# id21 insights

communicating international development research

# Make childhood poverty history

About 600 million children worldwide are growing up in absolute poverty. Over ten million children under five years of age die every year. Nearly one billion children will be growing up with impaired mental development by 2020.

Childhood poverty has significant and long-term implications. By the age of five we have laid our mental groundwork – perceptions, emotions, desires and feelings – for how we essentially will be 20 or 30 years later. By ten our capacity for basic learning has been determined. By age 15 our body size, reproductive potential and general health have been greatly influenced by what has happened in our lives thus far.

Stunting in children cannot be reversed. Children cannot recover from preventable disabilities. Nor can they fully reclaim the first 15 years of growth and development later on in life. Since everything from brain connection to employment potential is laid down in these formative years, investing in child well-being is not only a social and moral imperative but also a logical and economically sound investment strategy. Tackling childhood poverty and its transmission over generations and over a life-course is the way to addressing chronic and adult poverty.

Child well-being has improved in recent years. Infant mortality rates, for example, have improved globally. Between 1970 and

2002, infant deaths fell from 130 to 67 for every 1000 live births in South Asia and from 141 to 104 in sub-Saharan Africa. However, there are still some alarming trends. Child ill-health has increased, suggesting that although children survive they have a poor quality of life due to frequent sickness. Child wellbeing has declined in some

Hanush Abraha is 14 years old and is in the 3rd grade at school in Ethiopia. Young Lives research found that many Ethiopian boys in their early teens are taken out of school to enter a job because they are paid more than girls. (Photo by: Feleke Deneke/Young Lives) countries, including those experiencing conflict or economic crisis. Childhood poverty is a problem even in countries with growing economies.

Several economic, political, environmental and social factors influence poverty and its transmission to children. They range from individual volition and the social context to global conditions and policies on child development:

- Nutrition is vital for child survival and early development. Damage in early childhood can have long-term effects, slowing down learning and increasing risks of maternal and child mortality in later life. In 2000, over 150 million pre-school children were underweight and 200 million were stunted. Many of these children will suffer from ill-health as adults.
- Good quality formal education combined with informal education to develop life skills as well as having educated parents can help improve opportunities for children. However, inability to pay is a big obstacle to a child's education.
- Child labour perpetuates poverty although it can sometimes enable children to attend

school – an important factor in breaking poverty cycles. Child work is highest among the poorest 20 percent of people in sub-Saharan Africa and among children who do not attend school, although a high proportion of those who attend school also work.

- Adequate family income is important for a child's development but raising family income may also increase 'time poverty' as parents have less time for child care. As a result, children do not receive important life skills education at home, older siblings have to take on child care activities instead of attending school and children could be physically and emotionally neglected.
- Family and social bonding to nurture, guide, love and protect children is crucial as it can encourage positive aspirations, boost confidence and enhance many aspects of an individual's life from employment potential to emotional security. Damage to the social fabric through economic stress, war or HIV will adversely affect children.

Children who cannot attend school, live on the streets, work in dangerous and exploitative conditions, carry out hard labour, are exposed to physical, mental or emotional hazards and violence or are abandoned or orphaned are all entitled to protection and support from their communities, nations and the international community. But can childhood poverty be overcome? Is it possible to break poverty cycles? We understand a great deal about childhood poverty, its causes and the possible solutions. However, acting on this knowledge appears to be more difficult. The articles in this issue of id21 insights argue that policy needs to be more sensitive to the ways in which it may lead to or perpetuate childhood poverty. They outline a broad approach to reducing child poverty.

Children can be trapped in poverty for long periods of time, as Jane Falkingham and Shamsia Ibragimova's evidence from the Kyrgyz Republic shows – a situation that can create irreversible problems. Specific child-centred actions that are required to break potential poverty cycles, however, are often treated as minor aspects rather than as essential elements of social policies addressing chronic poverty.

Economic policies can be made more sensitive to children's needs. The importance of maintaining funding for education or comprehensive



www.id21.org.

▶ health programmes during periods of economic crisis cannot be stressed enough. As Hugh Waddington points out, prochild interventions relating to economic growth, trade and macroeconomic policy are critical. Economic policies must be designed with child-focused social policies and outcomes in mind. No single policy can reduce child poverty: health, for example, is dependent on water and sanitation, education and economic policy not just in terms of adequate finances but in relation to generating family income, controlling inflation and encouraging genuine pro-poor growth.

Javier Escobal illustrates how women's education has addressed the critical issue of child nutrition in Peru. Evidence shows that each additional year of maternal education can lower the risk of premature child death by about eight percent. Comprehensive health care services are also essential as is ensuring food security through food supplements, income support and subsidies. Cash transfers, too, as part of broader social protection programmes, can address immediate needs and contribute to the longer term aim of breaking

poverty transfers. **Armando Barrientos'** article clearly shows that cash transfers can enhance incomes, enable children's education and health care.

Economic policies should aim at enhancing family income but should not compromise children's well-being by forcing women and other carers to migrate for work or by making children work. However, as **Jo Boyden's** article points out, if child labour is neither hazardous nor exploitative and if it offers a way out of poverty or into school then a blanket ban on child work is not necessarily the solution.

Public commitments to equity in meeting basic needs and government accountability are crucial. Poverty Reduction Strategies provide a good opportunity for countries to discuss children's issues and commit themselves to ending childhood poverty. But as the Ethiopian experience highlighted by **Nicola Jones** shows, childhood poverty has not received much attention. Governments can be challenged to define and identify priorities and can be held accountable. **Shaamela Cassiem** demonstrates how budget planning and implementation help to promote children's rights

in South Africa. The circumstances and conditions that have helped ten countries to reduce childhood poverty, as explained in **Santosh Mehrotra's** article, provide powerful evidence that childhood conditions can be improved.

To sum up, it is critical that policy aiming to reduce childhood poverty takes account of relevant social, economic and political contexts and is integrated within broader poverty policy. Rather than only promoting isolated 'projects for children', donors and implementing agencies should develop childhood poverty reduction strategies as part of their wider programme of work. Improving children's nutritional status to prevent irreversible damage and ensuring at least ten years of education have to be the core elements of any strategy. It is equally important to address gender inequalities. Today's children are tomorrow's adults. We have to make childhood poverty history

#### **Caroline Harper**

Childhood Poverty Research and Policy Centre, Save the Children, 1 St. John's Lane, London, EC1M 4AR, UK T +44 (0) 20 70126793 F +44 (0) 20 70126963 c.harper@savethechildren.org.uk www.childhoodpoverty.org

## Economic policy must recognise children

Macroeconomic policies have powerful effects on children. They shape public spending on basic services such as education and health and influence how households respond to changing economic conditions, often in ways that are not good for children. Yet policy making on the whole does not recognise child wellbeing as an objective or an outcome. Pro-child interventions relating to economic growth, trade and macroeconomic policy are critical to overcoming poverty.

A literature review from the Childhood Poverty Research and Policy Centre suggests there are strong links between human development and economic growth and that it is difficult to sustain poverty reduction without growth and vice versa. While some countries, particularly in East and South Asia, experienced fast growth from the 1980s, economic policies achieved poor growth in large parts of Africa and Latin America. Together with the neglect of income redistribution, this led to slower global progress in improving living standards for children, particularly in nutrition; in Africa child malnutrition worsened. More redistribution is necessary to fight poverty in highly unequal societies where growth is less effective. Redistribution also helps to overcome chronic poverty – an elderly woman caring for orphaned grandchildren, for example, cannot benefit from economic growth other than through state or private cash support.

Increased international trade can reduce poverty by generating income growth, enabling families and states to spend more on children. The key issue is how to achieve this since the link between trade policy and growth is disputed. Blanket trade restrictions increase production costs and undermine growth and poverty reduction. However, rapid trade liberalisation harms

poor countries if it is not preceded by public investments, especially in education. Moreover, competitiveness in international trade has in many cases been achieved in ways that are potentially detrimental to children: exploiting child labour is one example.

High levels of inflation slow down growth. But there is

no evidence that reducing inflation below ten percent – as required by International Monetary Fund

adjustment programmes - is needed for growth. Excessive inflation control, on the other hand, can cause economic decline, unemployment and poverty. Similarly, high national debt leads to macroeconomic crisis and destroys national incomes, employment and child well-being, as seen in East Asia and Latin America. Cutting public expenditure is standard practice in adjustment programmes, however. As a result, declining incomes combine with reduced public services to harm children's well-being. Subsequent growth often cannot reverse the damage done by such policies – for example, children who cannot attend school as a result may have missed their only chance of education.

Policies beneficial for children are also good for long-term economic development, although there are areas of conflict in the shorter term. For example, educating children is costly and does not generate immediate income benefits; increasing carers' participation in the labour force may be damaging to child nutrition. Donor support can help here.

Reforms to improve the well-being of children in poor families include:

- helping families to improve their potential to earn and develop by providing basic services such as education (particularly for girls), health, water and sanitation
- enabling poor farmers to increase production and benefit from trade through improved access to assets such as land and agricultural inputs and through higher public investment in staple food technologies, irrigation and infrastructure
  - avoiding adverse effects of policies on children: for example, through appropriate labour-saving

technologies for women to free up time for child care

- enhancing access to developed country markets and allowing poorer countries greater flexibility in trade policy choices: selective and temporary trade protection can help overcome low income traps
- establishing competent and independent local institutions in poorer countries to manage trade policy
- protecting key programmes for mothers and children in areas where public spending has to be cut

**Hugh Waddington** 

In Latin America, completing 12 years of

education protects 80 percent of young

people against poverty (ECLAC, 1997)

13 Victoria Road, Harborne, Birmingham B17 0AG, UK T +44 (0) 7779 261108 hugh\_wadd@yahoo.com

## Educating women = healthier children?

What is the best way to improve the health of a nation's children? Community healthcare facilities, water supplies and sewerage systems are traditional targets for public investment. Peru's experience suggests that improving women's education is just as important.

Peru has the second highest malnutrition rate in South America. Stunted growth resulting from chronic nutritional deficiency and leading to diminished intellectual capacity is common among children, particularly those from rural areas. There has been large investment in primary healthcare facilities over the last ten years, in an attempt to solve the problem. But usage of these facilities is low.

Better education for women could be the solution, according to research from the Young Lives project in Peru. The project

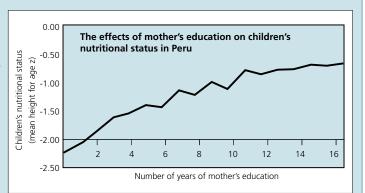
found that over 25 percent of children aged between 6 and 18 months were stunted and chronically malnourished and that this was more prevalent among rural children. Mothers living in rural areas have an average of four years schooling compared to nine years if they live in urban areas. This

implies that a mother's educational level directly affects a child's nutritional status. The more educated the mother is, the healthier the child (see figure above). In areas with many educated mothers, the entire community's

health improves because the mothers share health advice and information. In house-holds where mothers are less educated improved public services, such as sewerage facilities, improve child health. Policymakers concerned with improving child health should

Carlos Jesus is an eight year old, living in the Andean town of Huaraz in western Peru. His mother usually helps him with his homework in the evenings. His father is a teacher and works a long way from Huaraz coming home only at weekends.

(Photo by: Paolo Aguilar/Young Lives)



invest in:

- long-term programmes that aim to reduce education gaps and improve the average schooling level of Peruvian women
- nutrition related training programmes for uneducated and under-educated rural women, to improve children's health in the short term
- improving public facilities, such as sewerage facilities and road networks, in areas where low-educated mothers are concentrated.

#### Javier Escobal

Group for the Analysis of Development (GRADE), Av. del Ejército # 1870, P.O. Box 18-0572, Lima 27, Peru T +51 (0)1 264 1780 +51(0)1 264 1882 jescobal@grade.org.pe

#### See also

On how the interaction of public assets, private assets and community characteristics affect height-for-age early childhood in Peru, by J. Escobal, et al., 2005 www.savethechildren.org.uk/younglives/data/publications/index.htm

# Children's issues ignored in Ethiopia's PRSP process

Donors, governments and other groups acknowledge that addressing childhood poverty and labour is an important part of broader poverty reduction efforts. Yet, policies with a more comprehensive approach to tackling the multi-dimensionality of child poverty are rarely included in national poverty strategies.

Young Lives – a collaborative research project on children coordinated by Save the Children UK is analysing the extent to which the policy prescriptions and implementation of the Ethiopian Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program (2002-2005) are making a difference in poor children's lives in Ethiopia. It is also looking at how these changes are influenced by gender, ethnic and regional differences.

Although the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) framework introduced by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank emphasised civil society consultations children and young people were often ignored or completely left out of the process. An analysis of 23 PRSPs from Asia, Africa and Latin America revealed that most lacked any comprehensive strategy to address the needs of poor children and their families and frequently overlooked important elements of children's experiences

of poverty, work and education, including child trafficking and sexual exploitation. Although PRSPs included universal education for boys and girls and measures to address infant mortality and malnutrition, issues relating to child protection and participation were often left out.

Preliminary findings suggest that:

- Children involved in time-consuming activities such as collecting firewood and water and animal herding have to walk long distances and are exposed to multiple dangers such as wild animals, abduction or lack of food and water.
- Growing pressure from local government to increase school enrolment has helped persuade more parents to educate their children. Children are widely viewed as a source of labour, however, and during non-school hours are expected to contribute to household work rather than do their homework or play.

- Although primary education is free, in the name of 'community participation' families have to pay for new buildings or additional teachers' salaries either with cash or labour.
- Although microcredit programmes, especially for women, are aimed at improving family incomes and people's lives, they are having unintended negative effects on children, who are becoming increasingly involved in animal herding, with older children taking over adult work such as caring for younger brothers and sisters

A broader understanding of children's work including unpaid and domestic work is needed. Research findings from the Young Lives project will be discussed by the Poverty Action Network of Ethiopia, donor groups and the government's PRSP technical committee during the PRSP revision process to be completed by August 2005. This aims to persuade policymakers that children's needs cannot be addressed in isolation but need to be integrated into any development strategy. Tackling child poverty can be a means to ending chronic poverty and preventing inter-generational poverty

## Nicola Jones

Young Lives, Save the Children, 1 St. John's Lane, London, EC1M 4AR, UK
T +44 (0)20 7012 6400 F +44 (0)20 7012 6963
n.jones@savethechildren.org.uk

## Cash transfers can reduce childhood poverty

orty percent of children in developing countries struggle to survive on less than one US dollar a day, according to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). Childhood poverty often leads to long term vulnerability. It is associated with lower educational attainment and schooling which affects future earning potential and well-being. Cash transfers can protect people's well-being as well enable them to invest in their future.

Research from the University of Manchester in the UK suggests that a new generation of cash payment or transfer programmes recently introduced in Latin America has the potential to alleviate childhood poverty by ensuring children's development and reducing future vulnerability. Poor households' responses to poverty, such as withdrawing children from school or not accessing health care worsens poverty cycles. These programmes recognise this and provide cash transfers to improve household consumption and support key investments in education and health.

Cash transfers have a number of advantages. Beneficiary households know best how to use their resources to improve their standard of living. Cash transfers have a positive impact on the local economy when the money is spent. Compared to benefits such as school lunches, cash

transfer programmes are less demanding in terms of administration and are easier to budget.

Cash transfers need not be conditional.

South Africa's Child Support Grant, which provides an unconditional cash transfer to the parents or guardians of children in poor households, is

effective as it is well-targeted. Extending these programmes to very poor countries may pose difficulties, but Bangladesh's Food/ Cash for Education programme, Honduras' Programa de Asignación Familiar and Nicaragua's Red de Protección Social show these are not insurmountable.

Policymakers have to be aware that cash transfer programmes:

 are more effective in reaching out to orphans and vulnerable children in child-headed households when they are combined with child rights issues than when implemented in isolation

 need to be take into account how households allocate resources among different members in response to specific social and economic conditions

> cannot be effective on their own and need by significant investment in basic services such as water, health, transport, housing and education.

Cash transfer programmes focussing on child poverty have mostly been financed by loans or grants from international organisations, so far. Donors must consider continued support for child-targeted cash transfers as an important part of poverty reduction strategies to tackle child poverty effectively

## **Armando Barrientos**

Institute for Development Policy and Management, University of Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester M13

T +44 (0)161 275 2811

armando.barrientos@manchester.ac.uk

## Programme for health education and nutrition

than girls and in the year 2000, boys

hazardous work (ILO)

Fifty-five percent of child labourers

under the age of 12 worked in a

hazardous occupation or situations

in 2000 (ILO)

In 1997, the Mexican government introduced the Programme for Health, Education and Nutrition (PROGRESA), which pays a bundle of cash transfers to poor rural households with school aged children. This includes a monthly transfer for household consumption, additional transfers for every school-aged child, rising with each school grade and for girls. There is also an annual transfer for school materials such as books and uniforms. Transfers are conditional on children attending school for at least 85 percent of the school term and on mothers and

infants accessing primary health care. The International Food Policy Research Institute's evaluations of PROGRESA indicate that nutritional levels have improved in 70 percent of households, school enrolment rates have increased by 7 to 9 percent for girls and by 3 to 5 percent for boys and mothers reported a 12 percent lower incidence of illness in infants. By 2002, PROGRESA reached 40 percent of rural households in Mexico and its success in reducing poverty and improving education and health status among beneficiaries has persuaded the government to extend the programme to urban areas.

## Monitoring budgets for child rights

'he Bill of Rights in South Africa's constitution gives special consideration to child rights such as basic nutrition and education, health care and social services. Is it possible to ensure that these rights are realised?

The Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa), a non-governmental organisation (NGO) has evaluated government programmes and budgets to see if child rights are being met. There is no explicit system in South Africa for linking budget planning and implementation to the rights of children. Having complete information about the government's obligations is the first step, as lack of clarity weakens attempts to hold the government accountable.

Idasa's budget monitoring involves three

- investigating the content and scope of the right in guestion
- identifying and describing the government

programmes which affect the right analysing the sufficiency of one

programme affecting the right. Over the last ten years government funding for children's programmes has improved in certain

areas but many children continue to be vulnerable to poverty, extensive parental unemployment, neglect and abuse, HIV/ AIDS and disability.

An analysis of the 2005 budget shows that the government plans to improve its current programmes but more needs to be done. For example, it aims to increase the Child Support Grant to poor families and include more children by extending it up to 14 years of age. More money is being invested in improving education services through higher teacher salaries, better infrastructure and extending the Primary School Feeding programme. However, there is no additional money for NGOs assisting the government in providing services such as assessing child abuse or juvenile crime cases and arranging foster care or alternate sentencing. Lack of adequate

funds compromises their work as they cannot employ more staff or increase their salaries.

Idasa's budget and There are more boys in hazardous work expenditure analysis has helped to improve accounted for 60 percent of children in services and assess programme costs. Advocacy groups use such information to

> strengthen their work on children's rights. For example, joint efforts by Idasa and other advocacy groups helped to improve the Child Support Grant programme. Child rights can be ensured through budget monitoring. It is important to identify:

- the international rights treaties a country has ratified and how this has been translated into national action plans and policies or legislation
- the available budget information to assess transparency levels
- critical allies in the government who are able to support the work to realise rights and budget transparency

## Shaamela Cassiem

Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa), 6 Spin Street, Cape Town, South Africa **T** +27(0)21 467 5659 **F** +27(0)21 462 0162 shaamela@idasact.org.za

## Dynamics of child poverty in the Kyrgyz Republic

The Kyrgyz Republic is one of the smallest and least developed of the newly created independent states of the former Soviet Union. It ranks 110 out of the 177 countries on the Human Development Index (HDI). In the late 1990s, 88 percent of the population were living on less than US\$ 4 per day. Children make up nearly two-fifths of its population but child poverty has received little attention.

Research from the University of Southampton in the UK analysed the 1998-2001 Household Budget Survey carried out by the National Statistical Committee of the Kyrgyz Republic. In the period immediately following the Russian financial crisis in 1998, the proportion of children living in poverty peaked at 80 percent. Although poverty levels have improved, in 2002 two out of three Kyrgyz children still lived in poor households.

The research focused on children's movements in and out of poverty over time using panel data. It found that large numbers of children are trapped in poverty for a long time:

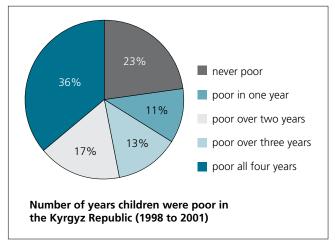
 Between 1998 and 2001, three-quarters of children experienced poverty and almost 40 percent of children remained in poverty throughout the four years (see figure above).

- A comparison of all children under 18 years with poor children in the same age group shows more poor children lived in rural areas and in households with access to land. More poor children were in households where the head of household had no or little education.
- Urban children were more likely to be chronically poor than rural children.
   Poor urban households have no access to land and cannot produce food for their own

consumption, which makes them more dependent on the local economy and cash income. Poor urban children are more vulnerable to sudden changes in income.

Although the period a child has been in poverty may vary, even a relatively short time such as one year could have a critical impact. A baby's nutritional intake may be limited or a child may have to work rather than go to school. Little movement out of poverty for a large group has serious implications – four years of a child's life encompasses almost an entire primary education for a 7 to11 year old and a critical survival and development period for a 1 to 5 year old.

Chronic childhood poverty in the Kyrgyz Republic can be tackled. It is essential to track the experience of poverty over time by collecting information on a regular basis. A one-off analysis of child poverty will fail to capture such complexities. Measures that would help include:



- enhancing the educational status of children to alleviate poverty in the long term as higher educational attainment among heads of households is associated with less poverty
- targeting children living in households with many children and those in single parent households to tackle poverty in the short term, as chronic poverty is highest in these groups
- paying particular attention to urban children in poverty reduction programmes

#### Jane Falkingham

School of Social Sciences, University of Southampton, Southampton, UK

**T** + 44 (0)23 8059 3192 **F** + 44 (0)23 8059 3846 **j.c.falkingham@soton.ac.uk** 

## Shamsia Ibragimova

Consultant on Poverty Analysis and Measurement, Formerly with the National Statistical Committee, Kyrgyz Republic

**T** +996 (0)312 631 379

shamsia@list.ru, sh\_ibragimova@yahoo.com

## Does child labour always undermine education?

Children are often forced to work due to chronic poverty. Globally, work is the main occupation of almost 20 percent of all children aged under 15. This is considered a major obstacle to achieving the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) of universal primary education by 2015.

Research from the University of Oxford in the UK suggests that child labour is often essential to household survival. Children who do household work release adults from domestic responsibilities to earn a wage; those employed outside the home contribute to family income. Children's roles are often flexible and they can usually find work although their parents may remain unemployed.

The relationship between child work, poverty and schooling is complex. In many contexts, child work does not merely bring in income but is an essential part of children's learning and social integration. Working children sometimes enjoy better nutritional status than those who do not work. They may work in order to pay for schooling: far from being an obstacle to

achieving universal primary education, child work often enables children to attend school. Undoubtedly, long working days undermine school attendance and performance but educational problems are frequently the major cause of child work rather than the consequence. Research from countries such as Ethiopia, Bolivia and India reveals that a number of children enter work because they are frustrated with irrelevant curricula or poor quality teaching, for example, rather than from economic necessity.

Abolishing child labour has been a main policy objective in the past but such generic policies will not help achieve the MDGs. Interventions need to respond directly to the specific circumstances of children. It is also important to recognise that:

- Removing children from work may not always serve their best interests, especially in poor communities where families have very limited income options.
- Although the dangers of bonded child labour and trafficking are known, other work situations such as factory or domestic labour can entail risks that are less obvious.
- Children may take up hazardous forms of work as they generate high incomes and bring in other benefits: child 'soldiers' in conflict situations, for example, give money to families and protect them from extortion or armed attack although their own lives could be in danger.
- Employers, children and their families may collude to perpetuate children's work despite the best intentions of policy.
- Improving the quality and relevance of education to working children's lives and increasing their access to it would help in reducing family poverty and hazardous child work

## Jo Boyden

Refugee Studies Centre, Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford, 21 St. Giles, Oxford, OX13LA, UK T +44 (0)1865 270271

jo.boyden@qeh.ox.ac.uk

## 'High achievers' prioritise social policy

osta Rica, Cuba, Barbados, Sri Lanka, South Korea, Malaysia, Mauritius, ■Botswana, Zimbabwe and Kerala (India) have succeeded in improving child welfare to a much higher level than might be expected given their national wealth. They are 'high-achievers' in social policy: in 50 years they have made advances in health and education that took 200 years in the industrialised world.

Research from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) asks what lessons can these countries offer other low-income nations. As the UNDP's Human Development Indicators show, these ten countries have comparable indicators to those of developed countries. They reduced nonincome poverty by improving child health and education early in their development despite the fact that incomes were not growing rapidly at the same time. Countries such as South Korea, Malaysia, Mauritius and Costa Rica sustained social investment at relatively high levels – even during the economic crisis in the early 1980s and the structural adjustment period. Also, defence expenditure was low between 1978 and 1993, freeing up resources for social investment.

Although economic growth is a necessary condition for sustained improvement in health and education levels and quality of social services, it is neither a necessary nor sufficient condition for the 'take-off' in social development. For instance, Brazil's per capita income is much higher than China's or Sri Lanka's but it has a much lower life expectancy. Macroeconomic policy cannot be determined first with social policy left to take care of its human consequences. Furthermore, evidence from South Korea, Malaysia and Mauritius shows social investment underpins economic growth and that broad-based poverty-reducing growth without basic social services is rare.

Countries could improve child welfare by following the six policy principles common to the high-achieving countries:

• Integrated approaches in health, nutrition, water and sanitation, fertility control and education complement each other and help • Human and financial

to achieve higher well-being. In a Nigerian village, for example, life expectancy at birth improved between 20 to 33 percent when illiterate mothers could access either health or educational facilities but it improved by 87 percent when both health and education were provided.

- Sequencing social investment improves its effectiveness: educational achievement that precedes or happens at the same time as health interventions ensures that people demand and use health services widely. South Korea did not have a public health system before 1976, but its literacy rate was already at 90 percent by 1970. Following investment in public health, infant mortality rate dropped from 53 in 1970 to 17 by 1980.
- A strong role by the state and a vibrant civil society helps to reduce child poverty. In one-party Cuba, social mobilisation particularly by women's groups – was key to the country's social progress. While democracy is not a necessary condition for social progress, it does help and it is critical to have a mechanism for people to express themselves.
- Equitable spending within each social sector is as important as maintaining high levels of social spending: allocating sufficient resources to primary and preventive health care, primary education and rural

areas was a key feature in all the high-achievers in contrast to most developing countries where referral and teaching hospitals or higher education are prioritised.

Life cycle of an Educated girl educated girl Marries later Better care Seeks medical Child spacing Higher likelihood of child survival Lower total fertility and education

People who have at least a basic education use health facilities more. Parents who learn about nutrition at school have a balanced diet for themselves and their children which can prevent, for example, low birth weight in babies

Source: 'Social Development in High-Achieving Countries: Common Elements and Diversities', in Development with a human face: experiences in social achievement and human growth, S. Mehrotra and R. Jolly (eds), Oxford University Press, by S. Mehrotra, (1997)

resources have to be used efficiently to prevent social spending from creating fiscal burdens. Zimbabwe met its shortage of teachers by having trainee teachers spend training period actually teaching in schools

• Women's role as active agents of change has to be encouraged to improve children's health and education. Women's freedom to work outside the home, earn an independent income, have ownership rights and be educated leads, for example, to more female health workers and teachers, which in turn increases the number of women and girls using these services

## Santosh Mehrotra

Regional Centre for Asia, United Nations Development Programme, UN Building, Bangkok, Thailand **T** +66 (0)2 288 2736 **F** +66 (0)2 288 3032 santosh.mehrotra@undp.org

## Useful web links

Childhood Poverty Research & Policy Centre

www.childhoodpoverty.org

Child Rights Information Network

www.crin.org

Eldis Children & Young People Resource Guide www.eldis.org/children

In Focus - Special Issue on Childhood Poverty from UNDP www.undg.org/documents/3622-In\_Focus\_\_2.pdf

Save the Children UK

www.savethechildren.org.uk

Save the Children Alliance

www.savethechildren.net/alliance

UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre

www.unicef-icdc.org

UNICEF's key statistical databases on children

www.childinfo.org

World Bank Children & Youth pages

www.worldbank.org/childrenandyouth

Young Lives: An International Study of Childhood Poverty www.younglives.org.uk

## Falguni Patel

Young Lives, Save the Children UK, 1 St. John's Lane, London EC1M 4AR, UK **T** +44 (0)207 012 6796

f.patel@savethechildren.org.uk



id21 insights is published four times a year and is online at www. id21.org/insights. The id21 site also offers free access to hundreds of short easy-to-read highlights on current international development topics such as health, natural resources, education and social policy issues. To subscribe to our monthly email newsletter email us at id21@ids.ac.uk with the words 'subscribe id21news'. For further information or to subscribe to id21 insights see www.id21.org or contact us at the address below.

Institute of Development Studies University of Sussex Brighton BN1 9RE, UK T +44 (0)1273 678787 F +44 (0)1273 877335 Email id21@ids.ac.uk



id21 is hosted by IDS and supported by the UK Department for International Development. Views expressed in id21 insights do not necessarily reflect those of DFID, IDS or any other contributing institution. Unless rights are reserved in specific cases any article may be copied or quoted without restriction, providing the source (id21 insights) and author are properly acknowledged and informed.

© Institute of Development Studies 2005; ISSN 1460-4205 IDS is a Charitable Company no.877338 limited by guarantee and registered in England

Editor: Shanti Mahendra Senior Editor: Louise Daniel Editorial & technical support: id21 team Academic adviser: Howard White Design: Robert Wheeler Printed by: Colorscope Printers Ltd Printed on paper produced from sustainable forests

**Keywords**: childhood poverty, inter-generational poverty, chronic poverty, child labour, children, social policy, child rights, education, health

id21 insights #56