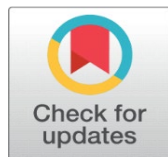


## THE IDEA OF DEVELOPMENT AND ITS CHANGING PERSPECTIVE

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### ABSTRACT

The concept of development has a long history of changing over time. Since inception, the well-being of a nation was measured in terms of per capita gross domestic product which has become redundant with the passes of time. To overcome the limitations associated with the earlier developmental frameworks, there have been gradual paradigm shifts in the concept and measurement of development. In this study, an attempt has been made to review the existing literature on how countries have shifted from a traditional per capita income-based notion of development to a more recent and comprehensive idea of development, i.e., the Inclusive Development. Moreover, the study also reviews the empirical evidences on the status of development in Indian context. From the study, it has been found that there has been a continuous move towards different notions of development over time. As well, a review of Indian development status reveals that in India also, various strides weremade for inclusive development for a more inclusive society.

**Keywords:** Development, Inclusive Development, Human Development, Paradigm Shift, Review of Literature.

### DOI

[10.29121/shodhkosh.v4.i2.2023.1648](https://doi.org/10.29121/shodhkosh.v4.i2.2023.1648)

**Funding:** This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

Historically, the well-being of a nation is measured in terms of per capita gross domestic product or per capita national product, more precisely in terms of income. “It was seen till sixties, economic growth was considered the principal objective of a government and per capita income is the most yardstick to measure human well-being” (Gopalkrishna,2009). However, experience of the 1950s and 1960s, when a large number of third world countries achieved the overall growth targets of the United Nations but the level of living of the masses of people remained for the most part unchanged, signaled that something was very wrong with the narrow definition of development. Ultimately, the inadequacy of income as a sole indicator of human well-being was realised. Therefore, a new approach of “development” has emerged after the publication of first Human Development Report in 1990 by the United Nations Development Programmes (UNDP). A very recent attempt in this respect is that of UNDP’s (1990) Human Development Index (HDI). The concept of “human development” is more powerful and more comprehensive concept than the conventional measure of Gross National Product (GNP) in understanding human well-being.

However, the concept of human development does not take into account one most important aspect of development that is *inclusion*. A country may achieve higher level of human development, but it does not guarantee the inclusiveness of each and every section of people in the development process. Therefore, in this connection, the idea of ‘Inclusive Growth’ is relatively a new emergence in the national and international agencies. In simplest term, inclusive growth is that pattern

of growth which not only benefited every individual but also ensures participation in the development process. Thus the idea of development is not something which is constant; rather it's a dynamic process. In this backdrop, the present study attempts to explore how the notion of development has been changing with the passes of time needs of the society. A detailed study will help the researchers and policy makers to have an idea of how there have a paradigm shift in the concept of development over time.

**OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY:** The study has the following objectives----

- (i) To study the paradigm shift in the concept of development over time across the world.
- (ii) To review empirical evidences on India's state of inclusive development.

The study is descriptive and exploratory in nature. The study is basically a detailed review of literature of the research agenda under consideration. Here we attempt to give a qualitative description of how there has been a change in the idea of development.

## 2. MEANING AND MEASUREMENT OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

The concept of human development has emerged in the late 1980s based on conceptual foundation provided by Dr. Amartya Sen and Dr. Mahbub Ul Haq. The human development approach puts people at the centre of the development agenda, where economic growth and wealth are considered means to development, not an end by itself. Put simply, the starting point for human development approach is the idea that the purpose of development is to improve human lives not only by enhancing income but also expanding the range of things that a person can be and can do, such as be healthy and well nourished, be knowledgeable and participate in community life.

Although development is desired universally, the meaning and measurement of development is not unanimously accepted. However, among the various interpretations of the term development, human development has become increasingly popular. The first UNDP's Human Development Report (HDR) 1990, defined human development as a "process of enlarging people's choices". To lead a long and healthy life, to be educated, and to enjoy a decent standard of living are the three most critical choices identified in the first HDR. Additional choices include political freedom, granted human rights and self respect. The HDI is a composite index of three indicators: education, health and income. The detail of the components and indicators of HDI as per HDR, 2010 is shown in the following table -1.

**Table 1 Component and Indicators of Human Development Index**

Sl. No.	Dimensions	Indicators
1.	Health	Life expectancy
2.	Education	Mean Years of schooling
		Expected Years of schooling
3.	Living Standard	Gross National Income Per Capita

**Source: HDR, 2010.**

Since inception, Human Development Report has also added several new dimensions to the concept of human development from time to time. In HDR 2010, some modification has been made in the indicators (Table-1) used to measure the progress in education and income and change the way they are aggregated. In the knowledge dimension mean years of schooling replaces literacy and gross enrolment is recast as expected years of schooling-- the years of schooling that a child can expect to receive given current enrolment rates. To measure the standard of living, gross national income (GNI) per capita replaces gross domestic product(GDP) per capita (HDR,2010:15).

Indeed, in various countries and regional studies, a set of human development indicators and even human development formula used are different from the UNDP formula. The differences are counted by limitations of availability of data and also the requirement of the country or the region. For example, in Assam in constructing HDI and GDI, UNDP's methodology was adopted, while different sets of HDI were computed taking into account additional variables. These indices offer insights not only with regard to the varying degrees of achievement in the human development across districts in three dimensions, i.e., health, education and income, but also portray the extent of inequality therein identifying areas of interventions in enlarging people's capabilities in making choices over various "functioning".

According to Human Development Report of India (2010), "the GDP or income in general, is a means, though perhaps the most predominant one in obtaining valued 'outcomes' in the course of development. The human development indicators are more appropriate in capturing desirable 'outcomes' for which the means are ultimately engaged in the process of development" (NHDR, 2001:9). Hence these socio-economic indicators outlined by human Development Report of UNDP,

have been generally accepted as a framework for assessing socio-economic attainment and well-being of individuals as well as society as a whole.

### 3. INCLUSIVE GROWTH, THE IDEA AND ITS RELEVANCE

The idea of 'Inclusive Growth' is relatively a new emergence in the national and international agencies. However, the concept of inclusive growth has already gained wide currency in several countries including India (Bolt 2004). Inclusive growth presupposes growth in income. But not all growth scenarios are considered inclusive. Therefore, there is a need to differentiate the growth process that are inclusive from those that are not. Some researchers argue that inclusive growth is broad-based and benefits everyone in society—the poor, the middle income groups and even the rich (Klasen 2010). In this sense, pro-poor growth, in which the focus of outcome is on the poor, constitute a subset of the broad concept of inclusive growth. There is no agreed-upon and common definition of inclusive growth. However, the concept is based on the two other concepts: inclusion and growth, and inclusion are a process and also a goal. Inclusion is about society changing to accommodate differences by removing all barriers which discriminate or exclude certain individuals/groups within society. It sees society as a problem, not the person.

Some important interpretations in the available literature are mentioned below:

According to Navi (2010), "the new development approach of inclusive growth emphasize that, for poverty reduction, public policies should focus on the multidimensional approach which expands socio-economic opportunities as well as ensures equal access to all segments of society to these opportunities under the framework of accelerated economic growth."

Ali and Zhaung (2007) stated that "growth allowing every individual (group) of society participate in, and contribute to the growth process on an equal footing regardless of their individual circumstances is called to be growth with inclusiveness."

Stephan Klasen (2010), defines inclusive growth as nondiscriminatory and disadvantage reducing growth, which focuses on two characteristics; one on process, in the sense that the actual growth include many people who participate in growth (i.e. inclusive growth is based on inputs from a large number of people), second; on outcomes of the growth process (i.e. inclusive growth benefits many people). The author argues that "income growth is inclusive when it; allows participation and contribution by all members of society, with particular emphasis on the ability of the poor and disadvantaged to participate in the process of growth (the nondiscriminatory aspect of growth), and associates with declining inequality in non-income dimensions of wellbeing that are particularly important for promoting economic opportunities, including education, health, nutrition, and social integration ( the disadvantage-reducing aspect of inclusive growth)."

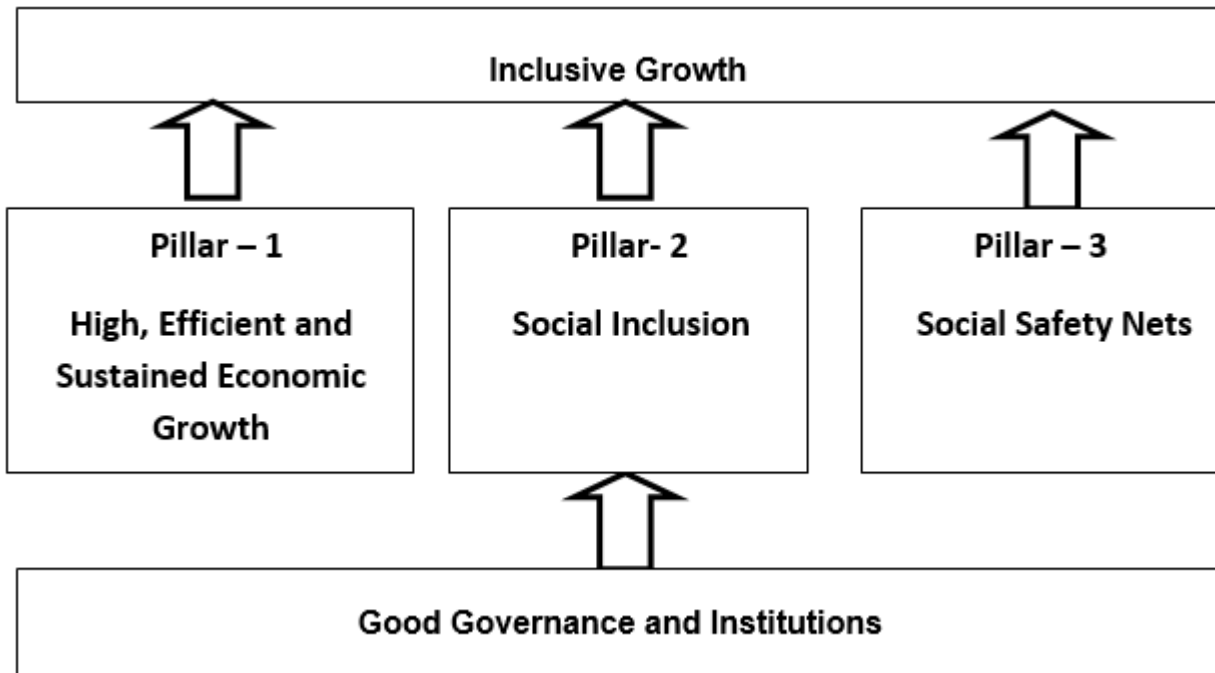
Lanchovichina & Lundstrom (2009) asserts that sustainable growth should be broad-based across sectors and inclusive of vast majority of country's labor force. This concept of growth focuses on productive employment as a means of increasing incomes of excluded groups rather than on direct income distribution. The authors applied inclusive growth analytics to Zambia and conclude that poor education and health, access to capital and credit, infrastructure and government failure are the constraints to productive employment and inclusive growth.

In Rauniyar and Kanbur (2009), it is stated that inclusive growth is understood to refer to economic growth coupled with equal economic opportunities. Thus, it focuses on creating economic opportunities and making them accessible to everyone in society at all levels, not just to the poor. An economic growth process is said to be inclusive when all members of a society participate in and contribute to that process equally, regardless of their individual circumstances or backgrounds. In the same way, inclusive growth emphasizes that economic opportunities created by economic growth are available to all, particularly the poor, to the maximum extent possible (ADB).

Ali and Zhaung (2007), emphasize that inclusive growth is not based on redistributive approach but its goal should be the high and sustainable growth to create productive and decent employment as well as social inclusion to ensure equal access to opportunities. Further, the authors emphasized that social inclusion could be achieved by investing in education, health and other social services to enhance human capabilities, promoting economic and social justice and provision for social safety nets to prevent extreme deprivation.

Thus, they pointed out three pillars—expansion of economic opportunity, social inclusion to promote equal access to opportunities, and social safety nets—supported by good governance and strong institutions, can promote inclusive growth where all members of the society can benefit from and contribute to the growth process. Following chart-1 depicts the three policy pillars of an inclusive growth strategy suggested by Ali and Zhaung (2010).

Chart No-1



Source: Zhaung (2010).

Thus, from the above analysis we can say that the concept of inclusive growth is very interesting and relevant. This is important for reducing exclusion, social tensions, inequality and improve overall economic development.

#### 4. REVIEW OF EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE ON EXCLUSION AND INCLUSIVE GROWTH WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO INDIA

Over time, there is a long history of conducting research on the India's Development experience relating to different social groups of population in India by many researchers. In this section, different stands of literature contributed by researchers, scholars and organizations have been traced out for reviewing. The issues presented by the researchers, scholars, organizations and findings of the relevant empirical studies will suppose to provide valuable insights for the present study as well as able to locate research gap in the literature.

With a population of over 1.2 billion India is home to the largest number of poor in the world. About 42% of the Indian population lives under the global poverty line of \$ 1.25 per day (Rangarajan, 2014). Despite sustained high growth rates, while some aspects of social inequality have weakened, 'new heightened imbalances' such as economic inequality and poverty have developed during the past two decades. As Kaushik Basu has noted, "the bulk of India's aggregate growth is occurring through a disproportionate rise in the incomes at the upper end of the income ladder" (Basu, 2008). Quality and distribution of the high growth that India has experienced are causing widening inequalities between classes, regions, rural and urban areas, a classic growth-inequality paradox (Hari and Hatti, 2015).

The objective of economic planning in India has been to step up economic growth and achieve equitable distribution of benefits from growth. "Equitable development" or "growth with social justice" has been the watchwords of development planning in India. The idea of inclusive growth has been used worldwide as well as by the policy makers in India; yet, one wonders whether this use acquires a special significance in the present context. Perhaps, it does. This is because, it is believed that there is a significant "tradeoff" between growth and equity does not seem to be as widespread now as before. Rao (2009) states that for about three decades from the early 1950s to early 1980s, when the country was experiencing a slow or so called "Hindu" growth rate, the concern for accelerating GDP growth itself was upper most, apart from ensuring equity. Inequality did arise in the wake of growth then, but were not as prominent as in the recent phase of accelerated growth. Although India has achieved a faster economic growth rate, but the population belonging to the socially and economically disadvantaged sections like Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, backward classes, large

majority of minorities, and women and children benefited the least from growth and rising prosperity (Radhakrishna and Ray 2006; Dev 2008; Government of India 2006; Kannan 2009).

The availability of inadequate physical social infrastructure like irrigation, power, roads, transport and communications, education and health in less developed regions and rural areas in general in the country is a major factor responsible for growing rural-urban and regional disparities. Again, highly stratified and hierarchical and social structure characterized by inequalities in holding lands and other forms of wealth, status and power is the second major factor leading to the rise in income inequalities in the wake of growth. Because of this, achieving inclusive growth is far more challenging. Hence, there is a new genuine and widespread recognition about the adverse social consequences of rising inequalities in the recent high growth phase, which do not seem to be mitigated through the so-called “trickle down” mechanism. In this context, we can claim that it is of utmost importance to address the issues of inclusive growth approach in India and also monitor the outcome.

*The Eleventh Plan claims to outline “a comprehensive program for development of infrastructure, especially in rural areas, and in the remote and backward parts of the country consistent with the requirements of inclusive growth at 9% per year.... What this plan seeks to do is to target the slower growing regions and the backward areas within these states, for higher levels of public investment that will enable the backlog in physical and social infrastructure to be addressed” (Planning Commission, 2008). The inclusive approach has been extended with greater commitment in Twelfth-Five –Year-Plan (2007-2012). This approach recognizes that while faster growth remains the main goal, it is not an end in itself but the means to an end. And the end would demand outcomes which yield benefits for all, but particularly require that the benefits of growth reach the poor, Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled tribes (STs), Other Backward Classes (OBCs), minorities and women (GoI 2007).*

Bhalla (2014) finds that the poverty levels among the SCs and STs are higher than the non SC and non ST. In 2007/08, nearly half (45.3 percent) of the ST population was poor, compared to the national average of 27.9 percent. In 1983, more than 80 percent of this group was poor. However, the rate of decline in poverty of this group at 5.8 per annum for the recent period 2004-08 is the highest for any socio-economic group. On the other hand, in 1983, over 40 percent of the SCs were in the poorest quintile (bottom 20 percent). This fraction had reduced to 35 percent in 2007/08. For the other group (non SC, non ST and non Muslim), there is an increase in the fraction residing in the first quintile – from 14.9 per cent in 1983 to 17.3 percent in 2007/08. The World Bank (2000) has explicitly recognized that “Discrimination on the basis of gender, ethnicity, race, religion, or social status can lead to social exclusion and lock people into long term poverty trap”.

Internationally, discrimination across social lines has been studied by individual researchers as well as multilateral bodies like ILO and World Bank. These studies found that people might be excluded from land and other natural resources (because of scarcity, landlessness and lack of legal entitlement); formal and informal employment (due to patterns of labour absorptions, education and social identity); organization and representation (due to patterns of political inclusion); physical infrastructure and social services (due to distance, use costs); and, credit (because of lack of collateral). Of these, earning disparity creates the most long-lasting and far reaching impacts (Majumder, 2007). Caste continues to play a significant role in Indian society, and, specifically, that persons belonging to the SC community face discrimination and are disadvantaged in respect of social and economic attainments. There is both theoretical and empirical work on the discrimination against Dalit households and their position relative to other castes and social groups (Throat, 2009, Deshpande, 2011).

In India, disparities across social classes have been studied by a few researchers in recent times. However, most of them have either analysed discrimination from the gender angle (Duraisamy and Duraisamy, 1996; Madheswaran and Lakshmanasamy, 1996; Dunlop and Velkoff, 1999; Esteve- Volrat, 2004), or have explored existing levels of poverty among social groups have been consistently higher than the rest (Sundaram and Tendulkar, 2003; Mutatkar, 2005). But these studies fail to identify the reasons behind the perpetuation of such discriminations even after 70 years of Independence, planning and affirmative actions.

Chaurasia (1990:05) observes: “The extreme economic backwardness, social retardation and virtual stagnation have aggravated the situation for ages and pushed the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to large scale exploitation”. The special programmes for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were conceived as supplement to the total development effort under general sector of development; but in practice these social programmes merely substituted the benefits available to SCs and STs under normal development schemes.

Prabhakar, Abidin, and Saha (2015) in their studies on income poverty and inequality find significant differences in poverty across different strata of Indian society. Adivasi are the most vulnerable group, with nearly 50 percent below the poverty line. Dalits and Muslims with poverty rates of 32 per cent are also above the national average.

The nature and degree of change in the economic ranking between castes, or broad caste groups, is a matter of empirical verification. While there is a large and growing body of work documenting changes in the standard of living indicators of SCs and STs as well as economic discrimination faced by these groups (Deshpande, 2011). There are debates among the scholars whether income inequality is a serious issue for Indian economy or not. On the one side, there are some scholars who argue that inequality is not of great concern (Bhagwati & Panagariya, 2012; Panagariya, 2008). whereas on the other side are those (Barden, 2010; Ghosh, 2010; Weisskopf, 2011) who argue that inequality (and poverty) is increasing, raising serious questions about the equity and sustainability of the Indian growth process. There is very thin literature on income inequality, since most of studies of so-called income inequality actually deal with expenditure inequality (Swaminathan and Rawal, 2011). To study income inequalities, most of the studies focuses on differences in consumption (from National Sample Survey), and poverty is defined on the basis of per capita consumption expenditure. It is well established that per capita monthly expenditure among Dalits and STs lower than among others in rural India (Throat, 2007). Further and not surprisingly, the incidence of poverty is higher among SCs than others. Even after taking account of population shares, the disparity ratio is less than 1, indicating that SC households accounted for a less than proportionate share of total consumption expenditure, and disparity ratio rose between 1983 and 2000 at the all India level and in all states (Throat and Mahamallik, 2007).

In literature on inequality, a distinction has been made between inter-personal or vertical inequality and group based or horizontal inequality. It is argued that the later has received unduly less attention (Stewart, 2002). Deshpande and Ramachandran (2016), in their studies on inter-caste disparities in some key indicators such as occupation, wages, household expenditure, educational attainments and learning outcomes have found convergence between four groups—(SC, ST, OBC and Others) in terms of literacy and primary education, while divergence in terms of access to higher education, White-Collar jobs, average house-hold expenditure and daily wages.

Another major comparable study, Hanatkovska et al (2012), undertakes a two-way comparison between SC-ST and non-SC, ST and finds evidence of convergence across a range of indicators between 1983 and 2005. However, he is not able to isolate the trajectory of SC-STs relative to OBCs and upper castes separately and concentrated on relative gaps only rather than absolute and relative gaps like Deshpande and Ramachandran. These studies neglect some major communities such as Muslim and gender disparities, and also some major indicators of development. Study made by Desai and Kulkarni (2008), on the changes in educational attainment between various social groups for a period of nearly 20 year leads to the following result:

First, educational gap between Hindus and Muslims continued and sometimes expanded. This is a noteworthy finding in the context of current debates around Muslim deprivation in India following the publication of the *Sachar Committee Report on Indian Muslims* (Government of India, 2006). Second, the gap between upper caste Hindu/other religious groups and Dalits/Adivasis diminished. Third, with controls for income and residence, Dalits experienced a greater advantage in college education than the Adivasis.

Official data claims India has attained universal primary school enrolment but the percentage of girls who never attend school in 2006 was just above 25 per cent among Muslims, Dalits and Tribals, and between 13 percent and 16 percent for boys (Fazal, 2010). Even though there is a significant rise in literacy rate among the Dalits, their participation in elementary and higher education has lagged behind significantly in comparison with the non-Dalit counterparts.

Again, though the gender gap in literacy has been declining over the decades, still there exists considerable difference. According to 2001 census, while male literacy is 76 per cent, female literacy is low as 54 per cent at the national level. In states like Bihar, UP, Rajasthan, MP and Orissa, the gender gap in literacy is even more. Indeed, this gap could be taken as an indicator of the level of gender discrimination in these societies. Low level of female literacy is often associated with poor access to health and family planning facilities, poor awareness of the proper child care and other hygienic practices which adversely affect the welfare of the whole family (Kurian, 2007).

Bhalla (2011) evaluates inclusiveness of Indian growth process by studying multiple dimensions including the growth rates of different sectors and states, and finds that the real inequality in India has stayed constant for almost 25 years since 1983 and on the other hand declares that Indian experience for the past 30 years period (since 1983) is one of the genuine inclusive growth in most dimensions considered. But he has paid no consideration on how the disparities in indicator like income or employment between different socio-economic groups has changed over this period. This is because in India, where caste system plays a significant position, it is impossible to interpret anything about the inclusiveness of Indian growth without considering changes in socio-economic disparities. R. Mazumder (2007)

observed that considerable disparities exist in terms of employment levels, status of job and earning standards between social classes. Chronic poverty among excluded social groups, much acute than others, is also responsible for their drop-out from capacity building process and entering job market too early. In fact, many studies show that discrimination in employment market largely prevents them from accessing better opportunities even when they are qualified (Planning Commission, 2012). Followed by economic growth, productive employment is a key driver of inclusive economic growth since jobless growth is as dangerous as stagnation. Productive employment can increase labour productivity. Employment outcome is an important outcome of inclusiveness. The concept of productive employment as a fundamental element of inclusive growth was stressed by Bhalla (2007). The concern with the growth and distribution of employment growth was expressed by Elena and Susana (2007). India's development benefits twist towards the relatively more privileged groups. Discrimination in employment market with low levels of education on average, Dalits, Muslims, and Tribals often do not find quality employment to compensate for costs of living that have dramatically increased in urban areas; historically deprived of assets (fazal, 2010). In 2006, the *Sachar Committee Report* to the prime minister highlighted levels of deprivation at par with country's most unprivileged groups, and pointed at acute social exclusion that translates in geographic isolation and obstacles in accessing employment and welfare schemes (Sachar, Hamid, Oommen, Basith, Basant, Majeed, and, Shariff, 2006).

Again, gender discrimination is another social discrimination. Women constitute more than one-third of the workforce, but an overwhelming majority of them do not have a say in decisions within the household: without assets, they are unable to convert this financial resources into empowerment. Violence against women remains unaddressed and widely tolerated. Women are more likely than men to be barred from accessing entitlements such as education, health services or decent employment, and an overwhelming majority of them do not own land (Dobochet, 2013). In order to ensure that the benefits associated with economic and social progress are more widely shared, it is necessary to identify who is missing out and or being left out, in which areas, and why. Proper identification of such exclusions will help in undertaking appropriate policies for an inclusive India.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Thus, from the above studies it is evident that there are different perspectives of development over a long period of time. India is a country with diverse social and economic needs. Mass poverty, income inequality, unemployment, low level of education and health, gender disparity, rural-urban divide, regional imbalances etc. are some forms of exclusion of the India economy. Although India has achieved remarkable growth rates during the last few decades, but such growth has failed to reach each and every sectors and sections of the society. It implies that high economic growth does not guarantee an inclusive society. In such a situation, the concept of inclusive growth has become vital to economic development, human well-being and prosperity. Inclusive growth is necessary to maintain growth and equity, achieving sustainable development, human development, raises economic growth, equal distribution of income and wealth and creating opportunities for all. This review will definitely provide an insight to the government and other policy makers in adopting appropriate policies to achieve the goal of inclusive development or chasing alternative development strategies.

## CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

None

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

None

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