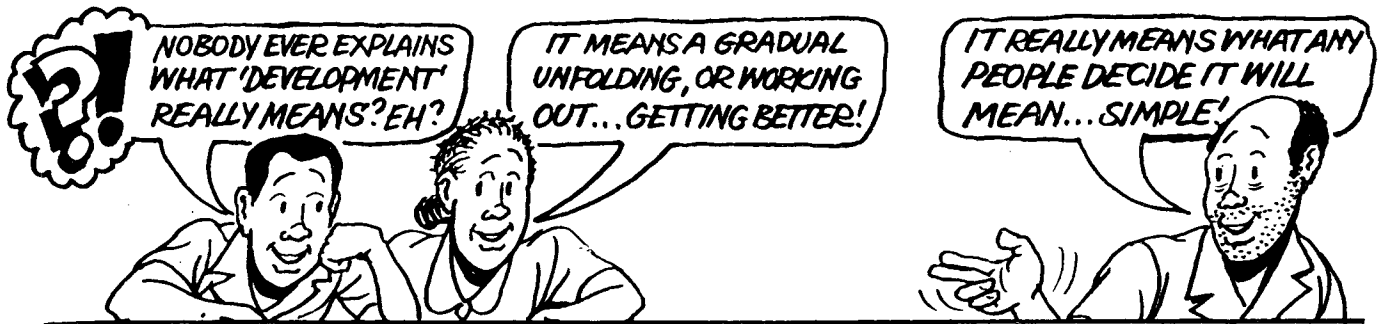


THE ENDS AND THE MEANS OF DEVELOPMENT



AUTHORITARIAN GOVERNMENTS, ALL OVER THE WORLD, HAVE ALWAYS SEEN DEVELOPMENT AS A 'TOUGH BUSINESS', WHERE IT IS 'SOFT-HEADED' TO PROVIDE SAFETY NETS FOR THE POOR ...



... OR EVEN SOCIAL SERVICES FOR THE GENERAL POPULATION, AND WHERE POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS ARE PART OF THE... 'LUXURY OF DEMOCRACY'!



BUT ... THERE IS AN ALTERNATIVE OUTLOOK, THAT SEES THE WHOLE IDEA OF DEVELOPMENT AS A 'FRIENDLY', PRO-PEOPLE PROCESS...



... NATURALLY BENEFICIAL EXCHANGES OCCUR AS ... PEOPLE LIVE OUT THEIR LIVES IN WAYS THEY HAVE FREELY CHOSEN!



YES! IT IS CONSTITUTIVE, AS THE AIM OF ALL DEVELOPMENT, AND IT IS INSTRUMENTAL IN THAT IT PROVIDES THE MEANS BY WHICH TO GET THERE!...



THESE INSTRUMENTAL FREEDOMS CAN CONTRIBUTE DIRECTLY AND INDIRECTLY TO THE GENERAL CAPABILITY OF INDIVIDUALS TO ACHIEVE DEVELOPMENT, AND TO IMPROVE SOCIETY!



THE ENDS AND MEANS OF FREEDOM

1. POLITICAL FREEDOM

The idea of political freedoms is broadly conceived, including civil rights, and referring to the opportunities people have to determine who shall govern them and on what principles. It includes the right to criticize, to have the freedom of political expression, an uncensored press, free choice in political parties, and so on. Political freedoms include all the political entitlements of democracies, with opportunities for open dialogue, dissent and critique, as well as voting rights and participatory selection of legislatures and executives.

2. ECONOMIC FACILITIES

This refers to the opportunities individuals have to utilize natural resources, or production, or exchange. These will depend upon the actual resources owned or available, as well as the conditions for exchange and the markets. The availability and access to finance can be crucial, from large enterprises to micro-credit ventures. The economic health of the national economy must be reflected in support for individual families, and widespread, growing prosperity.

3. SOCIAL OPPORTUNITIES

Social opportunities refer to the arrangements made for education, health-care, social welfare, and so on. They are important not only to the lives of individuals, but also for the effective participation of those individuals in economic and political activities. Illiteracy, for example, can be a major handicap to participation in both, particularly in increasingly globalize trade, and in the simple ability to read newspapers and communicate in writing.

4. TRANSPARENCY GUARANTEES

Society has to operate on some basic presumption of trust, and transparency guarantees deal with the need for openness, and the freedom to deal with each other expecting reciprocity. When such trust is seriously violated, the lives of many people directly and indirectly affected. Therefore these guarantees have a clear role in preventing corruption, financial irresponsibility, and underhand dealing against the public interest.

5. PROTECTIVE SECURITY

There is a need to provide a social safety net for times when some material changes affect people unexpectedly and reduce them to abject misery, starvation, and even risk of death. Such safety nets can include fixed institutional arrangements, such as unemployment benefit or relief to the indigent as income supplements, as well as relief efforts to combat famine, floods or fires, and emergency public employment to generate income for deprived or destitute people.

EACH OF THESE FREEDOMS IS CONSTITUTIVE, FUNDAMENTALLY IMPORTANT IN ITS OWN RIGHT!



YET, INSTRUMENTALLY, THEY DIRECTLY ENHANCE THE REAL CAPABILITIES OF PEOPLE...



... AND THEY CAN RE-INFORCE EACH OTHER! CAN'T THEY?



EXACTLY! PUBLIC EDUCATION, HEALTH CARE, AND A FREE PRESS, FOR EXAMPLE, ALL CONTRIBUTE TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT...



... AND EVEN HELP PEOPLE TO LIVE LONGER, IN THE PROCESS!



SO, BECAUSE THEY HELP TO RE-INFORCE EACH OTHER... THEY SHOULD ALL BE IMPLEMENTED AT THE SAME TIME?



SO YOU BENEFIT FROM THE... SYNERGIES!



THAT IS THE WHOLE POINT! IT'S A TOTAL PROCESS!



AND YOU CAN IMPLEMENT THIS PROCESS BEFORE ECONOMIC TAKE-OFF? IT'S NOT A 'LUXURY' WE CAN'T AFFORD, AS A POOR COUNTRY?



NOT AT ALL! ANY KIND OF COUNTRY CAN DO IT! BUT...

THESE INDIVIDUAL FREEDOMS ARE INFLUENCED BY THE SAFE-GUARDING OF LIBERTY, TOLERANCE, AND THE FREEDOM OF MARKET TRANSACTIONS... THIS IS VERY IMPORTANT! BUT...



... BUT THEY ALSO NEED PUBLIC SUPPORT IN BASIC EDUCATION AND HEALTH CARE, AND SO ON! — SO, WE NEED...

PROTECTION FROM THE STATE, AND STATE INTERVENTION!



YES! WE NEED TO PAY ATTENTION TO BOTH! TAKE THE CASES OF INDIA AND CHINA...



...INDIA, WITH A FREE PRESS, AND A FREE MARKET, HAS NOT HAD A FAMINE SINCE INDEPENDENCE IN 1947!



BUT CHINA, WITH A ONE PARTY STATE, EXPERIENCED THE BIGGEST RECORDED FAMINE IN HISTORY, IN 1978-1981!



ON THE OTHER HAND, IN INDIA, PUBLIC POLICY FAILED BY NEGLECTING ILLITERACY IN HALF THE POPULATION... AND WITH GENERAL HEALTH CARE!

TWO-THIRDS OF THEM ARE WOMEN!



BUT CHINA, WITH A SOCIAL COMMITMENT TO EDUCATION AND HEALTH CARE FOR ALL, HAS A HEALTHY AND EDUCATED POPULATION TO TAKE ON ALL THE CHALLENGES OF NEW MARKETIZATION WITH CONFIDENCE...



...WHILE INDIA IS STILL STRUGGLING TO PROVIDE SOCIAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE MAJORITY!



SO, IN BOTH INDIA AND CHINA, DIFFERENT CHALLENGES... PULLED THE POLICY MAKERS' IN DIFFERENT DIRECTIONS?



YES, TO PARTICULAR ASPECTS! BUT, WITH THE INTER-LINKAGES OF INSTRUMENTAL FREEDOMS, YOU CAN GO IN ANY DIRECTION YOU WANT!



“The ends and means of development call for placing the perspective of freedom at the center of the stage. The people have to be seen, in this perspective, as being actively involved—given the opportunity—in shaping their own destiny, and not just as passive recipients of the fruits of cunning development programs.”

Amartya Sen,
Development as Freedom, 1999, p.53.

