Chapter 8: Comparative Development Experiences of India and Its Neighbours

Exercises — Comparative Development Experiences of India and Its Neighbours

Q1 Why are regional and economic groupings formed?

SOLUTION

Regional and economic groupings are formed primarily because nations want to strengthen their own domestic economies in an increasingly globalised world where geographical boundaries are becoming less significant.

Countries form such groupings to create a collective economic space and to better compete — not only against developed nations but also against other developing countries — for a share of global markets.

There is also a growing eagerness among nations to understand the developmental processes of their neighbours, which helps them assess their own strengths and weaknesses. Groupings such as SAARC, the European Union, ASEAN, G-8, G-20, and BRICS serve this purpose by bringing economies together for cooperation and mutual benefit.

In short, these groupings allow member countries to pool resources, negotiate better trade terms, share development experiences, and reduce competition among themselves while presenting a united front in the wider global economy.

Answer: Regional and economic groupings are formed to strengthen domestic economies, share development experiences, compete collectively with developed nations, and secure a larger share of the global economic space.

Q2 What are the various means by which countries are trying to strengthen their own domestic economies?

SOLUTION

Nations are adopting various means to strengthen their domestic economies in response to globalisation.

First, they are forming regional and global economic groupings such as SAARC, the European Union, ASEAN, G-8, G-20, and BRICS to gain collective economic bargaining power and cooperative benefits.

Second, countries are studying and understanding the developmental processes and strategies pursued by their neighbouring nations. This helps them identify what works and what does not, allowing them to adopt successful models while avoiding known failures.

Third, countries are introducing domestic policy reforms — such as opening up to foreign investment, restructuring public sectors, promoting private enterprise, and improving social infrastructure — to boost productivity and growth.

By combining external partnerships through groupings with internal reform initiatives, countries aim to sustain growth, reduce poverty, and improve the overall standard of living of their

citizens.

Answer: Countries strengthen their domestic economies by forming regional and global groupings (SAARC, EU, ASEAN, G-20, BRICS), studying neighbours' developmental strategies, and implementing domestic policy reforms to improve productivity and attract investment.

Q3 What similar developmental strategies have India and Pakistan followed for their respective developmental paths?

SOLUTION

India and Pakistan have followed several similar developmental strategies since their independence in 1947.

Both countries adopted the mixed economy model, which involves a co-existence of public and private sectors in driving economic development.

Both created a large public sector and raised public expenditure on social development. They also followed a plan-based development model: India announced its first Five Year Plan for 1951-56, while Pakistan announced its first five year plan (now called the Medium Term Development Plan) in 1956.

Both countries also introduced policy frameworks aimed at import substitution-based industrialisation, combining tariff protection for manufacturing with controls on competing imports.

The introduction of the Green Revolution in both countries led to mechanisation and increased public investment in infrastructure in select areas, resulting in higher foodgrain production.

Until the 1980s, both countries had similar growth rates and per capita incomes, reflecting the broadly parallel nature of their developmental approaches.

Answer: India and Pakistan both adopted the mixed economy model, created large public sectors, followed plan-based development, pursued import substitution industrialisation, and introduced the Green Revolution. Both had similar growth rates and per capita incomes until the 1980s.

Q4 Explain the Great Leap Forward campaign of China as initiated in 1958.

SOLUTION

The Great Leap Forward (GLF) was a campaign initiated by China in 1958 with the aim of industrialising the country on a massive scale in a very short period of time.

Under this campaign, people were encouraged to set up industries in their backyards. This was an effort to rapidly expand industrial production by mobilising the entire population.

In rural areas, the Commune system was introduced. Under this system, people collectively cultivated lands rather than working on individual plots. By 1958, there were 26,000 communes covering almost all the farm population in China.

However, the GLF campaign met with serious problems. A severe drought caused havoc in China, killing approximately 30 million people — one of the worst famines in history.

Additionally, when China had conflicts with the Soviet Union (Russia), Russia withdrew its

professionals who had been sent to China to assist in the industrialisation process, causing further setbacks.

As a result of these failures, the GLF campaign did not achieve its intended goals. In 1965, Mao introduced the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-76), under which students and professionals were sent to work and learn from the countryside.

Answer: The Great Leap Forward (1958) aimed to rapidly industrialise China by encouraging backyard industries and establishing 26,000 communes for collective farming. It failed due to severe drought that killed about 30 million people and Russia's withdrawal of technical support.

Q5 China's rapid industrial growth can be traced back to its reforms in 1978. Do you agree? Elucidate.

SOLUTION

Yes, China's rapid industrial growth can largely be traced back to the structural reforms introduced in 1978, though some pre-reform foundations also played a role.

China introduced its reforms in phases. In the initial phase, reforms were initiated in agriculture, foreign trade, and investment sectors. In agriculture, commune lands were divided into small plots allocated to individual households. These households were allowed to keep all income from the land after paying stipulated taxes. This brought prosperity to a vast number of poor people and created conditions for subsequent growth in rural industries.

In the later phase, reforms were extended to the industrial sector. Private sector firms and township and village enterprises — owned and operated by local collectives — were allowed to produce goods. State Owned Enterprises (SOEs) were made to face competition, which improved their efficiency.

The reform process also involved dual pricing: farmers and industrial units were required to buy and sell fixed quantities at government-fixed prices, while the rest were transacted at market prices. Over the years, as production increased, the share of market-priced transactions grew.

To attract foreign investors, Special Economic Zones (SEZs) were set up, which brought in foreign capital and technology.

However, scholars also note that pre-reform foundations mattered: massive extension of basic health services in rural areas, more equitable distribution of food grains through the commune system, and the existence of small enterprises had already improved social and income indicators before 1978, helping China absorb the reforms successfully.

Thus, while the reforms of 1978 were the primary engine of rapid industrial growth — evidenced by near double-digit growth during the 1980s — the pre-reform social infrastructure also contributed to the success of those reforms.

Answer: Yes. China's 1978 reforms — agricultural decollectivisation, dual pricing, allowing private and township enterprises, competition for SOEs, and Special Economic Zones — drove near double-digit industrial growth in the 1980s. Pre-reform social infrastructure (health, food distribution, small enterprises) also aided the success of reforms.

Q6 Describe the path of developmental initiatives taken by Pakistan for its economic development.

SOLUTION

Pakistan's developmental path has gone through several distinct phases since its independence in 1947.

Pakistan follows the mixed economy model with co-existence of public and private sectors, similar to India. It announced its first five year plan (called the Medium Term Development Plan) in 1956.

In the late 1950s and 1960s, Pakistan introduced a variety of regulated policy frameworks aimed at import substitution-based industrialisation. This combined tariff protection for manufacturing of consumer goods with direct import controls on competing imports. The introduction of the Green Revolution led to mechanisation and increased public investment in infrastructure, resulting in a rise in foodgrain production and dramatic changes in the agrarian structure.

In the 1970s, nationalisation of capital goods industries took place.

In the late 1970s and 1980s, Pakistan shifted its policy orientation towards denationalisation and encouragement of the private sector. During this period, Pakistan also received financial support from western nations and remittances from emigrants to the Middle East. The government offered incentives to the private sector, creating a conducive climate for new investments.

In 1988, reforms were initiated in the country.

However, scholars note that Pakistan's economic performance has been hampered by political instability, over-dependence on remittances and foreign aid, volatile agricultural performance, and growing dependence on foreign loans. The proportion of poor, which declined from over 40 per cent in the 1960s to 25 per cent in the 1980s, started rising again in more recent decades.

In recent years, Pakistan has shown some economic recovery, with macroeconomic indicators displaying stable and positive trends.

Answer: Pakistan followed mixed economy planning from 1956, pursued import substitution industrialisation in the 1960s, implemented the Green Revolution, nationalised industries in the 1970s, then shifted to denationalisation and private sector promotion in the late 1970s-80s. Reforms began in 1988, but political instability and dependence on remittances have constrained growth.

Q7 What is the important implication of the 'one child norm' in China?

SOLUTION

The one-child norm introduced in China in the late 1970s was a major reason for China's low population growth rate, which is reflected in the near-zero and even slightly negative annual population growth seen in Table 8.1 (-0.10 per cent).

One major implication of this policy is that it led to a decline in the sex ratio — the proportion of females per 1,000 males. Scholars cite the son preference prevailing in China as a reason for

this. The chapter notes that the sex ratio is low and biased against females in all three countries (India: 930, China: 898, Pakistan: 948 per 1,000 males as per Table 8.1), with China having the lowest sex ratio among the three.

Another important implication is demographic: after a few decades, China will have more elderly people in proportion to young people. This ageing population creates challenges for the working-age population to support a growing number of elderly dependants.

This concern led China to allow couples to have two children, as a revision to the one-child norm.

Thus, while the one-child norm successfully arrested population growth and helped control resource pressure, its unintended consequences — a skewed sex ratio and an ageing population — have emerged as significant challenges.

Answer: The one-child norm arrested China's population growth but led to a decline in the sex ratio (due to son preference) and an ageing population with fewer young people to support the elderly, prompting China to later allow two children per couple.

Q8 Mention the salient demographic indicators of China, Pakistan and India.

SOLUTION

The following are the salient demographic indicators for India, China, and Pakistan based on Table 8.1 (Select Demographic Indicators, 2021-23):

Population: India has an estimated population of 1,428 million, China has 1,411 million, and Pakistan has 240 million — roughly one-tenth of the other two.

Annual Growth of Population: Pakistan has the highest population growth rate at 1.96 per cent, followed by India at 0.81 per cent. China has a near-zero or slightly negative growth rate of -0.10 per cent, largely due to the one-child norm.

Population Density: India has the highest density at 473 persons per sq. km, followed by Pakistan at 300, and China at 150 — the lowest among the three despite being the geographically largest.

Sex Ratio: The sex ratio (females per 1,000 males) is biased against females in all three countries. It is highest in Pakistan at 948, followed by India at 930, and lowest in China at 898.

Fertility Rate: Pakistan has the highest fertility rate at 3.4, India has 2.0, and China has the lowest at 1.2.

Urbanisation: China has the highest urbanisation at 65 per cent of its population living in urban areas. Pakistan has 38 per cent and India has the lowest at 36 per cent.

Answer: Key demographic indicators (2021-23): India's population is 1,428 mn (growth 0.81%, density 473/sq km, sex ratio 930, fertility 2.0, urbanisation 36%); China's is 1,411 mn (growth -0.10%, density 150, sex ratio 898, fertility 1.2, urbanisation 65%); Pakistan's is 240 mn (growth 1.96%, density 300, sex ratio 948, fertility 3.4, urbanisation 38%).

Q9 Compare and contrast India and China's sectoral contribution towards GVA/GDP. What does it indicate?

SOLUTION

Based on Table 8.3 (Sectoral Share of Employment and GDP, 2022), the following comparison can be made between India and China:

Agriculture: In India, agriculture contributes 18 per cent of GVA and employs 43 per cent of the workforce. In China, agriculture contributes only 8 per cent of GVA and employs 23 per cent of the workforce. India has a much larger share of workforce dependent on agriculture relative to its output contribution.

Industry: China's industry contributes 38 per cent of GVA and employs 32 per cent of the workforce. India's industry contributes 28 per cent of GVA and employs 26 per cent of the workforce. China's industrial sector is significantly stronger than India's in both output and employment terms.

Services: Both India and China have service sectors contributing 54 per cent of GVA. However, China's service sector employs 45 per cent of the workforce while India's employs only 31 per cent.

What does this indicate? China has followed the classical pattern of development — gradual shift from agriculture to manufacturing and then to services — with a large, productive industrial base. India and Pakistan, on the other hand, have shifted directly from agriculture to services without a strong intermediate phase of industrialisation. This has meant that India's growth has been driven primarily by the service sector, while China's growth is contributed by both the manufacturing and service sectors.

China's high industrial output and employment share has enabled faster GDP per capita growth, while India still has a large agricultural workforce producing a relatively small share of output — indicating lower productivity in that sector.

Answer: China has a strong industrial sector (38% GVA, 32% workforce) and has followed the classical agriculture-to-industry-to-services path. India's industry is weaker (28% GVA, 26% workforce) and has shifted directly from agriculture to services. Both have similar service sector GVA shares (54%), but India's growth relies more heavily on services than manufacturing.

Q10 Mention the various indicators of human development.

SOLUTION

The chapter discusses several indicators used to measure human development. These include:

Human Development Index (HDI) Value and Rank: a composite measure that summarises achievements in health, education, and income. As per Table 8.5, India has an HDI of 0.685 (rank 130), China 0.797 (rank 78), and Pakistan 0.544 (rank 168).

Life Expectancy at Birth: measures the average number of years a person is expected to live. India: 72.0 years, China: 78.0 years, Pakistan: 67.6 years.

Mean Years of Schooling: measures the average number of years of education received by people aged 15 and above. India: 6.9 years, China: 8.0 years, Pakistan: 4.3 years.

Gross National Income per capita (PPP US$): indicates the average income level. India: 9,047, China: 22,029, Pakistan: 5,501.
Proportion of people living below the poverty line (National estimates).
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000 live births): India: 25.5, China: 4.8, Pakistan: 51.
Maternal Mortality Rate (per 1 lakh births): India: 103, China: 23, Pakistan: 154.
Access to basic sanitation (% of population): India: 78%, China: 96%, Pakistan: 71%.
Access to basic drinking water source (% of population): India: 93%, China: 98%, Pakistan: 91%.
Prevalence of undernourishment (% of population): India: 17%, China: 3%, Pakistan: 19%.
The chapter also emphasises the importance of liberty indicators — such as the extent of democratic participation in social and political decision-making, constitutional protection of citizens' rights, independence of the judiciary, and rule of law — as additional measures needed to complete a comprehensive picture of human development.

Answer: Human development indicators include: HDI value and rank, life expectancy at birth, mean years of schooling, GNI per capita (PPP), proportion below poverty line, infant and maternal mortality rates, access to sanitation and drinking water, and prevalence of undernourishment. Liberty indicators (democratic participation, rule of law, judicial independence) are also considered necessary.

Q11 Define the liberty indicator. Give some examples of liberty indicators.

SOLUTION

Liberty indicators are measures that capture the degree of freedom and rights enjoyed by citizens in a country. They reflect the extent to which people participate in social and political decision-making and the protections available to them under the constitutional and legal framework.
The chapter points out that human development indicators alone — however important — are not sufficient for judging a country's true level of development. Without liberty indicators, the construction of a human development index may be considered incomplete and its usefulness limited.
Examples of liberty indicators mentioned in the chapter include:
The extent of democratic participation in social and political decision-making — this has been added as a measure in the HDI but has not been given overriding importance.
The extent of constitutional protection given to rights of citizens.
The extent of constitutional protection of the independence of the Judiciary and the Rule of Law.
The chapter notes that some of these obvious liberty indicators have not yet been formally introduced into standard human development measurement frameworks, and argues that they should be included and given significant weight.

Answer: Liberty indicators measure the freedoms and rights of citizens. Examples include: the extent of democratic participation in decision-making, constitutional protection of citizens' rights, independence of the judiciary, and the rule of law. They are needed alongside standard HDI measures to give a complete picture of development.

Q12 Evaluate the various factors that led to the rapid growth in economic development in China.

SOLUTION

Several factors contributed to China's rapid economic development, both in the pre-reform and post-reform periods.

Pre-reform foundations: Before 1978, China had established massive basic health services in rural areas and ensured more equitable distribution of food grains through the commune system. The long existence of decentralised planning and small enterprises helped improve social and income indicators. These foundations made the subsequent reforms more effective.

Agricultural reforms (post-1978): Commune lands were divided into small plots allocated to individual households. Households were allowed to keep all income from the land after paying taxes, which brought prosperity to poor people and created conditions for growth in rural industries and broader reform support.

Industrial reforms: Private sector firms and township and village enterprises were allowed to produce goods. State Owned Enterprises were made to face competition, improving efficiency.

Dual pricing mechanism: Farmers and industrial units transacted fixed quantities at government-fixed prices, while the rest were sold at market prices. As production grew, the market-priced share expanded, gradually integrating market forces.

Special Economic Zones (SEZs): These were set up to attract foreign investors, bringing in capital and technology that accelerated industrial growth.

Phased and experimental approach: Each reform measure was first implemented at a smaller level, assessed for economic, social, and political costs, and then scaled up. This careful experimentation reduced the risk of failure.

Use of market mechanism within political commitment: China used the market system without abandoning political commitment, enabling it to raise the level of growth while alleviating poverty.

Collective ownership of land with individual cultivation rights: This ensured social security in rural areas and maintained agricultural productivity while freeing labour for industry.

The result of all these factors was near double-digit industrial growth during the 1980s and sustained strong growth in subsequent decades, making China the world's second largest economy (GDP PPP of $35 trillion).

Answer: China's rapid growth stemmed from: pre-reform social infrastructure (health, food distribution), post-1978 agricultural decollectivisation, allowing private and township enterprises, competition for SOEs, dual pricing, Special Economic Zones, a phased and experimental approach to reforms, and retaining collective land ownership while using market mechanisms.

Q13 Group the following features pertaining to the economies of India, China and Pakistan under three heads: One-child norm, Low fertility rate, High degree of urbanisation, Mixed economy, Very high fertility rate, Large population, High density of population, Growth due to manufacturing sector, Growth due to service sector.

SOLUTION

The features can be grouped under the three economies as follows:

China: One-child norm; Low fertility rate (1.2 as per Table 8.1); High degree of urbanisation (65% of population in urban areas); Large population (1,411 million); Growth due to manufacturing sector (China's industrial sector contributes 38% of GVA and its growth has been driven primarily by manufacturing).

India: Mixed economy (India follows the mixed economy model with co-existence of public and private sectors); Large population (1,428 million); High density of population (473 persons per sq. km — the highest among the three); Growth due to service sector (India's shift has been directly from agriculture to services, and its growth is contributed mainly by the service sector).

Pakistan: Mixed economy (Pakistan also follows the mixed economy model); Very high fertility rate (3.4 as per Table 8.1).

Note: 'Mixed economy' applies to both India and Pakistan. 'Large population' applies to both India and China. The grouping above places each feature under the economy it most distinctively characterises based on the chapter.

Answer: China: one-child norm, low fertility rate, high degree of urbanisation, large population, growth due to manufacturing sector. India: mixed economy, large population, high density of population, growth due to service sector. Pakistan: mixed economy, very high fertility rate.

Q14 Give reasons for the slow growth and re-emergence of poverty in Pakistan.

SOLUTION

Scholars and the chapter identify several reasons for the slow growth and re-emergence of poverty in Pakistan:

First, agricultural growth and food supply were not based on an institutionalised process of technical change but on good harvests. When harvests were good, the economy performed well; when they were not, economic indicators showed stagnation or negative trends. This made growth highly volatile and unsustainable.

Second, most of Pakistan's foreign exchange earnings came from remittances from Pakistani workers in the Middle East and from exports of highly volatile agricultural products. There was no sustainable base of manufactured goods exports to provide stable foreign exchange.

Third, there was growing dependence on foreign loans along with increasing difficulty in paying back those loans, which constrained public investment and created a debt burden.

Fourth, political instability over a long period disrupted economic policy continuity and deterred investment.

The proportion of poor in Pakistan, which had declined from more than 40 per cent in the 1960s to 25 per cent in the 1980s, started rising again in recent decades due to these factors.

The reform process initiated in 1988 also led to worsening of economic indicators rather than improvement, as scholars point out. The GDP growth rate and its sectoral constituents declined compared to the 1980s.

Answer: Pakistan's slow growth and re-emerging poverty were caused by: agricultural growth dependent on good harvests rather than technical change, dependence on volatile agricultural exports and Middle-East remittances for foreign exchange, rising foreign debt, political instability, and reforms that did not improve economic indicators. The poverty rate, which fell to 25% in the 1980s, began rising again thereafter.

Q15 Compare and contrast the development of India, China and Pakistan with respect to some salient human development indicators.

SOLUTION

Based on Table 8.5 (Some Selected Indicators of Human Development, 2017-2023), the following comparison can be made:

HDI: China leads with an HDI of 0.797 (rank 78), followed by India at 0.685 (rank 130), and Pakistan at 0.544 (rank 168). This shows China is well ahead of both neighbours.

Life Expectancy: China has the highest life expectancy at 78.0 years, India at 72.0 years, and Pakistan at 67.6 years. China's health achievements are significantly better.

Mean Years of Schooling: China: 8.0 years, India: 6.9 years, Pakistan: 4.3 years. Pakistan lags well behind in education.

GNI per capita (PPP): China's is $22,029, India's is $9,047, and Pakistan's is $5,501. China's income level is roughly 2.4 times that of India.

Poverty: China has effectively eliminated extreme poverty (0.0% below national poverty line as of 2023), while India and Pakistan both have about 21.9% of their populations below their respective national poverty lines.

Infant Mortality: Pakistan has the worst infant mortality rate at 51 per 1,000 live births; India is at 25.5, and China is far better at 4.8.

Maternal Mortality: Pakistan has the highest rate at 154 per 1 lakh births, India at 103, and China at 23. India and Pakistan perform poorly on this indicator.

Sanitation: China leads at 96%, India at 78%, and Pakistan at 71%.

Drinking Water: China at 98%, India at 93%, Pakistan at 91%. All three provide basic water access to most of their populations.

Undernourishment: India (17%) and Pakistan (19%) have significantly higher undernourishment than China (3%).

Overall, China is ahead of both India and Pakistan on virtually all human development indicators. India performs moderately on most indicators and is ahead of Pakistan. Pakistan lags on almost every measure.

Answer: China leads on all major human development indicators: HDI 0.797, life expectancy 78 years, GNI per capita $22,029, infant mortality 4.8, maternal mortality 23, sanitation 96%, zero poverty. India is intermediate (HDI 0.685, life expectancy 72, GNI $9,047). Pakistan trails on most indicators (HDI 0.544, life expectancy 67.6, infant mortality 51, maternal mortality 154). India and Pakistan both have about 21.9% below national poverty lines.

Q16 Comment on the growth rate trends witnessed in China and India in the last two decades.

SOLUTION

Based on Table 8.2 (Annual Growth of GDP, 1980-2024), the following trends in growth rates can be observed for China and India:

China: In the 1980s (1980-90), China recorded remarkable near double-digit GDP growth of 10.3 per cent, making it one of the fastest-growing economies in the world at a time when many developed countries struggled to maintain even 5 per cent growth. However, in 2015-17, China's growth rate had declined to 6.8 per cent, and in 2024 it further moderated to 5.0 per cent. This represents a gradual but significant slowdown from the extraordinary growth of the 1980s.

India: India's growth in 1980-90 was 5.7 per cent — the lowest among the three countries at that time. However, India showed a significant improvement in 2015-17, reaching 7.3 per cent, which was higher than both China and Pakistan at that point. In 2024, India's growth rate stands at 6.5 per cent — ahead of China's 5.0 per cent.

The chapter notes that in 2015-17 and 2024, India met with a moderate increase in its growth rate, while China and Pakistan saw a decline. China's slowdown in recent years is attributed to structural factors as a maturing economy.

Thus, while China maintained a far higher growth rate for a longer period and achieved a much larger GDP, India has been closing the gap in growth rates in more recent years and now records a growth rate comparable to or above that of China.

Answer: China grew at a remarkable 10.3% (1980-90), but has slowed to 6.8% (2015-17) and 5.0% (2024). India started lower at 5.7% (1980-90), improved to 7.3% (2015-17) and 6.5% (2024), now growing faster than China. India has been narrowing the growth gap in recent years.

Q17 Fill in the blanks: (a) First Five Year Plan of _____ commenced in the year 1956. (Pakistan/China) (b) Maternal mortality rate is high in _____. (China/Pakistan) (c) Proportion of people below poverty line is more in _____. (India/Pakistan) (d) Reforms in _____ were introduced in 1978. (China/Pakistan)

SOLUTION

(a) Pakistan: India announced its first Five Year Plan for 1951-56. Pakistan announced its first five year plan (the Medium Term Development Plan) in 1956. China's first Five Year Plan was announced in 1953, not 1956.

(b) Pakistan: Based on Table 8.5, the maternal mortality rate in China is 23 per 1 lakh births, while in Pakistan it is 154 per 1 lakh births. Pakistan's maternal mortality rate is the highest

among the three countries.

(c) India and Pakistan (both): Based on Table 8.5, both India and Pakistan have approximately 21.9 per cent of their populations below their respective national poverty lines, whereas China has effectively eliminated extreme poverty (0.0% as of 2023). As the question asks to choose between India and Pakistan, and the data shows them equal, either could be stated. If one must be chosen, India is the larger absolute number of poor people given its larger population.

(d) China: The chapter clearly states that reforms were introduced in China in 1978. Pakistan introduced reforms in 1988 and India in 1991.

Answer: (a) Pakistan. (b) Pakistan (maternal mortality rate 154 per 1 lakh births). (c) India and Pakistan are equal at 21.9% — both are correct; China has 0%. (d) China (reforms in 1978; Pakistan's were in 1988, India's in 1991).