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APPROACH TO A CHILDREN AND YOUTH POLICY IN RELATION TO
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: ANALYSIS OF FIVE LATIN AMERICAN
CASE STUDIES

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I. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Attempts to tackle the youth problem are no new development. Innumerable national and international meetings on the subject have been held, and a wide range of specific undertakings and activities exists, in which scores of agencies and immense financial resources are involved. Diagnoses have been prepared and guiding principles for organized and continuing action formulated. Yet all this is not enough.

The reason is not that a deaf ear has been turned to the recommendations put forward, or that no responsible theoretical contributions have been made to the study of the various social problems affecting young people, but that the discussion of these problems has not been based on an integrated approach. None of them can be solved out of its context, or split up into a number of component parts, each of which reflects only one particular facet of the Latin American countries' general under-development.

The noteworthy campaigns waged against under-nutrition, illiteracy and high death rates - to mention only the worst evils - must be incorporated in the over-all development effort, for otherwise such social ills are impossible to control. How long can a fight be put up against any one of them, if it does not stem from an endeavour to combat their underlying causes? Is there any justification for a whole policy in respect of children and young persons based solely on measures to remedy or palliate the evils in question, regardless of the limitations to which these measures and their effects are subjected when they are applied in isolation? What degree of economic and social rationality can such piecemeal policies possess, when they do not form an integral part of an over-all plan?

Consequently, the issue with which the present meeting is concerned cannot be viewed in detachment from under-development and development problems, since, in the last analysis, what is at stake is the provision of the right sort of living conditions for young people to grow up in, an objective whose attainment will unquestionably be the outcome of more rapid and equitable development.

Accordingly, any approach that implies disregard of economic and social dynamics will be basically unsound, and one which confines itself to the possibilities afforded by the present stage of development will be absolutely crippled both in its conception and in its effects. To speak of childhood and youth is to speak of the future, and, in the special case of the Latin American countries, of the development possibilities that lie ahead. Consequently, it is the needs of these vast new contingents that must shape the future of the Latin American countries, and not, viceversa, their interests and aspirations that must be adjusted to the present stage of growth.

For this reason, the problem should be stated not so much in terms of handicapped, illiterate or under-nourished children or of unemployed youths indulging in irregular behaviour, as with reference to a whole

/generation living

generation living on the outer fringes of opportunity. Similarly, questions of integrated approach and understanding should be given precedence over the technical or detailed discussion of individual measures. These will spring from the adoption of a proper attitude and of a wise development strategy, whatever the variants that each country's particular combination of historical and cultural circumstances entails.

To lose sight of the over-all picture is to incur a serious risk of remaining content with stopgap welfare measures that will do very little to eradicate the root causes of the problem. Something better must be aimed at than what may be defined as an ideology of charity and a mode of apparent youth promotion (through teaching of skills and other forms of training), which at bottom are mechanisms that alienate those subject to their operation and afford comfort to those who set them in motion. Action must be geared to the unavoidable decision that the youth of Latin America shall become the touchstone for a development strategy inspired by the desire to serve its needs, so that its prospects may not be undermined, and the forces may be mustered wherewith the future can be made its own.

II. DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

1. The production process

The problems confronting the Latin American Governments having been broadly outlined, the time has come for a few brief remarks on the policies hitherto adopted to deal with them.

Although every policy is a function of the problems it is designed to solve, of the resources and information available and of the social and cultural environment concerned, it is necessary to analyse the pattern in which the different factors are combined and the degree of intensity with which each comes into play, since these determine where the accent is placed in the policy pursued. In Latin America, where poverty exists on so vast a scale, emphasis has been laid on the most direct and immediate means of combating it, that is, in concrete terms, on the inescapable necessity of increasing the product and, therefore, of ensuring the satisfactory development of the factors on which it depends. Economic theory has been especially useful in this connexion, as it has enabled these factors to be defined and characterized, and has aroused concern for such questions as consumption levels, investment, foreign trade, means of increasing domestic saving, productivity, technology, manpower, etc. - in short, for all the more or less direct determinants of the growth rate of the product.

The diagnoses prepared have borne out this view of the existing problems, inasmuch as they have established the extreme dependency of the Latin American economies, because of which it is essential to diversify production and to raise the level of income and improve its distribution. At the same time, they have underlined the vital importance of manpower in this complex of factors; hence the interest displayed in investigation of the requisites and conditions that the educational system must fulfil in order to train a labour force that will meet both quantitative and qualitative requirements. Furthermore, recognition has been accorded to the importance of the social variables and of a scale of values and cultural background that will make for rational investment on the part of the entrepreneur and high productivity on the part of the worker.

Attention has also been devoted to the demographic aspect of the problem. With no little apprehension, population projections have been revised, and the weight of the pressure they imply on the effort to increase productivity and expand the limited sources of capital has been assessed. Some have even concluded that all endeavour is in vain, and that poverty and ignorance, at least until some time in the more or less distant future, are part and parcel of the destiny of Latin America.

Despite the concern shown for these variables in relation to the growth of the product, sufficient stress has not been laid on some of them, or their possibilities have simply not been adequately explored. In Latin America, when an analysis is carried out prior to the formulation

/of development

of development policies, the factor to which final importance is attached, as the axis to which all the rest must be geared, is the population, its size and its rate of growth. But in the actual formulation of policy, and during its implementation, the demographic factor seems to lose ground to the others (capital, technology, natural resources, productivity, etc.) and makes a new appearance as just one more factor called "manpower", which must be subordinated to the limitations imposed by the rest. This is alleged to be inevitable because labour is relatively plentiful, although the chief problem would seem to lie in its lack of training for efficient participation in the production process.

In practice, this view of the problem - transcended in the preliminary phase constituted by the analytical process - is subsequently reflected, when decisions have to be adopted as to how the productivity of manpower can be increased, in the attitude that sees the replacement of labour by capital, through the use of more advanced techniques, as the only possible way out.

It is common knowledge that, within certain limits, the productivity of manpower can be raised either by means of an improvement in its real performance levels or through its replacement by another factor. Experience shows that the first alternative, whatever the level of training of the labour force, can be achieved if better use is made of the time spent at work, and this in turn can be brought about by more efficient organization.

Furthermore, because at the time when the decision is taken sufficient heed is not paid to the unavoidable necessity of preventing unemployment, the quest for appropriate techniques whereby manpower can be retained and productivity simultaneously increased has not been as intensively pursued as the supreme importance of the problem requires.

Again, little reliable information is available on the technical coefficients of production and of capital intensity and manpower absorption under different technological systems, knowledge of which is a prerequisite for making the production process compatible with the conditions imposed by the existing economic, cultural and social situation.

The following example, although taken from the Indian economy,^{1/} helps to shed light on the vital importance of this problem for the development of Latin America: "The data show that production per worker rises from 45 to 650 rupees, i.e., more than 14 times, when hand-weaving in cottage industry is replaced by a modern large-scale factory. To make this possible, the capital per worker must be increased from 35 to 1 200 rupees, or 34 times. Thus, to attain this productivity per worker, the capital per unit of production must be more than doubled (from 0.8 to 1.9)." In other words, what is being advocated is a clearly-defined and deliberate policy in respect of the technology variable and its incidence on the shortage of capital and the level of employment.

^{1/} Manual on Economic Development Projects, United Nations Publication, Sales No.: 58.II.G.5, Part Two, chapter I, section IV(2), p. 197

The first step in this direction is to undertake once and for all the research required for the following purposes: (a) to establish clear and unequivocally, the relations between the whole range of techniques currently in use in the various sectors of production and the quantity and quality of manpower needed to put them into effect, as well as the capital-intensity per worker that each implies; and (b) to seek new technological compatible with present conditions in Latin America and with those likely to develop over the medium and long term. Failure to do this means inability to define a policy such as that recommended, which in turn implies the following anomalies:

(a) Inconsistency between declared aims - according to which everything connected with the production process is merely instrumental to human welfare - and actual practice, in which considerations relating to the labour force are subordinated to others deriving from the instrument itself, with the result that manpower becomes a marginal factor. In many instances this signifies confusion of the means with the end;

(b) While, on the one hand, it is recognized that sufficient employment opportunities must be created to absorb not only the 1.8 million additional workers who annually join Latin America's economically active population, but also the high percentage of unemployment already existing, on the other hand, when the time comes for action the scanty resources available are still invested in techniques useful to countries whose characteristics are diametrically opposed to those found in Latin America.

The development strategies pursued by the Latin American countries generally bear the stamp of these inconsistencies, and it is here that the greatest incongruity of all leaps to the eye. Since family, child and youth policies form an integral part of development strategy, and families depend upon their economically active members opportunities to reap the benefits of the production process through their participation in it, an approach in which the main concern is not, precisely, full productive employment contains the seeds of failure in its very conception. It is this conception which accounts for the undeniable fact that existing child and youth policies have a decided look of welfare measures, aimed at combating effects rather than causes. Even the most far-fetched and costly programmes, which apparently strike at the root of the problem, in fact barely touch it, since they do not tackle the evil at its true source. Hence the promotion of what might be called the "glass-of-milk policy".

Is it not time to adopt or at least explore the possibilities of a different approach, by picking up the thread dropped after the preliminary phase, and giving the manpower variable the importance that is its due? Why not settle for subordinating technological designs to the realities of the situation as regards the labour force and the available supply of capital?

/Granted the

Granted the incontrovertible fact that the Latin American population is increasing at extremely high rates, which will be difficult enough to control even if the requisite measures are applied, why should not the demographic variable be accorded priority over the rest? Why not assign it the leading place in the model that it merits, and, without overlooking the limitations and potentialities of the other variables, lay major emphasis on the prospects opened up by the growth of the population and the imperative need to absorb manpower in productive employment?

Once this problem is made the primary concern - proper care being taken to ensure compatibility with the others - Latin America will be on the way to a solution. The road will undoubtedly lead towards a thorough review of all questions relating to technique, an effort to liberate Latin American technology from the influence of that applied in the developed countries, and an intensive search for technologies more consonant with the region's possibilities.

The technical level at which the production process is carried out should be one which makes for full employment, which is consistent, in the present phase, with the existing characteristics of the Latin American cultures, and which does not imply the risk of disguised unemployment. Even if there is no one technology that meets all these requirements, and on the contrary, it may be that multiple solutions are needed, perhaps differing widely from one sector of economic activity to another, the fact remains that the foregoing aspect of the question has never been given its true importance when decisions have had to be taken in this field.

Nor can the problem be stated in static terms (of technologies for today); on the contrary, it is a typical example of those that call for a dynamic and farsighted approach, which must, however, be made compatible with the existing situation.

From another standpoint, such an approach will be enlightening in relation to the vocational training policies that are currently being promoted, both as regards the levels of skills required, and with respect to their relative volumes. This in turn will make it possible to define with greater accuracy the true role of children and young persons in the development process.

2. Social participation

To supplement the foregoing approach, directed towards the more intensive use of manpower, a criterion would have to be established with respect to popular participation in the development process, which cannot be self-generating unless this indispensable requisite is fulfilled.

/Every process

Every process of change is the outcome of a favourable conjunction of forces in the sectors involved, so that the social sectors concerned in it must be assigned an active, not a merely passive role. To this end, the possible ways in which the populations can take its share in the process must be clearly ascertained, for its participation implies not only problems relating to adaptation to new techniques, apprenticeship to new functions or socialization of new behaviour patterns, but also much fuller and more active identification with an image, with an objective that will enlist the whole population in its cause, such as development in its relation to the desire for social progress and individual betterment.

Participation in development as one of the mainsprings of the process can be envisaged basically from two standpoints. The first might be called that of "technological adaptation", which implies, in essence, the acquisition of certain instrumental skills that qualify the worker to discharge new functions, or to adopt different methods of fulfilling an old function modified by the demands of a new technique. This is the aspect of participation which has been shown in the clearest light, precisely because it is the most germane to development requirements; but that does not mean that it is the most important. Although functional adaptation, as the creation of the new cadres required for development purposes may be designated, "at first sight ... may appear as the continuous formation of roles and functions", at a more complex level it also demands the adjustment of new living patterns to different customs and altered values. "An occupation is not only a method of work but is also a distinctive style of individual life."^{2/} However, adaptation to these development requirements, whatever their level of complexity, stems from functional requisites that must be approached from the angle of a far-reaching technical training and general education policy. They constitute a direct reflex of development, in the sense of technological change, and of all the values and patterns connected with changes of this type. Precisely because these factors are of a strategic character, they may easily be almost set apart from the sphere of social dynamics, since the latter calls for an approach that is less functional from the standpoint of development requirements and therefore less operative when it comes to manipulating the factors in question.

If discussion admittedly cannot be confined to the instrumental, technological and cultural dimensions of this type of adaptation, inasmuch as it is only one of the ways in which the population is drawn in to the development process, a second angle of approach to the participation problem must be adopted, namely, that of true commitment to development, transcending the bounds of a mere functional adjustment. This constitutes a much more integral form of adaptation, almost an emotional tie, a development vocation, implying an escape from the closed cells represented by technological requirements of a functional nature, and an advance towards a level of social consciousness and a will to participate that are attainable only through the establishment of a "development climate".

^{2/} See "Three sociological aspects of economic development", Economic Review of Latin America, Special Issue, Bogota, August 1955, p. 60.

It is this kind of commitment that is of interest here, because it reveals how the various social groups and sectors feel about development and their own relation to it. The climate in question, of which much has been said already with reference to other situations, cannot be created without due regard to the dynamic interaction of these groups and sectors, since it will differ from one to another. Unlike the first sort of adaptation, which, belonging as it does to the level of the functional requirements of development, can disregard the behaviour patterns and values of the different strata, this second type is part of the very nature of the conflicting or harmonious relations existing between them. Consequently, in so far as it is recognized that the specific content of the image set up may differ for the various strata or groups, a kind of commitment will be taking shape in which most of these groups or strata become authentic protagonists of development, ultimately identifying their values with a highest common denominator (or "value consensus") that will result from correlation of their forces.

The necessary commitment image, conditioned by the specific dynamics of the society concerned, will obviously be shaped by the development policy whose structure is defined, with varying degrees of precision, by the groups that lead the development effort. As a rule, however, no clear-cut image is offered, perhaps because development is produced by the force of inertia rather than by the deliberate exercise of will; this may be why the type of commitment under discussion is more often found in revolutionary processes.

In any event, whatever the social group in power and responsible for development, and whoever may already have assumed the responsibility of technological adaptation, the question arises of what form of participation in development corresponds to that vast population sector which does not yet play a leading role, nor has begun its process of adaptation to necessary functions - namely, youth. In accordance with the foregoing postulates, to speak of youth and development is to touch on a problem extending far beyond the mere matter of training to perform certain functions which technology entails, since it involves defining the younger age groups' relations with the development process, and how and why they resist it or identify themselves with its demands. A whole integrated policy is implied, that basically consists in creating awareness of an active responsibility, not only of certain instrumental requisites (such as professional or technical training), or in encouraging the growth of the community spirit.

The youth problem cannot be reduced to the level of training policy or of purely welfare activities which, although their specific importance is undeniable, exert a distorting influence not only on young people themselves, who more often than not are made to feel frustrated and rudderless, but on the proper conception of the actual problem. If the participation of youth is to be of a fuller, more vital and more active sort than mere adaptation to the functional requirements of development in the abstract, and if an ethos which entails the socialization of the younger age groups is to be created, a much more integrated approach is

/indispensable. Educational

indispensable. Educational, technical training and welfare measures of all kinds must be co-ordinated within the framework of a common set of problems: those of the younger generation.

Viewed in this light, the problem of youth and development will be accorded a dynamic and integrated treatment in which each individual aspect (whether the policy concerned be labelled "human resources" or "welfare") will acquire meaning in the richer context of the generation which, however relations between social groups and strata evolve, will have to discharge a substantive responsibility in a complex and many-faceted process of change, through its effort to project its own values on the background of a cultural heritage never accepted without question.

III. DESCRIPTION OF THE PRESENT SITUATION

1. Demographic aspects

The following account is based entirely on the reports prepared by the five countries analysed, i.e., Argentina, Jamaica, Mexico, Peru and Venezuela. In 1960-61, these countries in the aggregate had approximately 76 million inhabitants, representing about 30 per cent of the population of Latin America.

Generally speaking, their rates of demographic growth ranged from 3 to 3.6 per cent, the exception being, in this as in other respects, Argentina, where a cumulative annual rate of 1.7 per cent was registered (see table 1).

Table 1

FIVE LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES; SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS, 1960

| Country | Total population | Rate of demographic growth (percentages) | Break-down by age groups (Percentages) | | | Child population | | Distribution of population (Percentages of total) | |
|-----------|------------------|--|--|-------|-------------|------------------|------------|---|-------|
| | | | 0-14 | 15-64 | 65 and over | Birth rate | Death rate | Rural | Urban |
| Argentina | 20.0 | 1.7 | 29 | - | - | 24/1000 | 60/1000 | 30 | 70 |
| Jamaica | 1.7 | 3.2 | 41 | 51.0 | - | 40/1000 | 47/1000 | | |
| Mexico | 36.0 | 3.6 | 46 | 51.6 | 3.4 | 46/1000 | | 45 | 55 |
| Peru | 10.3 | 3.0 | 45 | 51.8 | 3.6 | | 100/1000 | 50 | 50 |
| Venezuela | 7.8 | 3.5 | 45 | 52.8 | 1.8 | 43/1000 | 48/1000 | 28 | 72 |

Source: National case studies (E/LACCY/CS/L.1, L.2, L.3, L.4 and L.5).

The data on structure by age groups show that these are very young populations with high birth rates and death rates which, although also high, are rapidly declining. In Argentina, on the other hand, the population structure resembles that of the developed countries.

Argentina is characterized by a low population density and intensive concentration in the provinces at more advanced stages of economic and social development. In-migration movements signify the formation of "development nuclei" on the one hand, and, on the other, of areas that remain on the fringes of the development process. Of the total population, 7.6 per cent lives in provinces where there has been a stagnation of activity, because of the younger men's tendency to

/emigrate to

emigrate to the development nuclei. These areas are characterized by large families with low income levels, and by the employment of women mainly in artisan activities. Children and old people are very numerous, and the prevailing subsistence economy is an obstacle to school attendance.

Frontier zones receiving large numbers of immigrants from adjacent countries are occupied by 8.7 per cent of the population. Problems of maladjustment, unsatisfactory urbanization processes, etc., are rife.

A major proportion of the population - 46.7 per cent, - is found in areas undergoing rapid industrialization and consequently accelerated urbanization, with the resultant agglomeration in cities and shanty town, where environmental sanitation is inadequate and the traditional family unit tends to break up. High employment levels enable women to work in industrial establishments, leaving their children uncared-for at home.

Lastly, 37 per cent lives in the provinces with what are known as stationary economies. These are the parts of the country where the best economic and social indicators are registered, pushing up the average level-of-living indexes; infant mortality and illiteracy rates are low, the quality of technical and higher education is satisfactory, and income levels are high and consumption of goods and services substantial. The natural growth rate is accordingly very low, and this inevitably means an ageing population.

This distribution explains why population density varies in the different political divisions of Argentina, ranging from 14,871 inhabitants per square kilometre in the Federal capital to 0.2 in Santa Cruz, an index which also bears eloquent witness to the lack of proper balance in the development process. It may be asserted, however, that 83 per cent of the population of Argentina lives in developed or developing areas.

Jamaica (see again table 1) has a rapidly growing population with a death rate that is dropping sharply, although the diffusion of birth control methods has begun. The urbanization process has been intensified in recent years, and since 1943 the population of the capital has increased by 90 per cent. Towns with over 10,000 inhabitants account for about 30 per cent of the total population, with the consequent over-crowding and unemployment problems, which in Jamaica have reached a tragic pitch.

In Mexico, the rate of population growth is one of the highest in Latin America (3.69 per cent), and, as in other countries, a downward trend is observable in the over-all and infant mortality rates, as a result of nation-wide health campaigns and the spread of hygienic practices, the extensive provision of medical services, and improvements in diet.

To form some idea of the scale of the child and youth problem, it is enough to note the number of inhabitants between 0 and 14 years of age, and the growth rate of the 5-19 stratum (4.1 per cent). The population in the economically active age group (15 to 65 years) increases at a rate of 3.4 per cent, i.e., more slowly than the groups comprising economically dependent persons. The ratio between the two categories is 1:2 in Mexico today, whereas in the United States it is 2:1 and in Europe 3:1.

Population density in Mexico is relatively low (approximately 22 inhabitants per square kilometre). Although the urbanization process is continuing rapidly, the population is still scattered widely enough to create serious problems for the planning authorities.

The population of Peru shares the demographic characteristics found elsewhere in Latin America (see again table 1), i.e., a high growth rate (3 per cent) and an age structure which marks it out as a young population (63 per cent of the inhabitants aged 24 years or under). The situation is aggravated by the lack of integration between one part of the country and another as a result of the topographical features of Peru, whereby the territory is divided into three sharply differentiated areas, namely, the Costa (littoral), the Sierra (mountain ranges) and the Selva (rain forests). The marked disparities between the stages of development reached in these several areas lead to migratory movements which in turn give rise to serious economic and social problems. They are reflected in widely differing levels of living and over-concentration of the population in some parts of the country to the detriment of others, with the consequent problems relating to health, housing and inequitable income distribution.

Lastly, the case of Venezuela resembles that of the other countries analysed inasmuch as a population of 8,900,000 inhabitants is increasing at the rapid rate of 3.49 per cent, which causes its continual rejuvenation. The population under 15 years of age is steadily gaining in numerical importance, in both absolute and relative terms. Moreover, a disproportion exists between the population and the area inhabited, since 32.5 per cent of the population lives in 2.2 per cent of the territory; this means that in specific parts of Venezuela, such as the southern region, which constitutes 50 per cent of the whole territory, barely 3.5 per cent of the population is settled. This imbalance has got completely out of control, and projections show only modest endeavours to remedy it.

The following would seem to be the main explanatory causes: (a) better opportunities in the urban area; (b) the attraction invariably exerted by large towns from the standpoint of social aspirations; (c) the slow but steady improvement of productivity in the agricultural sector; and (d) a typically Venezuelan factor, i.e., the development of the petroleum industry and, more recently, mining activities, both of which have established some townships and have contributed to the growth of others. This accounts for the speed of the urbanization, process which is reflected in the following figures: the urban population increased from 34.7 per cent of the total population in 1936 to 67.5 per cent in 1961.

2. Economic aspects

The analysis of the economy of Argentina reveals that it suffers from the deficiencies common to all the Latin American economies. The series relating to the evolution of the product shows that its growth has been uneven, and that although between 1950 and 1963 it increased at an average annual rate of 2 per cent, spurts and standstills were registered. In 1963 the per capital gross domestic product stood at virtually the same level as in 1950, despite the fact that in 1961 it had attained a peak 14.5 per cent higher than the 1950 figure. Alongside a rapidly expanding industrial sector, the agricultural sector has remained in a state of relative stagnation, although it contributes 90 per cent of the country's total exports. As the industrial sector accounts for a major proportion of imports, it is dependent upon the fluctuations of the world market for agricultural commodities. In short, like all the Latin American economies, that of Argentina is highly vulnerable to the vicissitudes of foreign trade.

Yet if both the structure of the product and the composition of employment by branch of economic activity are analysed, it will be noted that the latter is much the same as in the developed countries (see table 2).

Table 2

STRUCTURE OF EMPLOYMENT

(Percentages)

| | Primary activities | Secondary activities | Tertiary activities |
|-----------|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| Argentina | 25.7 | 27.8 | 46.5 |
| Canada | 21.0 | 33.5 | 54.5 |

The relative importance of food consumption is shown by the following figures:

| | <u>Percentage of income</u> |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| Food | 36.0 |
| Manufactured goods | 36.6 |
| Services | 27.4 |

It is mainly by the structure of employment and of private consumption, together with the characteristics of the urbanization and industrialization processes, that Argentina is differentiated from the other countries studied, with which, however, it shares certain common features, such as the lack of balance in the development of the various parts of the country.

/The gravity

The gravity of Jamaica's child and youth problems can clearly be traced to the under-development of its economy. Its fundamentally agricultural structure, in which per capital productivity is minimal, and the absence of industrial development account for this country's most serious economic and social problem - unemployment.

The agricultural sector, with an unskilled labour force of which 50 per cent are female workers and the majority are young people, and with a structure of production of the subsistence-farming type, cannot feed the population, and thus a heavy burden on the rest of the economy, since substantial resources have to be allocated to imports of foodstuffs.

As has already been pointed out, 51 per cent of the population is between 0 and 21 years of age. This Atratum is severely affected by unemployment, since according to the 1960 census 39 per cent of total unemployment occurred in the labour force between 15 and 19 years of age, and 54 per cent of the jobless were looking for work for the first time.

The development plan for the next five years establishes a series of measures to solve this problem, of which the most important are the programmes for training skilled labour. It is noted in the Jamaica case study,^{3/} however, that if the economy does not make a rapid response and create the corresponding employment opportunities, mass manpower training programmes incur the risk of aggravating the young people's sense of frustration.

Attention is also drawn to the difficulty of the choice that has to be faced between using highly productive techniques or raising the level of employment.

The migratory movements set afoot by unemployment darken the picture still further. With the aim of checking the migration of young men from the countryside to the towns, efforts have been made to encourage the establishment of industries in the rural areas, but they have met with no success, and the new industries installed are found in Kingston. Country-dwellers have virtually no possible chance of finding employment in the capital, since they have to compete with the young people domiciled in Kingston, who account for 40 per cent of its population.

Although in Mexico the development process is well underway, fluctuations are observable in the progress of its growth rate, which weakened in the second half of the fifties, owing to a number of causes which undermined the strength of the most dynamic factors operative in previous years. In 1956-61, the per capita product increased at an average annual rate of 2.5 per cent, as compared with 3.6 per cent during 1951-55. In 1961, the gross domestic product rose only 3.5 per cent above the preceding year's level, thus barely keeping pace with the growth of the population. The year 1962 witnessed a recovery which brought the annual rate of increase of the product up to more than 5 per cent.

^{3/} See E/LACCY/CS/L.2.

Notwithstanding Mexico's efforts to reform its land tenure structure and improve productivity in the agricultural sector, and despite the steady expansion of industry in recent years, today approximately 12 per cent of the economically active population are unemployed. The problem takes on an even more serious aspect when it is recalled that the participation of women in the production process is tending to increase. In 1960, 18 per cent of the economically active population were female workers, and by 1970 the corresponding figure is expected to be 27 per cent.

Another of Mexico's development problems is the uneven distribution of income. According to the relevant report,^{4/} if the productivity of the labour force is considered from the standpoint of the income obtained, it will be seen that in 1960, 40 per cent of the economically active population earned tiny incomes which could not satisfy a family's health, nutrition and education needs. Low income levels are a feature not only of rural areas but also of urban employment in industry and services, although the agricultural sector absorbs a major proportion of the total number of employed persons.

This simply means that if any correlation exists between economically active population and number of households and total population, approximately 14.8 million persons are not in a position to satisfy minimum needs under the heads mentioned above, and of these 6.95 million are children in the 0-14 age group. Rough as this estimate is, it gives some idea of the magnitude of the problem.

Peru's economic growth rates in 1950-62 were satisfactory in fact, among the best in Latin America. The cumulative annual average for those twelve years was 5.2 per cent. Towards the end of the period, although some downward movements were registered, the corresponding rates reached 12.4 per cent in 1959-60.

The exceptional expansion of exports and the important role played by the public sector made a noteworthy contribution to this development. Between 1950 and 1960, the increase in exports averaged 256 per cent, as against a Latin American average of 57 per cent. Total investment, pre-eminently that of the public sector, rose by 332.7 per cent between 1960 and 1965.

The growth of the product by sectors in 1960-64 was favourable in construction, trade, banking and insurance, fishing and manufacturing industry. Agriculture, however, still constituted a brake on expansion, the cumulative annual increment between 1962 and 1964 having been only

^{4/} See E/LACCY/CS/L.5.

1.6 per cent, mainly on account of the shortcomings of the land tenure system and defective farm management. Imports of cereals, meat, milk products, etc., are still increasing, and are approaching 3,000 million soles.

At the present time, industry does not create sufficient employment opportunities to absorb the growing annual demand for work, although the most pressing problem is the lack of skilled manpower at all levels.

Mining experienced a remarkable expansion of over 200 per cent in the past decade, and contributes about 9 per cent of the domestic gross product. Yet it is not a dynamic source of employment, since it provides work for only 2 per cent of the economically active population. What is more, its production techniques are so advanced that its manpower absorption capacity is tending to decrease.

In spite of its exceptional rate of development, the Peruvian economy, in general, is incapable of creating the employment opportunities required. Nevertheless, an anomaly typical of under-development is that according to the 1961 census 2.6 per cent of the total active population were children between 6 and 14 years of age.

Furthermore, the characteristic common to all the Latin American countries - inequitable income distribution - is likewise observable in Peru. According to an estimate for 1963, the distribution of income among the economically active population is more or less as follows: 90.5 per cent of the population in question earn monthly wages of up to 2,000 soles; the monthly income of 9.3 per cent is between 2,000 and 20,000 soles; and only 0.2 per cent receive from 20,000 to 120,000 soles monthly, accounting for 10.3 per cent of total remunerations.

In short, Peru's economic and social situation demonstrates that in the past decade there was not, properly speaking, a State policy designed both to keep production rates at a high level and to create the conditions in which this expansion would redound to the benefit of the broad masses. Hence it may be said that in Peru there has been, and still is, "growth" but not "development".

The basic factors in the development of the Venezuelan economy have been the expansion of its foreign trade and the increase in external investment in its petroleum industry.

The value of petroleum exports doubled between 1950 and 1958, public expenditure soared, and, despite structural weaknesses and unsatisfactory public investment, the economy as a whole expanded rapidly. Despite the high rate of demographic growth, in 1951-57 the per capita gross domestic product increased by 40 per cent. But this spectacular economic progress was more apparent than real, since a number of deficiencies persisted and some showed signs of becoming worse. Moreover, the rapid growth rate of the per capita product must be viewed in the light of the high price levels and extremely

/inequitable income

inequitable income distribution prevailing. In 1957, the ratio between per capita income in Caracas and in the rural areas was 10 to 1. This situation has remained basically unaltered.

Again, the growth of the product has shown marked fluctuations. In 1960 it increased by 0.9 per cent and in 1961 by 0.2 per cent, figures which, in per capita terms, reflect a decrease of more than 2.5 per cent.

The unemployment rate of 13 per cent is attributable both to the shortage of employment opportunities and to lack of training. Although it might be assumed that the considerable growth achieved in recent years would have permitted a high level of manpower absorption, structural unemployment, employment in marginal occupations, and under-employment are still Venezuela's chief problem determining and affecting others, especially that of young persons, who pour into the labour market at a rate of 80,000 a year, without proper training, or simply without finding the right job for the training they have been given.

The factors that have prevented the solution of the problem may be outlined as follows:

(a) The rapid rate of demographic growth referred to above, which is on the highest in Latin America;

(b) The high productivity of the petroleum industry, which is still following an upward trend, and has reduced employment in this important sector. In 1964, petroleum produced 93 per cent of the country's foreign exchange earnings, 53.56 per cent of fiscal revenue and 21 per cent of the gross domestic product, but provided work for barely 1.2 per cent of the labour force. It employs 33,262 members of the economically active population, as against the 793,000 workers absorbed by the agricultural sector, who represent 28.68 per cent of the economically active population and generate 6.4 per cent of the gross domestic product. The petroleum industry shows an annual average productivity of 218,868 bolivars per active person, whereas in agriculture the corresponding figure is only 3,119 bolivars;

(c) The industrialization process which began with the fifties has not resulted in the expected absorption of manpower. This may be partly because a high percentage of the labour force lacks the necessary skills, owing to its rural origin, and partly too because the import substitution process has been based on procedures and techniques appropriate for industrialized countries, regardless of the need to select those which are more labour-intensive. Here the reason is that Venezuela's plentiful supply of foreign exchange has enabled it to import more advanced capital goods, along with the corresponding levels of technology.

3. Educational aspects

(a) Argentina

The educational situation in Argentina is relatively satisfactory compared with the rest of Latin America, in terms of the number enrolled in relation to the total population of school age. However, there are problems, including the high dropout rate, and the unsuitability of professional training to the economic and social needs of development in Argentina.

(i) Primary education. In 1952-62 there was a steady rise in the number of teachers and schools available for primary education. The enrolment rate in 1962 was 87.2 for the whole country, and the rate for children aged 8, 9 and 10 was higher than the over-all average. There rates indicate a high level of initial enrolment at the statutory school-entry age; yet the number completing the course remains low, because of the high rate of repetition, and the large number of dropout. In 1962, 13 per cent of all those enrolled in primary schools were repeaters. However, this average represents sharp regional differences; for example, in the city of Buenos Aires and in the provinces of Buenos Aires, Santa Fé, Cordoba and La Pampa, 18 per cent of those in the first grade are repeaters, while in the Cuyana area, the North East, Patagonia and the North West the percentage ranges between 25 and 34.

The percentage of dropouts before the sixth grade is 50 per cent for the country as a whole. The problem of the performance of the primary school system is most serious in the rural areas; according to the 1960 census, 42 per cent of the population aged 15 and over in these areas have had up to two years of primary school, 15 per cent have completed the six grades, and only 7 per cent have had secondary or university education.

(ii) Secondary education. Of the total population of the relevant age (13 to 18), 30 per cent receive secondary education. The distribution among the various types of secondary education is roughly as follows; the ordinary secondary education (bachillerato, commercial courses and teacher training) account for a substantial proportion of the total, industrial technical education represents a smaller proportion, and agricultural training amounts to only 0.4 per cent of the total.

The contribution of the private sector to the bachillerato and teacher training is very substantial, and is tending to become increasingly more important than that of the public sector; hence it can be foreseen that in the near future this type of education will be mainly in the hands of the private sector.

/The problem

The problem here, even in the absence of the necessary information on the qualification coefficients that would permit establishing the requirements of the development plan, is that there seems to be a lack of agreement between the stress in the development plan on the need to improve production and productivity levels in agriculture and industry, and the participation of the various branches in the training of intermediate level technicians. In fact the present rate of increase in teacher training and commercial training seems to be out of line with the employment opportunities open, quite apart from the incongruousness of the idea that in a country like Argentina, where the agricultural sector is of basic importance, its share in secondary education should be only 0.4 per cent of the total.

(iii) University education. The problem is similar for university education; for example, enrolment in medical schools in 1963 accounted for 30 per cent of university enrolment, and in conjunction with enrolment in law schools accounted for 50 per cent. On the other hand what are termed the strategic careers for development (agronomy and veterinary science, the exact sciences, engineering, economics and administration) account for only 20 per cent of the total.

The share of the annual national budget devoted to education during 1955-61 was 10 per cent, and the percentage of the gross domestic product allocated annually for this purpose during the same period was about 2 per cent.

(b) Jamaica

During the past five years the Government of Jamaica has devoted between 13 and 14 per cent of its annual budget to education; this represents about 3 per cent of the national income. In addition the private sector contribution amounts to a further 1.5 per cent, bringing the total to 4.5 per cent of the national income. Nevertheless, of the total population aged 15 and under, 16 per cent receive no education at all, 76.9 per cent receive only primary education, 6.6 per cent receive secondary education, and 0.5 per cent receive higher education. On the other hand, the illiteracy rate is fairly low, and 83.9 per cent of the population aged 10 and over can read and write.

According to the 1960 census, only 10 per cent of the children between 5 and 7 are at school. These figures show that the educational system is incapable of meeting the qualitative and quantitative needs of the younger generation.

Extensive campaigns are being conducted in vocational training, and quite novel methods have been used. Nevertheless this work is largely in vain because of the inability of the economic system to create the necessary employment, which further aggravates the existing social problems.

/(c) Mexico

(c) Mexico

In Mexico, as in the other Latin American countries, the main problem is the inability of the educational system to satisfy the needs of all children and young people. The main difficulties seem to be the high demographic growth rate, the scattered population, and the social and economic factors referred to earlier. The most important facts are that 2.2 million children are without primary education, the dropout rate in primary schools is 75 per cent, and there are over 10 million illiterates in Mexico as a whole.

These figures can be roughly explained as follows:

1. Mexico has a total of 88,151 rural population centres of less than 2,500 inhabitants, and in 1965 there are only 18,653 rural schools, which means that 69,498 centres have no school services.
2. Of all rural schools, 59.1 per cent, or 11,024, are single-teacher schools, which prevents children of school age from completing their primary education.
3. In 25 per cent of these schools the teacher has over 67 pupils, and 395 teachers have over 100 pupils each; in some cases one teacher has over 200 pupils in his care, which means that the degree of attention received by the individual child is completely inadequate.

All this is despite the persistent efforts of the Mexican Government. In fact, although the total number of children enrolled in primary schools rose by 85.7 per cent between 1950 and 1960, and the number of children left without a primary education fell from 52.7 per cent in 1950 to 33.6 per cent in 1960, which is a substantial advance in absolute terms, the total educational effort is still insufficient.

(d) Peru

The educational situation in Peru has been described all too clearly in the report concerned,^{5/} which states that for the past few years there has been an intensive campaign to expand the operational capacity of the schools and the number of teachers, but that nevertheless in terms of total volume, much still remains to be done.

^{5/} See E/LACCY/CS.L.1.

The report goes on to say that the 1961 census revealed an illiteracy rate of 40 per cent of the population aged 17 and over, and an average of 2.9 school grades completed in the population aged 5 and over. In 1963, 2 million students received instruction from 72,000 teachers in 17,000 schools. Nevertheless, there was a lag in the educational services in terms of the quality of the education provided, the deterioration of installations, and the poor use made of existing installations.

The report estimates that the net enrolment coefficients for 1965 was 90 per cent in primary education, 30 per cent in secondary education, and 8 per cent in higher education. Although the growth rate of the educational service is satisfactory, at 7 per cent a year, growth is erratic in terms of levels and geographical distribution.

The statistics show that out of every 100 pupils who begin their studies at each educational level, 50 complete the course in primary schools, 65 in secondary schools, 40 in technical schools and 45 at universities. The percentage completing teacher-training courses is 90.

The above-described anomalies exist despite the fact that the internal financial expenditure on education is high. The figure represents 5.8 per cent of the gross domestic product, and the State educational system absorbs 17.5 per cent of total public expenditure. About 85 per cent of education is public and 15 per cent private.

The different levels of illiteracy by department and by sex are deserving of special note. In Peru as a whole 53 per cent of the women are illiterate, as against only 26 per cent of the men. In some cases the percentage of female illiteracy is much higher - 93.1 in Cuzco, 94.5 in Apurimac, 91.8 in Ayacucho, etc. The lowest female illiteracy rates in rural areas are the percentages of 39.7 in Callao, 32.8 in Ica, 41.7 in Lima and 37.8 in Tumbes.

The quality of education is considered defective at all levels, because, among other reasons, of the lack of integration between the levels, and the failure to meet the country's needs. Vocational training fails to meet national requirements not only because of the type of technician produced, but also in terms of quality.

The quality of university education varies, and the number of students is not consistent with national demand. Some universities, such as the Agricultural University, the University of Engineering and the Faculty of Medical and Veterinary Sciences of the National University of San Marcos, have modern educational systems. The extraordinary proliferation of universities is alarming; in 1965 there are 29, and conditions are very poor because of lack of funds.

It should be noted that planning activities in university education are of very recent origin.

(e) Comments

The above descriptions of the educational situation in the countries considered leads to the following general conclusions. There is no doubt that the educational effort to date is inadequate. Suffice it to note that in the 0-14 age group alone, these countries have 30 million children. Although not all of these represent a demand for primary education, the enrolment figures at this level do not even amount to 35 per cent of the total.

Furthermore, it is essential to make renewed efforts to achieve an effective co-ordination between the various levels of the educational system, and to conduct research with a view to establishing a proper balance between the supply of trained manpower and the country's demand, both in terms of quality and quantity. This involves a revision of the aims pursued, and a corresponding modernization of the curriculum, at each level. In this connexion the problem of expanding intermediate vocational training must be faced, since at present the percentage of needs met at this level is clearly inadequate.

In addition it is essential to improve certain internal coefficients of the educational system, that particularly affect quality, such as the teacher/pupil ratio, and teachers' salary scales, since it is hopeless to think of improving performance otherwise.

4. Health

In the five countries covered here the health situation is broadly similar, although the nature of the data collected in the individual country studies precluded any very exact comparison between them.

As regards expenditure, no clear picture can be drawn, since the data is not available in all cases, and where available, is not always based on the same methods of calculation. Thus in Peru the share of social expenditure in the total budget is estimated as 18.2 per cent, with two-thirds for education and a third, that is, 6 per cent, for health (devoted to public health services for mothers and children, and establishments dealing with minors in need of special care and protection). In Argentina the amount spent on health represents 5 per cent of total government expenditure and 1.3 per cent of the gross domestic product, while in Jamaica the corresponding figures are 10 per cent of total government expenditure and 2.4 per cent of national income, plus 1 per cent of total government expenditure in the form of subsidies to voluntary organizations. In the studies on Mexico and Venezuela no data are given on health expenditure.

The lack of a uniform criterion for determining health expenditure, and the failure to provide figures on the real extent of the problem, preclude an objective evaluation of the effectiveness of the expenditure in this basic field of assistance to children and young people.

(a) Mexico

The basic feature in Mexico is the spectacular and continued decline in general and infant mortality. The main causes of the population increase are the national public health campaigns and procedures, medical advances, and the improvement in the diet.

The improvement in medical attention is reflected in the increases in the number of beds, by 10 per cent a year, of doctors, by 6.1 per cent, and of patients attended, by 11 per cent. Furthermore, the number covered by the social security service is increasing by 17 per cent a year, and for the maternity and surgical services the increase is 23 per cent a year, a rate much higher than that of the population growth. The improvement in the social security services is well illustrated by the fact that 20 per cent of the total population is now covered by the service, and that in 1970 it is expected that there will be two beds per thousand inhabitants, in the public sector alone.

However, at the same time as this improvement in the medical and social services, there has also been a rise in prenatal and early infancy diseases, and 51 per cent of all deaths occur in the 0-14 age group. The cause of this apparent paradox is that there is probably still extensive malnutrition among Mexican children. In fact the data available give a fairly clear picture of the state of nutrition, as shown in table 3.

Table 3

MEXICO: DAILY PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF CALORIES AND PROTEINS

| Year | Calories | | Proteins (grammes) | |
|------|----------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| | Actual | Recommended | Actual | Recommended |
| 1958 | 2 470 | 2 600 | 72 | 75 |
| 1959 | 2 270 | | 66 | |
| 1960 | 2 390 | | 67 | |
| 1961 | 2 266 | | 65 | |
| 1962 | 2 320 | | 65 | |

Infant malnutrition with serious effects on growth and deficiency symptoms is found in 32.3 per cent of the preschool population in rural areas, 18.6 per cent in semi-rural areas, and 4.0 per cent in urban middleclass areas.

For the purpose of dealing with this acute problem, the Government established the National Institute for the Protection of Children (Instituto Nacional de Protección a la Infancia), which distributes food through 124 Nutritional Guidance Centres. In 1964, 1,200,800 breakfasts a day were given out, in addition to other more complete rations distributed once a week to poor children. The Institute is independent of the Ministry of Health, which has 3,137 health units, hospitals, health centres, rural medical services, maternity clinics, homes and shelters, nutritional guidance services, etc., and in 1964 these units served 1.1 million children from rural areas and 2,231 million from urban areas.

The foregoing clearly shows that there is no existing health policy whose effectiveness can be evaluated, or any planned long-term policy co-ordinated with over-all development plans. The only development that calls for comment is that the daily breakfasts distributed rose to 1.8 million in 1965, an increase that appears inadequate as the basis of a policy to fight malnutrition.

(b) Venezuela

The infant mortality rate fell from 66.7 per thousand in 1956 to 48.1 per thousand in 1963. One of the main causes of death was gastroenteritis, including infant diarrhoea. In the 15-24 age group the two

/main causes

main causes of death were accidents (26.9 per cent) and suicides and homicides (18.5 per cent), the next two most frequent causes accounting for only 7.3 and 6.3 per cent of the total.

This is not the place to discuss this phenomenon as a symptom of failure to understand the problems of young people and the lack of a welfare policy, but it is relevant to bear it in mind in arriving at a more searching evaluation of a typical element in the policy for dealing with children and young people: the welfare approach. Venezuela, like the other countries covered in this study, has a limited and unilateral view of this type of work.

In fact, the health programme in Venezuela consists of the following welfare programmes.

The environmental sanitation programme, which aims at reducing to zero by 1967 the number of population centres of between 500 and 5,000 that are without running water, and at the same time plans to establish, in co-operation with UNICEF, a plan for scattered settlements that would include centres with a population of less than 500.

Mother and child welfare programmes, under the Mother and Child Department, which has succeeded in reducing infant mortality from 64.4 per thousand in 1958 to 48.1 per thousand in 1963.

The National Institute of Nutrition, financed by the State and advised by the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, which covers the following main fields:

- (i) Preparation of milk products of high nutritional value for the protection of the preschool child.
- (ii) Prenatal care: there is a prenatal protection plan to prevent deficiencies of vitamins and minerals.
- (iii) The "glass of milk" programme, to educate the family in proper nutrition, and persuade mothers to improve the family diet within their budgetary limits.

The School Meal Service, now concerned mainly with the programme to provide a complete daily diet for the preschool population, since this is the group in which nutritional problems are most serious. As a result of the success obtained with the school population (reduction of malnutrition from 60 per cent in that group in 1964 to 10 per cent in 1965), the service has now been extended to cover the preschool population, the 2-7 age group. The total preschool population served is 50,000.

/Although the

Although the Venezuelan programme covers more areas than the Mexican programme, some questions arise, as to the lack of a central planning agency, the seeming proliferation of agencies, the problems of relations among them, the total amount of funds available, and the real extent of the service provided by each agency.

Nor does there seem to be an over-all basic concept on the basis of which plans can be made to deal with the health situation within the framework of a development programme. On the contrary, there is a tendency to deal with problems piecemeal, so that innumerable agencies are created, without any clear relationship or co-ordination, and with obvious overlapping between some of them, such as, for example, between the Mother and Child Welfare Department and the Ministry of Health, or between the National Institute of Nutrition and the School Meal Service.

(c) Argentina

This country is in the paradoxical situation of combining some very high development indicators with a high child mortality rate (60 per mil), which may be a sign of poor income distribution.

The major programmes noted in the country study are:

Maternal and child welfare programmes, focussing on children of under five. These are run by the Department of Maternal and Child Welfare, a special service answerable to the Ministry of Welfare and Public Health.

The Department operates through 306 centres scattered throughout the country. Their chief activity is the pre- and post-natal care of women and babies, although attempts are being made to extend their coverage to pre-school children.

Because of Argentina's federal structure, the Department works on the basis of agreements with the different provinces, and consequently suffers from all the problems of co-ordination and planning deriving from the existence of several autonomous bodies each empowered to take decisions.

The budget for the programme has risen from 320 million in 1964 to 503 million in 1965. The total sum earmarked for milk, medicaments and vaccinations is 40.9 per cent, plus the disbursements made by the provinces under the above-mentioned agreements.

Another important health programme concerns water supplies, which is the responsibility of the National Sanitary Works, an autonomous agency. This programme is not applicable to rural communities of less than 3,000 inhabitants, which are covered by a special programme partly financed by the Inter-American Development Bank and the provinces concerned.

/Inoculations are

Inoculations are the responsibility of the Department of Communicable Diseases, which administers vaccination programmes that have apparently achieved good results (although, as with many of the statements made in the country study, the authors of the present paper have not been able to form an objective opinion for want of information).

By and large, it is hard to assess the value of these programmes, since no definite information is available on their results. Nor can it be determined whether a comprehensive and organized body of activities is being conducted. In fact, Argentina seems to suffer from the same defect as all the other countries to one degree or another in that it has no clear-cut planning hierarchy capable of dealing resolutely and efficiently with the different aspects of the problem at the lowest possible cost and with no duplication of effort.

5. Social and legal protection

Social protection and legal protection present certain similarities, the legislation concerning children and young people being fairly abundant in both cases. A distinction should be drawn, however, between social welfare policy in the strict sense of the term, and the laws protecting minors.

Not every country has set up a proper framework of social welfare institutions specifically concerned with determining the lines of action to be taken and co-ordinating the functions of the numerous agencies that are engaged in some aspect of social welfare work. The situation in Venezuela and Argentina is typical of most of the others as well. In Venezuela there is a Council for Children, to deal with the problems of homeless or socially maladjusted children and young people. The Council has four programmes for:

Institutional care: this comprises crèches and kindergartens for day care of children; homes where minors guilty of anti-social behaviour are placed for short periods; and institutes for re-education divided into two broad categories - those for preventive education for children from 7 to 14 and rehabilitation for adolescents from 14 to 18. In addition, the Council takes care of mentally retarded children by subsidizing special private institutes for them.

Extra-mural care: this covers vocational guidance programmes to ascertain individual aptitudes, preferences and characteristics; adoption or the placement of children in foster-families; and aid for young people.

Welfare and family education programmes: these are intended to provide help for families and raise their economic, cultural and other levels.

/Planned recreation:

Planned recreation: in this approach recreation is regarded as one of the fundamental resources for the welfare of the individual and the community as a whole. This facet of welfare work reflects a new, dynamic and integrated approach to the well-being of young people and should be given its due place in the social welfare plans of other countries.

Through the medium of these four welfare programmes, the Council deals with 104,132 persons. The private sector contributes through the Federation of Private Associations for Child Welfare, which groups together thirty-one organizations.

In Argentina, on the other hand, the main body is the National Welfare Council, which is a subsidiary organ of the Ministry of Welfare and Public Health with the purpose of promoting the welfare of families, groups and communities through its various services.

Its functions are as follows:

- (a) To take part in the orientation, channelling and co-ordination of all matters relating to the social services;
- (b) To undertake the registration, advisory and auditing services in respect of public welfare institutions;
- (c) To co-ordinate the activities of the various agencies that carry out the programmes. The Council has successfully established relations with other public and private institutions, drawing up plans of action and substantiating agreements for immediate implementation.

In short, although a start has been made on the co-ordination of the various social services, and central agencies have been set up to frame policy and streamline their activities, the work of implementation has been delegated to a host of public and private organizations, some of which are even financially independent, and it is by no means clear whether their activities are co-ordinated in actual fact.

The programmes established cover day-care nurseries, mothers' clubs and so forth. According to the Council's records, 5,755 private social welfare institutions have already been set up, and there are 230 public agencies. A survey of 626 items of information on the institutions active in Buenos Aires shows that the total sum invested in 1963 was 1,500 million pesos from private sources and 250 million pesos from official sources, the latter in the form of national, provincial and municipal subsidies, and grants from the Ministry of Education to pay for teaching staff, scholarships, etc.

Both kinds of organization are clearly defined types of social welfare policy instrument and can be found, under a different guise and with other methods of operation, in nearly every country.

/A glance

A glance at the present state of social welfare policy will bring to light several problems of co-ordination between social welfare and formal education and between private enterprise and the State. There is seldom any real co-ordination among them, and this, together with the situation of vocational training, affords one more proof of the fact that formal education is viewed in isolation rather than as an interlocking part of the development structure.

In order to classify the different kinds of measures that make up a welfare policy, those with a direct bearing on children and young people should be distinguished from those that are concerned with the living and working conditions of the child or adolescent and therefore operate through the medium of the school, family or community.

With regard to the family, there is constant evidence that changes in the family environment are one of the major causes of maladjustment and other grave social problems in young people. The exodus from the countryside is probably the root cause of the upheavals in family structure. One of the main symptoms is a lack of stability in the father, which is particularly serious in societies whose social structure is founded on family groups with the father as the head of the household (and not the mother, as in Jamaica). Housing deficiencies are also an influential factor, as is the decline of adult authority. The effect of these two factors is intensified when they are combined with other conditions such as juvenile unemployment, an education of the kind that fails to develop children's creative powers, and lack of co-ordination among the different measures, for instance, between vocational training and formal education, and between these and the use made of leisure hours, or again between training and employment opportunities. In the case of the latter, the fact that the type of training taken bears no relation to the work available adds to young people's sense of frustration (as observed in Jamaica, and applicable to the other five countries as well).

The legal protection of children and young people also runs on more or less the same lines.

The family has naturally come to be accepted as the fundamental unit of society. A number of legal provisions have been enacted to protect the family, the child and the adolescent. In Venezuela, for instance, the political constitution contains provisions for protecting the family, and more specifically the mother, and comprehensive protection is offered to the child. A law has also been passed on family protection, whereby natural paternal affiliation can easily be established and the father is compelled to spend a certain proportion of his income on family maintenance. In Argentina, failure to support the family is penalised by law.

The children themselves are covered by a number of laws on adoption, and the abolition of discrimination between legitimate offspring and those born out of wedlock. There are also legal provisions on the right of the

/minor to

minor to protection and to be judged by special legislation and courts (Statute for Minors, Minors' Foundation, Juvenile Courts, Courts of Arbitration on Guardianship, Legal Advisory Bureau. There are of course also laws on working conditions for minors. There is, in fact, a whole top-heavy legal superstructure for the protection of the family and the minor, which has covered every important aspect of social and economic life. These political constitutions, laws and decrees are, however, rendered null and void by the influence of the social and economic substratum. One law or even a whole set of laws will not suffice; it is imperative that every effort be made to bring up to date, adapt and co-ordinate all activities and services in the vital task of providing all-round protection for the child, the adolescent and the family.

The issue can also be stated in these terms: what kind of economic and social development policy would make it unnecessary for a protective wall to be erected around the child and adolescent? What is the right way to protect the child: by helping him or by remedying the underlying causes of the social evils from which he has to be protected? In one way or another, the reader is inevitably brought back to the questions that were asked at the beginning of this paper.

The answer does not lie in the expansion of expenditure on certain items, in setting up a particular organization or co-ordinating a specific volume of international assistance. Nor is it to be found in the co-ordination of means and definition of ends. All these are obviously contributory factors. But the crux of the problem is how to define the role of youth in the development process and adapt it to fit the particular conditions prevailing in each country.

IV. PROPOSALS AND CONCLUSIONS

1. Problems and suggestions in relation to planning

The main shortcoming of the plans to assist children and young people is the fact that not one of the agencies concerned is aware of the aims, activities and achievements of the others, from either the quantitative or qualitative standpoint.

This is a basic pre-requisite for co-ordinated decision-making, but it is not being met, although the different countries have either organized their planning at the national level or have at least established a few government units to review activities and to frame over-all policies. It is not simply a question of knowing what the other institutions are doing without personal commitment. Each institution should, on the contrary, become involved whether directly or indirectly with the work of its fellows.

Experience has shown that they become involved only when spheres of responsibility have been clearly demarcated, and each is aware of the interdependence of the group as a whole at the different levels of operation. It is an established fact that the process of planning implies a constant flow of basic information, views and decisions between the policy-making and the executing agencies.

This two-way flow cannot be started by an agreement on the objectives to be pursued in common. There must be a more dynamic and specific element present, in other words, direct or indirect dependence on particular sources of financing.

Governments should therefore draw up agreements enabling them to centralize the management of the funds destined for the care of children and young people. This is, of course, already done to a certain extent as far as public expenditure is concerned, but some remarks should be made on way in which resources are allotted. At present, they are earmarked by type of expenditure instead of in accordance with the purpose for which they are to be used. Furthermore, the amount of funds appropriated yearly is not in proportion to the volume of activities undertaken.

In order to remedy these shortcomings, it is suggested that all public institutions should adopt the system of programme and performance budgeting. This method is per se one of the most effective planning tools, since it entails the re-examination of objectives, the establishment of an order of priority, a search for units of yield, the allocation of responsibility for the different areas of work, the gradual improvement of the methods adopted to reach the targets, and clarification of the different levels of operation and corresponding levels of decision, in short, rationalization of the work.

/To turn

To turn to the problem of how to strike a balance between the activities undertaken in the different social sectors, including the care of children and adolescents, it is evident that the scale of such activities, the volume of investment made and the number of people who benefit from them are mainly related to formal education.

Whatever the reasons for this disequilibrium in the development of social programmes, there are good grounds for channelling funds towards the programme that can most easily gain ground in the life of the community, i.e., education. In other words, if the furthest reaches of the different social strata are more likely to be opened up by education, it might be best for programmes of preventive medicine, family aid and birth control, sanitation, nutrition and community development, etc., to be grouped around educational programmes proper, and for the schools, polyclinics, recreation grounds and maternal and child health centres that used to be individual units to be gradually integrated into what might be called social development centres offering all those services and run by groups of professionals from related disciplines who would take part to one extent or another in all the centre's activities.

Apart from offering a way of using the funds available to the best advantage, this proposal has the virtue of translating the long-cherished aim of integration into practical terms.

It need hardly be pointed out that decisions taken in the social and other spheres will all be irrational to a certain extent, depending on how much or how little is known about actual conditions. This possibility more than justifies any expenditure incurred in setting up and maintaining the necessary statistical services. Such services should not only supply factual data but also make qualitative assessments.

There is an analogous need for the studies and statistics that can be used as a bases to formulate training policies for different kinds of skilled labour. It is essential to set up agencies to study and record the technologies used and possible alternatives to them, the employment provided by each kind of technology in quantitative and qualitative terms and future trends, whether spontaneous or induced, and lastly, the productivity of the inputs employed in the processes of production. This should be done for every sector of economic activity. In the absence of such information, heavy investment is likely to be made in unproductive activities thereby stirring up even greater social discontent. This is a fertile field for which international technical assistance is becoming more and more indispensable and may well yield the greatest returns on the investment made.

2. Suggestions relating to research

An extensive network of basic research should be set up to throw light on some of the main enigmas. The focal point of such research should in any case be "The younger generation and its role in development", other aspects such as the sociology of the family and education being relegated to second place, although ample co-ordination would naturally be needed.

Although this subject is really UNICEF's province, in so far as this is the organization most closely concerned with young people, any work on it should be co-ordinated with the studies promoted by UNESCO and other national and international organizations.

Some of the principal points still awaiting clarification are:

- (a) The role of the different generations in development;
- (b) The nature of the struggle between the generations and its connexion with social dynamics;
- (c) The values of the adult generation, and the culture of youth and its influence on the process of change;
- (d) How to transform the adolescent into a true protagonist of development: the role of the family and education in this process;
- (e) Training for new functions and the cultural conflict;
- (f) The process of constructing new functions and the information gap (role moratorium);
- (g) The premature maturing of young people as a result of an early process of socialization: their identification with traditional patterns of behaviour;
- (h) The development of a personal identity and social maladjustment;
- (i) Changes in family structure (especially the structure of authority) and the consequent repercussions on the conduct and aspirations of young people;
- (j) Young people's lack of cultural integration and anti-social behaviour;
- (k) The development of a political consciousness in young people as a means of solving problems of adaptation to adult society and as an alienation mechanism;
- (l) The educational system: aims and opportunities.

/In order

In order to deal with the practicalities of the proposed research and its co-ordination with the work of other agencies, it is suggested that a Committee for Research on Youth be set up as a subordinate organ of UNICEF, with the following functions:

- 1) To work out plans for research on the different sociological, psychological and economic questions that bear on the main theme and are compatible with the general tenor of the solutions to be adopted;
- 2) To promote research on the basis of its own resources or through the conclusion of agreements with national agencies specializing in the same field;
- 3) To co-ordinate its research work with that of other international organizations, by undertaking joint studies or requesting them to deal with certain aspects on which they are particularly knowledgeable.

3. General conclusions

Some broad conclusions on the type of policy that has been followed may be drawn from the foregoing observations.

The accent has been laid on the adoption of specific measures for particular sectors or areas, and little heed has been paid to the development of a comprehensive policy. This has led to a lack of co-ordination among the organizations concerned with the problems of children and youth, both between one area and another and within a single area.

The want of an over-all policy is also reflected in the fact that no planning system works in practice, although a formal framework for planning has been set up in a good many countries, the reason being that a workable and effective system is an essential pre-requisite for any policy, even one for social welfare, to achieve productive results.

Another factor that should be noted is the lack of any drive to encourage and organize communities to take part in the actual work of executing policy decisions. There are a few programmes for family education, but no clearly-defined policy for drawing the whole population, and especially young people, into the process of development has been worked out, although this should be the keystone of every endeavour to solve the problems of youth. By and large, there is a lack of compatibility between development strategy and the policies adopted for young people, which seems to be entirely the wrong approach. It is also the point on which the discussions should be focussed.

Without undue dogmatism, it may safely be said that despite the enormous efforts put forth to deal with these problems, they fall far short of the world's needs (suffice it to bear in mind that the peoples in question are very young). It is not only more funds and new organizations that are wanted. What is essential is to redefine the whole problems in terms of an over-all plan and a satisfactory development strategy.

It is not until this has been done that each measure will be able to achieve its full results. To disregard the social and economic dynamics of the Latin American countries is to follow a path that will not lead to any definitive solution of the problems of children and youth.