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DEVELOPMENT THROUGH THE EYES OF A CHILD

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DEVELOPMENT THROUGH THE EYES OF A CHILD.

1. Introduction

The standard way of looking at development problems is from the perspective of the grown-ups. This is handly a justifiable procedure, considering the fact that the large majority of the world's population are not adults. Out of roughly 5 billion people, 2 billion are children, and close to 1 billion are youngsters[1] (between 15 and 24 years of age). The vast majority of children and youth do, of course, live in the Third World.

For us in the First World, agenda-setting in the media and in the public debate at large, is clearly dominated by the priorities of **First Worlds adults;** not too surprising, since both contributors and audience in the debate are First World adults. When it comes to illness, for example, this means that the highly dominant issue on the present agenda is AIDS. The AIDS-problem should, of course, be taken very seriously, and vast resources have indeed already been canalized towards finding a cure. But consider the attention devoted to AIDS when we change perspectives from First World adults to **Third World children;** here, the main problem is dehydration. Dehydration actually kills an estimated 5 million children each year - one child every sixth second.[2] Fortunately, a cheap and efficient cure has been developed recently[3], but it still remains to put the cure - oral rehydration therapy - at the disposal of the millions of families who need it. This whole problematique, and the urgent measures which are needed in order to save the lives of millions of children every year, has not had even a fraction of the attention devoted to AIDS in the First World.[4]

It is not only in the public debate that children have difficulties in getting on the agenda. In the scholarly debate on development problems outside the auspices of UNICEF, children are rarely given special attention. One example: in a recent comprehensive introduction to development problems - a contribution which in many ways outstanding - there is no reference at all to "children"

in the index, and the closest the text comes to treating children's problems is chapters on population and education.[5]

The basic intention of the present article is to put children on the agenda of development. The following section discusses to which extent development problems of children differ from those of adults; subsequently the notion of childhood/youth as a Western invention is brought forward. It is shown how the problem of children is often that of being caught in the nexus between an "old" and a "new" world. The problem of material needs and the urgency of structural change instead of short-term relief-programs is adressed.

Finally, a case is made for a "Treatment of Children Index" (TCI) which covers both material and non-material aspects of development, and which should be a significant element in evaluating development progress of specific countries. It is briefly shown how the use of TCI gives results that are different from those stemning from standard criteria of development evaluation.

2. What is development for children?

The first half of the question is no less difficult than the second. We know that there can be no uniform path of development, applicable to all countries and areas. Different types of countries need different strategies of development, and any single country invariably changes development strategy over time.

What can we say, then, about the meaning of development in a more general sense? Perhaps it is possible to point to what Björn Hettne has called "indications of what development should imply"[6]; this means that certain elements should be incorporated in any process of development, irrespective of the exact nature of the development path in a single country or area.

Working in this direction, Galtung[7] has suggested that the notion of development should include a universal dimension, having to do with the material and non-material needs of human beings. Development may then be said to imply the satisfaction of these needs for individuals and groups in a way that does not harm other people or nature. Four groups of needs have been identified:

welfare (material needs in a broad sense); freedom/rights (as opposed to repression); survival/security (as opposed to destruction; and identity (as opposed to alienation).

There is little doubt that these material and non-material needs are both idealist, quite abstract, and ahistorical in relation to the limitations bearing upon concrete processes of development in specific areas. And there is the additional problem that this notion of development is formulated exclusively on the level of the individual human being. There are a host of relevant development problems on two other levels - those of the state and the international system - which cannot merely be reduced to the level of the individual.[8]

In the face of these objections I will, however, hold on to Galtung's four groups of needs as a useful starting point for discussing children and development. The merit of his conceptualization is firstly that human beings are put at the centre of the process of development; secondly the emphasis that development has to do with both material and nonmaterial needs. In addition, the categories of needs are precise enough to be meaningful and vague and open-ended enough to make sure that this is not a step towards any "final" definition of development.

This means that the notion of development implies improved welfare (raising the general level of living in a broad sense; more freedom (ability to choose, and to control one's future); increased security (against threats of violence and other types of threats) and more self-esteem and self-respect (not being used as a tool by others for their own ends).[9]

What happens when these development priorities are related to the situation of children? The basic premise must be that children are human beings with material and non-material needs like other (adult) human beings. Advancement along the four dimensions of needs mentioned above amounts to development progress for children as well as for adults.[10]

We should also, however, espect some variation and new angles when considering children's development issues specifically. First, the decisive sphere for children is the immediate surroundings in terms of social and economic space. It is the situation of the "household" or "family" unit which is crucial; the regional and national community are less important, but the processes on these levels do of course impinge on the situation of the "households".

Secondly, children are very often in the role of innocent victims, exposed to actions and events which are none of their making. Most obviously, children are victims of violence, of war and persecution.[11] But there is also evidence that children of the poor is the group hit hardest by economic recession in Third World countries. The mechanism is that "in many societies, females and young children depend on what is left - of the evening meal and of the weekly wage - after their husbands and older sons have met their needs".[12]

Thirdly, children have needs which must be covered in order to avoid severe permanent damage. This is most obvious in the case of material needs, where lasting damage can be inflicted by malnutrition, interlocked with illnesses and infections. The urgency of children's needs stems from their low resistance-capability; this means that non-satisfaction of crucial needs can result in permanent loss of physical and intellectual capacities, if not death.

Finally we should perhaps expect children to put less emphasis on material needs (above a basic level of welfare which must be met) and relatively more emphasis on the non-material aspect of needs. The excessive materialism of the Western lifestyle, for example, is not of the children's making. On the contrary, there is little doubt that the pre-occupation with welfare in a material sense often exhibited by Western parents involves a neglect of the non-material needs of their children.[13]

3. Childhood and youth: a Western invention?

The answer is affirmative. The interesting point is, however, that childhood was invented at a specific point in time, as noted be M. Bekombo: "In European society childhood was not recognised as a distinct life-phase until the

Industrial Revolution. Following a period of intense exploitation of child labour, the need for a more highly skilled workforce with the consequent expansion of training and obligatory school attendance, amongst other factors, led to the gradual withdrawal of children from the productive sector. This heralded a radical change in the concepts of, and attitudes towards, childhood. Rather than a source of economic gain, the child progressively became an economic charge and an object of parental psychological investment. The immediate consequense of this change in the child's situation included a general reduction in the birth rate; adoption, formerly widespread, became rare".[14]

Bekombo also cites the historian P. Ariès for the assertion that the idea of childhood is not mainly related to economic changes, but to the spread of literacy and schooling.[15]

In Third World countries, the view of children as a source of economic gain is still widespread: "Though many factors are cited by parents as reasons for having children, the work of children, domestic or otherwise, recurs frequently. The implication is that parents see the "production" of children as a means to adding to the household labour force".[16]

Meanwhile, schooling is widely recognized in the Third World as a necessary step towards economic and social development. Accordingly, substantial resources are devoted to securing schooling facilities, and the children are encouraged to attend school. But school attendance requires relief from other activities and obligations. This is why schooling lies at the core of childhood in the Western sense, as a specific phase of life free from (directly) productive activity.

In this situation, contradictory pressures are often excerted on the children in developing environments, because their presence is required in two places at once: in school, as a necessary mean of entry to the modern world, and in the household/local community, in productive activity. Bekombo gives, with reference to Africa, a precise description of the dilemma: "From the age of about 3 years, two principal phases can be identified: up to 6 or 7 years, during which

a child's activities are centred on the life of the household, and from 7 to 16 years, during which activities range over the whole area of the village. In the household phase the child helps not only in strictly domestic activities -care of younger children, food preparation, maintenance of the living area, obtaining supplies of water and wood, transport and harvest, and so on - but also in more specialised tasks oriented towards household consumption, such as hunting, fishing, hut construction, and the sale of produce in the market. In other words, the child participates in all the subsistence activities which make up the economic life of the child's group. ... Even a superficial survey carried out in rural areas that have schools will clearly show that children of pre-school and early school age spend more time on these tasks than, for example, in learning to read."[17]

A childhood/youth is required to go through school, but at the same time school is embedded in a social structure which has no place for childhood/-youth in this sense. This dilemma is aggravated by two circumstances; on the one hand, skills acquired at school have little or no relevance for the tasks which children attend to outside school. On the other hand, it is by no means certain that going through school secures a job in the modern sector: "The academic education received at school can be applied in only a limited number of jobs. ... a young educated individual rarely finds a job on the sole basis of his and her ability to read."[18]

In the urban environment traditional family and social structures are rapidly broken down. This means that the shortages of jobs after school is combined with the impossibility of returning to the traditional environment.

We see that the problem of schooling and education is very complex. It is not just a matter of getting the children to school and teach them how to read and write. It is more a problem of changing ill-adapted education systems copied from a Western tradition and of providing a more reasonable margin of certainty that children and parents will stand to gain from the expensive investment in schooling.

The problem of being caught in the nexus between old and new is replicated in the area of work/employment. The common attitude in traditional settings - that children work in the household/local community - means that children easily run the risk of being recruited to hard labour in industrial or semi-industrial surroundings. In Thailand, for example, it is estimated that 3.8 million children (11 to 16 of age) are working. The majority are working in the context of the family household, but it is more and more common that children from the poor Northern areas are sold by their parents to work in Bangkok or some other city, in industry, handicraft, commerce or prostitution at a yearly "wage" of 60-80 US$. In many cases, the parents are unaware of the conditions to which the children are exposed, with work up to 12-16 hours per day.[19]

Many children in Europe worked under conditions similar to the children in Bangkok, before and during the early phases of industrialization. In neither case, such conditions are compatible with the goals of development for children formulated above. It should be stressed, however, that it is not necessarily the more recent Western notion of childhood/youth which is the optimum form of realizing the development goals for children. The Western form of childhood/youth is the byproduct of a specific type of socio-economic development and as such it is, of cource, also subject to change over time.[20] The important elements to have in focus are the categories of needs described earlier. It is far from certain that the Western type of childhood is the best way of satisfying these needs.

4. The problem of material needs.

Welfare - the catering of material needs - remains the overriding concern when looking at development problems from the children's viewpoint. It is five hundred million children that are affected by malnutrition, infections and ill-health. If the present trend continues, it will be some 600-650 millions in year 2000.[21] In 1981, forty thousand children died from malnutrition and infection every day and if anything, the figure has gone up since then. "No statistic can express what it is to see even one child die in such a way; to see a mother sitting hour after anxious hour leaning her child's body against her own; to see the child's head turn on limbs which are unnaturally still, stiller than in

sleep; to want to stop even that small movement because it is so obvious that there is so little energy left inside the child's life; to see the living pink at the roof of the child's mouth in shocking contrast to the already dead-looking greyness of the skin, the colours of its life and death; to see the uncomprehending panic in eyes which are still the clear and lucid eyes of a child; and to know, in one endless moment, that life has gone".[22]

Malnutrition and ill-health are caused by poverty and lack of food. The well-to-do sections of the population - including the upper strata in poor Third World countries - suffer no such problems.

The immediate remedy when there is lack of food is to supply that commodity, and this is what is done in a good many aid programs, especially in situations of acute need. In addition, recent scientific advances form the basis of programmes where relief is also quickly fortcoming. The most comprehensive program in this regard is UNICEF's GOBI-FF-strategy, standing for Growth Charts, Oral rehydration therapy, Breastfeeding, and Immunization - plus Food supplements and Family planning.[23]

There is a tendency for public attention in the West to focus on immediate aid programs when dealing with Third World hunger problems, with 'Band-Aid' and the other 'Food for Africa' campaigns as the most recent example. There are probably several reasons for this one-sided focus: the immediate hunger problem is easy to understand, and has a strong appeal to emotions; the aid-situation is action-oriented and makes good copy for the media; the long-term, structural problems of malnutrition are much more complex and it is much more difficult to gather a broad coalition behind the demand for structural reform. Nonetheless, the only feasible long-term solution to the problem of malnutrition and ill-health is structural reform which alleviates poverty. "For those who simply do not have enough to eat, the long-term solution lies in having either the land with which to grow food or the jobs and the incomes with which to buy it".[24]

It is not difficult to argue convincingly that Third World countries need economic development; the problem with structural change is not on that

level. The problems are twofold; on the one hand devising an optimum strategy of development, the road towards structural change; on the other hand, the forging of coalitions with sufficient political muscle to make the necessary structural change happen.

The interesting question, then, has to do with devising strategies of development that are favourable through the eyes of a child, in the sense of emphasizing children's needs in the overall setting of development priorities. In the following section, a closer look is taken on some much-used development strategies with this in mind.

5. Development strategies through the eyes of a child.

It is clear that the conventional measure of Gross National Product (GNP) per head is not an adequate way of measuring the satisfaction of children's needs, even when we limit the discussion to welfare, material needs. Overall growth-rates and overall GNP-levels say nothing about the **content** or the **distribution** of growth. Out of the other available data, there are two measures better suited to say something about the situation for children's welfare. One is the infant mortality rate (infant mortality per 1,000 live births); the other is the Physical Quality of Life Index, the PQLI. There are three indicators in this index: literacy, infant mortality, and life expectancy at age one.[25]

We should expect countries with a not too high degree of socio-economic inequality and where redistributive measures have been taken, for example through agrarian reform, to look best in terms of infant mortality and PQLI. On the other hand, countries where economic development is combined with a relatively high level of inequality should be expected to be much less successful in terms of children's overall welfare.

GNP per capita, PQLI*) and infant mortality in selected countries, 1982.

	GNP per capita in US$	PQLI*)	Infant Mortality per 1,000 live births
Brazil	2,240	72	76
China	310	75	35
Tanzania	280	58	102
Guinea-Bissau	170	29	147
Taiwan	2,503	87	9
Rep. of Korea	1,910	85	34
India	260	42	125

*) See explanation in the main text.

Source: Todaro 1985, pp. 47-61.

These expectations seem to hold true. Let us start with the example of Brazil, one of the Newly Industrializing countries with a large and diversified industrial sector which accounts for a substantial share of total industrial output in the Third World as a whole. Industry accounted for more than 35 per cent of GDP by 1980, and Brazil has shown impressive rates of economic growth, in particular during the seventies and the late sixties. Brazil has a GNP per capita of 2.240 US$ (1982), a figure on level with for example Taiwan, Rep. of Korea, Portugal and Romania.[26] However, growth has also been highly unequal in Brazil. The infant mortality rate is 76 and the PQLI rating is 72. We can compare these figures with those of the People's Republic of China. China's GNP per head is not even one fifth of the Brazilian, 310 dollars, on level with such countries as Niger, Guinea, and Tanzania. But China has undertaken profound structural reform with particular emphasis on improving living conditions for the poor in the countryside. In addition, there has been a number of direct measures aimed at improving children's welfare. As a consequence of these efforts, China's PQLI-rating is at 75 slightly better than Brazil, and the infant mortality rate has been reduced to 35, less than half of the figure for Brazil. Infant mortality in China has been reduced to a level similar to the Soviet Union (where the figure is 32); the SSSR has a GNP per capita almost twenty times higher than China.

The indication that children's welfare is improved through structural reform aiming at less inequality should, however, be qualified in some respects. First, it should be said that intentions of reform are not enough; time is required, even a rather long time in the case of very poor countries with few economic and other resources. This can be seen from the examples of Guinea Bissau and Tanzania where reforms have been launched some years ago (more than 15 years ago in the case of Tanzania), but where poverty is still widespread, accompanied by a poor level of children's welfare. GNP per head in 280 dollars in Tanzania, infant mortality is 102 and PQLI 58. In Guinea-Bissau infant mortality is at 147 and PQLI at 29, with a GNP of 170 $ per capita.

Secondly, there are some countries with fairly good ratings in terms of children's welfare, even though their present strategies of development are not particularly equality-oriented. Examples are Taiwan (Infant mortality 9, PQLI 87, GNP per head 2,503 $) and Rep. of Korea (Infant mortality 34, PQLI 85, GNP per head 1,910 $). In both cases, however, the present strategies of economic development through industrialization and manufactured exports, have their basis in profound structural reform during the years following World War II, including agrarian reform with redistribution of land. Recent studies claim that Korea and Taiwan could never have achieved their present "development success" were it not for these earlier reforms.[27]

Against this background, the pointing out of an optimum development strategy in terms of children's material welfare is not straightforward. The countries with a fairly high degree of success (at least when considering PQLI and infant mortality) have followed quite different development paths. But there are a few pointers. First, children's welfare cannot be left to the so-called free forces of the market. Children have no economic voice in the form of purchasing power, so the "magic of the market place" does not work for them. They have no political voice either, which means that their welfare problem is left to the political goodwill of adults. Secondly, political measures must be directed at alleviating poverty; this may include both land reform "providing the land with which to grow food" and economic growth in agriculture and industry, providing the jobs and the income with which to buy food. This means that labour-intensive growth is better than capital-intensive growth where the

job-potential is much smaller. Thirdly, in very poor countries, general measures must be accompanied by specific efforts directed at improving welfare for children. Otherwise, improvements will take too long to materialize.

All this is, of course, much easier said than done. There is always a contradiction in requesting greatest efforts and most urgent change in those countries with fewest ressources; it is these same countries, moreover, which often have a constellation of social forces that makes rapid structural change very difficult.

We have, however, already indicated som examples which should **not** be followed and some which follow desirable strategies of development from the viewpoint of children's welfare. The Brazilian path of development can not be recommended from the children's view. Although there has been impressive results in terms of industrial growth, the strategy for development has been specifically elite oriented, both on the supply side (emphasis on consumer durables) and on the demand side (capital intensive industrialization with most benefits to a small layer of skilled and white collar employees and workers). It is also a problem that the Brazilian model has not involved reforms in the agrarian sector. Only in recent years has attention been devoted to agriculture, and this has been with emphasis on large-scale agribusiness which does not mean much improvement for the large mass of poor peasants.

Growing enough food does not solve the problem if the children and their poor families do not have access to it. The case of India is illustrative in this regard. In many respects India is a development success: the industrial sector is fairly advanced and controlled by local entrepreneurs; a "green revolution" in the countryside has boosted agricultural output to the point of making India a net exporter of agricultural produce. But neither industrial nor agricultural development has seriously questioned the elite oriented nature of the development strategy; and it seems that inequality of the economic structure is reinforced through the interlocking religious and ethnic inequalities.[28]

In China, both industry and agriculture has not reached a level of sophistication similar to the most advanced undertakings in India. But here emphasis has

been on basic needs for the mass of people since the "beginning" in 1949. As a consequence, China has reached much more impressive results when looking at the indicators of children's welfare.

Taiwan has followed a development strategy substantially different from mainland China, with emphasis on exports of products from industry. But it should be noted that there are also some structural similarities between the two countries: in both cases, agricultural reform has boosted the production of food since the late forties and early fifties; in both cases agrarian reforms were executed in a way that benefitted the mass of rural workers and their families[29] (in contrast to India). And although industrial development in Taiwan came to emphasize exports and world market integration, it has also been able to provide gainful employment to a very large share of the population (in contrast to Brazil)[30]. Both China and Taiwan have, in other words, followed development strategies giving the vast majority of the population either the land on which to grow food, or the possibility of making an income with which to buy food.

It should be stressed that the problem of material needs when discussing children's welfare cannot be reduced to the issue of getting enough to eat. And certainly, when it comes to housing, education systems, health services and systems of social security, the situation in both China and Taiwan leaves a lot to be desired. But so does the situation in the countries mentioned above with non-desirable strategies of development, and there is little reason to believe that an assessment of these other dimensions of children's material welfare would change the conclusion reached here regarding good and bad strategies of development.

So far we have concentrated on material needs and there is no doubt that the situation is most critical in Third World countries in this regard, although it is sometimes forgotten that large segments of the population (both children and adults) are rather bad off in material terms, also in many industrialized countries. Several millions of Americans exist below the official poverty line; in Britain it has been estimated that no less than 29 per cent of the children live on or below the official level of poverty.[31]

But there is no doubt that the problem of children's material needs in the industrialized countries is very small compared to the situation many places in the Third World. Indeed, it can be said that Western industrial society is beset with an excessive materialism, a singleminded focus on material comfort and wealth. For the children in the West, this situation has serious implications; there is a lack of value-orientation, except for the notion of materialism. A recent investigation among young people in a small Danish town revealed that the dominant attitude was one of looking at society like a giant supermarket where the main focus is on securing a high level of material comfort for oneself. "Serving oneself", for example through theft in a supermarket is widely accepted among the young. And indeed, acess to material comfort is often not available through working and earning an income; due to the economic crisis of the last one decade, a whole generation of young people - the socalled 'no future' -generation - has had an almost impossible task in finding an occupation. There is no sense of responsibility towards society on the part of the youngsters, and there is very little communication with the parents regarding their whole situation.[32] On the other hand, parents often work very hard (again in order to have a high level of material comfort) and this often leaves little room for relating to the problems of their children.

For many Danish children and young people, this is a situation of spiritual starvation in a society where there is too little attention given to the non-material aspects of life; a similar (or even worse) state of affairs can be found in most countries in the industrialized West. In terms of the groups of non-material needs mentioned above, the problem covers all the aspects; there is a lack of **identity**, of being able to define a place for oneself both in relation to other people and in relation to society; a lack of **security**, both in the sense of breakdown of the immediate social networks (family) and also in the macro-sense of living in a type of society which keeps piling up military hardware in order to defend increasingly fragile physical surroundings.[33] And perhaps also a lack of **freedom**, partly from inability to participate in decisions shaping one's own future, partly from being denied the freedom to choose an occupation, or even to get a job.

It is probably true that children and young people in many Third World countries are in a better situation than the children and young from the industrialized West when it comes to non-material needs, especially in the sense of being firmly embedded in close social networks which help to give a sense of identity and security. A recent publication claims the state of Bhutan to have one of the lowest GNP's in the world, but one of the highest scores in terms of 'GNH' -Gross National Happiness! This judgement is put forward in the context of describing the situation of children and young people in Bhutan, with special emphasis on the way in which a cultural identity with a long historical tradition is preserved, even in the face of rapid social change.[34]

Other examples could be cited which testify to the strength of close social networks among children and young themselves and among the younger and the older generations.[35] But it should also be said that it is easy to idealize the Third World from the viewpoint of the West, when it comes to non-material needs. As was hinted at in section 3 above children and young people in the Third World will also in many cases experience the lack of value orientation and the fragility of close social networks which are so typical of the industrialized West.

6. Conclusion - who wins the TCI-contest?

The opening argument of this paper concerned the importance of looking at processes of development from the viewpoint of children. Four categories of material and non-material needs were identified as "ideals" when looking at concrete development experiences through the eyes of children. Against this background, at attempt was made to identify "good" and "bad" strategies of development; the argument was that the categories of needs could form the basis of a TCI - "Treatment of Children Index" - against which concrete processes of development could be evaluated.

But there are many problems with the construction of a precise TCI. More knowledge is needed regarding the best indicators for the satisfaction of children's material needs, and there is also the problem of getting reliable data from each country.[36] Even larger difficulties turn up when it comes to

assessment of non-material needs. In this area it is much more difficult to construct operational indicators (it has been said that social science "posseses no euphorimeters" and there is a serious problem with the availability of information. Moreover, there are problems when it comes to giving relative importance to each of the categories of needs.[37] Finally, we know that there are large differences not only between countries but also within regions and areas of countries; it is not certain, in other words, that the TCI should be applied only on the level of a whole country in order to get a reliable picture of the children's situation.

On the other hand, none of these problems are new; they have already turned up in the context of attemting to construct better measures and indicators of development progress than the traditional measure of GNP per capita. Problems regarding methodology and availability of data should not keep us from thinking of development progress in terms of TCI, and to proceed with the efforts of improving TCI-measures.

Which country in the world has made the most significant development progress over the last decades from the viewpoint of children? My own candidate for winning the TCI-contest is China. We have seen that China has succeeded in taking enourmous steps forward in terms of children's material needs, eventhough the GNP-level per capita is still very modest compared to other Third World countries. Behind the figures is a conscious strategy of treating the children as a privileged group in society, emphasizing all aspects, both material and non-material, of the childrens lives.

What is perhaps most impressive from the viewpoint of Western society, is the priority given by the Chinese to moral values in the upbringing of children, endowing the children with a sence of human dignity and identity, a definition of the place of the single child, in relation to society and to other people.[38]

There are of course also problems and drawbacks. Since 1949, there has been an increasing birthrate. In conjunction with decreasing mortality, this has meant a population growth from 552 million people in 1950 to more than one billion today. Beginning in 1980, an ideology of one child per couple has been

promoted. The argument is that uncontrolled population growth is simply not possible in the face of scarce economic and other ressources.[39]

This way of controlling the number of children is often criticized by Westerners on moral grounds.[40] Another area of criticism has to do with Chinese collectivism, giving priority to the collective over the individual, the other face of the emphasis given to moral values mentioned above. There is no doubt that the Chinese interpret the individual obedience to society in a more positive way than do Westerners, seeing in it an element of unity and co-ordination, a strive towards common goals, instead of discipline and conformity.[41]

In any case, the basic argument in this context is in favour of the TCI as an alternative measure of development progress. And even given the pros and cons of the Chinese path, there is no doubt that China has made substantiel progress in TCI-terms. China is a prominent member of a group of countries where children are treated well, both in material and non-material terms. We could call the group "TCW-countries" (Treating the Children Well-countries). The group should range higher in our esteem than NIC-countries and OECD-countries alike.

NOTES

1) Admittedly, in many Third World countries, individuals above 15 years of age are considered adults; see also section 3 of the present paper.

2) James P. Grant: **The State of the World's Children 1982-83.** Oxford 1982, p. 7n.

3) The cure is ORT (Oral Rehydration Therapy), "a breakthrough which was made possible by the discovery that adding glucose to a solution of salt and water can increase the body's rate of absorption of the fluid by 2500 per cent." **Ibid.**, p. 8.

4) In spite of various promotion efforts of the children's cause, such as the International Year of Children in 1979.

5) The book I have in mind is Michael P. Todaro: **Economic Development in the Third World,** New York 1985.

6) Björn Hettne: **Current Issues in Development Theory,** Stockholm 1978, p. 7.

7) Galtung, Johan et. al.: Why the Concern with Ways of Life, GPID Project, UN University, printed in: **The Western Development Model and Life Style,** Council for International Development Studies, Oslo 1980.

8) For an interesting attempt to address the survival/security problem on both system, state, and individual level, see Barry Buzan: **People, States and Fear,** Sussex 1983.

9) See Todaro, **op.cit.** pp. 85-89 for a similar conception of development.

10) The category of "freedom" is probably more tricky in the case of children, because it bears upon the relations of authority in the child/adult-relationship. For an operationalization of 'freedom' see Johan Galtung/Anders H. Wirak: Menneskelige behov, menneskerettigheter og utvicklingsteorier, in A.H. Wirak (ed.): **Behov, utvickling og verdier,** Oslo 1979, p. 155.

11) See Peter Townsend: **The Smallest Pawns in the Game,** London 1980.

12) James P. Grant (UNICEF): **The State of the World's Children 1984,** p. 69.

13) On materialism in Western lifestyle, see Galtung 1980, **op.cit.** and Georg Sørensen: Notes on materialism and boredom - Western development ideals, **Working papers no. 5,** Development Research Group, Aalborg University 1984.

14) Manga Bekombo: The Child in Africa: Socialisation, Education and Work, in Gerry Rodgers & Guy Standing (Eds.): **Child Work, Poverty and Underdevelopment,** Geneva (ILO) 1981, p. 133.

15) **Loc.cit.** It should be noted that the constant element of childhood has to do with the withdrawal of children from the productive sector. The actual organisation of children's lives outside of production has, however, been subject to substantial change since the industrial revolution. The current way of life of children in Scandinavia is presently being mapped out in a large research project, cf. Lars Dencik: Småbørns hverdag i den moderne barndom (Small children's every day life in modern childhood), **Fructus no. 4**, Jan. 1986, p. 8n., Roskilde University, Denmark.

16) Rodgers & Standing, **op.cit.**, p. 25.

17) Bekombo in Rodgers & Standing, **op.cit.**, p. 124.

18) **Loc.cit.**

19) Wolfgang Föste: **Verkaufte Träume. Kinderarbeit und Kinderprostitution in Thailand,** München 1982.

20) Cf. the research project mentioned in fn. 15.

21) Grant 1982, **op.cit.**, p. 5.

22) **Ibid.**, p. 4.

23) **Ibid.**, p. 38.

24) **Ibid.**, p. 27.

25) "For each indicator, the performance of individual countries is rated on a scale of 1 to 100, where 1 represents the "worst" performance by any country and 100 the "best" performance. ... Once a country's performance in life expenctancy, infant mortality, and literacy has been rated on the scale of 1 to 100, the composite index (PQLI) for the country is calculated by averaging the three ratings, giving equal weight to each" Todaro **op.cit.**, p. 102n.

26) All figures from Todaro, **op.cit.**, pp. 47-61.

27) Dieter Senghass: **The European Experience.** A Historical Critique of Development Theory, Leamington Spa/Dover 1985, ch. 5.

28) See Georg Sørensen: Internal and External Intertwined: 5 obstacles to development in India. Working Papers no. 20, Development Research Group, Aalborg University 1986.

29) The fact that the collective element had a significant role in the Chinese reforms and small private plots dominated in Taiwan does not seem to have made a large difference from the viewpoint of children's welfare.

30) Cf. the following figures from 1981:

	Distribution of GNP, %			Distribution of Employment, %		
	Agri-cult.	Indu-stry	Ser-vice	Agri-cult.	Indu-stry	Ser-vice
Taiwan	9	45	46	19	42	39
Brazil	13	34	53	30	24	46
India	37	26	37	69	13	18

Source: World Bank Development Report 1983, quoted from Dieter Senghaas/Ulrich Menzel: **Indikatoren zur Bestimmung von Schwellenländern.** Bremen University 1984, p. 12.

31) Lecture given by a local doctor from Brighton during the IPRA XI General Conference in Sussex, April 1986.

32) Radio interview with project leader Dominique Bouchet, Odense University, April 1986.

33) Jan Øberg: **At udvikle sikkerhed og sikre udvikling** (To develop security and secure development), Gylling 1983. See also Georg Sørensen: Peace and Development. Looking for the Right Track, **Journal of Peace Research** 1, 1985, pp. 69-78.

34) N. Hartmann & G. Olesen: **Unges fremtid. Liv, lykke og udvikling,** København 1985.

35) Cf. Björn Førde: **Vi holder sammen,** København 1985.

36) Cf. W.P. McGreevey: **Third World Poverty.** New Strategies for Measuring Development Progress, Lexington 1981.

37) Cf. Johan Galtung: Twenty-Five Years of Peace Research: Ten Challenges and Some Responses, **Journal of Peace Research,** vol. 22 no. 2, 1985.

38) Rita Liljenström et.al.: **Kinas barn och våra.** (Chinese children and our own), Lund 1982.

39) **Ibid.,** p. 21. Cf. Liu Zheng et.al.: **China's Population: Problems and Prospects,** Beijing 1981.

40) Strongest from groups in the U.S. I must admit that I find the Chinese arguments in favour of birth control quite convincing, cf. the sources mentioned in fn. 39.

41) Liljenström et.al., **op.cit.,** p. 10.

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