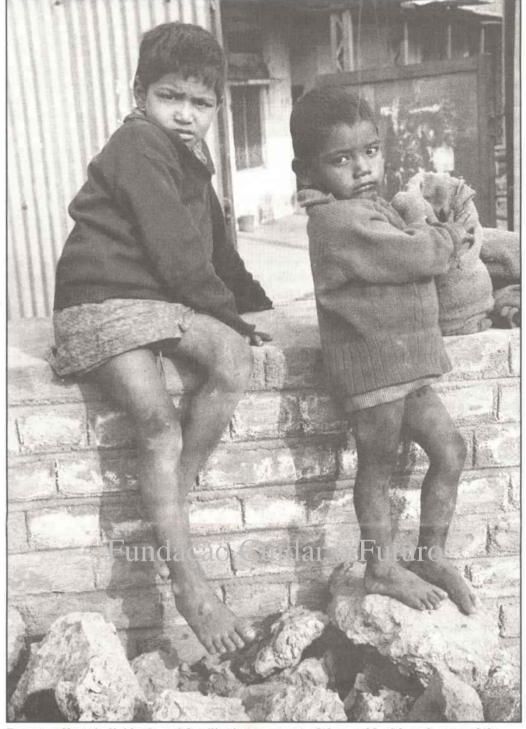
Extreme irst Call for Children

World Summit for Social Development



Poverty affects individuals and families in every part of the world, although most of the very poorest people — a total of 1.3 billion — live in developing countries. United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has declared poverty a "cruel and unacceptable reality that jeopardizes human existence and dignity" for hundreds of millions of people in developing and industrialized countries.

Poverty, unemployment, social exclusion: these are the core issues that more than 100 leaders from around the world are confronting as they meet in Copenhagen from 6 to 12 March 1995 for the World Summit for Social Development.

Today, more than 1 billion people are condemned to poverty — without jobs, without basic necessities, without hope. Most live in rural areas of Africa, Asia and Latin America, although millions more can be found in cities in industrialized countries as well as in the developing world.

Unemployment is a primary cause of poverty. In the last decade, the unemployment situation in most regions of the world — apart from the growth areas of East Asia and parts of South-East Asia — has worsened, both in terms of the number and quality of jobs. Within the world labour force of 2.8 billion people, I out of every 10 people cannot find work at a living

wage; in rural areas worldwide, 40 per cent of women work for no wages at

What happens to a society when its people are denied productive and fulfilling work and are obliged to live without basic necessities? The society unravels and its people are forced to gather what little strength they have simply to exist. Large portions of society are marginalized through exclusion and neglect, homelessness and high crime and mortality. There is hunger, despair, violence and war.

United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has called on the international community to define a new social pact for the whole world, and leaders face a tremendous challenge in devising strategies to attack poverty, create jobs and build solidarity. The questions they will have to confront are daunting: How can populations most crippled by poverty be helped in the short term, and how can

the inequality gap between the rich and the poor be narrowed in the long term? How can large numbers of productive and quality jobs be created? How can intolerance, discrimination and violence — leading to social exclusion — be stopped? While the questions are demanding, their solutions are crucial to sustainable human development.

The late James P. Grant, former Executive Director of UNICEF, has said: "We cannot argue, as we could 200 years ago, that there is not enough food to go around; that one half of the world has to be left a little skinny to feed the other half."

Since children create the world of tomorrow, they are at the heart of the World Summit for Social Development. Action to protect this rising generation must be the cornerstone of any new effort to accelerate progress against poverty and pre-empt ecological and social crises.

Important steps have already been

taken in this direction. At the World Summit for Children in 1990, the international community agreed on a series of specific and measurable goals for the protection of the lives, the health and the normal growth of children. Since then, more than 100 of the developing nations, with more than 90 per cent of the developing world's children, are making significant progress towards achieving the goals.

This experience has proved that putting children at the centre of development strategy is not only logical but also practical.

Now, as the world gathers for the Social Summit, we are provided with yet another opportunity to turn moral obligation into action. The world must seize this moment to create an agenda for international action to take us into the 21st century — an agenda that will guarantee that poverty, joblessness and social disintegration become ghosts of the past.

Nitin Desai on challenges of the Social Summit



Nitin Desai, Under-Secretary-General for Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development at the United Nations.

or the first time ever, pressing problems of social development and human need constitute the agenda for Heads of State and Government at the World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen

Clouded initially by scepticism and confusion about how useful such a broad and presumably unwieldy agenda on social development problems could be, the Summit has managed, in the almost two years since it was announced, to capture the imaginations of many. NGOs have embraced the idea particularly enthusiastically and are playing a central role in extending the debate on the central issues of the Summit

At the recent Summit preparatory meeting in New York, for example, a number of NGOs arranged an event giving women from around the world an opportunity to testify about the adverse effects structural adjustment programmes have had on their lives and those of their families. The meeting exemplified the invaluable role NGOs can play in forging a link between individuals and communities and international and national decision makers and policy setters.

This role of NGOs is especially important because they represent and count among their members many of the people directly affected by the increasingly perilous social environment in which so much of the world dwells.

It is an environment of marked contrasts. Social progress is evident almost everywhere. The world's wealth has multiplied sevenfold in the past 50 years. Literacy rates and primary school enrolments are up, infant mortality has dropped. But problems are obdurate and growing disparities are perhaps even more evident.

Global economic realignments and structural adjustments have changed the way millions of people earn — or no longer are able to earn - livelihoods. Over I think everybody agrees that we need to ly unemployed; many millions more struggle in the informal sector. More than 1 billion people live in abject poverty; and conflicts within and between countries in the past year alone speak to a need for defusing national and ethnic tensions.

Summits, as the World Summit for Children has already shown, can help change the face of the world and the course of history. NITIN DESAI, Under-Secretary-General for Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development at the United Nations, the department responsible for Summit coordination, describes in the following interview with First Call for **Children** his hopes for the global meeting.

What are some of the broad outcomes you would hope for from this Summit? First, I would hope that the Social Summit raises the profile of social policy and social

issues in decision-making, at national and international levels, so that social policy is no longer treated as something subsidiary to mainstream economic policy-making but is fully factored into it.

For instance, in the review of macroeconomic policy, including structural adjustment, social consequences need to be factored in at the time the policy is designed and not as an afterthought.

Second, I hope that the role played by institutions such as cooperatives, trade unions, political parties, business associations, and activist and community groups can be strengthened to help individuals mediate their relationships with the state and the market.

Finally, I hope the Summit leads to a serious commitment to eradicate the extreme manifestations of poverty we have in the world, because it can be done. This has to translate into commitment to specific goals, both on income generation and employment and on provision of basic services of the sort UNICEF pro-

What are some of the approaches to the world's social problems that you expect the Summit to discuss?

New approaches to poverty alleviation, I hope, will be combined with some concerns emerging on the environmental agenda. For instance, combining resource management with anti-poverty programmes and with concerns emerging from the gender agenda so there is a much sharper focus on the issue of women in poverty and women who are unemployed and the role of women in the economy.

Most important of all, poverty alleviation and employment generation must be treated as development problems and not 'welfare' problems. The capacity of the poor to contribute both to their own advancement as well as to the advancement of society at large must be recognized and supported.

How can this be done?

Any programme, to be effective in this area, must involve those in poverty from the beginning. Those in poverty know far more about what can be done to relieve their problems than somebody somewhere

What the poor perceive as the constraints needs to be better understood. It may be infrastructure, it may be credit, it may be access to markets, it may be access to skills. This is really what we mean when we say empowerment.

What possibilities for social development funding do vou see?

120 million people worldwide are official- spend more money on social development.

The 20/20 initiative has been promoted by UNDP, UNESCO, UNFPA, UNICEF and WHO, essentially to serve this objective. We can propose a social fund. In some cases, communities and individuals can help support social services, with some international support. There are a number

Are you optimistic about funding?

The reasons for international and national support for social development programmes are many. The consequences of poverty, unemployment and social stress can be crises, which in turn require emer-

The Summit is being held because there is mutual interest in arriving at a consensus on priorities for social development.

Workers of the world: The facts

ork is an essential component of human dignity and a right that must be guaranteed. To lose sight of this is condemning future generations to live in societies riddled by profound injustices and social exclusion.

Yet unemployment and low productivity employment are among the outstanding economic and social problems around the world today and by far one of the most important causes of poverty. Some 1 billion people around the world live below the poverty line because of the lack of a well-paying occupation.

In an active population of 2.8 billion persons, about 30 per cent or 820 million are registered unemployed or underemployed — engaged in a level of work that does not permit the worker to reach a minimum standard of living. According to the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the world is experiencing what has become the worst global employment crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Employment trends: Growth of informal sector

With employment shrinking in the formal sector, most new recruits have to be absorbed in the informal sector. In urban areas, in particular, the informal sector is playing the role of a labour sponge, believed to employ 62.5 per cent of the urban labour force, many of them women The majority of workers in the informal sector are wage labourers who are very low

· The drift to the informal sector represents a fall in the quality of employment. In most countries the growth in the informal sector has been accompanied by declining productivity and increased underemployment. In Africa, the informal sector grew from practically zero in the 1960s to two fifths of the urban labour force by the early 1990s.

· Greece, Italy and Spain have the biggest 'black economies' (informal sector) in the industrialized world, accounting for 20-30 per cent of their gross domestic product (GDP). Switzerland's and Japan's are estimated at a mere 4 per cent. (The Economist, February 1994)

Part-time work

Around the world, more people are working part-time than ever before. Figures on part-time work in developing countries are scarce, but where they exist, they show that part-time work is increasing. In industrialized nations, part-time employment has jumped sharply in recent years to reach a total of 60 million people, or one out of seven employees, most of them women and without full-time benefits or protection.

· Part-time workers account for between 10 and 20 per cent of all employees in Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, oan and the United States; more than 20 per cent in Australia, Denmark, New Zealand and the United Kingdom; and 26 per cent in Norway. The practice has grown most rapidly in the Netherlands, where 33 per cent of all employees are part-time workers.

· Part-time work has its drawbacks as well as its advantages. Enterprises are attracted by the gains it offers in flexibility, productivity, motivation, cost benefits and access to skills, while workers find it a way of combining different needs and building a new lifestyle.

At the same time, however, part-time workers are more vulnerable than their full-time counterparts. They are, on average, paid lower hourly rates than full-time workers (this is particularly true of women part-timers) and are also more likely to be excluded from sick pay, unemployment



Here, a girl on a sidewalk curb searches for garbage she can recycle.

benefits, health insurance, training allowances, holiday pay and bonuses, and extra pay for overtime and variable hours.

More women at work

Of the 828 million women officially estimated to be economically active in 1990, more than half (56 per cent) live in Asia, 29 per cent in the developed regions, 9 per cent in Africa and 5 per cent in Latin

work (paid and unpaid economic activity and unpaid housework) reveal that women spend more of their time working than men in all developed and developing regions, except in northern America and Australia, where the hours are almost equal. Studies in Africa, Asia and the Pacific have shown that women average 12 to 13 hours more work per week than men.

· Female participation rates in the workforce rose in many regions of the world, including in urban areas in Africa and Latin America, with women working mostly in the informal sector to maintain family incomes above poverty levels.

 Women everywhere have nearly total responsibility for the household

· Most women are still working in agriculture in much of Africa and Asia. Nearly 80 per cent of economically active women in sub-Saharan Africa and at least formed the way work is done. Robotics,

 Everywhere, women are paid less than men. Men are also more likely to have regular full-time work and receive greater benefits. In Cyprus, Japan and the Republic of Korea, women's wages are the lowest in comparison to men's (about half) among the countries for which data are

 In the industrialized nations of North America, Western Europe, Australia, Japan and New Zealand, female participation rates have risen continuously over the past 20 years to the point that women now typically comprise 45 to 50 per cent of the labour force. However, pay for women generally remains lower than for men - some 70 to 80 per cent of men's wages in non-agricultural occupa-

Migration for work

International migration is an increasingly widespread phenomenon.

· Labour migration offers families opportunities to increase their incomes, but frequently not without a price to pay. In many cases, families are separated, and mothers and sometimes fathers are left to care for their children on their own. The

· The World Bank estimates that worldwide, the value of remittances sent by migrants to their countries of origin amounted to more than US\$65 billion in 1989, making the value of remittances second only to trade in crude oil. The true value of remittances is likely to be higher since only a portion of total remittances flow through official channels.

Factors that contribute to unemployment

ILO has identified three factors that contribute to this trend of long-term high unemployment in developing and devel-

· First, the degree and pace of technological change in industry, services, computers, biotechnology, and especially in communications, have drastically transhave rendered some jobs obsolete, although they also improve competitiveness and create more jobs elsewhere.

· Second, the globalization of the economy is intensifying economic competition. One of the results is extreme pressure to increase productivity by taking advantage of technological change to down-size workforces and cut costs.

· Third, the normal movements of the economic cycle, of macroeconomic factors and interest rates, which may or may not

Millions forced to work

The most widespread form of forced labour is debt bondage, involving many millions of workers around the world. The employer typically entraps the worker by offering an advance which he or she has to pay from future earnings. The debt s extremely difficult to pay off and is often passed on from parent to child.

Debt bondage is most prevalent in South Asia and Latin America. According to some estimates, in Pakistan, 20 million people (including 7.5 million children) are working as bonded laborers in industries such as brick-making, quarrying and in the manufacture of bidis (cigarettes). Large numbers of child bonded labourers are working in the carpet industry.

Child labour

Since children are rarely in a position to give consent, child labour could be conidered as forced labour. It is estimated that 100 to 200 million children work worldwide. According to ILO, in some regions as many as 25 per cent of all children between 10 and 14 are estimated to be working. While many factors are nvolved — population pressures, urbai ization, famines and armed conflicts, and lack of access to schools - the most common denominator is poverty.

Working long hours in poor and often dangerous conditions, the hazards that working children face are many and varied. Children labouring in brickyards carry heavy loads that often leave them injured or deformed. Child carpet weavers work under conditions that ruin their eyesight. Young pencil makers, who manufacture the pencils that other children use in schools, breathe hazardous dust that condemns them to death from tuberculosis and other lung diseases.

Children who work long hours often have no time or energy for school. In depriving children of education, child labour forges shackles of illiteracy and poverty for new generations.

The road to development: Eight steps closer

The World Summit for Social Development comes at a time in world history when it is both possible and imperative to forge a new vision for social development. Most importantly, it represents a tremendous opportunity to strengthen international cooperation to ensure that the basic human needs of people everywhere

Children and youth are at the heart of the Social Summit since meeting their basic needs is the best long-term investment a society can make. The world has already made considerable progress in meeting those needs and the potential exists to make that progress truly global.

In UNICEF's experience, however, the following key issues need to be addressed if that potential is to be fully realized.

· First, we should adopt concrete goals to reduce poverty. If political will is to be mobilized, the Summit commitments must be specific and set within a clear timeframe. This approach is central to creating a sense of accountability and to supporting all groups in society to embrace the goals.

It was precisely this strategy, employed at the World Summit for Children in 1990, that has resulted in tangible progress in the welfare of children. The goals for children established by 71 Heads of State or Government, and the concrete commitments they have spurred, have already translated into higher immunization rates, reduction of polio and other diseases, and longer lives for children. As a result, the lives of 3 million children around the world are saved each year.

Basic human needs in health, education, nutrition, and water and sanitation are an essential part of any well-rounded antipoverty package. With a well-defined set of time-bound objectives, the Summit could then consider establishing some broad poverty targets, such as the eradication of extreme poverty by a specific year or the halving of absolute poverty by the

To be operationally meaningful, these commitments will need to be translated into country-level programmes of action. The global objectives will need national definitions (i.e. the definition of small farmers or access to credit; the definition of absolute poverty) and will need to be translated into strategies that are backed by financial commitments.

 Second, the commitments to objectives must be matched by commitments of powerful reminder to the world community violence. of the need to increase official development assistance to the approved United Nations target of 0.7 per cent of GNP. The 20/20 initiative can be an important advocacy tool in this effort. (See page IV.)

· Third, we should establish effective mechanisms - subnationally, nationally and internationally - to monitor implementation of commitments made at the Summit, guide mid-course corrections and report on progress achieved. The reviews need to be an integral part of the social mobilization effort and a tool to ensure popular involvement and support.

· Fourth, we should give special attention to the needs of Africa and to least developed countries elsewhere. Particularly in the last decade, the least developed

countries have had to cope with sharp declines in their share of world trade and with growing debt burdens, while benefiting very little from recent resumptions in North-South capital flows.

We should agree on a series of measures which will, in the short term, stop this process of marginalization, and in the medium to long term, help to reverse it, by enabling the least developed countries to position themselves to capture more of the benefits of global economic activity.

· Fifth, we should translate the emerging consensus behind more human-oriented adjustment processes into actual practice. There is now broad agreement that from the beginning, adjustment processes must take full account of human and longterm development objectives. We should now develop mechanisms to ensure that our practice lives up to our ideals.

World leaders at the Summit could make a major contribution to improving adjustment processes by agreeing to set up a high-level international commission to review, rethink and reach specific conclusions on new approaches and international policy actions towards structural adjust-

· Sixth, we should include gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls among our most exalted social values. We should recognize that gender inequality afflicts girls and women throughout their lives, and that at different stages of life, the sources and manifestations of gender bias change. We should recognize the many sources and forms of inequality and design effective measures to eliminate them.

· Seventh, we should end the epidemic of violence plaguing our societies. The following five principles should be endorsed by the Summit and used to guide the development of specific programmes for reducing, and eventually eliminating,

1) Violence should be viewed in all its forms as a human rights issue, and it should be recognized that international human rights instruments are powerful tools for eliminating it.

2) It should be recognized that there is a close, two-way link between family violence and violence in society.

3) It should be acknowledged that gender inequality is the source of much of the violence we see around us.

4) Children should be taught to settle disputes in non-violent ways, to value compromise over conflict and to express resources. The Summit should provide a and manage anger before it escalates into

> 5) The Summit should ensure that the ideas and values embraced by our leaders. and reflected in our media, reinforce the message that violence should be censured - not glorified.

· Eighth, the rights and needs of our children and youth must be central to the Summit's deliberations. The Summit is about their future. Children who are well fed and educated grow up to be productive, innovative workers and responsible adults, and will make lasting and positive contributions to their families, their communities, their countries and the world around

As the late James P. Grant, former UNICEF Executive Director, stated: "There will always be something more immediate; there will never be anything more

Information and statistics from:

^{*} The International Labour Organisation.

^{*} The World's Women 1970-1990: Trends and Statistics, United Nations, 1991,

Creating an agenda for development

By Bharati Sadasivam

overnments and international organizations participating in the World Summit for Social Development must articulate a conceptual breakthrough if the historic meeting is not to end up as a disappointing exercise, said Dr. Mahbub ul Haq, Special Adviser to the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme and author of the Human Development Report.

In an impassioned address to journalists during a day-long seminar on the Summit at United Nations Headquarters, Dr. Haq outlined his vision and an alternative agenda for the Social Summit. "Copenhagen should signal the rebirth of the UN, not by recycling the proposals of the last three decades, not by camouflaging the real issues in the document so as not to offend different constituencies, but by acts of political courage and realism."

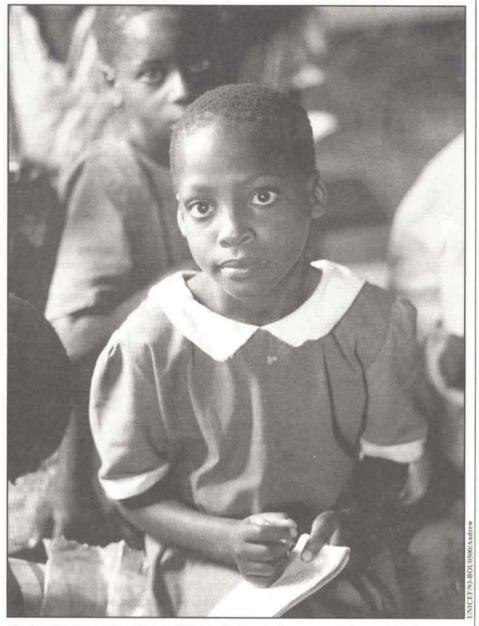
Leaders the world over have to realize, first, that human security is indivisible. The Summit will have achieved a conceptual breakthrough if it reflects the realization that this is the real issue of the 21st century, continued Dr. Haq. "Are we sensitive to the new frontiers of the global reach of human security from HIV/AIDS in Africa to drug rehabilitation all over the world?" he asked. The economic and social costs of the AIDS pandemic in Africa today are a staggering US\$240 billion. Governments concerned must face the sobering reality that US\$10 billion invested upstream, in primary health care centres in Africa a decade ago, could have averted this immense human tragedy.

Dr. Haq outlined four critical issues that should be addressed at the Summit. The first is a "compact" committing nations to invest in people rather than in arms. Since 1992, arms spending has declined by 4 per cent in the industrialized countries. In contrast, developing nations — "helped generously by the West, by the very nations that oppose food subsidies in poor countries" — had increased their military spending.

Developing countries accounted for 18 per cent of global military spending in 1990, compared to 5 per cent in 1960. Over the last five years, military spending has gone up fivefold in Africa compared to social and health spending. India and Pakistan, two of the world's poorest nations, spend US\$20 billion each year on defence. Together, they bought twice as many arms over the last year from the global arms bazaar than did Saudi Arabia, which is 25 times richer.

"You would not guess from these figures that these are countries with health and social crises. There is a social volcano exploding; countries are disintegrating. Political leaders should cut down military spending by 20 to 30 per cent, convert military assistance to economic assistance and make Africa armsfree. We need acts of political courage to show that social development is important," Dr. Haq said.

The second important issue, Dr. Haq said, was the "20/20" initiative — a restructuring of national budgets and foreign aid to ensure that developing countries would devote 20 per cent of government spending to basic social services and that donor countries would allocate 20 per cent of their total aid budgets to basic social services. "The cold war is over, but why do rich nations continue to give aid primarily to their strategic partners of the cold war era? Are these the



Children who are healthy, well fed and educated grow up to be productive, innovative workers and responsible adults. Meeting their basic needs is the best long-term investment a society can make.

poorest countries in the world?" Dr. Haq asked. In many countries, 40 per cent of budgets are portuged to price in elects. For example, two thirds of United States aid of \$10 billion last year went to Egypt, El Salvador, Israel, the Philippines and Turkey. El Salvador got more US money than Bangladesh, which is five times poorer and has a population 24 times as large. "Again, we need political courage here, not additional resources."

The question of aid raises the third issue — political borders. "The worst thing you can do to the poor is give them charity, whether domestically or internationally," Dr. Haq said. Developing countries lose 10 times as much from barriers in the way of trade, migration and international capital than they gain from official development assistance (ODA). Developing countries gain US\$50 billion in ODA, compared to losing US\$500 billion from all barriers.

"The clamour everywhere is for open borders. But it appears that countries in the South and East, from India to Brazil, are opening them too late because the OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) nations are closing them. This has resulted in chaos, because 80 per cent of global trade is from the North," Dr. Haq said.

Finally, the fourth and final crucial issue that should be addressed at the Summit, according to Dr. Haq, is the future role of the United Nations. At the end of its first 50 years, the UN is entering a new era of conflict management. In the last three years, 79 wars were fought within nations, and only three between them. Ninety per cent of casualties were civilians, and not soldiers as they were before World War II.

"Yet the UN is fighting the battles of tomorrow with the weapons of yesterday," Dr. Haq said. It spent US\$2 billion on soldiers in Somalia to deliver a few million old art world of food. Peace-keeping operations cost US\$4.25 billion in 1993, which was more than total spending on peace-keeping in the previous 42 years.

"The more we are in fire-fighting, the more fires there will be. What we need is not an international police force, but an international peace corps." Rushing soldiers to trouble spots is not the answer to problems of human security, Dr. Haq said. "We must institute structural change, put in place institutional machinery so that this will be the Summit to end all summits."

One way to do this, he suggested, would be to restructure the Economic and Social Council. "If today's pressing issues are socioeconomic rather than political, how can we deal with them without structures? The G-7, the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and the World Bank deal only with financial issues. There is no single forum that deals with the larger human issues for which the UN was created."

All these challenges — of a compact or a political commitment to invest in people rather than arms, of open borders, the 20/20 initiative and institutional structures — do not call for vast resources. "They call for political realism, for rethinking on human security within nations and internationally. Leaders going to the Summit to sign documents should ask themselves if the exercise will be worth it without political preparation."

Bharati Sadasivam is former assistant editor of the Times of India in Bombay and is currently attending Columbia University in New York.

Practical ways to fight poverty

20/20 gains support

Currently, human development priorities command an average of 13 per cent of developing countries' national budgets and 10 per cent of development aid from industrialized countries. To ensure universal access to basic social services, an additional US\$30 billion to US\$40 billion per year will be needed during the rest of the decade. With '20/20 vision', funding for social services is within reach:

- Developing countries would need to increase expenditures for basic social services to 20 per cent of government spending. This would generate about two thirds of the needed funding.
- Donor countries would also need to increase their aid allocations in this sector to 20 per cent of their total aid budgets. This would provide much of the remaining one third of the funding.

With the 20/20 initiative, each country will need to review its spending and priorities to determine where resources can be shifted and additional resources found. Military spending is one sector where savings can often be achieved. Improved management and higher priority to basic services within social service ministries are others. Subsidies can be more carefully targeted and support for public enterprises and utilities reviewed. Opportunities for private enterprises can spur growth that can support basic services.

As for donor countries, while assistance strategies of individual countries vary, an analysis can determine how aid can most effectively be restructured to give more support to basic social services. Debt relief for developing countries, for example, through debt-for-social-development swaps, can directly channel resources to basic social services.

National and global measures are also needed to encourage economic growth and ensure greater access to productive assets — including land, credit and information — and greater participation in decision-making by those who live in poverty. The 20/20 initiative is a key element in this broader development agenda.

Debt reduction essential

For more than a decade, the debt crisis has imposed a crushing financial burden on developing countries, crippling already weak economies and draining funds needed for social priorities, particularly the needs of children.

For individuals and societies, lack of economic growth and indebtedness erode living standards and make development difficult or impossible. This is especially troubling because those largely affected are the poorest and most vulnerable people in already poor countries.

- More than 40 severely indebted countries are also low-income countries, with per capita incomes of less than US\$675 per year.
- Africa, the most seriously debtdistressed continent, spends about four times more on debt servicing than it does on health services for its 600 million people.
- In sub-Saharan Africa, more than 200 million people, nearly half the population, survive on little more than US\$1 per day. The World Bank forecasts that the number of poor will increase to 300 million by the year 2000.
- Of 30 developing countries with the highest under-five child mortality rates (ranging from 158 to 320 deaths per 1,000), 27 are debt-distressed.