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[HOME](#)
[COUNTRY INFO](#)
[WHAT WE DO](#)
[WHY WE DO IT](#)
[UNICEF PEOPLE](#)
[WORDS OF YOUTH](#)
[SUPPORT UNICEF](#)
[PRESS CENTRE](#)
[VIDEOS](#)

At a glance: Bolivia

The big picture

[Statistics](#)

[Contact us](#)

[Real lives](#)

[Countries in this region](#)

[All countries](#)

[Country website](#)

The big picture



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coverage. Access to basic education has increased significantly in recent years with no significant gender differences. Despite a notable increase in school enrolment, only seven per cent of children in rural areas complete primary school within the standard eight years, with girls the worst affected. Over half of rural primary schools offer only three of eight grades.

Approximately 800,000 children under 18 are working. With UNICEF support, the Ministry of Labour launched the National Plan for the Progressive Eradication of Child Labour. However, implementation has been very slow and the worst forms of child labour - such as mining, sugar cane harvesting and sexual exploitation - persist. Around 12,000 children are in institutions where their basic rights are not respected. There are also over 2,500 children living on the streets of major cities. Domestic violence is more visible especially the abuse and mistreatment of children. Some 13 per cent of adolescent girls are pregnant or have already had children. Increased sexually transmitted infections, including HIV/AIDS, are growing concerns.

UNICEF priorities

The infant mortality rate has dropped and the government's policy of expanding the Basic Health Insurance to provide all services to pregnant women, to new mothers up to six months after childbirth and to children up to five years of age, should result in further mortality reduction.

However, chronic malnutrition and anaemia in children under three years of age still persists. The Expanded Programme on Immunization (EPI), has resulted in high levels of immunization

Search

Basic Indicators

Under-5 mortality rate

Under-5 mortality rate

Infant mortality rate (under 1)

Total population (thousands)

Annual number of live births (thousands)

Annual number of under-5 deaths (thousands)

GNI per capita

Life expectancy at birth (years)

Total adult literacy rate

Net primary enrolment / attendance

[Definitions & \[popup\]](#)

Source: *The Summary of World's Children*

Order the [report](#)

There are four main programmes that will be implemented nationally and in about 50 indigenous Andean and Amazon municipalities:

- Health and nutrition, which has three project areas: child and adolescent health, nutrition and micronutrients and health and nutrition promotion;
- Education for all: because institutional capacity in primary education has received highest priority and is considered fully developed, Integrated Early Childhood Development (IECD), pre-school education and special and alternative education will be the focus of three projects;
- Protection and participation of children and adolescents, which is designed to work in urban and rural areas using three strategies: advocacy and technical assistance, support to national and local programmes aiding children in need of special protection, and promotion of child and youth participation in society; and
- The integrated local development programme.

A family-based IECD alternative was developed by a PROANDES programme called Kallpa-wawa ("to give strength to children"). The integrated early child development centres involve considerable community participation. The community provides a structure in which care involves early stimulation, health, nutrition and psychomotor development, using promoters trained by the Programme. Additional programme support, monitoring and evaluation provides the framework for measuring programme and project progress.

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[HOME](#)
[COUNTRY INFO](#)
[WHAT WE DO](#)
[WHY WE DO IT](#)
[UNICEF PEOPLE](#)
[WORDS OF YOUTH](#)
[SUPPORT UNICEF](#)
[PRESS CENTRE](#)
[VIDEOS](#)

At a glance: Bolivia

The big picture

Statistics

Contact us

Real lives

Countries in this region

All countries

Country website

Real lives

Working wonders for kids



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Two-year-old Alfredo, who was born with a clubfoot, plays with Maria.

By Cristina Uzal

Another day dawns in the urban sprawl of El Alto, one of the poorest cities in Bolivia, and 4,100 metres above sea level. The cold air and exhaust fumes mingle with the smell of food sold by street vendors gently rousing the city's 700,000 inhabitants out of sleep. Social worker, Maria

Sonia Pérez, 37, prepares herself for another day at the office.

Maria works in La Ceja at the Municipal Defender's Office for Children and Adolescents, an institution set up, with UNICEF support, in 1997 to protect the rights of children. Indexes for child abuse and violence against children are high in Bolivia. Unfortunately, a culture of respect for children does not exist, and in certain areas of the country children are not considered 'persons' until they are over three years old. The majority of the city's inhabitants are Aymara migrants from traditional rural communities looking for a way out of poverty.

On this particular morning, 23-year-old Juanita drops in to see Maria in her tiny tin-roofed office. Juanita's case is one of the many that Maria has worked on. She says: "The fact is, people come to the Defender's Office because they have no other support. We are the only people they can turn to."



Juanita is pregnant with her second child. Her first child, Alfredo, aged two, is a bright and playful boy who cannot keep still for a minute. "He can run about and walk now," she comments. A few months ago, however, when Juanita

© UNICEF/Bolivia/Uzal and Alfredo first came to
Alfredo, who can now run about and Maria's office, Alfredo couldn't
walk, with his mother, Juanita. walk. He was born with a
deformed foot, which Juanita
claims is a result of the beatings she endured at the hands of her
estranged partner during her pregnancy.

Maria referred Alfredo to hospital where doctors operated on his foot by inserting surgical screws into his leg. These were to be removed with a second operation. His mother tried unsuccessfully to borrow money for this operation.

When Juanita appealed to Alfredo's father for money, he simply responded by saying: "Let him die, I don't care." Again, Juanita came to see Maria in the Defender's Office. By this time, Alfredo's leg was infected by the screws that were still in place two months after the first operation. The situation was serious and required immediate action. The team at the Defender's Office, including a lawyer, negotiated with the hospital and, finally, the doctors agreed to operate on the boy. "I received a lot of help from them," affirms Juanita. She adds, "Thanks to them (Maria, the lawyer, the psychologist and other social workers) my Alfredito did not lose his foot."

Subsequently, the Defender's Office staff submitted a claim on Juanita's behalf for family assistance from her former partner. Juanita immediately suffered more abuse as he was angry that she was seeking any assistance from him at all. In view of his abusive behaviour and refusal to pay assistance, the Defender's Office sent the case to the courts. The case is still being processed.

On average, Maria sees about 20 cases a day with problems ranging from child abuse, paternal or maternal neglect, family assistance claims and numerous cases of exploitation and child prostitution. Most of the abuse takes place in the home and in the schools. Since the opening of the first office, a further 219 Child and Adolescent Defender's Offices have been opened in 194 of the 314 municipalities in the country. There are plans to increase the number of offices providing services in rural areas, with UNICEF providing training, technical assistance, equipment and communication and advocacy materials.

The work of social workers like Maria and her team has helped to raise public awareness of the importance of protection for children and adolescents, which has resulted in more official reports of abuse. Meanwhile, Maria has the rest of the day ahead of her and many more cases to deal with.

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[HOME](#) | [COUNTRY INFO](#) | [WHAT WE DO](#) | [WHY WE DO IT](#) | [UNIQUE PEOPLE](#) | [WORDS OF YOUTH](#) | [SUPPORT US](#)
[PRESS CENTRE](#) | [DONORS](#)

At a glance: Bolivia

The big picture

Statistics

Statistics

Contact us

Real lives

[Basic Indicators](#) | [Nutrition](#) | [Health](#) | [HIV/AIDS](#) | [Education](#) |
[Demographic indicators](#) | [Economic indicators](#) | [Women](#) |
[Child protection](#) | [The rate of progress](#)

Countries in this region

All countries

Country website

Basic Indicators		to the top
Under-5 mortality rank		64
Under-5 mortality rate	1960	255
	2002	71
Infant mortality rate (under 1)	1960	152
	2002	56
Total population (thousands)	2002	8645
Annual no. of births (thousands)	2002	255
Annual no. of under-5 deaths (thousands)	2002	18
GNI per capita (US\$)	2002	900
Life expectancy at birth (years)	2002	64
Total adult literacy rate	2000	85
Net primary school enrolment/attendance (%)	1996-2002*	97
% share of household income 1990-2000*	lowest 40%	13
	highest 20%	49

Definitions and data sources

Nutrition		to the top
Under-5 mortality rank		64
% of infants with low birth weight	1998-2002*	9
% of children (1995-2002*) who are:	exclusively breastfed (<6 months)	39
	breastfed with complementary food (6-9 months)	76
	still breastfeeding (20-23 months)	36
% of under-fives (1995-2002*) suffering from:	underweight moderate & severe	10
	underweight severe	2

	wasting moderate & severe	2
	stunting moderate & severe	26
Vitamin A supplementation coverage rate (6-59 months)	2001	31
% of households consuming iodized salt	1997-2002*	65

[Definitions and data sources](#)

Health		to the top
Under-5 mortality rank		64
% of population using improved drinking water sources 2000	total	83
	urban	95
	rural	64
% of population using adequate sanitation facilities 2000	total	70
	urban	86
	rural	42
% of routine EPI vaccines financed by government 2002	total	40
% immunized 2002	1-year-old children TB	94
	1-year-old children DPT3	81
	1-year-old children polio3	79
	1-year-old children measles	79
	1-year-old children HepB3	81
	pregnant women tetanus	-
(%) under-fives with ARI	1998-2002*	11
(%) under-fives with ARI taken to health provider	1998-2002*	54
Oral rehydration rate (%)	1994-2002*	40
Malaria: 1999-2001	% under-fives sleeping under a bednet	-
	% under-fives sleeping under a treated bednet	-
	% under-fives with fever receiving anti- malarial drugs	-

[Definitions and data sources](#)

HIV/AIDS		to the top
Adult prevalence rate (15-49 years), end-2001		0.1
Estimated number of people living with HIV/AIDS, end-2001	adults and children (0- 49 years)	4600
	children (0-14 years)	160
Median HIV	Year	-

prevalence among pregnant women (15-24 years) in countries with adult prevalence over 1%	all regions [# sites]	-	
	capital city [# sites]	-	
	other urban [# sites]	-	
	rural [# sites]	-	
HIV prevention 1996-2002* (15-24 years)	% who know condom can prevent HIV	male	-
		female	56
	% who know healthy-looking person can have HIV	male	82
		female	55
	% who have comprehensive knowledge of HIV	female	22
% who used condom at last high-risk sex 1996-2002*	Male (15-24 years)	22y	
	Female (15-24 years)	8	
Orphans	Children orphaned by AIDS (0-14 years) 2001	1000	
	Orphan school attendance ratio (1995-2001*)	82	

Definitions and data sources

Education	to the top	
Under-5 mortality rank	64	
Adult literacy rate	1990 male	87
	1990 female	70
	2000 male	92
	2000 female	79
Number per 100 population 2001	phones	16
	Internet users	2
Primary school enrolment ratio 1997-2000*	(gross) male	117
	(gross) female	115
	(net) male	97
	(net) female	97
Net primary school attendance % (1992-2002*)	male	93
	female	91
% of primary school entrants reaching grade 5	Admin. data 1995-1999*	83
	Survey data 1995-2001	96
Secondary school enrolment ratio 1997-2000* (gross)	male	81
	female	78

Definitions and data sources

Demographic indicators	to the top	
Under-5 mortality rank	64	
Population (thousands) 2002	under 18	3922
	under 5	1193

Population annual growth rate (%)	1970-90	2.3
	1990-2002	2.2
Crude death rate	1970	20
	2002	8
Crude birth rate	1970	46
	2002	30
Life expectancy	1970	46
	2002	64
Total fertility rate	2002	3.9
% of population urbanized	2002	64
Average annual growth rate of urban population (%)	1970-90	4
	1990-2002	3.3

[Definitions and data sources](#)

Economic indicators		to the top
Under-5 mortality rank		64
GNI per capita (US\$) 2002		900
GDP per capita average annual growth rate (%)	1960-90	-0.1
	1990-2002	1.2
Average annual rate of inflation (%) 1990-2002		7
% of population below \$1 a day 1990-2001		14
% of central government expenditure allocated to (1992-2001*)	health	10
	education	20
	defence	7
ODA inflow in millions US\$ 2001		729
ODA inflow as a % of recipient GNI 2001		9
Debt service as a % of exports of goods and services	1990	31
	2001	29

[Definitions and data sources](#)

Women		to the top
Under-5 mortality rank		64
Life expectancy: females as a % of males	2002	106
Adult literacy rate: females as a % of males	2000	86
Gross enrolment ratios: females as a % of males	primary school 1997-2000*	98
	secondary school 1997-2000*	96

Contraceptive prevalence (%)	1995-2002*	53
Antenatal care coverage (%)	1995-2002*	83
Skilled attendant at delivery (%)	1995-2002*	69
Maternal mortality ratio+	reported 1985-2002*	390
	adjusted 2000	420

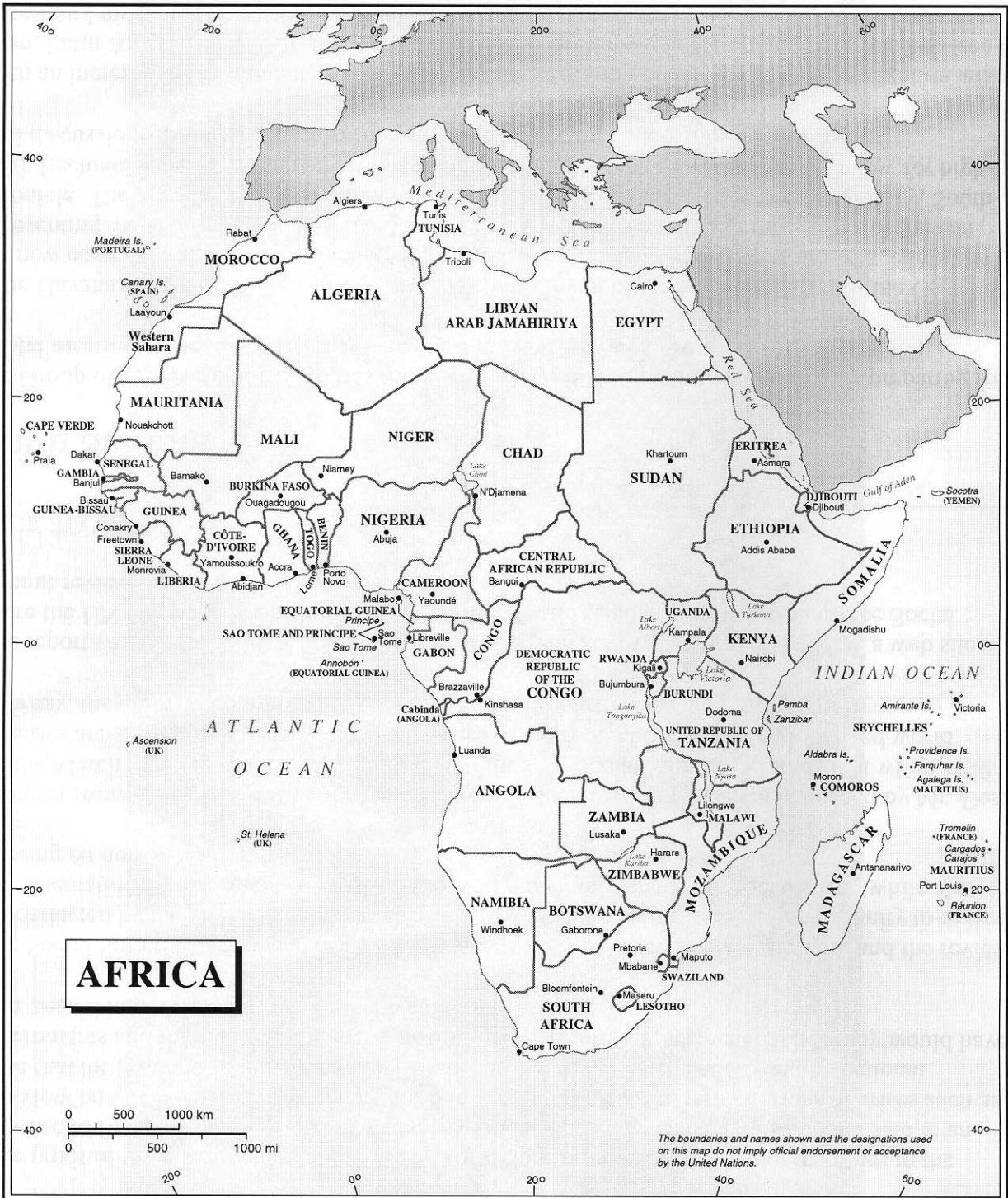
[Definitions and data sources](#)

Child Protection		to the top	
Child labour (5-14 years) 1999-2001*	total	21	
	male	22	
	female	20	
	urban	8	
	rural	40	
	poorest 20%	43	
	richest 20%	7	
	mother with no education	34	
mother with some education	18		
Birth registration 1999-2001*	total	82	
	urban	83	
	rural	79	
Female genital mutilation/cutting 1998-2002*	women (15-49 years)	total	-
		urban	-
		rural	-
	daughters total		-

[Definitions and data sources](#)

The rate of progress		to the top
Under-5 mortality rank		64
Under-5 mortality rate	1960	255
	1990	120
	2002	71
Average annual rate of reduction (%)	1960-90	2.5
	1990-2002	4.4
Reduction since 1990 (%)		41
GDP per capita average annual growth rate (%)	1960-90	-0.1
	2002	1.2
Total fertility rate	1960	6.7
	1990	4.9
	2002	3.9
Average annual rate of reduction (%)	1960-90	1
	2002	1.9

[Definitions and data sources](#)



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[HOME](#) [COUNTRY INFO](#) [WHAT WE DO](#) [WHY WE DO IT](#) [UNICEF PEOPLE](#) [VOICE OF YOUTH](#) [SUPPORT UNICEF](#)
[PRESS CENTRE](#) [VIDEOS](#)

Southern Africa - Countries in crisis

Introduction

[Angola](#)

[Lesotho](#)

[Malawi](#)

[Swaziland](#)

[Zambia](#)

[Zimbabwe](#)

[Protection: Children in crisis in desperate need of protection](#)

[HIV/AIDS: Crisis causes increased vulnerability to HIV infection](#)

[Real lives](#)

[What we do](#)

Introduction



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A woman chops wood to sell for food on a hillside already affected by soil erosion, in the village of Chipumi in Malawi. Because of droughts and flooding during the past year, many Malawians were unable to buy seeds to grow their own food crops.

The Southern African region is in the midst of a humanitarian crisis unlike any other. As many as 14 million people, half of them children, are at risk of starvation in the six affected countries: Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The 1992 famine was almost exclusively drought-related. In this crisis, each of the affected countries has been stricken by the HIV/AIDS pandemic, which

has reduced agricultural productivity and food security.

HIV/AIDS has made hunger an even greater peril. An HIV-affected household can see its income drop by up to 80 per cent, and its food consumption by 15 to 30 per cent. One in four people in the productive age group (15-49) in this region is living with HIV.

This means that fewer adults must support more people, and the burden of care is shifted to society's weakest and most marginalized, especially women and girls. Desperate people adopt damaging and high-risk 'survival strategies,' such as selling off land or exchanging sex for food or cash. These strategies undercut people's ability to recover and contribute to long term poverty.

"In a region already bearing the full brunt of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, the food crisis presents a new and ominous threat to the survival of the most vulnerable - the children and women," says Urban Jonsson, UNICEF's Regional Director for Eastern and Southern Africa.

A 'window of hope'

Children are especially at risk and therefore represent specific concerns and challenges. HIV/AIDS infects some 800,000 children in Africa every year. Today 3 million children live with AIDS and over 13

million have been orphaned by AIDS, most of them in sub-Saharan Africa. There are almost 4 million children orphaned by HIV/AIDS in these six countries alone and their numbers are expected to increase to 5 million by 2005.

Children below 14 years of age offer a "window of hope" to stop the spread of HIV/AIDS. Many of them are still not infected and with proper awareness about preventing disease and behaviour change linked to this awareness, they have a better chance of protecting their own lives and other people.

School is the place where children can acquire new knowledge and life skills, and change their own behaviour to prevent them from getting affected by HIV/AIDS or being exploited and abused.

But the education system is threatened by teacher absenteeism and deaths, and the demands on children from households facing lost income and sick and dying family members are reducing attendance levels.

UNICEF believes that keeping children in school, especially during emergencies and crises:

- allows children to be safe from exploitation and abuse;
- allows them access to a range of basic services (such as clean drinking water, personal hygiene and sanitation); and
- allows them to continue to acquire knowledge and skills that will help them escape from the spiral of poverty and HIV/AIDS, and become the future productive workforce for their country.

Funding appeal remains unmet

More than 14 million people are tremendously at risk, not just of hunger and deprivation, but of intergenerational impoverishment.

The Southern Africa crisis is complex and chronic and requires a comprehensive response that must focus both on reducing vulnerability and on building communities' capacities to respond to future threats. UNICEF has appealed for \$27 million to respond to this crisis, but only some \$5 million has been received to date.

What UNICEF is doing

UNICEF offices in the six affected countries are addressing the crisis by focusing on a set of key interventions that aim to ensure maximum and fastest impact among the most needy:

- Child-headed households: Identifying child-headed households (CHHs) and ensuring that orphans and members

of CHHs are linked to all other interventions.

- HIV/AIDS: Expanding HIV/AIDS awareness and education programmes; accelerated training of school teachers and relevant government and community leaders in HIV/AIDS and prevention of sexual exploitation; prioritizing vulnerable children in distribution programmes; developing nutritional guidelines for children and adults living and working with HIV/AIDS.
- Education: Strengthening mechanisms for school attendance; providing teaching and learning materials to avoid schools becoming just feeding centers; cooperating on school feeding and providing multi-vitamins, school supplies, water and sanitation; developing gardens that are an important source of food; advocating for free primary education; working with governments to address the issue of school fees for orphans and child-headed households; assessments to monitor school attendance and dropout rates are ongoing in Malawi and Swaziland.
- Nutrition: Meeting the food deficits in these countries and preventing deaths from starvation and hunger; conducting national surveys on nutrition in all countries (except Swaziland which is planned for November 2002); training community health workers on how to perform supplementary and therapeutic feeding to malnourished children; providing supplementary and therapeutic feeding supplies for under-fives.
- Health: Providing measles immunization as the disease is especially fatal in malnourished children; providing Vitamin A supplements to boost the immune system and reduce the risk of diarrhoea; de-worming children in schools so they can utilize whatever food and nutrition is available to them; monitoring disease; control of communicable diseases.
- Water and Sanitation: Providing safe water; promoting hygiene; providing sanitation facilities, especially at schools; ensuring that adequate quantities of oral rehydration salts are available in areas most prone to Cholera outbreaks, which have been on the increase in five of the six countries; preparing health awareness campaigns and putting in place contingency plans for Cholera outbreaks.
- Protection: The first phase of a training programme supported by UNICEF and partners to combat the sexual exploitation of children has been completed, reaching government officials, non-governmental organizations, UN agencies, security forces and transport associations. A second Training of Trainers phase began in October in all six countries; promoting awareness of rights and entitlements among the vulnerable; monitoring trends in hazardous child labour and sexual exploitation.
- Information Management: Supporting and actively participating in surveillance and monitoring systems to monitor the nutritional status, school drop-out rates and the

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[HOME](#)
[COUNTRY INFO](#)
[WHAT WE DO](#)
[WHY WE DO IT](#)
[UNICEF PEOPLE](#)
[WORDS OF YOUTH](#)
[SUPPORT UNICEF](#)
[PRESS CENTRE](#)
[VIDEOS](#)

At a glance: Afghanistan

[The big picture](#)

[Newsline](#)

[Statistics](#)

[Contact us](#)

[Real lives](#)

[Countries in this region](#)

[All countries](#)

Women's health in rural Afghanistan to benefit from new contribution from Canada and Belgium



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Medical supplies funded by the Canadian development agency CIDA and transported to Kabul by the Belgian Government are loaded onto a truck at Kabul International Airport. The supplies, costing US\$32,000, are destined for the newly refurbished maternity hospital in rural Bamyan province in the central region of Afghanistan.

KABUL, Afghanistan, 20 May 2004—Some 85,000 women from the rural Afghan province of Bamyan will benefit from improved health care, thanks to new supplies provided by UNICEF with the support of the governments of Canada and Belgium.

The maternity ward of Bamyan Hospital will receive hospital equipment, obstetric kits, midwifery kits and medicines as part of a total of US\$ 32,000 of supplies funded by the Canadian development agency CIDA. The supplies will meet the needs of the Bamyan

population in emergency obstetric care for one year.

The supplies arrived in Afghanistan on board an aircraft provided by the Belgian government and were handed over to UNICEF by representatives of the Canadian and Belgian governments, including the Belgian Prime Minister, on 20 May. The handover ceremony took place at the Kabul International Airport.

Visiting hospitals in need

Belgian National Committee for UNICEF Director Christian Wiener and National Committee President Marc Van Boven joined the government delegation, and visited the UNICEF-supported Malalai Maternity Hospital in Kabul to see progress made over the last two years in infrastructure and training opportunities.

The hospital deals with some 200 cases per day, making it the largest and busiest maternity hospital in Afghanistan. UNICEF and partners have supported provision of equipment and training to the

hospital staff, making it the first Centre of Excellence in Maternal Health in the country.

Afghanistan has one of the worst maternal mortality ratios in the world; recent studies have estimated that one woman dies every twenty minutes in the most rural parts of the country due to complications in childbirth and pregnancy.

Major causes of such deaths include lack of local facilities and equipment that can help support women experiencing difficulties. UNICEF aims to ensure that every province in Afghanistan has a fully functioning obstetric care centre by the end of 2004; UNICEF is also supporting training for health staff at national and community level.



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Belgian National Committee for UNICEF Director Christian Wiener (left) and National Committee President Marc Van Boven join a Dari language class in a UNICEF provided school tent at Rahman Meena High School in west Kabul, which accommodates 4,565 pupils and 137 teachers

UNICEF continues to support Afghan schoolchildren

In addition to touring the hospital, the Belgian National Committee team visited Rahman Meena High School in west Kabul. The school accommodates 4,565 pupils and 137 teachers in both the school building and UNICEF-provided tent classrooms. Mr. Wiener and Mr. Marc Van Boven spent time with students during a Dari language class taught underneath a UNICEF-

provided tent classroom.

In 2003 the government of Belgium provided funds for the education sector in Afghanistan through UNICEF, while Canada has been a generous supporter of health and nutritional programmes, contributing some US\$ 3.1 million to UNICEF's work in Afghanistan in 2003.

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English | Français | Español |

United Nations

Special Session on Children

8-10 MAY 2002



World leaders 'Say Yes' for children

From 8 to 10 May 2002, more than 7,000 people participated in the most important international conference on children in more than a decade, the Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Children, at which the nations of the world committed themselves to a series of goals to improve the situation of children and young people.

The Special Session was a landmark, the first such Session devoted exclusively to children and the first to include them as official delegates. It was convened to review progress since the World Summit for Children in 1990 and re-energize global commitment to children's rights.

About 70 Heads of State and/or Government, prime ministers or their deputies, together with many high-ranking government delegations came to New York to take part in the Session. Four governments had youth representatives address the General Assembly on behalf of their respective countries (the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Togo).

In addition, the Special Session benefited greatly from an extraordinary array of leaders from civil society, including non-governmental organizations, cultural, academic, business and religious groups, and eminent personalities such as Nelson Mandela and Bill Gates, Jr.

UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, in his opening statement to the General Assembly, addressed the children of the world. "We, the grown-ups, have failed you deplorably,..." he said, adding, "One in three of you has suffered from malnutrition before you turned five years old.

Recent publications

Building a World Fit for Children

Building a World Fit for Children reports on the landmark United Nations Special Session on Children, held at UN headquarters in May 2002. [[download](#)]

The United Nations Special Session on Children: A first anniversary report on follow-up

This report presents a global picture of national follow-up mechanisms, highlights the actions already taken and their impact on fulfilling children's rights and improving their well-being, and calls for renewed efforts to achieve a world fit for children.

[Full document](#) [PDF] | [Annex](#) [PDF]

Now available: 'A World Fit for Children' final text

[English](#) (PDF, Acrobat Reader required.)

[Other UN languages.](#)

Newsletter

See the latest [Special Session Newsletter \(October 2002\)](#) [PDF] for an overview of the Special Session on Children.

Looking for a page which you saw here previously?

[Special Session home: World leaders 'Say Yes' for children](#)

['A World Fit for Children'](#)

[Special Session highlights](#)

[Supporting events](#)

[Voices of the Special Session](#)

[Child and adolescent participation](#)

[NGO participation](#)

[Follow-up: CRC - A cornerstone](#)

[Follow-up: National Plans of Action](#)

[Follow-up: Global Movement for Children](#)

[Documentation and links](#)

[Contacts](#)

[Background information](#)

One in four of you has not been immunized against any disease. Almost one in five of you is not attending school.... We, the grown-ups, must reverse this list of failures."

Pages created before May 2002 are still available as [background information](#).

Carol Bellamy, UNICEF Executive Director, echoed her concern for the need to accelerate progress for children. "If we want to overcome poverty and the instability it breeds, we must start by investing in our young people," she said. "I implore national leaders to seriously examine their records on children. Are you getting all your children into the classroom? Are you protecting all your children against disease? Are they safe from abuse, exploitation and violence? Unfortunately, we already know the answers. We know we have work to do."

An impressive number of government representatives - 187 - took the floor during the plenary debate at the General Assembly. Leaders took stock of progress for children made since the 1990 World Summit for Children. And most concurred with the conclusions of the Secretary-General in his end-decade report, *We the Children*, which stated that much work had been accomplished but much still remained to do. Speakers said they saw the Special Session as a sign of hope and the outcome document as a pledge by the international community to act together to address pressing issues and build a world fit for children, supporting a new set of goals established by participants at the Special Session.

What this website does

First, this website presents what happened at the Special Session on Children, both in the official discussions - the General Assembly debates and adoption of the final outcome document of the Session 'A World Fit for Children' - and in the supporting events organized by various actors, including governments, the United Nations, UNICEF and other UN agencies, international organizations, civil society organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

The site also highlights the historical participation of children and adolescents, as well as NGOs.

The site stresses the main elements of the follow-up to the Special Session, and the importance of national and regional plans of action in implementing the Declaration and the Plan of Action of 'A World Fit for Children'.

The site also emphasizes the key role that the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) will continue to play, as well as the linkages between the Convention and the outcomes of the Special Session. It emphasizes that strengthening the Global Movement for Children will ensure that child rights will be at the center of all decisions affecting the lives of children and adolescents worldwide.

Finally, this website includes background information on the Special Session.

[UNICEF home](#) | [UN home](#) | [Say Yes for Children](#) | [Global Movement for Children](#)

English | Français | Español |

United Nations

Special Session on Children

8-10 MAY 2002



[Special Session highlights](#) | [Special Session in numbers](#) | [General Assembly debate](#) | [Round Tables](#) | [End-decade review - Secretary General's report](#) | [Two years of intense preparations](#) | [Special Session in video](#) | [Special Session in pictures](#)

Special Session on Children: Highlights

The UN General Assembly's Special Session on Children in May 2002 attracted 69 Summit-level participants and 190 high-level national delegations. When they finished their work they had committed their governments to a time-bound set of specific goals for children and young people, and to a basic framework for getting there.

The political leaders were not alone at this historic session. They were joined by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, the top leadership of UN agencies, an extraordinary array of leading figures from business, religion, the arts, academia and civil society, five Nobel Peace Prize Laureates, more than 1,700 delegates representing NGOs from 117 countries, cultural and sport celebrities and - for the first time in the history of UN meetings - by more than 400 children who were there as delegates and active participants in every formal meeting and supporting session.

"The children in this room are witnesses to our words," the Secretary-General told the delegates at the opening plenary of the Special Session.

They were that and more, as children and young people turned business-as-usual into an extraordinary UN experience. They challenged us, informed us. The stories of their lives gave us pause. And throughout, their faith in our collective abilities to make change - and their hope - inspired us.

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['A World Fit for Children'](#)

[Special Session highlights](#)

[Supporting events](#)

[Voices of the Special Session](#)

[Child and adolescent participation](#)

[NGO participation](#)

[Follow-up: CRC - A cornerstone](#)

[Follow-up: National Plans of Action](#)

[Follow-up: Global Movement for Children](#)

[Documentation and links](#)

[Contacts](#)

[Background information](#)

[UNICEF home](#) | [UN home](#) | [Say Yes for Children](#) | [Global Movement for Children](#)

English | Français | Español |

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Special Session on Children

8-10 MAY 2002



[NGO participation in the Special Session](#) | [NGOs - Unprecedented participation](#) | [Child Rights and national plans of action](#) | [Commitment chart](#) | [NGO coverage of the Special Session](#) | [NGOs address the General Assembly](#)

Child rights and national plans of action

The Convention on the Rights of the Child was one of the most central and unifying themes among most NGO discussions during the Special Session.

Kul C. Gautam, Deputy Executive Director of UNICEF, praised NGOs for their scope of activities, commitment and their historic and essential role in building the worldwide movement for the rights of children over the past 30 years. He said that NGO action led to the landmine ban and debt relief, adding "and now it is playing a big and growing role in the Global Movement for Children. NGO perspectives are very important in the alternative reports submitted to the Committee on the Rights of the Child. They bring attention to governments working hard for children as well as to those who fall short."

Formed in early 2000, the Child Rights Caucus is a group of more than 100 national and international NGOs from around the world committed to protecting and promoting the human rights of children. The Caucus served as a lobby group pressing for a strong rights-based focus to the Special Session and its outcome document. Since 2000, it has prepared several versions of an alternative outcome document called, 'A Children's Rights Agenda for the Coming Decade'. During the SSC, the Caucus was a major force in efforts to prevent what it saw as "watering down" of the outcome document in areas related to child rights, including sexual and reproductive health, child labour and juvenile justice. The Caucus issued several position papers, held a press conference and delivered an open letter to the US delegation.

"The Convention remains a binding standard for the 191 countries who have ratified it", said Ms. Jo Becker, spokesperson for the Caucus. NGO members of the Caucus and others pledge to work with governments to ensure that the national plans of action (NPAs) will contain concrete steps towards the full implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The Child Rights Caucus will remain active during the next year while NPAs are being developed.

"Governments must recognize that civil society needs to be present and consulted," said Mary Diaz, Director of the Women's Commission on Refugee Women and Children and Co-Chair of the NGO Steering Committee. "Citizens are asked to participate in

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['A World Fit for Children'](#)

[Special Session highlights](#)

[Supporting events](#)

[Voices of the Special Session](#)

[Child and adolescent participation](#)

[NGO participation](#)

[Follow-up: CRC - A cornerstone](#)

[Follow-up: National Plans of Action](#)

[Follow-up: Global Movement for Children](#)

[Documentation and links](#)

[Contacts](#)

[Background information](#)

building strong societies and holding their governments accountable. [But] in order to do that we must have access to policy-making work and negotiations like this one."

Throughout the Session NGOs recognized their responsibility and their unique position to help elaborate NPAs and to develop tools and guidelines for a monitoring process linked to monitoring the CRC. As governments returned home to develop their National Plans of Actions, NGOs were certain not to be far behind, for NPAs are due in only one year's time. NGOs said that the criteria for the NPAs being developed should include a strong statement that backs up paragraph 59 of the outcome document urging the inclusion of civil society.

For more information on the CRC in the follow-up to the Special Session, see [Follow-up: CRC - A cornerstone](#).

For more information on national plans of action, see [Follow-up: National plans of action](#).

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English | Français | Español |

United Nations Special Session on Children

8-10 MAY 2002



[Follow-up: Global Movement for Children](#) | [The GMC at the Special Session](#) | [Say Yes for Children](#) | [Rallying Call for the GMC](#) | [How to participate in the GMC](#)

Follow-up: Global Movement for Children

The Global Movement for Children (GMC) is a vital force for change, calling on people throughout the world to take action and protect the rights of children. We all have a role to play - leaders and citizens, public and private organizations, children and young people. What we demand of our leaders, we also demand of ourselves. The GMC calls on everyone, everywhere, to do as much as possible, in their own time and their own way, for and with children.

Early on, the GMC developed 10 key imperatives around which the highly successful Say Yes for Children campaign was built. The campaign culminated at the Special Session on Children when almost 95 million pledges were presented to the assembly, demonstrating people's readiness to get involved and take action for children.

With UNICEF, the NGO partners of the GMC are: Save the Children, World Vision International, Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC), NetAid, Plan International and CARE.

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[Special Session home: World leaders 'Say Yes' for children](#)

['A World Fit for Children'](#)

[Special Session highlights](#)

[Supporting events](#)

[Voices of the Special Session](#)

[Child and adolescent participation](#)

[NGO participation](#)

[Follow-up: CRC - A cornerstone](#)

[Follow-up: National Plans of Action](#)

[Follow-up: Global Movement for Children](#)

[Documentation and links](#)

[Contacts](#)

[Background information](#)

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[What is the Global Movement for Children?](#)

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The winner of the Say Yes for Children Award will be announced at the International Emmy Awards Gala in New York on November 19, 2001.

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Spiritual leaders call for peace

Religious leaders called for tolerance, peace and a focus on children at the Annual Interfaith Service of Commitment to the Work of the United Nations.

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The State of the World's Children

In the report *The State of the World's Children 2002* UNICEF calls for across-the-board leadership in order to ensure the rights of every child.

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Does the adult world really know what children think? This survey reveals the views of thousands young people in Europe, Asia and Latin America.

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They changed their world



"I'm very worried about my friends."





"Then I decided to change all that."



"Adults really need to listen to young people."

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 A child tells the story of the Global Movement for Children in this short video ([RealPlayer](#) required).

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Interdisciplinary Activities: Trade, Biotechnology, Gender...

Statistical Databases

Country information

Virtual Library

Publications

more...

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UN system Network on Rural Development and Food Security

Food Insecurity and Vulnerability Information and Mapping Systems

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Other

UN

Organizations

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FAO Regional Conferences - 2004

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- [Meetings calendar](#)
- [Online photos](#)
- [From the Director-General](#)

- [News stories](#)
- [Focus on the issues](#)
- [Press releases](#)
- [News & highlights](#)
- [News briefs](#)
- [Photo file](#)
- [Fact file](#)
- [Global watch](#)

Simple dramas teach farmers about raising crops -- and families

ARYAMOUN, Egypt, 4 September - The scene is of tranquil village life, where mud brick houses stand surrounded by the lush green of rice paddies and fields of maize. Water gushes from a pump and farmers tend their crops. The Nile flows majestically past, dotted with the white sails of feluccas.

This is Aryamoun, a village in the Delta of the Nile, but it could be any one of a thousand villages in Egypt, where farmers, the backbone of the Egyptian economy, have used ancestral skills to cajole the land into yielding just a little more each year. Representing over half of the population and 27% of the labour force, farmers have helped Egypt become one of the few countries in the world that yields three harvests a year.

Overall productivity per hectare is among the highest of the developing countries, and Egypt holds the world record for yields of rice, sorghum and sugarcane. On the other hand, rural people continue to struggle against traditional adversities -- declining soil fertility and environmental degradation, coupled with high population growth and low literacy rates.

In a simple room in Aryamoun's Agricultural Extension Center, six young men and women suddenly enter in a burst of music. Volunteer performers in the Rural Theater Troupe, they twirl to the rhythm of drums, their gaily colored traditional costumes flashing, while the audience applauds in anticipation. Then the drama - "The People and the Land" -- starts to unfold.

Learning from the villain

As the plot onstage thickens, the audience, composed of entire families, cheers on the heroes and shouts advice. The villain of this play is the wealthy local purveyor of fertilizers and pesticides. He aims to prevent the farmers from introducing new techniques for recycling agricultural by-products, such as rice hay and maize stalks, into compost fertilizer and fodder for livestock.

Traditionally, these by-products have been burned in bonfires, whose black smoke was blamed for a mysterious cloud of stinging smog that hung over Cairo for several days a few years ago. In addition, recycling and composting can reduce fertilizer use by up to 50 percent, as well as cover all fodder expenses for several farm animals. This alone can represent a substantial saving for farmers.

"A simple plot, half a dozen volunteer amateur actors and an open space are all we need to deliver vital messages



In a play performed for audiences in Egypt, an worker advises farmers agricultural practices

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An actress plays the pa village woman, in front backdrop depicting a tr scene

on crop protection, increasing productivity, protecting the environment, birth spacing, girls' education and adequate nutrition," says Dr. Ahmed Wahba, National Project Director of the Egyptian Ministry of Agriculture.

The author of the play, Issa Hammad, is a local mathematics teacher. "The play attempts to address issues of concern to farmers in familiar language, using an entertaining medium to hold their attention," he says. For example, a concept like birth spacing is conveyed using messages well known to farmers, such as the need to leave sufficient space between plants to encourage growth. The importance of maternal nutrition is explained by using the example of crops, which need adequate nourishment to grow strong and healthy.

A time for planting - and for marrying

"Farmers know that there is a specific time for planting, and that it is no use trying to force plants to grow before their season," Mr Hammad points out. "This deeply entrenched knowledge is used to advocate against early marriage: just as there is a correct time to plant, there is also a correct time to marry one's children."

Rodent control is another major worry in the countryside, since a few dozen rats can devastate an entire season's harvest and be the ruin of a farming family. Proper waste management can eliminate their breeding areas and thereby reduce their numbers. By introducing each message into the script, the audience shares the characters' concerns and searches for a solution, also offered by the play.

Theatre troupes are entertaining and teaching audiences throughout rural areas in four Governorates in Egypt, where the problems of agriculture, environment and population converge most seriously. Ongoing for eight years, the project provides a manual containing the basic formulas, which writers then adapt into dramatic storylines. The project has also supported training for trainers in how to link family planning and agricultural messages.

FAO is responsible for technical support and overall management of the project, which is funded by the United Nations Population Fund and the Government of Egypt. The Government also participates actively in all the steering committees through its Ministries of Education, Health, and Agriculture. The success to date means that it will be extended to a third phase next year.

When the play ends, the actors receive a standing ovation from the spectators, many of whom have already introduced composting and fodder recycling into their activities. Dr Wahba estimates that today almost half the farmers in the Aryamoun area practise composting and fodder recycling. Most villagers now acknowledge the importance of environmental protection and population control. Not only have they escaped the debt cycle endemic to farmers who must purchase fertilizers and pesticides on credit, they are now empowered to take the major decisions affecting their own families, their productivity and their environment.

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BASIC HUMAN NEEDS: THE NEXT STEPS IN THEORY DEVELOPMENT

Richard E. Rubenstein

Since the publication of his seminal book, *Deviance, Terrorism and War: The Process of Solving Unsolved Social and Political Problems* (1979), John Burton has been closely identified with the theory of basic human needs, an approach to understanding protracted social conflict that he continues to espouse and to refine (see, e.g., Burton, 1990a, 1997). Burton did not invent the theory, which posits the existence of certain universal needs that must be satisfied if people are to prevent or resolve destructive conflicts, but he gave it its most impassioned and uncompromising expression.

In *Deviance, Terrorism and War* Burton acknowledged his debt to Paul Sites, whose *Control: The Basis of Social Order* (1973) defined eight essential needs whose satisfaction was required in order to produce "normal" (non-deviant, non-violent) individual behaviour. According to Sites, these included the primary needs for consistency of response, stimulation, security, and recognition, and derivative needs for justice, meaning, rationality, and control. Sites, in turn, recognized the importance of Abraham Maslow's conception of human development as the sequential satisfaction of basic needs, which Maslow (1954) had grouped under five headings: physiological, safety, belongingness/love, esteem, and self-actualisation. The idea that humans qua humans have needs whose satisfaction is the effective antidote to alienation is considerably older than this, of course, as Karl Marx's youthful reflections on Hegel suggest:

The whole of history is a preparation for 'man' to become the object of sense perception and for needs to be the needs of 'man as man'.

It can be seen how [under socialism] the wealthy man and the plenitude of human need take the place of economic wealth and poverty. The wealthy man is the man who needs a complete manifestation of human life and a man in whom his own realization exists as an inner necessity, as a need ("Towards a Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right: Introduction," in McLellan, 1977, p. 94).

For Burton, the concept of basic human needs offered a possible method of grounding the field of conflict analysis and resolution (which he and a few other pioneers had essentially improvised during the 1960s) in a defensible theory of the person. Together with other peace researchers (see Lederer and Galtung, 1980; Coate and Rosati, 1988; and the writers represented in Burton, 1990b), he set out to reframe the concept in order to provide the new field with a convincing alternative to the prevailing paradigms of postwar social science: mechanistic utilitarianism, behaviourism, cultural relativism, and Hobbesian "Realism." In Burton's view, the needs most salient to an understanding of destructive social conflicts were those for identity, recognition, security, and personal development. Over time, however, he tended to emphasize the failure of existing state systems to satisfy the need for identity as the primary source of modern ethno-nationalist struggles.

The great promise of human needs theory, in Burton's view, was that it would provide a relatively objective basis, transcending local political and cultural differences, for understanding the sources of conflict, designing conflict resolution processes, and founding conflict analysis and resolution as an autonomous discipline. The importance of this ambitious project is now generally recognized by conflict theorists, whether they agree with Burton or not (see Fisher, 1997; Avruch, 1998; Jeong, 2000). This essay will suggest some ways in which the project has succeeded, some ways in which it has fallen short, and some possible avenues for further theory development.

The Need for Needs Theory

From the end of World War II until the late 1970s, general theories of conflict came in two varieties, neither of which, in John Burton's view, was adequate to explain either the persistence of "irrational" social struggles or the real opportunities for their resolution. We can call these apparently opposed (but actually complementary) schools of thought conservative personalism and liberal situationalism.

Conservative personalist theories picture humans as creatures driven to engage in violent conflict by sinful rebelliousness, innate aggressive instincts, or a lust for power (e.g., Freud, 1989b; Lorenz, 1997). From this perspective, the situational environment merely provides a context and trigger for conflictual thoughts and activities that are primarily internally generated. By definition, human impulses to sin, aggress, or dominate cannot be stamped out; they require control or "balancing" by countervailing force. If this be true, of course, non-violent, self-enforcing conflict resolution (what Johan Galtung (1996) terms "peace by peaceful means") must be considered a utopian fantasy.

Liberal situationalist theories, on the other hand, seemed at first to provide conflict resolvers with grounds for optimism. By emphasizing the potency of social determinants rather than the intractability of individual instincts, they suggested that conflict behaviours might be altered by altering the external situation. Strict behaviourism (for an extreme example, see Skinner, 1965), relegated instincts and other internal mechanisms to a metaphorical "black box," postulating that, given a certain environment or situation, people would behave in predictable ways. Frustration-aggression theorists like Dollard (1980) reduced the aggressive instinct to a mere potential for destructive action, with primary attention focused on situations that activate this potential by frustrating goal-oriented activity. Social learning theory presented humans as cognising creatures whose ideas and attitudes were largely determined by social conditioning (Bandura, 1976). And much post-Freudian psychoanalytical theory moved analogously from the primacy of instinct to family- or culture-based situational determinism (Mitchell and Black, 1996).

Burton's crucial perception was that the apparent personalist/situationalist dichotomy masked an underlying similarity. Taken at their word, the personalists held that the individual was unchangeably aggressive and the situationalists that he/she was infinitely malleable. But these "inwardly driven" and "outwardly determined" models of behaviour actually functioned as the polar extremes of a continuum on which most analysts and policymakers occupied some midpoint. Thus, while the personalists opened the door to limited "social engineering" by

suggesting that aggressive instincts could be externally controlled or counterbalanced, the situationalists found themselves unable or unwilling to reconstruct social environments (as Skinner had fantasized doing in *Walden Two*, 1976) to the extent necessary to eliminate anti-social behaviours.

When faced with a case of destructive violence, therefore, both schools of thought tended to respond as if objectionable behaviour could be modified by applying the right combination of threats and rewards. Both philosophies, that is, were essentially utilitarian, with the conservatives emphasizing the control of behaviour via the administration of pain ("deterrence") and the liberals control via the administration of pleasure ("positive reinforcement").

Both perspectives, as John Burton, Johan Galtung, and others pointed out, were essentially elitist; that is, they assumed that governing elites could pacify their unruly subjects by discovering the point at which curves of pain and pleasure would intersect to produce "consensual" behaviour. And both, in practice, tended to emphasize the stick more than the carrot, on the ground that force must be used as the "persuader" of last resort. Where conservative and liberal utilitarians most clearly joined forces was on the terrain of "Political Realism" - the perspective that sees political actors both as aggressive power-seekers and as rational calculators of individual and group interests.

In foreign affairs, Realists emphasize the relentless pursuit of power by competing nations and blocs, war as a continuation of politics by other means, and power-based negotiations as the only practical alternative to inter-group violence (Morgenthau, 1985). In domestic affairs, they emphasize the needs for normative consensus, interest-based commercial and political bargaining, and the violent suppression of crime (Coser, 1964; Wilson, 1998). The problem, according to John Burton and other needs theorists, was that the methods dictated by Realist thinking had proved ineffective to prevent or terminate serious transnational and domestic social conflicts.

Realism, in short, was simply not realistic. The types of social conflict most characteristic of world society since 1950 - ethno-nationalist wars and civil wars, violent struggles between races, social classes and religious groups, Great Power "police actions," terrorism, gang warfare, and crime - seemed largely immune to coercive or manipulative counteraction. In fact, people's involvement in these sorts of struggles appeared to escalate in response to attempts to deter their behaviour forcibly - a mysterious, frightening response that tempted their would-be controllers to declare these intractably disobedient actors evil, irrational, or even non-human. Faced with the near-genocidal implications of this cycle of violence, Burton and others saw the need for a theory that would challenge both brands of Realism at the level of their most basic assumptions. Basic human needs theory - a radically optimistic personalism - was their answer.

Needs Theory: Virtues and Limitations

From the perspective of conflict analysis and resolution, basic human needs theory offers theorists and practitioners certain important advantages. Three virtues of the theory seem particularly notable:

First, it permits conflict resolvers to make a valid distinction between struggles that can be dealt with by employing the conventional trinity of force, law, and/or power-based negotiation, and those whose resolution requires other measures. "Needs and values are not for trading," Burton asserts (1990a, p. 39), distinguishing needs-based conflicts, and the processes of conflict resolution properly so called, from interest-based disputes and the processes characteristic of strategic studies, conventional diplomacy, and "alternative dispute resolution." Another Burtonian apothegm, "Deterrence cannot deter (1990a, p.34) calls attention to the inefficacy of coercive methods to modify behaviour when individuals or groups are impelled to act on the basis of imperative needs.

Second, equipped with a needs-based map of the field, conflict analysts and resolvers can understand the contradictions inherent in general notions like "negotiation" and "dispute resolution," and the necessity to design resolution processes corresponding to a conflict's underlying generic sources. Where the conflict is generated by unsolved problems of political identity, for example, the process required will be analytical, exposing the differences between the conflicting parties' perceived interests and their underlying needs, and offering them a wide range of possible solutions to the reframed identity problem. There is thus a historical, if not logical, connection between human needs theory and the process known as the analytical or interactive problem-solving workshop (see Fisher, 1997; Mitchell and Banks, 1996).

Third, a needs-based approach to social conflict undermines conventional notions of conflict causation, in particular the idea that destructive social conflicts are produced instrumentally by a few manipulative leaders or expressively by the sheer existence of cultural or ideological differences. (See, e.g., Rubenstein and Crocker (1994) criticizing Samuel Huntington's "clash of civilizations" theory). Using unsatisfied needs as an independent variable, the theory helps to explain why ruling class manipulation or cultural differences sometimes generate conflict and sometimes fail to do so.

Moreover, the theory provides a basis for linking conflict analysis with conflict resolution. Conflict resolution (as opposed to temporary "dispute settlement") requires a process that helps conflicting parties identify salient unsatisfied needs and consider methods of accommodating social arrangements to the ineluctable demands of "necessitous" individuals and groups. In some cases at least, this may mean assisting the parties to conceptualise and implement significant "structural" changes (see Rubenstein in Jeong, 2000, pp. 173-195).

Certain limitations of the theory, as currently formulated, can also be identified. To begin with, the attempt to establish an objective basis for socially and politically salient needs in human biology or in unalterable "human nature" has been criticized as indefensibly "essentialist," de-contextualised, and a-historical (see, e.g., Avruch, 1998). In many ways, these criticisms seem apt.

John Burton has attempted to counter them by asserting boldly that, while basic human needs themselves are universal, transcending differences in class, gender, and culture, their satisfiers are culturally determined. But such a radical separation between needs and satisfiers runs afoul of the fact that concepts like identity and security are not independently existing "universals" rather,

they are ideas abstracted from a multiplicity of concrete satisfiers. If the satisfiers are culture-bound, therefore, so, too, are the needs.

Does this mean that there are no universal (i.e., genuinely "human") needs? Not necessarily. Biologizing (or "ontologizing") needs forecloses the inquiry that should be made into the extent to which certain needs are becoming universal as a global culture comes painfully and convulsively into existence. It also forecloses other necessary inquiries: for example, into the relationship between childhood and adult behaviour. Is the adult's quest for political identity, say, a natural extension of the child's needs to bond with and differentiate itself from its parents (see Clark, in Burton, 1990b, pp. 34-59)? Or is it a regression symptomatic of incomplete or interrupted child development? Similarly, does the alleged need for "sacred meaning" postulated by Mary Clark spring from human nature, perhaps as a further development of the child's need for "consistency of response" (see Sites in Burton, 1990b, pp. 7-33)? Or, as Freud suggests in *The Future of an Illusion* (1989), is it merely evidence of some individuals' failure to "grow up"?

A related problem concerns the definition of the salient needs themselves. While John Burton reduces the basic human needs to three or four, focusing especially on identity and recognition, Johan Galtung, grouping them a la Maslow, contends that an adequate account of needs as sources of destructive conflict must also include the drive to satisfy basic needs for "welfare," "freedom," and "meaning" (Galtung, in Burton, 1990b, pp. 301-335). From Burton's perspective, the characterization of "welfare" and "freedom" needs as basic is misleading, since people will jeopardize or surrender both for the sake of defending their identities. Moreover, extending the list of basic needs tends to blur the distinction between "wants" and "needs" to the point that every intense desire may be conceived of as a basic need. At the point that the wants/needs distinction washes away entirely, of course, so does the utility of the theory.

Again, the difficulty does not seem insuperable, provided that one is willing to conceive of needs as relatively rather than absolutely "basic." We speak of "needs" rather than "wants" when we are convinced that a failure to obtain what is desired will produce results that are personally or socially destructive. (What is "destructive," of course, is not determined by biology; the term embodies an element of political and moral judgment.)

And we speak of needs as being "basic" when people in large enough numbers desire something intensely enough for a long enough period of time to sacrifice other desired ends for it. On this basis, Galtung may be justified in describing the need for freedom as basic, particularly when he specifies it in terms of concrete satisfiers like physical mobility. The needs that, if unsatisfied, generate destructive conflict may therefore change over the course of human history or even over the course of an individual's personal history. This fact does not prevent us from identifying and describing them or suggesting conflict resolution solutions aimed at satisfying them.

Needs Theory: Possibilities of Further Development

Christopher Mitchell has rightly pointed out (in Burton, 1990b, pp. 166-171) that we have no theory of satisfiers equivalent to the theory of basic human needs. One cause of this lack may be that in absolutizing basic human needs, John Burton and his fellow thinkers absolutely relativised their satisfiers. If the need for identity, say, is everywhere and always the same, but what will

satisfy it is determined entirely by local histories and changing social circumstances, it becomes difficult, perhaps impossible, to predict before the fact what will "work" to terminate an identity-based conflict.

The collapse in 2000-2001 of the Oslo-initiated Middle East "peace process" is an illuminating example of this problem. For years, Palestinian and Israeli negotiators attempted in good faith to discover adequate satisfiers for their people's identity and security needs. But, working from an essentially secular perspective, neither side took into account the explosiveness of essentially religious issues like the status of Jerusalem and the Jewish settlements on the West Bank. The fact that these issues did prove so difficult to resolve demonstrated that, at the mass level, the national identities in question were conceived in religious as well as secular terms, and that measures not satisfying this conception of identity were bound to fail.

The example suggests that by situating the identity need in the context of a group's history, i.e., by defining it more clearly in terms of its potential satisfiers, the problem of assessing the relevance and adequacy of alternative satisfiers may be demystified.

The same Middle East situation exemplifies the fact that, disregarding John Burton's determined advocacy of conflict "prevention (1990a)," needs theory is generally applied after violent social conflict has erupted, under circumstances that make an adequate analysis of the salient needs and satisfiers very difficult. Perhaps Ted R. Gurr's predictive study of minorities at risk (2000) will show needs theorists a possible way to enhance the usefulness of their theory. One can conceive of a regional or even global survey seeking to determine, in the case of specific ethnic or national groups, how identity and security needs are conceived, what levels of satisfaction prevail, and which satisfiers (i.e., what forms of socio-political change) seem best suited to increase the level of satisfaction. If such a survey were successful in calling attention to potentially violent conflict situations and the steps needed to defuse them, needs theory would have clearly proved its usefulness.

A second line of research and theory development might aim at exploring the needs and satisfiers applicable to conflicts that are not purely or primarily ethno-nationalist, but that involve other forms of group definition. It is understood that many general conflict and conflict resolution theories bear the marks of their origin in the study of particular types of conflict. Basic human needs theory was implicitly designed to throw light on the sources and methods of resolving identity-group conflicts of the sort that plagued world society during the postwar period of decolonisation, and that are far from obsolete even now. Nevertheless, especially since the late 1970s, other forms of social conflict have forced themselves on our attention. This suggests a series of questions requiring better answers: Which needs/satisfiers are relevant to understanding the modern upsurge of religious conflict around the world? What drives the revival of class struggle in nations of the semi-periphery? Which conflict resolution processes are likely to be most effective in these diverse cases?

Third, in order to move from the relatively abstract level on which needs theory functions at present to more concrete and useful understandings of the role of basic needs in conflict, we need a better understanding of their psychological origins and the processes through which needs

become conscious motivators of collective action.

John Burton and Johan Galtung departed quite deliberately from Abraham Maslow's post-Freudian psychology, with its hierarchy of developmental needs seemingly rooted in unacknowledged Western and bourgeois cultural values. But there is some indication that, in extracting basic needs from the mental structures postulated by Freud and his successors, the baby was thrown out with the bath water. In effect, the needs theorists put emotional and cognitive dynamics into a "black box," much as their behaviourist predecessors had done.

There is much to be gained, in my view, by opening up the black box and asking, for example, whether imperative needs are expressions of a libidinal drive, as Freud (1989b) thought, whether they emerge in the course of human development, as Erikson (1963) and others believed, or whether their nature and role is best explained by cognitive theory, discourse analysis, or some other perspective on mind and personality. Since the relationship between personal and social structures is dialectical rather than one of simple opposition, such an inquiry is likely to complicate somewhat the "moral man/immoral society" construct that makes needs theory so appealing to advocates of social change. In the long run, however, it is likely to provide fuller and more accurate answers to the major question posed by John Burton and his colleagues: How can the basic needs that, unsatisfied, generate destructive social conflict be identified, described, and satisfied?

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Appropriate Third World Development.

(Extracts from Development: Conventional vs Critical Perspectives, T. Trainer. The same argument is in "What does development mean; A rejection of the unidimensional assumption")

Following are some of the crucial principles for appropriate and sustainable development which derive from the critical analysis of conventional development thinking.

1. Arrange for people to immediately begin applying the resources and productive capacity to producing in their locality the things that are most needed to give all people the highest possible quality of life at the least cost in labour, resources and environmental impact. Most if not all Third World regions have most and probably all the resources they need to build the basic structures and systems which would provide a high quality of life to all in a few years at most, via relatively simple technologies, lifestyles and systems. Conventional or capitalist development puts this capacity into producing for rich people far away.

The goals of alternative development are to ensure that all people have things like adequate shelter, food, basic health services, extensive and supportive community, security, leisure-rich environments, peace of mind, a relaxed pace, worthwhile work, a sustainable environment, and access to a rich cultural life. Achieving these goals is possible with little or no foreign investment, trade, heavy industrialisation or sophisticated technology or growth of GDP. They require little more than the immediate application of the land, labour and traditional building and gardening skills the people usually have. They do not depend on material affluence or economic growth or on access to large amounts of capital.

2. Proceed directly and immediately with the task of developing what is most needed. Reject the cruel myths that development of what most people need will best occur (later) if those with capital are allowed to develop whatever will increase their wealth, that development can be identified with economic growth, that exports must be increased in order to enable purchase of necessities, etc. These assumptions will lead to development of the wrong things and to the enrichment of the rich. If the need is for clean water and more basic food and shelter then enable people to put the existing productive capacity to producing those things for themselves, immediately.

3. Very simple material living standards must be accepted. Affluence and rich world living standards must be rejected because they are impossible for all. All the world's people cannot live affluently. (Trainer, 1995.) This does not mean there must be deprivation or lack of necessities or inconvenience. It is possible to organise communities and economies to provide all their people with a high quality of life on very low per capita income and resource use. For example very cheap clothing can be perfectly warm, neat and functional. Very cheap housing can be quite convenient and aesthetically pleasing. (In rich countries perfectly adequate housing can be built for less than one-tenth of the cost of conventional housing, e.g. via earth construction. (Trainer, 1995.)

4. Centrally important in appropriate development is building local social and economic self-sufficiency. Most of the goods and services used by people must be produced in and very close to the towns and suburbs they live in, by local people using local resources in local firms. Importing and exporting must be minimised. This is necessary to cut transport and packaging costs, to make people independent of the predatory global economy and to enable them to control their own local economic affairs. Traders and transnational corporations prosper from international trade, the majority of poor people do not; in fact their land will probably be drawn away from them into export crop production.

5. Capital and sophisticated technology are of little importance for appropriate development. It is a serious mistake to assume that development cannot take place without large volumes of capital or without modern technology. A well developed village or region can be achieved with little more than traditional hand tool technology which can build highly satisfactory houses and small dams and can plant thriving gardens. People can get together to build the dwellings, firms, clinics, stores, premises, gardens and leisure facilities their community needs, using local materials such as earth and timber. Of course a relatively few important modern items such as radios and medicines must be obtained through trade.

6. Social and ecological goals must take priority over economic goals.

Do not allow development to be determined by what is most profitable, what capitalists want to do, what market forces decree or what would maximise the GNP. Base development decisions on morality, justice, tradition and what is best for community, the environment, social cohesion and people in general. This often means that pursuit of appropriate development will require prevention of developments that would add significantly to the GDP.

7. There must therefore be basic social control over development. Appropriate development cannot take place if freedom for market forces is given a high priority. To do so is to give the transnational corporations and banks the freedom to develop whatever will maximise their profits and deliver most wealth to themselves. Appropriate development cannot occur unless there is considerable regulation of the economy. There are of course difficulties and dangers in regulation but these should be dealt with via open, democratic and participatory processes. There could be a significant role for free enterprise, in the form of small firms, and for markets, but these must be kept within carefully set limits, monitored and when necessary regulated by social control mechanisms.

8. The most important elements in appropriate development are organisational and social, These include working bees, rosters, committees, participatory government, town banks, community development cooperatives and especially the climate of solidarity, good will, energy and cooperation that can ensure that people come together eagerly to build and to run their local systems.

9. Priority must be put on cooperation, participation and people power. Villagers must be willing to organise and contribute to town meetings, working bees, community projects, cooperatives and town banks. They must largely govern themselves and take control of their own development through these cooperative and participatory structures. The supreme concern should be to take

cooperative and collective local control over local development, in order to work out and develop what is best for the community as a whole. (Contrast the conventional economist's assumptions that individuals have only selfish motives and that a good society can result if all individuals compete against each other to maximise their own individual advantage.)

10. Very little heavy industry is needed. States should aim to distribute mostly light industry across the rural landscape. The production of many items should be banned or severely limited, e.g., cars, aircraft, expensive luxury goods. Again there must therefore be considerable social control and regulation of the economy, ideally via open and participatory systems, not authoritarian and closed state bureaucracies.

11. Basic social services such as health must be organised collectively (not necessarily by a centralised state, but, for example, via community cooperatives).

12. No attention should be paid to the GDP. Whether it increases or falls is irrelevant. What matters is whether the quality of life and ecological sustainability are improving. In fact to adopt appropriate development strategies will in general be to reduce the GDP and it will require blocking of many developments which would have added greatly to the GDP. For example the most appropriate thing to do with most plantation land is to convert it to producing food for local consumption, which would reduce exports and the GNP. (In a well developed and sustainable Thailand there would probably be far less production, work and resource use and GDP than there is today.)

13. Minimise economic connections with the rich countries and the global economy. Borrow very little. (There will be relatively little need for capital and conventional heavy infrastructure development; e.g., freeways.) Export only a few surpluses in order to be able to import only a few important items. Allow in only those foreign investors who will produce necessities on your terms. Strive for a high level of national self sufficiency and national control over development. In other words, do not become integrated into and dependent on the global economy. Retain the power to control your own development.

14. Preserve culture and ecosystems. This will be possible and easy because the conventional development path has been rejected.

15. Be quite clear that appropriate development is not a path to rich world living standards or "prosperity", a consumer society, spectacular cities, high incomes or great national wealth, power and prestige. The outcome will not be high dollar incomes, expensive possessions, palatial houses full of gadgets, or jet-away holidays. Most goods will be produced much less "efficiently" than the transnational corporations can produce them. "Living standards" will be far lower than they are in the rich countries. But these are not important for a high quality of life or an admirable society. The main aim will be to guarantee as high quality of life and security to all, and to preserve culture and traditions.

Conclusions.

The difference between the conventional conception of development and this appropriate/alternative conception is extreme. Indeed the relationship is basically contradictory with respect to means (e.g., growth, markets, development by the rich and determined by what will maximise profits) and ends (e.g., affluent living standards, heavy industrialisation, trade, a consumer society.) The distinction shows how limited the Dependency and Marxist critiques of Modernisation development theory are, since all three take for granted the conventional development goals of high material living standards, industrialisation, capital and technology intensive development, affluent lifestyles and consumer society. Conventional development thinking has trapped billions of people in hopeless and deteriorating conditions for fifty years while greatly enriching the rich few. Yet most Third World people could largely achieve satisfactory development along the alternative path within a few years at most.

Kerala illustrates some of these themes. Despite a GNP per capita that is about 1.6 % of that in the USA, Kerala's literacy rate and life expectancy are almost the same as in the US, and its infant mortality is 17/1000 compared with 91/1000 for India as a whole. (Franke and Chassan, 1989.) The basic explanation is simply that developing what is best for people has been taken as the development goal, and doing whatever will most increase the GNP has been rejected as the development goal.

Even more sobering is Ladakh. Despite a GNP per capita of almost zero, the extremes of a 14,000 ft location, meagre and fragile ecosystems, and no modern technology, the people of Ladakh enjoy a rich and admirable society, with strong community and spiritual values and a high quality of life. They have no poverty or crime, they look after their old people, they work at a relaxed pace and have much time for festivals. They do not waste. They live in ecologically sustainable ways. There is no social breakdown. Above all they are notoriously happy. It can be argued that their culture is far superior to that of the West, and that traditional Ladakh has almost no need for further development. A[art from better health and infant care, it is difficult to imagine many developments that would improve the quality of life. They certainly do not need cars, imported products, supermarkets or TV, yet it is the coming of these things which is now destroying traditional Ladakh society. (Norberg-Hodge, 1991.)

However, appropriate/alternative development would be a catastrophe for the rich countries, and for Third World ruling elites. Appropriate development devotes Third World resources and productive capacity to the benefit of Third World people, whereas conventional/capitalist development devotes them mostly to the benefit of the transnational corporations and those who shop in rich world supermarkets.

The dominant global institutions (WTO, World Bank, IMF, OECD etc.) will not tolerate appropriate development. For instance Structural Adjustment Packages specifically demand that recipient countries phase out subsistence crops and convert to export crops. Appropriate development could only flourish in a very different global economic system, one in which the rich were not determined to take far more than their fair share of global resources.

Nevertheless the alternative way outlined above is now being increasingly turned to as many Third World people recognise that the conventional development path is not solving their

problems. (Schroyer, 1997.) It is also being increasingly pursued within the richest countries. The recent emergence of the Global Alternative Society Movement is due to the growing recognition that satisfactory and ecologically sustainable development for rich countries must also involve the abandonment of conventional development goals and means. Some of the evidence accumulating from many scattered and small scale pioneering experiments in the development of self-sufficient local economies are described in Trainer, (1995), and Douthwaite (1996.)

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