child welfare. An important step in these countries is to find ways of using these services for the benefit of the young child and, at the same time, of giving greater attention to other aspects of social policy which bear on his well-being. This twofold approach has to be explored separately in each sector and also by viewing different sectors together. As the development of the child depends in a unique measure on family and community life, measures for raising the level of living of families in the weaker socio-economic groups and the education of parents, especially of women in child-rearing, must be essential elements in a social policy for children.

The young child and his environment

3. The early years of childhood, up to six years of age, are being increasingly recognized as the most crucial in the development of the individual. Research undertaken over the past two or three decades in child-rearing practices, child development and early childhood education, has thrown new light on the processes of physical, emotional and cognitive growth. These findings have significant

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implications for the role of parents and the family, for the participation of community leaders, and for the formulation of social policy at various levels. Though much of this research has taken place in the developed countries, similar efforts are also under way in several less developed countries. In these, particular attention is being given by social scientists to the cultural background and the values inherent in child-rearing practices.

4. The life-space of the child, which includes his community, his immediate neighbourhood, his home, his bed and all those with whom he interacts was recognized as having a significant influence on the development of the child. The very issue of survival is dependent upon the provision of clean water, sanitation, health care, nutrition, and mother care. When these are inadequate, the child who survives has greater risk of impaired physical and psychological growth and development. In recent research, the effect of the environment upon mental development, personality development, identity, and moral development have also begun to be emphasized. At first the environment was not understood in its total social and physical interactive context. By 1960, after reviewing hundreds of research studies, Hunt was able to demonstrate that intelligence is markedly affected by the environment and that, though there is a genetic component, the environment can significantly alter the intelligence level of a child. Further analysis indicated that approximately 50 per cent of the potential for intellectual development takes place by the fourth year and 65 per cent by the fifth year.^{1/} However, recent studies have shown that many children do achieve normal intellectual development by eleven years of age despite an early childhood experience in a deprived environment. These studies indicated the importance of the early years as well as the plasticity of the child in subsequent development. Not only does the child need clean water, food, health care, and sanitation, but he also needs an environment which is appropriately stimulating and rewarding, comforting and controlling, responsive and affectionate, altruistic and competitive, stable and dynamic - in short, an environment which maximizes the opportunity for socialization and simultaneous learning.

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^{1/} S. McVickor Hunt, "Intelligence and Experience", New York, Ronald Press Co., 1961, pages 170-203; B. Bloom, "Stability and Change in Human Characteristics", New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964, page 68; Also A.V. Zaporozhets and D.B. Elkonin, "The Psychology of Pre-school Children", the MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1971, pages 186-251.

5. While much valuable research has been undertaken in relation to many aspects of child development, these studies have been necessarily limited by the cultural context in which the investigators worked, the problems selected for study, the research methods used, and the interpretation of their findings. As most of the published research has been reported by the industrialized countries, caution is necessary in applying the findings to the various cultures and value systems of the less developed countries, particularly in the rural areas.

6. There is general agreement that the mother or a surrogate mother or mothers must mediate the environment for the child. When this is not done, the child may suffer for lack of sufficient human interaction or insufficient experience. When the interaction is poor or inadequate, it affects the child's learning and resultant behaviour. The young child needs a competent mother figure even though what makes for competence may not be always clear.

7. It is now known that the infant and the young child are learning at a very rapid rate. Particularly important are the visual and auditory senses. This underlies the importance of protecting the child from nutritional and other disorders which affect his vision and hearing such as vitamin A deficiency, iodine deficiency in the mother during pregnancy and infections such as German measles. Equally important is the need to provide adequate experiences for the child and appropriate responses which comfort the child.

8. Emphasis on the human interaction component of the environment is of particular importance in the formulation of social policy, for, historically, priority has been given to the damaging aspect of the physical environment, and national and international agencies have concentrated on programmes designed to prevent such damage and promote health. There is the additional need also to consider what happens to the child who is well and normal but is subjected to socialization processes which constrict psychological development.

The family

9. As a rule, the family is the core setting for socializing the child. His entire early development is a result of his experiences within the family context, although it is subject to modifications as he grows older and interacts more and more with people outside the family. In many of the less developed countries, the

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child is reared in an extended family network, including parents and relatives, often three generations living in one household, in which the mothering role is shared with grandparents, relatives and other children. This is specially true in the rural areas. The practice tends to break down in the urban areas for lack of housing and various economic factors. Both urbanization and modernization place stresses upon the extended family and, increasingly, the nuclear family of parents and children becomes the modal style. This increases the burden on the mother in her role as the focal child-rearing person as she must also care for the household, work for additional income, and otherwise manage the affairs of the family. In some regions, urbanization and inadequate work opportunities in rural areas have created the ectopic family. This results from a rural father going to an urban area looking for work, living in a shanty town unable to return regularly to his family for lack of public transportation and money, and acquiring a new family in the urban area. Consequently, stresses are created for both families and the respective mothers do not receive the financial, emotional, and physical help from the father figure. Though the father generally does not spend much time with infants and young children, his absence affects the mother, and this is reflected in her mothering activities with her children.

10. In countries with limited primary education, many children between six and eleven years old are given responsibility for caring for the young child, while the mother works in the field, gathers wood, carries water, does marketing, or is otherwise engaged in household duties. There are indications that these mother-substitutes do well in their roles and that the experience prepares them for their subsequent role as parents. Both boys and girls are given this responsibility. Though no studies have been reported, a question does arise whether this practice may be detrimental to language acquisition by the young child and affect his subsequent learning ability. In the process of solving one problem, another may be created.

11. Throughout the world, the family is the primary social institution for nurturing the child, and whatever is done to strengthen the family increases its total nurturing capability. When comparing middle class children with those from the weaker socio-economic groups, there is remarkable consistency from country to country in studies of children's health status, intellectual development, school

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achievement, and moral development. On all counts children from the middle classes appear to do better. It is clear, that in the poorer and disadvantaged groups, the raising of the standard of living of families is the single most important way of promoting the growth and development of the young child. Thus, better income distribution within the society is an essential means of aiding the young child. Poverty and family destitution are the most serious threats to the well-being of the young child. Therefore, proposals for early childhood services should begin with recognition of the fact that whatever influences economic opportunities and the well-being of groups and individuals in a country affects the young child most of all. In other words, specific measures apart, the vast majority of young children in a country must still be reached through wider economic and social policies and the impact which these can make on the family.

12. In the richer countries, where disadvantaged children constitute a minority, frequently, social measures are designed specially to assist them. The underlying conditions are different in the poorer countries, where children from the relatively better off groups constitute but a small number. The principal consideration here is that the resources available for meeting essential needs must be greatly enlarged. To achieve this object, in various ways, a proportionately greater contribution has to be obtained from households which are somewhat better placed. This would more readily enable each community and the country as a whole to meet the needs of the relatively disadvantaged groups in a more continuing manner. It should be added, however, that socio-economic categorization within the community can easily become socially divisive in an activity as universal as the care of young children. Therefore, the maximum results are likely to come from a sense of common concern and common obligation for the well-being of all children within the community ensuring, at the same time, that families and individuals contribute in proportion to their means.

Earlier discussions and illustrations from recent experience

13. The problems of the young child have been under consideration for some years in several conferences on children and youth as well as in the Executive Board of UNICEF. At its 1965 session, the Board had before it a report prepared by the International Children's Centre in Paris on the growth and development of the

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young child from one to six years along with material on work on this field in a number of countries.^{2/} The Board felt that recognition of the importance of the young child by parents and by local communities and the State would help provide a missing link in ensuring the continuity of essential services from infancy through school age, and help strengthen existing programmes in the field of health, nutrition, education, social welfare and community development. These discussions were followed by an international seminar on the education, health and nutrition of the pre-school child in the U.S.S.R. in September 1967, a conference on the needs of the young child in the Caribbean in November 1967, and a working group on the pre-school child in the Eastern Mediterranean in December 1968 in preparation for the Arab States Seminar on children and youth in national planning and development. UNICEF was also associated with a seminar on the pre-school child in India in December 1970 which was organized jointly by the International Children's Centre, Paris, and the Indian Council for Child Welfare.^{3/} Currently, UNICEF is following closely the development in India of a national policy for children and the preparation of comprehensive programmes for early childhood services in the context of India's next five-year plan.

14. From UNICEF's participation in national programmes which have included provisions for young children, certain patterns of development may be observed. In a number of countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, programmes of integrated or selected services for children have included services directed to the young child. Similarly, sectoral programmes relating to health and nutrition services have stressed the needs of the young child. In these composite programmes, provisions bearing on the young child were not always marked out from other provisions and, often, it is far from certain that young children have in fact received the attention initially envisaged.

^{2/} UNICEF, Report of the Executive Board (14-23 June 1965, E/4083/Rev.1, E/ICEF/528/Rev.1, pages 9-14); UNICEF, Growth and Development of the Young Child from One to Six Years (E/ICEF/521, 21 May 1965).

^{3/} UNICEF, Report on an International Seminar on the Education, Health, Nutrition of the Pre-school child (E/ICEF/Misc.133, May 1968); The Needs of the Young Child in the Caribbean, Report of the Conference, 12-22 November 1967; Eastern Mediterranean Region, Beirut, Final Report of the Pre-Seminar Working Group on the Pre-School Child (Beirut, 16-18 December 1968, ASSCY/WP/2); and International Children's Centre, Paris and Indian Council for Child Welfare, New Delhi, Services for the Pre-school Child (Madras, India, 14-19 December 1970).

15. In a few countries, especially in Asia and Africa, the community approach has been combined with other services catering to the young child. This has taken the form of family and child welfare programmes, and, notably in Africa, of programmes associated with women's clubs, community centres, and mothercraft/homecraft centres which were taken up under community welfare. A general assessment was presented to the UNICEF Executive Board in 1966. The assessment did not include consideration of mothercraft/homecraft projects and touched only briefly on community development and social service components which could and should increasingly form an integral part of programmes for health, education, nutrition and housing. Discussions in the Board pointed to the need for enlarging the social welfare component of health, education and housing. Greater effort was proposed for the education and training of women and girls. The long range importance of family and child welfare programmes was also stressed.

16. Some experience has been gained in the development of institutional services such as community-supported day-care centres under urban conditions in Hong Kong, Singapore, Rangoon, Nairobi, Accra and other cities. Greater attention is required in the poorer areas and among slum populations in the cities. In this connexion, a beginning is being made in three cities in India.

17. In some countries in Latin America, high level autonomous organizations such as the National Child Welfare Foundation in Brazil (FNBEF), and the Columbian Institute of Family Welfare (ICBF) have been given responsibility by their Governments for developing services for children and adolescents. Some of the programmes undertaken by these bodies are directly concerned with young children in others services for young children are provided as part of more broad-based programmes. The experience of an organization such as ABCAR in Brazil in providing child-care services also deserves to be studied.

18. Schemes for training child care and social welfare workers have been generally included in family and child welfare and other similar programmes, but experience suggests that the content of training and the effective utilization of those who are trained should receive more systematic consideration. A few words should be said here about activities concerning young children which have been undertaken over several years in India. The working of some of these activities has been assessed, and the findings are of wider interest. The programmes include a national scheme

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for family and child welfare, applied nutrition programmes, supplementary feeding projects for children up to three years, development of child care centres (Balwadis), and institutions for pre-school education. Presently, problems of the pre-school child are under intensive study in India with a view to the development of child-care services for young children, including pregnant and nursing mothers. A fresh evaluation of the family and child welfare programme is also under way.^{4/}

Some suggested approaches

19. In relation to the young child, even in the more developed countries, comprehensive approaches to early child care are relatively recent. In some countries, there is a programme for integrating education, health, and welfare services. Lessons gained from experience under different conditions are now beginning to be assessed critically. In the less developed countries, differences in economic and social conditions are even greater than among the developed countries, and the stage for a systematic or comprehensive approach to the development of the young child has yet to be reached. However, some of the ingredients of such an approach can be observed already in action in a number of countries. Societies at different levels of development, undergoing change and transformation in a variety of ways, tend to select for special attention those aspects of the development of the young child which are of immediate importance to them. Depending upon the means available and possibilities of advance, the diversity of conditions which prevails is reflected necessarily in differences in response. Thus, in countries in West and Central Africa, which met at the Lomé Conference in May 1972, a dominant consideration was the improvement of the environment, especially through the provision of clean drinking water and measures to reduce excessive work and drudgery for women, so that they might make a larger contribution to family income and provide the care required by the young. Improved nutrition is a fundamental need but, up to the

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^{4/} Government of India, Central Social Welfare Board, Report of the Committee on Child Care, 1964-65 (1965), Department of Social Welfare, A Programme for Children. Report of the Committee (1968); Report of the Evaluation Committee on Family and Child Welfare Projects (1970); Indian Council of Social Welfare, Spotlight on Children. Report on the National Seminar, January 1971; Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Report of the Study Group on the Development of the Pre-school Child (February 1972); Planning Commission, Report of the Committee on Pre-school Children Feeding Programmes (March 1972).

present, few countries have gone much beyond rehabilitation and treatment of extreme forms of malnutrition and experiments in supplementary feeding. As mentioned earlier, in several less developed countries, child care and child development have been seen as extensions of community development, animation rurale, and women's clubs and associations.

20. Under different conditions, there may be a variety of starting points and channels for delivery of services, and different administrative agencies may undertake the primary responsibility for one or other activity. Thus, the health services may approach the care of the young child in terms of health care, immunization, supply of drinking water, family planning, treatment and rehabilitation of malnutrition, and supplementary feeding of the mother and the child as part of ante-natal, natal and post natal care. Agencies concerned with food and agriculture may seek to assist the young child through agricultural extension, community development, co-operatives, and applied nutrition. Agencies concerned with education may assist through functional literacy and social education activities, parent-teacher associations, institutions for training teachers and schools. Social welfare agencies view the problems of the young child invariably within the total context of family welfare. In a number of countries their interest has taken the form of family and child welfare programmes. As the need for linking activities bearing on the young child is more fully understood, better co-ordination between different agencies, especially at the local level, can go a long way in assuring at least some of the key components of early childhood services. These linkages and points for co-ordination have to be carefully identified in each given national situation and related to the relevant phase of development for the country and even for particular regions or localities.

21. Since child care involves the participation of a number of public agencies at each level, both within their particular spheres and in matters of common concern, at the national level there is need to ensure that the lines of responsibility and points of co-ordination are clearly marked out. There has to be continuous co-ordination not only between government agencies, but also between them and the non-government organizations which come forward to co-operate with them at different levels.

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22. As has been stressed in other contexts, the role of the local community is of great importance in utilizing and supplementing available services and in creating an environment favourable to the growth and development of all children without regard to the socio-economic groups to which they belong initially. Therefore, the strengthening of community activities of all kinds is a fundamental requirement for the care and development of the young child. Many of the needed activities are willingly taken up by informal groups within the community and do not call for formal institutions. All they will require is leadership and moral support, and possibly some material help from established civic and other institutions such as village councils or co-operatives, which public authorities generally use as channels for communicating with and providing assistance to local populations. However, parent involvement in advocating services for their children is essential to programme development.

23. In the last analysis, there can be little doubt that concern for the young child must be an expression of will on the part of the community to do all it can to give to every child an equal chance in the future, thus largely overcoming the limitations which the economic or social circumstances of his parents would otherwise impose on him through his entire life. However difficult or distant such a goal may appear at the present stage of development, it is in harmony with the essential cultural values and attitudes of traditional societies. In different degrees, these societies are seeking to meet the challenges of social change and transformation. For them, because of their present low levels of income and the accompanying social problems, the focus on the young child could well become an urgent and a unifying objective.

Day-care services and pre-school education

24. In many urban centres of the less developed countries, where women work for wages and have to leave their children behind, institutions of the nature of day-care or child-care centres are coming into existence. Government and municipal authorities provide a measure of support, including facilities for training, but in the main these centres are maintained from resources provided by local communities and from contributions from parents whose children are cared for at the centres. In cities with fairly high levels of income, public authorities are able to provide much greater support and the development of child-care centres is beginning to assume

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form of a general social programme which will be expanded progressively. In rural situations, the provision of child-care centres presents a different range of problems. Where the extended family is the basic economic unit, young children are cared for by members of the family, including grand-parents, relatives and other children. However, where co-operative or other forms of group cultivation are introduced, arrangements which may eventually take the form of day-care or child-care centres are also beginning to emerge. Under such conditions, the services rendered by a woman or a grown-up girl, who looks after a group of young children while their mothers are away at work, can be reckoned and compensated for like any other form of work rendered within the community.

25. In the developed countries, day-care services and the provision of facilities for pre-school education are beginning to merge to some extent or, at any rate, to be considered together. In the less developed countries, while there are emerging needs for day-care services, and day-care is the principal means also for providing a measure of pre-school education, the stage has perhaps not yet reached when pre-school education as such can be proposed as a distinctive service which public policy should seek to extend to all children. But there are significant beginnings to be observed in a number of countries. The gains to young children from pre-school education are being more widely appreciated, and a number of innovative efforts can be observed. In some countries, beginning with the cities and drawing on much private and voluntary effort, public policy is now moving in the direction of pre-school education, with responsibility for training pre-school teachers being accepted as the first necessary step. In general, it would appear that provision of essential child-care services for working mothers would also prepare the ground for more rapid progress in pre-school education.

Handicapped children

26. The numbers of children who are born with or acquire early in life exceptional physical or mental problems are not known precisely. It has been estimated that their number may be as high as one child in ten. To a considerable extent future disability among children can be prevented or, at any rate, minimized, through systematic vaccination against such causes as poliomyelitis, counselling of mothers by health education and welfare workers for early detection and treatment of anomalies, occupational or speech therapy, special education, provision of aids,

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and specialized health services. Disabilities of large numbers of children can be traced back frequently to failures in pre-natal, natal and post-natal care, early childhood diseases, improper treatment of childhood anomalies, malnutrition, and accidents during childhood. There is much that governments can do with even limited resources to encourage action on behalf of handicapped children, for instance, through long-range planning, provision of facilities for training, demonstration of methods, and a measure of guidance and assistance to non-governmental organizations and community institutions. Experience in many countries suggests that while some disabilities call for special attention, it is best to provide for handicapped children, not as separate groups, but as part of an integrated approach to the well-being and development of all children. Measures to enable handicapped children to become productive members of society and to lead normal and independent lives are to be regarded, therefore, as an essential element in a national policy directed to the well-being of the young child.

UNICEF study on the young child

27. At the instance of the UNICEF Executive Board, the UNICEF Secretariat has recently initiated a study on ways to improve the situation of the young child. For the purpose of the study, the period under consideration is from birth up to six years of age. The study will attempt to bring together information which may assist Governments in the less developed countries and agencies of the United Nations in evolving appropriate policies and programmes for the growth and development of the young child. Its emphasis will be on measures which are practical and feasible in the given conditions of individual countries and on long-range planning and comprehensive programme development. The study provides for investigations into a selection of significant programme experiences in a number of less developed countries along with a small number of country studies. Particular attention is to be given to possible linkages between different activities bearing on the young child. Most existing programme activities which bear on children are of a sectoral character and have, therefore, only a limited impact on young children in their most critical period. Moreover, they approach the problems of the family only indirectly and, as a rule, quite inadequately. The development of a national policy and a national programme on behalf of the young child will provide new opportunities for innovation in administrative methods, in educating parents, in involving families, and in harnessing the resources, the awareness and the leadership available to local communities and voluntary organizations.

CHAPTER 7

CHILDREN IN NATIONAL PLANNING: OPERATIONAL TASKS

1. In this study an attempt has been made to view the development of children and adolescents from two related perspectives: first, in terms of the total scheme of economic and social development of the society to which they belong and, secondly, in the context of the probable growth and change through the decade of the seventies. Within a margin, except for unexpected discoveries in natural resources or revolutionary scientific and technological changes, the broad economic framework within which most of the less developed countries will need to resolve their basic social problems during the rest of the present decade can be already foreseen. In some fifty countries development plans which are being currently implemented reach into the mid-seventies. By itself, such economic growth as can be anticipated in many of these countries is likely to change the basic conditions of life for the greater part of the population only to a small extent. Therefore, hope of substantial advance in the well-being of children will turn largely on the scale and nature of the development effort undertaken, on changes in planning priorities and resource allocations, and on improvements in methods of implementation.

Levels of national development and strategies for children

2. Various aspects of development affecting children and adolescents have been considered in the preceding chapters in the context of available options by way of policies and programmes. At each stage, it has been explained that the basic decisions have to be taken by each country in consideration of its own constraints, opportunities and preferences. Differences in levels of development and in the circumstances in which development occurs are too great to permit of more than the broadest formulations. Resolution 2768 (XXVI) of the General Assembly called upon various agencies of the United Nations to initiate action - oriented programmes, within their fields of competence, in favour of the "least developed countries".^{1/}

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^{1/} The 25 countries presently listed by the Committee for Development Planning, as "least developed" are: in Africa, Botswana, Burundi, Chad, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Guinea, Lesotho, Mali, Malawi, Niger, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda and Upper Volta; in Asia, Afghanistan, Bhutan, Laos, Maldives, Nepal, Sikkim, Western Samoa and Yemen; in Latin America, Haiti.

As experience is gained, the criteria for listing countries in this category are expected to be further refined. Nevertheless, a useful step has been taken at the international level in distinguishing national situations which will call for special policy initiatives in international assistance to countries. ^{2/} Reference is made below to the need for special attention to disadvantaged areas within countries having a somewhat higher average GNP.

3. A wider view of levels of development would suggest that countries should be arranged in several groups. No single yardstick or set of yardsticks can be all together satisfactory. To obtain a first impression of the range involved, from amongst the 111 countries where UNICEF is at present co-operating in projects, 91 were arranged in four groups as follows, following FAO's estimates of per capita gross domestic product at 1970 constant market prices:

Group A - "Least developed countries", as listed by the General Assembly;

Group B - Countries other than those in Group A with estimated per capita gross domestic product in 1970 reckoned at \$US 200 or less;

Group C - Countries with estimated per capita gross domestic product exceeding \$US 200, but not exceeding \$US 500; and

Group D - Countries with estimated per capita gross domestic product exceeding \$US 500.

4. The results of the exercise mentioned above are set out in Tables 1 and 2. Countries shown in the four groups account for the following proportions in the total population, in urban population, and in the total number of children and adolescents:

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^{2/} OECD, Development Co-operation, 1972 Review, Paris, December 1972 provides an excellent statement on the "problems of the least-developed countries" in different sectors, and the need for international action (Chapter V).

<u>Group</u>	<u>Number of countries</u>	<u>Distribution of total population (%)</u>	<u>Distribution of urban population (%)</u>	<u>Distribution of children and adolescents (%)</u>
A	21	8.6	2.6	8.6
B	21	60.7	41.3	60.5
C	30	22.7	38.2	23.6
D	<u>19</u>	<u>8.0</u>	<u>17.9</u>	<u>7.3</u>
	91	100.0	100.0	100.0

Among countries in each group, there are significant differences in the existing infrastructures and in potentials for future growth. Admittedly, even apart from such differences, statistics of per capita gross domestic product however calculated, are not an adequate basis for classifying countries, and, indeed, this is not the purpose in view. The essential proposition being advanced is that the appropriate domestic development strategies will differ for countries in different economic circumstances. For this reason, strategies for the development of children must also differ in scope, intensity and phasing.

5. The "level of development" is a complex notion of which a more precise meaning can be established only in the given conditions of each country. Among aspects which require systematic consideration for the development of policies and programmes on behalf of children are the following:

- (i) nature and extent of resource constraints, not only of the Government, but also of the population in rural and urban areas;
- (ii) adequacy of administration and availability of trained manpower;
- (iii) availability of elementary social services, specially in the fields of health, nutrition, education and training, and welfare and community services;
- (iv) occupational distribution and levels of living of the rural population, including identification of groups engaged in subsistence or near subsistence activities, and those in different phases of transition from the traditional to the modern; and
- (v) size of the urban population, specially from slums and shanty towns and the poorer neighbourhoods of cities.

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Table 1

Estimated number and distribution of total and urban population in four groups of UNICEF-assisted countries (1970)

Group of countries	Number of countries	Total population (in thousands)				Urban population as percentage of total population				
		Total	East Asia	South Asia	Africa	Latin America	East Asia	South Asia	Africa	Latin America
A	21	145 537	-	36 953	103 355	5 229	-	7.0	8.0	17.8
B	21	1 024 041	-	915 520	103 863	4 658	-	18.3	19.2	34.2
C	30	383 582	46 142	95 447	87 193	154 800	46.0	39.1	39.3	53.0
D	19	134 618	5 452	13 253	2 361	113 552	79.0	37.2	25.1	63.7
<u>All groups</u>	91	1 687 778	51 594	1 061 193	296 772	278 239				

Table 2

Estimated number and distribution of children and adolescents (0-18) in four groups of UNICEF-assisted countries (1970)

Group of countries	Number of countries	Number (in thousands)				Percentage in each region				
		Total	East Asia	South Asia	Africa	Latin America	East Asia	South Asia	Africa	Latin America
A	21	75 301	-	19 012	53 634	2 665	-	25.3	71.2	3.5
B	21	529 264	-	472 374	54 524	2 366	-	89.2	10.3	0.5
C	30	206 175	23 613	52 166	49 400	80 996	11.4	25.3	24.0	39.3
D	19	64 396	2 598	5 364	1 180	55 254	4.0	8.3	1.9	85.8
<u>All groups</u>	91	875 136	26 211	548 916	158 738	141 271				

* East Asia includes 4 countries, South Asia 23, Africa 40 and Latin America 24. Group A includes 4 countries in South Asia, 16 in Africa and 1 in Latin America. The corresponding distribution of countries in Group B is respectively: East Asia nil, South Asia 9, Africa 11 and Latin America 1; in Group C: 2, 6, 11 and 11; and in Group D: 2, 4, 2 and 11. The tables do not include statistics for Western Samoa, Sikkim and Maldives (listed as "least developed"), nor for Barbados, Fiji, and a number of small territories.

East Asia and South Asia include countries as in the United Nations Population Division classification.

6. In considering the different elements of the national situation mentioned above, it becomes apparent at once that there are large variations in conditions of development in different regions, and in respect of different sections of the population. Broadly speaking, as stated earlier, it is necessary at least to consider the following:

- (i) the more backward rural areas of the country;
- (ii) rural areas undergoing more rapid growth and change;
- (iii) populations living in slums and shanty towns and the poorest neighbourhoods of cities;
- (iv) disadvantaged groups at the lowest socio-economic levels for whom special measures of assistance will be necessary; and
- (v) "non-integrated" groups, including those who, thus far, have remained largely outside the processes of economic change and modernization.

We return to the planning implications of these distinctions later in the chapter. With children as a specific focus, at each stage in economic and social transition and according to the total circumstances of a country, it will be necessary to evolve appropriate approaches to development. The critical consideration is that these approaches must be feasible within the country's financial means, should be administratively effective, and should provide for evolution from significant starting points to more comprehensive services and to linkages between services.

Role of national planning agency in relation to children

7. Provisions in the development plans of countries that bear directly or indirectly on the well-being of children, on opportunities for learning and development of skills of children and adolescents, and on the preparation and training of girls and women, usually form part of proposals which are sponsored on behalf of different sectors of development. As a rule, such provisions are presented separately, without being related to comprehensive views of the objectives sought or of the means required to attain them. Whatever does not clearly belong to a sector (that is, in practice to the agency administratively responsible for it) tends to receive a low priority. Even in countries otherwise well equipped, as a rule, there is no single agency within the administration which has the ability to formulate proposals on behalf of children and adolescents as a whole and the responsibility for following them up. This holds too for proposals

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concerning the main sub-groups among children and adolescents, namely young children up to the age of 5 or 6, elementary school-age children, and the older adolescents. The principal reasons for this lacuna are that, even in countries with well-developed planning methods and institutions, allocation decisions are related primarily to immediately available financial resources and that administrative departments are organized generally for sectoral functions.

8. It is as a vital segment of the human resources of a country, embodying so much of its future promise and potential, that children and adolescents provide a perspective and a method of integrating several types of social action. The crux of the matter is that the concept of human resources development is still peripheral to the main activities of national planning. There are two essential conditions before an over-all national policy for children and adolescents will emerge and begin to be implemented systematically. The first condition is that the development of human resources should be part of the inner core of the planning process. The second condition, which could be met in a variety of ways, is that the national planning agency of a country should be given a specific key role in planning for the use and development of human resources. The planning agency would then be responsible for the over-all planning and formulation of policy proposals for the development of young human resources, the children and the adolescents. The detailed planning and execution of different components of the plan could be undertaken by the appropriate administrative agencies. This would be in contrast to the present piecemeal, unco-ordinated approaches both in plan formulation and in plan implementation.

9. The change of emphasis suggested above for young human resources is similar to the shift increasingly felt to be necessary for realizing a number of other important objectives, from which also children will gain directly. Among these may be mentioned expansion of employment, reduction of under-employment, more even development between different regions and measures to assure their minimum needs to the poorer groups within the population, to raise the general levels of productivity, to plan for the integrated development of land, water and other natural resources, and to put through major institutional and structural changes. As with planning for children and adolescents, in each of these spheres, it is important to proceed from an over-all view of the task and the strategy, to

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combined operations for detailed planning and execution on the part of organizations concerned at each principal level in the administrative structure. The existing structures and the existing methods of work can no longer meet the requirements of planning and implementation flowing from newly emerging responsibilities with which governments are now required to reckon.

10. The formulation of a development plan is at the same time a process of diagnosis and stock-taking, and of consideration of policies and programmes in relation to a specified period. Plan preparation proceeds within a given political and administrative system and against the background of a given economic and social structure. Therefore, many of its characteristics will differ from country to country. In this chapter attention is drawn to such changes in the existing methods of plan formulation as are likely to be of common interest to different countries. They arise from the need to give to the use and further development of human resources, especially of young human resources, a central place in the general scheme of planning. In the economic and industrial field and in the training of higher levels of manpower, the need for changes in methods of plan formulation has been recognized. The methods in vogue are becoming gradually more precise and a systems approach is being applied in areas where several sectors of development have to contribute jointly. Planning in the social sectors has lagged behind, not only in results, but also in methodology. It has to be emphasized, moreover, that many of the problems which have become urgent for governments arise from the growing interaction between economic and social factors. Therefore, the two aspects of plan formulation, the economic and the social, can no longer be treated separately. There has to be greater convergence of methods of analysis and of time horizons in planning for the more important aspects of economic and social change individually as well as in their interrelationships.

Time horizons in planning

11. National development plans are commonly drawn up for periods of four to six years. Such medium-term planning has helped in reaching more rational decisions in allocating resources than annual budgeting could allow for. It has enabled governments to implement investment projects and manpower training programmes that require several years to complete. To an extent, the need to

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prepare projects in advance, to secure greater public participation, and to bring development in different sectors into a common framework has promoted the development of new administrative machinery and procedures. However, medium-term plans need to be supplemented and corrected by well-informed short-term action as well as by better long-range perspectives and greater continuity in planning and implementation. In the economic and industrial field, where precise data are more easily obtained, planning techniques, including economic projections, are being progressively applied with a view to obtaining the necessary perspectives. However, this is far from being the case in the social sectors of development, and in planning for children and youth.

12. In social development and, notably, in areas of concern to children and youth, such as health, nutrition, education, training and welfare services, the objectives tend to be stated in the broadest terms. The time horizon is frequently limited to the period of individual development plans. There are few commitments which are both long-range and time-bound and are reasonably assured of the resources needed. As a rule, reservations are built into declarations on social objectives. Added to this is the fact that budgetary allotments from year to year may often fall short of allocations in the plans, and the social targets may come to be reduced more than once in the course of a plan period. Over the entire field of priorities for children and youth, within the sectors concerned as well as in areas of co-ordination, it is imperative that each country should endeavour to work out its own long-range perspectives and should be prepared to support them with the requisite resources.

13. The perspectives required have to derive primarily from consideration of population trends and judgements reached within the country concerning the future development of its human resources and the well-being of its population in general, and of its children and youth in particular. In proceeding thus, the significance of economic growth is not diminished; on the other hand, economic and social projections and commitments for action become interrelated, and economic growth, improvement of living standard, and the development of human resources become mutually supportive.

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Effect on development of administrative structures

14. The integration of human resources development into the scheme of planning is seen, thus, as a possible turning point in plan formulation. It has important implications for:

- a) administrative responsibilities pertaining to planning for children and adolescents,
- b) reorientation of the work of sectoral agencies,
- c) development of administrative approaches to action on behalf of children and youth at provincial area and city levels,
- d) special action required in certain situations,
- e) continuous evaluation and adaptation of services,
- f) harnessing to the tasks of development of the energies and resources of local communities and non-government organizations, and
- g) action at the international level.

Administrative structure for plans and programmes for children

15. In the past two decades many countries have had experience with co-ordinating structures concerned with plans and programmes for the welfare and development of children. Two conclusions may be drawn. Firstly, it is highly desirable to have a group of people wholly concerned with the well-being, growth and development of children, whose approach is problem-oriented, starting from needs and possibilities of action in whatever field they may be, and thus complementing the properly sectoral orientation of the main ministries concerned. Many countries do not have any such group or structure and the filling of this gap would certainly be useful.

16. Secondly, the variety of mechanisms indicates that no one formula will be suitable for all countries. However in the earlier period, there was more emphasis than there now appears to be, on inter-ministerial committees and national councils embodying governmental and non-governmental bodies concerned with various aspects of the welfare of children. Such bodies, while at first succeeding in attracting public attention to the problems and needs of children, have often been unable to sustain the political, administrative and financial support on behalf of children that was their basic reason for existence.

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17. A more common arrangement now is for the social division of the planning commission to be concerned with the over-all national policy for children and youth. This has the advantage of using an existing structure for the involvement of ministers and also for consultation at the official level. However, to make this arrangement really effective, a small group of people concerned with children's problems are needed in the social division. There are other countries where the organization of the planning commission is less elaborate and the promotion and co-ordination of national policy lies in the presidency or the prime minister's office. These then would be the alternative locations for the small groups of people concerned with children. Obviously links are also needed with the functional ministries. Direction and co-ordination are also needed at the state or provincial level, and other local administrative levels down to the village. The degree of strengthening that they may require depends on the administrative structure of the country and the degree of elaboration of the policy for children. Later paragraphs deal with the functional ministries and the local level.

18. In any country using development planning, effective action for children and youth depends on adequate provision in the plan. Hence the planning commission must be concerned. However some countries also have a children's agency. Different children's agencies have quite a wide range of functions including surveillance of the key needs and problems of children; proposing cross-sectoral strategies to deal with them; strengthening and, where necessary, initiating the training of personnel needed in children's services; funding of national or local studies or, in some cases, services; and assessment and evaluation of the policies and programmes designed to meet the needs of children. It is also an important advantage if a children's agency can operate at all administrative levels in the country from the national to the local. There are however, risks involved in creating a children's agency. It is difficult for it not to become operational, and then not to become competitive with the ministries whose greater attention to children it is supposed to encourage. Like the interministerial committees mentioned above, children's agencies may tend to lose momentum after the initial phase of enthusiasm, especially if they lose resources for funding children's services.

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Re-orienting responsibilities of sectoral departments

19. A perspective approach to the needs of children and adolescents could have some far-reaching consequences for the functioning of departments concerned with the development of different services. These consequences have of course to be assessed by each government in the light of its own administrative conditions and possibilities. Perhaps a useful starting point may be to examine how each agency presently views its role, not merely vis-à-vis other agencies, but in the context of the country's long-range design of development and social transformation in so far as this may have been defined. It may well be found that the existing organization and structure of government agencies, and the limitations of personnel and finance under which they have worked, has had the effect of narrowing somewhat their approach to basic questions of policy in their respective spheres.

20. The issue is one for each agency to examine for itself, aided by bureaux of administrative reform or other organs which are in a position to see administrative functions and relationships from the standpoint of the entire government. A few possibilities which readily suggest themselves may be mentioned by way of illustration. Thus, in reviewing their present activities, the health services may consider their extension work at the community level and how they could ensure better delivery of services benefiting the family and the child. Provision of safe drinking water, environmental health and health education are seen as primary tasks in which health agencies have the responsibility of defining standards of articulating needs, but must also secure considerable participation from other agencies concerned with development in the provision of the necessary services. A relatively new field of work such as family planning is also seen best as needing a cross-sectoral strategy in which several services must be joined together at each level.

21. Educational administrations have perhaps unduly restricted their concerns to children already in school. The vast number of children of the school-age group who are not in school should be no less their basic interest. In association with other agencies, non-government organizations and local communities, they have to develop adequate learning opportunities for all children and adolescents, including those who have drifted away from formal education and perhaps lapsed into illiteracy. They have also an important part in the eradication of illiteracy

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among adult men and women, for, in many of the less developed countries, the absolute numbers of illiterate persons are increasing from year to year. Another example of the type of administrative reorientation that may be needed may be taken from the field of nutrition. In seeking improved nutrition for children and mothers, programmes of supplementary feeding have a necessary place. But the larger task remains one of expanding family food production changing food habits, evolving less wasteful and more hygienic ways of preparing, conserving and processing food, creating a general awareness about health and nutrition, and training workers in different fields of development as well as community leaders on a scale large enough to make a real impact. In each field, non-formal methods must combine with the formal before the main objectives can be substantially realized.

Services at the provincial, area and city levels

22. Promising beginnings are being made in a number of countries in Latin America and, perhaps to a somewhat lesser extent, in Africa and Asia, in the direction of developing mutually reinforcing services for children and youth at the state or provincial and area level. In India and a few other countries, efforts to develop comprehensive services are being initiated in the cities, to assist specially those living in slums and in the poorer neighbourhoods. The emphasis placed in the Lomé conference in May 1972 on social development in regions served or to be served by large-scale economic development projects is another step in the same direction. In each of these situations, there are problems at perhaps four levels: planning; administrative structure and relationships; methods of implementation; and means for securing the participation and initiative of local communities, their civic organizations, and citizen leaders at the local level.

23. There is much to be said on each of these aspects, and there are lessons to be learnt, for instance, from experience being gained currently in land settlement areas in the Arab Republic of Egypt, in agrarian reform areas of the province of Los Logos in Chile, in raising living standards in the highlands of the State of Chiapas in Mexico, and elsewhere. In several countries, proposals are being presently considered, as in Ethiopia and Upper Zaire, for introducing key social and human resource components in selected areas side by side with measures for the development of agriculture and other natural resources. The Department of

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Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations is also assisting a number of national efforts to strengthen administrations for area development, urban planning, and the development of social services. These diverse activities represent a broad policy trend whose importance is likely to increase rapidly during the next few years. The potentials that provincial and area development and development at the city level present are considerable, but the problems implicit in them are not to be under-estimated.

Situations requiring special action

24. Services for children require special action in many situations. Thus, in backward areas, often, there are deep-rooted internal obstacles to development. Elementary services for children may provide an effective beginning in dealing with these, thus also preparing the ground for more advanced measures at a later stage. The more dynamic rural regions may be expected to be among the first to have the means, with the help of the central government, to support services for all children if they choose to do so. Emphasis on services for children in areas where rapid economic change is feasible or is already taking place is, thus, an essential means of extending opportunities to the entire population. In rapidly growing areas, moreover, there is all the greater need to combine social and economic development, because this is itself a necessary condition for continuing increases in levels of productivity.

25. For the children of weaker groups within the community, direct services are essential, but the gains remain small unless wider economic and social problems are taken up at the same time. In particular, past disparities in income and wealth and in the social situation have to be reduced, and conditions of production and distribution, and property and social relationships, which are the ultimate source of these disparities, have to be changed fundamentally for the future. Behind these issues lie social, institutional, economic and political factors which are now better understood and more clearly acknowledged than a decade ago. The factors that intensify the weakness of those groups within the community have to be dealt with at the roots as well as in their numerous manifestations. In many less developed countries there are groups, sometimes very large groups, in the population, whose traditional ways of obtaining a living keep them out of the mainstream of modernization and economic change, thus deepening an already existing

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state of dualism in economic and social life. Examples of groups who have thus remained relatively isolated or "marginal" to the modernizing sectors of the country and have, in varying degree, failed thus far to achieve the necessary economic and social integration can be cited from many countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Their problems are now being viewed with increasing concern in the context of political and social change.

26. According to the precise circumstances of each country and its stage and pattern of development, the elementary services needed by children in all "marginal groups" have to be provided in such a way that they can be effectively used. This raises the question of developing for each specific service the content and delivery patterns that will respond to the precise needs of the populations concerned. Thus, for instance, the children of nomadic groups for whom livestock is the main source of livelihood, groups living in remote mountainous regions, and many isolated tribal groups, face the harshest conditions of life. Frequently, they lack the very minimum amenities and opportunities for growth, and the customary social services and delivery patterns take but little account of their special conditions and problems. In meeting the needs of such groups, there is immense scope for innovative programme and project designs, and few tasks can be described as being more necessary or rewarding.

Need to evaluate and adapt

27. Continuing evaluation and adaptation of services provided for families and children within each country could be an important element in developing new approaches in different sectors as well as more effective methods of inter-sectoral planning and co-ordination. Attention has been drawn at several stages to problems which have still to be solved for the improvement of health, nutrition, education, and the growth and development of the young child. Allowing for their present weaknesses, existing services reach much smaller proportions of the population than they could if the incidence of poverty, distance, and various social factors could be diminished. Aspects of this problem are often considered under the label of delivery systems. Maintenance of services already established, the costs of providing new services, and the need to mobilize resources at central provincial and local levels within the national economy, are other examples of issues which call for careful review under the conditions of different regions and

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countries. Therefore, a significant line of advance during the Second Development Decade would be for each country, according to its situation, to evolve new programme designs directed to the solution of its own central problems, and to test out these designs on an operational scale. Such innovative programme development would generally require support on a multi-disciplinary basis, especially from national centres of research and training. It could also benefit considerably from interchange of experience between regions and countries on approaches which have proved effective.

Non-government organizations and community action

28. It was stated in an earlier chapter that the scope of the developmental effort undertaken in a country could be enlarged beyond the resources of the normal institutions and structures through the involvement of local communities and their civic institutions and of non-government organizations. The ultimate purpose, it was suggested, should be to enable each community to become its own principal agent of change. Therefore, it is important to harness fully all available sources of leadership and social energy to work on behalf of children and the young generally and to endeavour to build up further potentials wherever these can be found.

29. The tradition of non-government voluntary effort exists in substantial measure in some countries; in many others encouraging examples are to be found, but the numbers of workers involved and the activities undertaken are still small. What should be stressed is that voluntary work in all its forms and organizations which are able to attract voluntary workers and to work among the people represent a resource which will grow as new tasks are undertaken and new challenges met. Among areas of community action to which non-government organizations and voluntary workers can contribute most effectively are, without doubt, development activities on behalf of children and adolescents.

30. The diverse interests of non-government organizations is on the whole an advantage even though, from the standpoint of administrations, this very circumstance may present some problems of co-ordination with government agencies and amongst the organizations themselves. In any given situation, satisfactory answers can be generally found, provided there is a willingness to accept non-government organizations as responsible partners, and to give them a chance to function with a reasonable measure of autonomy.

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31. The range of such services could be as extensive as the circumstances might permit but, in view of the limited numbers of voluntary workers and the limited amount of leadership available at this stage, careful choice of priorities will be to the greater advantage of society. The activities in view might include specially nutrition, community-supported child-care, training of girls and women, non-formal education, including removal of illiteracy, working with local groups in developing projects based on mutual self-help, assistance to handicapped children, specially in their early years, education of parents generally, and helping mothers to learn skills which may provide supplementary sources of income.

32. The work of non-government organizations in such different fields and, more specially, in innovative projects, can provide invaluable opportunities for training of young volunteer workers, of community leaders, and even of public officials. This is a critical need. It is also a field in which governments, schools of social work and other institutions, and a wide range of non-government organizations can successfully develop long-term co-operative programmes. In these and other activities the principal focus must of course be on possibilities that exist or can be stimulated within each country. But different countries have also much to learn from one another. This is one of the services which international non-government organizations are in a position to render.

Action at the international level

33. Work on behalf of children and adolescents can be rightly viewed as an area of unified action within every national community, cutting across many other differences. Similarly, at the international level, their well-being and development provide vast practical opportunities to multilateral agencies, bilateral agencies concerned with development and international non-government organizations to work together in support of the efforts of the less developed countries.

34. We have referred already to constraints on resources experienced by many of the less developed countries as being a critical factor in the provision of essential services for the benefit of children and adolescents. The main question to be considered bears on the extent to which there could be greater support for these services by way of international resources over the course of

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the Second Development Decade. In general, in line with the approach of the International Development Strategy, the beginnings of a movement in favour of directing larger amounts of assistance to social development and human resources development can be discerned. Although, as pointed out earlier, the target for official development assistance proposed in the International Development Strategy appears distant, there should be considerable scope for qualitative improvement in the use of aid and for a better balance in its distribution between economic and social development objectives. Significant progress along these lines would benefit children and adolescents. In this, initiatives lie as much with the less developed countries, who have to relate their priorities to their basic goals and patterns of development, as with the developed countries who can help by adopting long-term policies and providing assistance in forms appropriate to investment in social and human resources development and, especially, in services designed to benefit the rising generation.

35. Recent developments sponsored by the United Nations Development Programme, in particular, the adoption of country programming, as a means of co-ordinating flows of technical and material assistance from the United Nations and other sources could also be of considerable advantage in the coming years in the development of services for children and adolescents. As national development priorities are oriented more along the lines of the International Development Strategy, assistance from the United Nations could make a specially valuable contribution in supporting innovative approaches to the solution of critical problems. More especially, the development of integrated strategies in the more backward rural areas, in relation to slums and shanty towns, and on behalf of disadvantaged groups within the community, would provide for UNICEF (with respect to children and adolescents) and its sister agencies in the United Nations a central focus for their common efforts in co-operation with the less developed countries.