

We have aspirations about what we would like to do and how we would like to live. Similarly, we have ideas about what a country should be like. What are the essential things that we require? Can life be better for all? Can there be more equality? Development involves thinking about these questions and about the ways in which we can work towards achieving these goals. This is a complex task and in this chapter we shall make a beginning at understanding development.

What Development Promises – Different People, Different Goals

Let us try to imagine what development or progress is likely to mean to different persons listed in Table 1. What are their aspirations? You will find that some columns are partially filled. Try to complete the Table. You can also add any other category of persons.



Fig 2.1 : Without me they cannot develop; In this system I cannot develop!

Table 1 : Developmental Goals of Different Categories of Persons

Category of Person	Developmental Goals/ Aspirations
Landless rural labourers	More days of work and better wages; local school is able to provide quality education for their children; there is no social discrimination and they too can become leaders in the village.
Prosperous farmers	Assured high family income through higher support prices for their crops and through hardworking and cheap labourers; they should be able to settle their children abroad.

Farmers who depend only on rain for growing crops.	
A rural woman from a land owning family	
Urban unemployed youth	
A boy from a rich urban family	
A girl from a rich urban family	She gets as much freedom as her brother and is able to decide what she wants to do in life. She would like to be able to pursue her studies abroad.
An Adivasi from mining fields	
Person from fishing community in the coastal area	

Having filled Table 1, let us now examine it. Do all these persons have the same notion of development or progress? Most likely not. Each one of them seeks different things. They seek things that are most important for them, i.e., that which can fulfil their aspirations or desires. In fact, at times, two persons or groups of persons may seek things which are conflicting. A girl expects as much freedom and opportunity as her brother and that he also shares in the household work. Her brother may not like this. Similarly, to get more electricity, industrialists may want more dams. But this may submerge the land and disrupt

the lives of people who are displaced such as the tribals. They might resent this and may just want small check dams or tanks to irrigate their land.



Fig 2.2 : How do we understand development if we think of human history on a time scale? Who is developed? Number

as hunter gatherers (about 200,000 years). Number of years since we began agriculture (12,000 years ago). Number of years since modern Industries (from about 400 years ago)

Whose Development ?

If even the idea of what constitutes development can be varied and conflicting, then certainly there can be differences about ways of developing. The ongoing protest over the Kudankulam Nuclear Power Project in the Tirunelveli district of Tamil Nadu is one such conflict.

The government of India set up the nuclear power plant

in this quiet coastal town of fisher folks. The aim is to generate nuclear power to meet the growing energy needs of the country. The people in the region have protested on the grounds of safety, security and livelihood. A long struggle has ensued. Scientists, environmentalists, social activists who have been critical of the project, have stood by the people. Letters of protests to the government state “You are unable or unwilling to appreciate that in nuclear energy we are confronted not only with an immense power, but also an incredible potential for destruction. We want our coast and country protected from the radioactive peril. Stop the project. Look to renewable energy as an alternative.” The government has responded that the plant has all the safety measures and, despite protests, is going ahead with the project.



Fig 2.3 : Protest at Kudankulam Nuclear Power Project

So, two things are quite clear from the above discussion:

- (1) Different persons can have different developmental goals and
- (2) What may be development for one may not be development for the other. It may even be destructive for the other.

● *Read this newspaper report. ...*

“A vessel dumped 500 tonnes of liquid toxic wastes into open-air dumps in a city and in the surrounding sea. This happened in a city Abidjan in Ivory Coast, a country in Africa. The fumes from the highly toxic waste

caused nausea, skin rashes, fainting, diarrhoea etc. After a month seven persons were dead, twenty in hospital and twenty six thousand treated for symptoms of poisoning. A multinational company

dealing in petroleum and metals contracted a local company of the Ivory Coast to dispose the toxic waste from its ship.”

(Adapted from article by Vaiju Naravane 16 September, 2006, The Hindu)

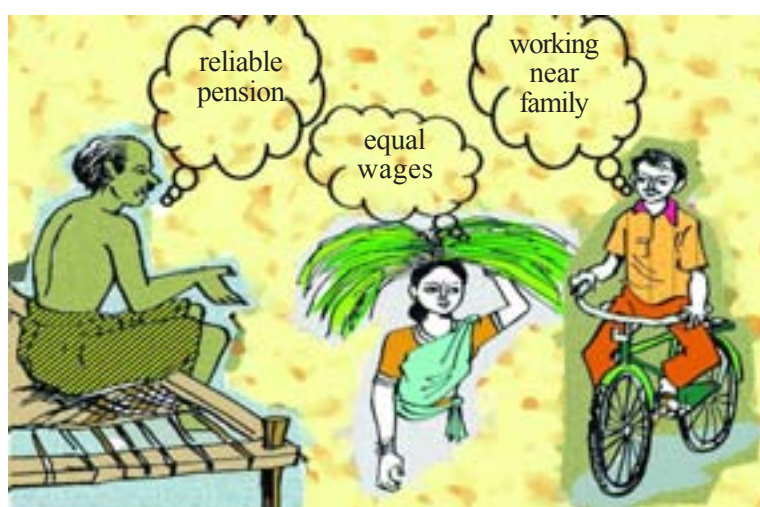
Now answer the following questions:

- Who are the people benefited and who do not?
- What should be the developmental goal for this country?
- What can be some of the developmental goals for your village or town or locality?
- What are the issues of conflict between government and the people living in regions of nuclear power plant?
- Do you know of any such controversy around development projects/policies? Find out the debates on either side.

Income and other Goals

If you go over Table 1 again, you will notice one common thing: what people desire are regular work, better wages, and decent price for their crops or other products that they produce. In other words, they want more income.

Besides seeking more income – one-way or the other, people also seek things like equal treatment, freedom, security, and respect from others. They resent discrimination. All these are important goals. In fact, in some cases, these may be more important than more income or more consumption because material goods are not all that you need to live. Money, or material things that one can buy with it, are one factor on which our life depends. But the quality of our life also depends on non-material things mentioned above. If it is not obvious to you, then just think, of the role of your friends in your life. You may desire their friendship. Similarly there are many things that are not easily measured but they mean a lot to our lives. These are often ignored. Therefore, it will be wrong to conclude that what cannot be measured is not important.



Consider another example. If you get a job in a far off place, you would try to consider many factors, apart from income. This could be facilities for your family, working atmosphere or opportunity to learn. In another case, a job may give you less pay but may offer regular employment that enhances your sense of

security. Another job, however, may offer high pay but no job security and also leave no time for your family. This will reduce your sense of security and freedom.

Similarly, for development, people look at a mix of goals. It is true that if women are engaged in paid work, the family income increases and their dignity in the household and society increases. However, it is also the case that if there is respect for women there would be more sharing of housework and a greater acceptance of women working outside. A safe and secure environment may allow more women to take up a variety of jobs or run a business.

Hence the developmental goals that people have are not only about better income but also about other important things in life.

- Why do different persons have different notions of development? Which of the following explanations is more important and why?
 - a. Because people are different.
 - b. Because life situations of persons are different.
- Do these two statements mean the same thing? Justify your answer.
 - a. People have different developmental goals.
 - b. People have conflicting developmental goals.
- Give some examples where factors other than income are important aspects of our lives.
- Explain some of the important ideas of the above section in your own words.

How to compare Different Countries or States

When we compare different things, they could have similarities as well as differences. Which aspects do we use to compare them? Let us look at students in the class itself. How do we compare different students? They differ in their height, health, talents and interests. The healthiest student may not be the most studious one. The most intelligent student may not be the friendliest one. So, how do we compare students? The criterion we may use depends on the purpose of comparison. We use different criteria to choose a sports team, a debate team, a music team or a team to organise a picnic. Still, if for some purpose, we have to choose the criteria for the all-round progress of children in the class, how do we do it?

Usually we take one or more important characteristics of persons and compare them based on these characteristics. For comparing countries, their income is

considered to be one of the most important attributes. Countries with higher income are more developed than others with less income. This is done on the understanding that more income means more of all things that human beings need. Whatever people like, and should have, they will be able to get with greater income. So, greater income itself is considered to be one important goal.

Now, what is the income of a country? Intuitively, the income of the country is the income of all the residents of the country. This gives us the total income of the country.

However, for comparison between countries total income is not such a useful measure. Since countries have different populations, comparing total income will not tell us what an average person is likely to earn. Are people in one country better off than others in a different country? Hence we compare the average income, which is total income of the country divided by total population. The average income is also called per capita income.

This criterion is used in World Development Report brought out by the World Bank to classify countries. Countries with per capita income of US \$12,600 and above per annum in 2012 are called high income countries or rich countries. Those with per capita income of US \$1,035 or less per annum in 2012 are called low-income countries. Until less than a decade ago, India came in the category of low income countries. Now it falls under the category of middle income countries. As the per capita income in India rose faster than that of many countries, its position is improved. We will read more about growth of incomes of people in India in the next chapter.

The rich countries, excluding countries of West Asia and certain other small countries are generally called developed countries.

While ‘averages’ are useful for comparison, they also hide disparities.

For example, let us consider two countries, A and B. For the sake of simplicity, we have assumed that they have only five citizens each. Based on data given in Table 2, calculate the average income for both the countries.

Table 2 Comparison of two countries						
Country	Monthly income of citizens in 2001 (in Rupees)					
	I	II	III	IV	V	Average
Country A	9500	10500	9800	10000	10200	
Country B	500	500	500	500	48000	

Will you be equally happy to live in either of these countries? Are both equally developed? Perhaps some of us may like to live in country B if we are assured of being its fifth citizen but if it is a lottery that decides our citizenship number then perhaps most of us will prefer to live in country A. Though both the countries have identical average income, country A is preferred because it has more equitable distribution. In this country people are neither very rich nor extremely poor, while most citizens in country B are poor and one person is extremely rich. Hence while average income is useful for comparison it does not tell us how this income is distributed among people.



- Give three examples where an average is used for comparing situations other than what is given here.
- Why do you think average income is an important criterion for development? Explain.
- Suppose records show that the average income in a country has been increasing over a period. From this, can we conclude that all sections of the economy have become better? Illustrate your answer with an example.
- From the text, find out the per capita income level of middle-income countries as per World Development Report, 2012.
- Write a paragraph on your notion of what India should do, or achieve, to become a developed country.

Income and other criteria

When we looked at individual aspirations and goals, we found that people not only think of better income but also have goals such as security, respect of others, equal treatment, freedom etc in mind. Similarly, when we think of a nation or a region, we may, besides average income, think of other equally important attributes.

Table : 3 **Per Capita Income per annum of Select States**

State	Per Capita Income for 2012 (in rupees)
Punjab	78,000
Himachal Pradesh	74,000
Bihar	25,000

What could these attributes be? Let us examine this through an example. Table 3 gives the per capita income of Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Bihar. We find that of the three, Punjab has highest per capita income and Bihar is at the bottom. This means that, on an average, a person in Punjab earned Rs.78,000 in one year whereas, on an average, a person in Bihar would earn only around Rs. 25,000. So, if per capita income were to be used as the measure of development, Punjab would be considered the most developed and Bihar the least developed state of the three. Now, let us look at certain other data pertaining to these states given in Table 4.

Table : 4 Some Comparative data of Select States

State	IMR per 1000 (2006)	Literacy rate (%) (2011)	Net Attendance Rate (2006)
Punjab	42	77	76
Himachal Pradesh	36	84	90
Bihar	62	64	56

Terms used in the Table 2.4: **IMR** - Infant Mortality Rate. Out of 1000 live children born, the number of children who die within one year.

Literacy Rate: It measures the percentage of literate population in the 7 and above age group.

Net Attendance Rate: Out of the total number of children in age group 6-17, the percentage of children attending school.

First column of the table shows that in Himachal Pradesh out of 1000 children born alive, 36 died before completing one year of age. In Punjab the proportion of children dying within one year of birth is 42. In Bihar half the children of school going age do not attend school.

Public Facilities

How is it that the average person in Punjab has more income than the average person in Himachal Pradesh but lags behind in these crucial areas? The reason is money in your pocket cannot buy all the goods and services that you may need to live well. So, income by itself is not a completely adequate indicator of material goods and services that citizens are able to use. For example, normally, your money cannot buy you a pollution free environment or ensure that you get unadulterated medicines, unless you can afford to shift to a community that already has all these things. Money may also not be able to protect you from infectious diseases, unless the whole of your community takes preventive steps.

Actually for many of the important things in life the best way, also the cheapest way is to provide these goods and services collectively. Just think: will it be cheaper to have collective security for the whole locality or for each house to have its own security man? What if no one, other than you, in your village or locality is interested in studying? Would you be able to study? Not unless your parents could afford to send you to some private school elsewhere. So you are actually able to study because many other children also want to study and because many people believe that the government should open schools and provide other facilities so that all children have a chance to study. Even now, in many areas, children, particularly girls, are not able to achieve secondary level schooling because government/ society has not provided required facilities.

Some states have lesser Infant Mortality Rate because they have adequate provision of basic health and educational facilities. Similarly, in some states, the Public Distribution System (PDS) functions well. If a PDS shop, i.e. ration shop, does not function properly in such places, the people there are able to get it rectified. Health and nutritional status of people of such states is certainly likely to be better.

- Look at data in Tables 3 and 4. Is Punjab as ahead of Bihar in literacy rate etc. as it is in terms of per capita income?
- Think of other examples where collective provision of goods and services is cheaper than individual provision.
- Does availability of good health and educational facilities depend only on amount of money spent by the government on these facilities? What other factors could be relevant?
- For a family in rural area in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh in 2009-2010, rice purchased from ration shops account for 53 and 33 per cent respectively. The rest they buy from markets. In West Bengal and Assam, only 11 and 6 per cent of rice is purchased from ration shops. Where would people be better off and why?

Human Development Report

When we realise that even though the level of income is important, it is an inadequate measure of the level of development, we begin to think of other criterion. There could be a long list of such criteria but then it would not be so useful. What we need is a small number of the most important things. Health and education indicators, such as the ones we used in comparison of Kerala and Punjab, are among them. Over the past decade or so, health and education indicators have come to be widely used along with income as a measure of development. For instance, Human Development Report published by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) compares countries based on the educational levels of the people, their health status and per capita income.

It would be interesting to look at certain relevant data regarding India and its neighbours from Human Development Report 2013.

Table 5 Some data regarding India and its neighbours for 2013

Country	Per Capita Income in \$	Life expectancy at birth (Years)	Average years of schooling	Expected years of schooling	Human Development Index (HDI) rank in the world
Sri Lanka	5170	75.1	9.3	12.7	92
India	3285	65.8	4.4	10.7	136
Pakistan	2566	65.7	4.9	7.3	146
Myanmar	1817	65.7	3.9	9.4	149
Bangladesh	1785	69.2	4.8	8.1	146
Nepal	1137	69.1	3.2	8.9	157

Notes to Table 5

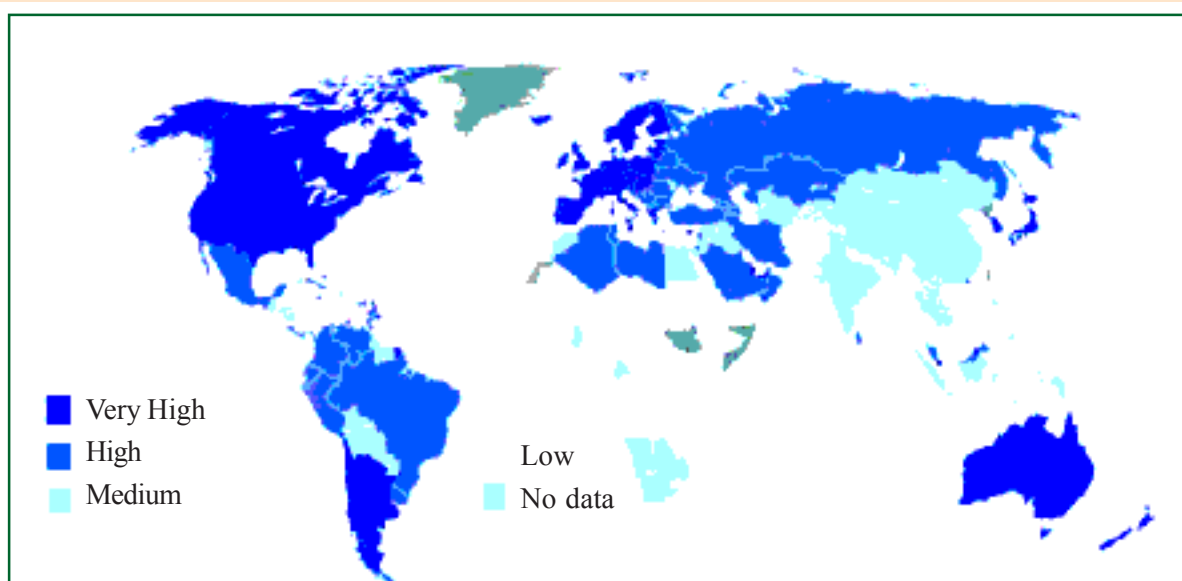
HDI stands for Human Development Index. HDI ranks in above table are out of 177 countries in all.

Life expectancy at birth denotes the average expected length of life of a person at the time of birth.

Average years of schooling: average number of years of education received by people ages 25 and older.

Expected years of schooling: number of years of schooling that a child of school entrance age can expect to receive given the present enrolment rates.

Per capita Income is calculated in US Dollars for all countries so that one can compare. It is also done in a way so that every dollar would buy the same amount of goods and services in any country.



Map 1 : World map showing HD Index. Identify various patterns in different continents.

Isn't it surprising that a small country in our neighbourhood, Sri Lanka, is much ahead of India in every respect and a big country like ours has such a low rank in the world? Table 5 also shows that though Nepal has less than half the per capita income of India, it is not far behind India in educational levels. In terms of life expectancy at birth it is in fact ahead of India.

Many improvements have been suggested in calculating HDI and many new components have been added to the Human Development Report. But, by prefixing "Human" to "Development", it has made it very clear that what is happening to citizens of a country is important in development. People, their health and their well-being are most important.

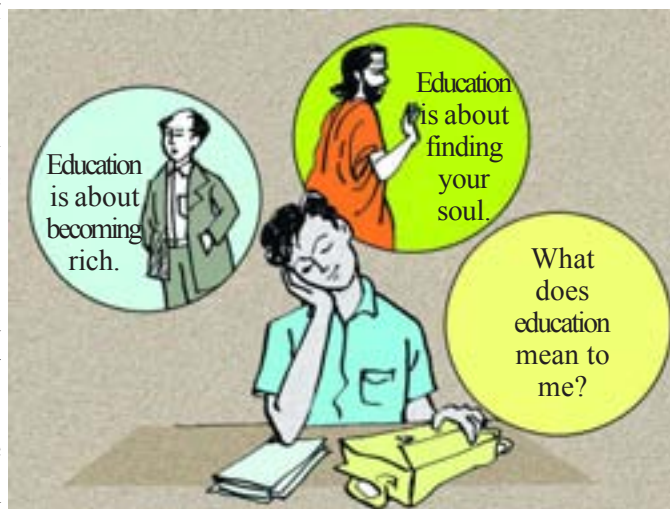
Development as progress over time

Some countries are ahead of others in terms of human development indicators. Similarly, some states have better indicators of human development, though within a state there may be variations. Some districts may be more advanced than others. Remember comparison and ranks have little use by itself. They are only useful, if these indicators can make us think in meaningful ways as to why are some so behind the others. Low performance on any of the human development indicators is a sign that certain aspect of people's lives needs more attention. Alternately, we could ask why are some ahead of others. Say, why are many more children in Himachal Pradesh going to school on an average than in other states (refer to Table 4)?

To answer this, let us look closely at what has come to be called 'the schooling revolution in Himachal Pradesh'. It has some interesting insights to offer, particularly, how so many factors need to come together to make change possible. Development is indeed a complex phenomenon.

At the time of Indian independence, like most other states in India, Himachal Pradesh had very low levels of education. Being a hilly region, with low density of population in many villages, spread of schools particularly to the rural areas appeared as a big challenge. However, both the government of Himachal Pradesh and the people of the state were keen on education. How to translate this aspiration to reality for all the children?

The government started schools and made sure that education was largely free or costs very little for parents. Further, it tried to ensure that these schools had at least the minimum



facilities of teachers, classrooms, toilets, drinking water, etc. As the years went by, these facilities were improved and expanded. More schools were opened and teachers were appointed so that many more children could study easily. Of course, to open schools and run these well, the government had to spend money. Among the Indian states, Himachal Pradesh has the distinction of one of the highest spending from the government budget on education of each child. In year 2005, the average spending on education by the government in Indian states was Rs 1,049 per child, Himachal Pradesh was spending Rs. 2,005 per child!

The high priority on education paid off. In an intensive survey on schooling done in 1996 and repeated in 2006, the surveyors noted:

Students in Himachal Pradesh come to school enthusiastically. An overwhelming proportion of students enjoyed their schooling experience: “The teacher loves us and teaches us well”, said Neha, enrolled in Class 4 in a village in Chamba. Children had dreams of studying till higher classes and aspirations to be policemen, scientists and teachers. The attendance rate was very high in primary classes, but also among older children.

The norm in Himachal Pradesh has come to be at least 10 years of schooling for children.

In many parts of the country, girls’ education is still given less priority by parents compared to boys’ education. While girls may study for a few classes, they may not complete their schooling. A welcome trend in Himachal Pradesh is the lower gender bias. Himachali parents have ambitious educational goals for their girls, just as for their boys. Thus, in the 13-18 age group, a very high percentage of girls are completing class VIII and moving to secondary classes. This doesn’t mean there are no differences in the status of men and women, but the differences are less compared to many other regions, particularly north Indian states.

One may wonder why is the gender bias less. Besides education, this can be seen in other areas as well. Child mortality (children dying within a few years of birth) in Himachal Pradesh is lower for girls than for boys, in contrast to most other states. One major consideration is that many Himachali women are themselves employed outside the home. Women who work outside the homes are economically independent and self-confident. They have greater say in household decisions, including children’s education, health, birth, upkeep, etc. Also, being employed themselves, Himachali mothers expect their daughters to work outside home after marriage. Schooling therefore comes naturally and has become a social norm.

It has been seen that Himachali women have a comparatively high involvement in social life and village politics. Active *mahila mandals* can be found in many villages.

Table 6 compares the progress in school education over time in Himachal Pradesh with the average of the Indian states.

Table 6 : Progress in Himachal Pradesh				
	Himachal Pradesh		India	
	1993	2006	1993	2006
Percentage of Girls (6+ years) with more than 5 years of education	39	60	28	40
Percentage of Boys (6+ years) with more than 5 years of education	57	75	51	57

The comparison across two different years is indicative of development that has happened. Clearly, there has been greater development in schooling and spread of education in Himachal Pradesh than India as a whole. Though there is still a lot of difference in the average levels of education among boys and girls, i.e. across genders, there has been some progress towards greater equality in the recent years.

Summing up

Development entails a mix of goals. Goals and the ways of attaining them may be in conflict. ‘Whose development?’ is an important question one must address while thinking about development.

Income and per capita income, though very often used, is only one aspect of development. Distribution of incomes can be very unequal even when overall incomes rise.

Human development index has tried to expand the notion of development to include the social indicators of health and education. Government provision is the only way of improving health and education status for all. Societies that are more equal have developed faster, when effective public facilities are ensured.

Key words

Per capita Income; Human development; Public facilities; Education and Health indicators

Improve your learning

1. What main criterion is used by the World Bank in classifying different countries? What are the limitations of the above criterion, if any?
2. Usually behind each social phenomenon there would be several contributing factors, and not one. What in your opinion are the factors that came together for the development of schooling in Himachal Pradesh?

3. In what respect is the criterion used by the UNDP for measuring development different from the one used by the World Bank?
4. Do you think there are certain other aspects, other than those discussed in the chapter that should be considered in measuring human development?
5. Why do we use averages? Are there any limitations to their use? Illustrate with your own examples related to development.
6. What lessons can you draw about the importance of income from the fact that Himachal Pradesh with lower per capita income has a better human development ranking than Punjab?
7. Based on the figures in Table 6, fill the following:
 Out of every 100 girls above 6 years of age, _____ girls had studied beyond the primary level in Himachal Pradesh in year 1993. By year 2006, this proportion reached _____ out of 100. For India as a whole, the proportion of boys who had studied beyond primary level was only _____ out of 100 in year 2006.
8. What is the per capita income of Himachal Pradesh? Do you think higher incomes can make it easier for parents to send children to school? Discuss. Why was it necessary for government to run schools in Himachal Pradesh?
9. Why do you think parents accord less priority to girls education as compared to boys? Discuss in class.
10. What is the relationship between women's work outside their homes and gender bias?
11. Right to Education Act, 2009 (RTE) declares that all children of 6 to 14 years age have the right to free education. And the government has to ensure building of sufficient schools in the neighbourhood, appoint properly qualified teachers and make all necessary provisions. In the light of what you have read in this chapter and already know, discuss and debate the importance of this Act for (i) children, and (ii) human development.



Project

Here is an illustration showing different sources of livelihoods. Create a similar illustration and write caption that would describe their notion of development.