ONE

Introduction

Shailen Nandy and Alberto Minujin

In December 2006, the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) adopted, for the first time, an international definition of child poverty. It recognised that:

... children living in poverty are deprived of nutrition, water and sanitation facilities, access to basic health-care services, shelter, education, participation and protection, and that while a severe lack of goods and services hurts every human being, it is most threatening and harmful to children, leaving them unable to enjoy their rights, to reach their full potential and to participate as full members of society. (UNGA, 2006, para 460)

The United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), the agency charged with promoting international child welfare and which had campaigned for agreement on a definition, noted:

Measuring child poverty can no longer be lumped together with general poverty assessments which often focus solely on income levels, but must take into consideration access to basic social services, especially nutrition, water, sanitation, shelter, education and information. (UNICEF, 2007)

These internationally accepted and agreed statements and definitions were a major step forward for everyone interested in the issues of child well-being and child poverty. The definitions provided a clear and unambiguous direction to governments, advocacy groups and others interested in dealing with child poverty as to which dimensions future research and indicators needed to reflect. The measurement and analysis of child poverty requires consideration of a wide range of non-monetary dimensions and factors, all of which are known to have a well-documented impact on children’s survival, well-being and development. These dimensions include, as the definitions set out:
children’s living conditions, their access to basic services, their ability
to participate in normal society as full citizens, the right to be free of
any kind of discrimination and exclusion and their rights to protection
from exploitation and abuse. In summary, this measurement and analysis
addresses equal opportunities for all boys and girls in all countries and all
situations. When viewed in conjunction with the sentiments expressed
in the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC),
where state parties were enjoined under Article 27 (among others) ‘to
recognise the right of every child to a standard of living adequate for
the child’s physical, mental, moral and social development’ (UN, 1989),
two things are apparent. First, evidence from around the world, from
rich, middle-income and poor countries alike, confirms that many
millions of children continue to experience deep poverty, deprivation
and exclusion (Micklewright and Stewart, 2001; Gordon et al, 2003;
Richardson et al, 2008). Second, that despite the binding commitments
of the UNCRC over 20 years ago, the most basic rights of children
continue to be infringed (van Bueren, 2002; Redmond, 2008).

This book presents a collection of work by leading international
academics, researchers and policy makers concerned with the
measurement and mitigation of child poverty. It brings together many
of the actors involved in the development of indicators and measures
of child poverty and well-being, and through a series of national
and regional level case studies, demonstrates how research on child
poverty has developed over the last two decades. Until 1999, few
researchers concentrated on child poverty as a concern that deserved
special emphasis. Poverty meant adult and household poverty, and the
prevalent approach to measurement relied on income/consumption
indicators. No information on child poverty was available at a global
or regional level, and only a handful of countries estimated the number
of children living in income-poor households. In 1999, the UN Expert
Group on Poverty Statistics met in Portugal and researchers such as
Alberto Minujin and Peter Townsend made the case for documenting
child poverty in statistical and policy terms. The concept at that
meeting was based on the over-representation of children among the
poor and utilised only the money metric approach. By the end of
1999, however, UNICEF, under the leadership of Jan Vandemoortele,
Enrique Delamonica and Alberto Minujin, furthered the effort by
coining the phrase ‘Poverty reduction starts with children’ (UNICEF,
2000b) in order to influence the design and implementation of the
Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), which had recently
been established by The World Bank. In 2003, a research team led by
Professors Peter Townsend and David Gordon, produced the first ever
global estimates of child poverty for UNICEF (Gordon et al, 2003) as an outgrowth of the Portugal meetings and UNICEF action plan. When data from the report were used in the *State of the World’s Children 2005* report (UNICEF, 2004) to show that over one billion children were severely deprived of one or more basic needs, there was immediate and widespread recognition that more needed to be done to tackle child poverty. In the years that followed, academics and activists developed an international network of actors, all of whom were involved in developing research on child well-being and poverty. With the issue of child poverty now placed at the centre of the international stage, there was (and continues to be) a significant increase in activity and research on child poverty around the world (Boyden et al, 2003; Feeny and Boyden, 2003; Minujin and Delamonica, 2003; Seager and de Wet, 2003; White et al, 2003; Noble et al, 2004, 2006; Corak, 2005; G.A. Jones, 2005; N. Jones, 2005; Minujin et al, 2005, 2006; Delamonica and Minujin, 2007; Lyytikainen et al, 2006; Doek et al, 2009; Nandy and Gordon, 2009; Jones and Sumner, 2011).

Much of this activity built on another earlier body of work about children and poverty, typified by UNICEF’s landmark study *Adjustment with a human face* (Cornia et al, 1987). The report detailed the impact on children of another global financial crisis (during the 1980s), and called for the collection and use of data on the ‘human’ dimensions of adjustment. Such data might include information about people’s access to education and health services, rather than simply conventional macroeconomic indicators. It also noted the need for status (or impact) indicators (for example, nutrition status, education level), process indicators (for example, availability of food, or education), and input indicators at three levels: household, government and community (Stewart, 1987, p 258). To assess the impacts on children of the by then widely implemented policies of structural adjustment, the report argued one would need to know how different input indicators affected the process indicators, and in turn how these affected status indicators. At the time, reliable and readily accessible household survey data for most poor countries were scarce, but *Adjustment with a human face* demonstrated that data on the ‘human’ dimension were available, from different sources such as nutrition surveys and hospital records. These, it argued, could be used to create a ‘composite index of social stress’ to serve as an early warning system to denote when conditions for children were unfavourable and likely to have a negative impact on them. Components of such an index could include indicators of malnutrition, cases of Kwashiorkor or other important diseases, the proportion of babies born with a low birth weight, food prices in regional markets
and even rainfall patterns. In time, other indicators could be added, but what was key was a call to incorporate into conventional econometric and planning models those factors that directly affected children. The report concluded that ‘it is important to aim at a systematic set of human accounts, on a par with the economic accounts’ (p 264) and that ‘information is not a luxury to be added on as an afterthought … but an essential pre-requisite for devising good programmes’ (p 262). Given the current ongoing global financial crisis, it is perhaps obvious that we recommend readers revisit the arguments and issues covered in Adjustment with a human face (Cornia et al, 1987), as well as other work from the era (MacPherson, 1987; Cornia et al, 1992; Kent, 1995) which examined child poverty on its own merits. UNICEF’s current Global Study on Child Poverty and Disparities (see Chapter Twenty-One, this volume) is detailing the impact of the current economic crisis on children around the world (Mendoza, 2009).

The chapters of this book focus primarily on the measurement of child poverty. They provide insights into recent theoretical, methodological and policy developments, from a number of geographic and intellectual positions. In doing so, the book benefits from material from case studies on countries that might not otherwise have appeared alongside each other. Important empirical work from countries as diverse as Congo Brazzaville, Tanzania, South Africa, Vietnam, Bangladesh, Morocco, Iran and Haiti is presented, to show how, even in challenging contexts, research on children is developing in new and innovative ways. Wider regional level portraits are also presented, with analyses of the European Union (EU), the United States (US), and countries of Central and Eastern Europe/Commonwealth of Independent States (CEE/CIS), of South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. The methodological discussions presented in each chapter provide readers with a wide range of information about working with multidimensional child poverty measures, and may suggest analyses that could be applied in other countries. Many of the chapters present data to show changes over time, and these will no doubt form key sources of information for future studies aiming to assess progress towards the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the target date of 2015. Their importance is accentuated given there is no single distinct goal or target for child poverty per se. However, given the ever-increasing availability of household survey data and developments in various methodologies, it is reasonable to expect that in the not too distant future, specific global targets for child poverty might be set and adopted as they have already been in some regions (European Commission, 2008; OECD, 2009).
**Who is this book for?**

Given child poverty is acknowledged to be the result of overlapping dimensions of deprivation, as well as the non-fulfilment of many basic economic, social and human rights, this book is intended for an audience from many disciplines. We hope it will be of use and interest to specialists in their fields, as well as those with a more general interest in the topic. Where relevant, each chapter sets out its working definition of child poverty, the conceptual approach taken, and relates these to the indicators developed and used. The presentation of empirical data on child poverty and disparities should give policy makers and advocates of children’s rights sufficient evidence on which to challenge the shape of existing policies when they clearly appear to fail. We hope the methodologies described and tested here will encourage others to make their own forays into research, applying what is shown here to their own countries and contexts.

**Outline of the book**

The book has four main parts, and between each there will inevitably be some degree of overlap. The first part includes this introduction, as well as two chapters that set out some of the key debates relating to the study of child poverty and its measurement. **Chapter Two**, by Simon Pemberton and colleagues, examines international human rights frameworks and conventions to reveal their potential as mechanisms to hold key international players, both governmental and non-governmental, to account when children’s basic needs are unmet and rights thus infringed. It details a series of practical obstacles which stand in the way of ensuring that rights are realised, and how these might be overcome, given sufficient political and popular will. It also shows how children’s rights and child poverty are closely linked, and how, using methods similar to those used by other contributors to this book, an account can be made of how children’s rights continue to be violated, despite governments having agreed clear core obligations to meet such rights.

**Chapter Three**, by Jan Vandemoortele, tackles the issue of economic growth, until recently depicted as the *sine qua non* for development and poverty reduction. He argues that an idea which has dominated international development discourse – that economic growth is a sufficient condition to reduce poverty – is flawed on a number of levels, and that the key international metric of international poverty – the so-called ‘dollar-a-day’ poverty line – is particularly problematic.
He sets out his reasons, with evidence, and builds a strong case for a greater focus on issues of equity and the need to ensure that any poverty reduction strategy considers at its core, the needs of and implications for children. Given international concerns about the global financial crisis, and growing recognition of the need to protect those least responsible for the crisis, he posits that ‘child-focused policies can be a Trojan horse for introducing equity-enhancing measures in social and economic policy making’ which would benefit societies as a whole.

Part 2 builds on some of the themes raised by the chapters in Part 1, and shows how different measures of child poverty, deprivation and well-being can be developed and applied. **Chapter Four**, by David Gordon and Shailen Nandy, sets out in some detail what has come to be known as the ‘Bristol Approach’ (Minujin et al, 2005; Roelen and Gassmann, 2008). It explains the theory and rationale behind the approach, showing how it was built on the long history of poverty research in the UK and around the world. The chapter also discusses how not to measure child poverty, providing a critique of some other commonly used measures, including The World Bank’s popular ‘US$1/day’ indicator, the Asset Ownership-based Wealth Index also developed by The World Bank (Filmer and Pritchett, 1998, 2001), and the recently developed Multidimensional Poverty Index (Alkire and Foster, 2008; Roche, 2009), which replaces the United Nations Development Programme’s (UNDP) Human Development Index (HDI). **Chapter Five**, by Sabina Alkire and José Manuel Roche, shows how researchers are building on the ‘Bristol Approach’, to develop indicators that reflect the depth, intensity and composition of multidimensional poverty. Using data from Bangladesh, they set out the Alkire and Foster method for developing a multidimensional poverty indicator for children under the age of five. They experiment with varying thresholds and cut-offs to show how sensitivity analyses can be used to refine such indicators, and then present, in detail, changes in the index over a 10-year period (1997–2007) at both national and subnational level.

**Chapter Six**, by Helen Barnes and Gemma Wright of the University of Oxford, presents a different approach to assessing child poverty. Their work is part of a wider project on the measurement of poverty in South Africa (Noble et al, 2004, 2006), which involves, among other things, the application of the socially perceived necessities approach (Mack and Lansley, 1985; Haller, 1994; Gordon and Pantazis, 1997). Poverty in this instance is treated as an enforced lack (due to insufficient resources) of items and services identified by society as essential for an acceptable standard of living, and the chapter presents a fascinating account of the methodology being used to elicit children’s perspectives.
about poverty in South Africa. The material resulting from focus groups run with children showed that children were more than capable of identifying which items and services they believed as essential (as opposed to luxuries). While there was some overlap between what adults and children thought were necessary, there were also some significant differences. For example, school transport, school equipment, access to a doctor and having warm, dry clothing were all accorded a greater importance by children than by adults. These findings, and others in the chapter, have important implications for other similar consensus-based measures and indexes, if based solely on the responses of adults. The chapter provides an excellent example of how measures of child poverty can be augmented by consulting children about their experiences and opinions.

In Chapter Seven, Sarah Burd-Sharps and colleagues make the case for the development and use of a ‘Tots Index’ for the US. Despite having per capita incomes well in excess of most other countries, the US also has some of the highest rates of child poverty in the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) (2009; see also UNICEF, 2000a). The authors, whose American HDI (Burd-Sharps et al, 2008) received international attention in 2008, show why an index focusing on children under the age of five in the US is warranted. Most of the issues raised in the chapter are universally relevant and applicable, and, as the chapters by Petra Hoelscher et al (Chapter Eight) and Isabelle Maquet-Engsted (Chapter Nine) show, multidimensional indexes of child well-being, poverty and deprivation are being developed in a number of regions (the CEE/CIS states and the EU) and have begun to influence policy makers. One aim of this book is that readers might be spurred into applying some of the methods presented and eventually to develop similar indexes that focus on children. To this end, Chapter Ten, by Shirley Gatenio-Gabel and Sheila B. Kamerman, provides a summary of the types of data available to researchers, both on outcomes and on policies for children. They propose a preliminary child policy paradigm, which encompasses the dimensions key to child survival and development, including health, family economic well-being, education, child welfare and protection and children’s rights.

Part 3 presents seven cases studies of recent research on multidimensional poverty among children from around the world. Alberto Minujin and Enrique Delamonica (Chapter Eleven) report on work done with UNICEF colleagues in Tanzania, developing a child poverty and deprivation measure. They provide an example of how a UNICEF country office applied the methodology developed by David Gordon
and Peter Townsend to examine subnational differences and disparities, and to also assess change over time. The resulting information, which shows where progress is occurring or stalling, can help in the design and targeting of future programmes and resources. The next three chapters all report on work done by academics connected to the Maastricht Graduate School of Governance in The Netherlands. In recent years, the School has been involved with UNICEF and other organisations, in developing and using multidimensional poverty indexes for a number of countries. In Chapter Twelve, Geranda Notten, Chris de Neubourg, Bethuel Makosso and Alain Beltran Mpoue present a profile of multidimensional child poverty in Congo Brazzaville. They use their index to go beyond the provision of a poverty headcount, instead examining the overlaps between different dimensions of deprivation. The disaggregation of results, showing which groups are most likely to experience which types of deprivation, and the use of Venn diagrams to show overlaps between key dimensions, exemplify the value and merit of a multidimensional approach to poverty assessment. Chapter Thirteen, by Keetie Roelen and Franziska Gassmann, discusses the results of a study on multidimensional child poverty in Vietnam. Using indicators and thresholds appropriate to the Vietnamese context, they also provide a detailed analysis of child poverty and prevailing disparities, particularly between urban and rural areas, regions and, interestingly, by ethnicity. The chapter also includes an overlap analysis of the different dimensions. Analyses of poverty from Iran are limited in number, so we consider ourselves fortunate to include the chapter by Sepideh Yousefzadeh Faal Deghati, Andrés Mideros Mora and Chris de Neubourg (Chapter Fourteen) on child poverty in Iran. Using a nationally representative survey on household income and expenditure, the authors develop their own index of multidimensional poverty, encompassing the three dimensions of provision, participation and protection. They report considerable regional, socioeconomic and gender disparities in various dimensions of deprivation. Unfortunately, ongoing restrictions of access to survey data on Iran means there is limited scope for others interested in following up this work, and developing it further.

Chapter Fifteen, by David Gordon and colleagues, presents results of the first ever study of child poverty for Haiti, the poorest country in the Americas. The world is now familiar with images of the aftermath and impact of the magnitude 7.0 earthquake that struck the island on 12 January 2010. Over 200,000 people are estimated to have died, with many more losing their homes and livelihoods. Children were particularly badly affected in the days and months following, with more
than 5,000 schools destroyed. The chapter shows how in the decade before the earthquake, between 2000 and 2005, there was no statistically significant decrease in child poverty in Haiti. The findings also show little or no reduction in the prevalence of severe deprivation for key basic needs among children. This information, disheartening as it is, provides some context for interpreting efforts to 'rebuild' the country.

The final two chapters of Part 3 present regional level analyses of child poverty and deprivation. Ernesto Espíndola and María Nieves Rico (Chapter Sixteen), from the Social Development Division of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), present results from the first ever study of multidimensional child poverty for the region (CEPAL and UNICEF, 2010). Taking advantage of national household surveys, and using a combination of both deprivation and monetary indicators, they estimate that, in 2007, around one child in six in the region (18%, or around 32 million children) experienced extreme poverty (that is, children experiencing a severe deprivation of at least one basic need). Using slightly less stringent thresholds to reflect a more moderate degree of deprivation (but arguably no less indicative of poverty), they found nearly half (45%, 81 million) of all children in the region were affected. The depth of child poverty in the region is shown to be directly linked to its prevalence, and thus also to the extent to which states have ensured the fulfilment of children’s basic rights. Given the region is party to some of the greatest socioeconomic inequalities and disparities, it is no surprise the study found child poverty rates highest in rural areas, among indigenous communities, and among African–Caribbean groups. The data provide yet more evidence of the extent of unmet needs for large sections of the region’s population, suggesting where future resources and programmes need to be applied. Chapter Seventeen, by Shaileen Nandy, focuses on the two poorest regions of the world, South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. He provides evidence to show how these regions fared at the end of the 20th century with regard to the extent of child poverty. Using data from household surveys covering almost all children in the two regions (80% of children in South Asia in 2000, and 97% of children in Sub-Saharan Africa in 2000), he presents two rounds of estimates, for 1995 and 2000, to shed light on the dynamics of child poverty in the regions. Estimates are also presented for urban and rural areas, and for boys and girls (for specific deprivations), which provide some indication as to the direction of change regarding disparities and inequality. Nandy reports contrasting fortunes for the regions, with a decline in child poverty in South Asia and an increase in Sub-Saharan Africa between 1995 and 2000. The story is more complex than it first
appears, however, with disparities between children living in urban and rural areas decreasing in Sub-Saharan Africa and increasing in South Asia. What are the drivers behind these apparently counter-intuitive results? More rapid increases in urban poverty than rural poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa, and less rapid decreases in rural poverty than urban poverty in South Asia. Sadly, as the data in the chapter show, there were roughly 30 million more children living in absolute poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa in 2000 than in 1995; during the same period, the number in South Asia decreased by roughly 63 million, to about 290 million children.

Moving away from a focus on measurement, the chapters in Part 4 discuss issues of causation and the nature of policies being used to tackle child poverty. Ruth Levitas (Chapter Eighteen) considers the principles on which societies need to be based in order to guarantee genuine eradication of child poverty. She shows that calls for policies which made universal provision of allowances to families with children have a long pedigree, and argues that a persistent problem with many anti-poverty policies (not just with regards child poverty) is that they are just not ambitious enough in their consistent and continuing adherence to a belief in the inevitability of at least some poverty, deprivation and inequality. Levitas sets out an architecture for the design of policies that, if implemented, would go some way to tackling the structural causes and propagators of poverty. The underlying principles of this architecture include the promotion of equality, a revaluing of care and its provision, a reconsideration of what counts as wealth and productive activity, the universal provision of child benefit and a guaranteed basic income for all, the mainstreaming of sustainability and the prioritising of human flourishing and well-being. Chapter Nineteen by Jo Boyden, Abby Hardgrove and Caroline Knowles provides an overview of the ongoing longitudinal study of children’s lives in four poor countries (Vietnam, Ethiopia, Peru and the Indian state of Andhra Pradesh), the Young Lives project. The authors detail the project’s conceptual and analytical framework, and report on some early findings concerning trends in children’s welfare and the dynamics of child poverty. The project is one of the few international longitudinal studies of children and child poverty, and the lessons learned will be of real value to policy makers around the world. Based on their findings to date, they conclude that economic growth, by itself, will not solve the problems associated with poverty in childhood, and in some instances, can accentuate inequalities. They also conclude that the experience of deprivations during childhood can have longer-term impacts for children as they grow and develop, and also that properly designed social policies for
children do have a protective effect against economic shocks (such as the global financial crisis). Importantly, data from the project have been deposited with the UK Data Archive and are available to researchers.

Chapter Twenty by Hicham Ait Mansour presents a case study of Morocco. He focuses on the implications for policy of using a multidimensional approach to examining child poverty. Using both monetary and non-monetary indicators, he shows (as others have) that children are far more likely to be identified as deprived (of basic needs, such as shelter etc) than income-poor. This is a key issue with regards the measurement of child poverty and is also discussed by others in this book (see Chapters Two, Three, Four, Eleven, Twelve and Thirteen, this volume). Future assessments of child poverty and well-being, intending to apply the UNGA definition set out at the start of this chapter, will almost certainly end up following the examples set in this book, including in the chapter on Morocco. Ait Mansour also provides an interesting take on counterfactuals—in a short exercise he shows how estimates of child poverty would be affected if individual deprivations were eradicated (that is, were not experienced by any children). In his example, child poverty in Morocco would fall from around 41% to 35% were sanitation deprivation to be eradicated. If, instead, overcrowding in households was tackled (that is, his indicator for shelter deprivation), child poverty rates would fall from 41% to 29%. Of course, it is not as simple as tackling a single deprivation at a time, and anti-poverty strategies need to work across many different sectors simultaneously (Mehrotra, 2004; Mehrotra and Jolly, 1997; Mehrotra and Delamonica, 2002).

Many of the chapters in this book report on work either done by, with, or for, UNICEF. Its role in international efforts to tackle child poverty is uncontested, and the Global Study on Child Poverty and Disparities is now taking place in over 50 countries, covering 1.5 billion children. Chapter Twenty-One by Gaspar Fajth, Sharmila Kurukulasuerya and Sólrún Engilbertsdóttir sets out the aims of the Global Study, and reflects on findings from a number of countries. By also focusing on disparities and examining national policies, the Study is producing valuable information about the determinants of child poverty in different settings, and documenting cases where policies for children have been shown to have positive effects. Importantly, at a time of international financial crises and government cuts to social and public expenditure, the Global Study is documenting the effects on children and their families. All of the countries involved in the Study are using a combination of monetary and non-monetary deprivation indicators to reflect the multidimensional aspects of child...
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poverty. The constantly expanding network of researchers and policy
makers involved that has emerged will ensure the issue of child poverty,
its conceptualisation and measurement, remains a key issue on the
international agenda. Qualitative methods have been used to great
effect in the Global Study (and also in Young Lives) to contextualise
children’s experiences of poverty, and these in turn will lead to the
development of better quantitative indicators.

It is only fitting that Peter Townsend (Chapter Twenty-Two) has
the final word. In the years before his death, Peter campaigned with
passion and vigour, with the International Labour Organization (ILO),
for the adoption by the UN of an international child benefit (Townsend,
2007, 2008, 2009). He advocated the use and implementation of
an international currency transfers tax along the lines proposed by
James Tobin in the 1970s and 1990s. Peter’s work throughout his life
made clear the degree of real need around the world, not just among
children. Many of the contributors to this book would acknowledge
the considerable influence Peter had on their work, either directly
or indirectly. Peter sets out in his chapter why many previous global
strategies at poverty reduction (for example, the trickle-down policies
of the 1980s) failed, and also how sufficient resources might be raised
to ensure that every man, woman and child on the planet could still
be covered by systems of social security to ensure they have a decent
standard of living. A universal child benefit with an extra amount for
children with a severe disability, he believed, would have an immediate
and direct effect on household purchasing power, and thus reduce
child poverty. He was well aware of the scale of forces (and degree of
scepticism) arrayed against him, but never backed down. In an earlier
report for the ILO, he sounded a forceful call to arms:

… the growing number of scarifying accounts of the
hunger, exposure to conflict and abuse, extreme poverty
and premature death still experienced by many millions
of children across the world must concentrate the public
mind…. It is not enough to set new goals. Finding – and
agreeing – the necessary replacement policy is the top
priority. New policies have to be devised to replace those
that have failed. They have to have large-scale direct and
positive effects. The time for elaborate pretence, with
selectively helpful pilot projects for a very few children and
for image-building by organisations at token cost, is over…. (Townsend, 2008, p 3)
Introduction

We hope the material in this book, and the detailed examples from around the world, contribute something to concentrating the public mind on global child poverty. We also hope that the methodologies described, and the indicators developed, will be used to demonstrate how and when policies fail or succeed. Poverty is not a law of nature. It can be eradicated, through the implementation of policies and programmes that guarantee universal and equitable access to basic social services as was nearly achieved in Europe after the Second World War. The lives and fortunes of hundreds of millions of people around the world are too important to leave to the whims of the free market.

References


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Introduction


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