



M.A. SOCIOLOGY
SEMESTER - II (CBCS)

**THEORIZING DEVELOPMENT
AND GLOBALIZATION**

SUBJECT CODE: 93436

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M.A.
SEMESTER - II (CBCS)
SOCIOLOGY
THEORIZING DEVELOPMENT AND GLOBALIZATION
SYLLABUS

[CC.604][6 Credits]

Course Rationale: The course introduces students to the way development is conceptualized & contested in social science literature. It familiarizes students with the various perspectives on development, their alternatives & critiques. A review of the debates on development allows for a better understanding of contemporary issues in the field.

Unit I: Introduction

- Historical location of the ideas: progress, growth, evolution and social change
- Modernization & Development
- Human Development Index
- Environment and Development

Unit II: Theoretical Issues

- Contributions of W.W. Rostow, Paul Baran
- Contributions of A.G. Frank, S. Amin, I. Wallerstein
- Post-development-Development as discourse- A. Escobar, W. Sachs
- Globalisation and Development: Manuel Castells

Unit III: Alternatives

- M.K.Gandhi & B.R.Ambedkar
- P. Bourdieu & R. Putnam- Social Capital
- Amartya Sen/ J. Dreze - Capability / Rights Based Approach
- Gender and Development

Unit IV: Development Issues: Indian Context

- Mixed economy model (1947- 1960s)
- Centralism & Hegemony (1970s- 1980s)
- Structural adjustment & Liberalization (1990s- onwards)
- Development and Social Justice (Caste-Tribe)

Readings

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HISTORICAL LOCATION OF THE IDEAS: PROGRESS, GROWTH, EVOLUTION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Unit Structure

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Age of Enlightenment
 - 1.2.1 Major Enlightenment Ideas
 - 1.2.2 Impact of Enlightenment
- 1.3 The Concepts of Social Change, Evolution, Development and Progress
 - 1.3.1 Social Evolution
 - 1.3.2 Social Change and Progress
 - 1.3.3 Concept of Development
 - 1.3.4 The Intellectual Context of Development
- 1.4 Conclusion
- 1.5 Summary
- 1.6 Questions
- 1.7 References

1.0 Objectives

- To provide historical insights relating to the era of Enlightenment
- To examine the concepts of evolution, progress and development

1.1 Introduction

Development is a process that generates growth, progress, positive change or the addition of physical, economic, environmental, social and demographic components. The objective of development is to enhance the level and quality of life of the population, creating employment opportunities without compromising on the quality of the environment. Development is not visible immediately or is not necessarily useful, and includes various aspects of quality change and creation of conditions for a continuation of that change.

1.2 The Age of Enlightenment

Enlightenment was a powerful philosophical, intellectual and cultural movement that dominated the world of Ideas in Europe from the mid-seventeenth century to the late eighteenth century. Its central idea is that reason is the primary source of authority and legitimacy. This movement advocated such ideals as liberty, progress, tolerance, fraternity, constitutional government, and separation of Church and State. The movement emphasizes on freedom from superstition and religious dogmatism, and scientific inquiry and reductionism. Its progressive agenda included freedom of thought and the political rights of citizens.

Enlightenment has had a long lasting impact on the contemporary world. The core ideas advocated by modern democracies, including the civil society, human and civil rights and separation of powers, are the product of the Enlightenment. The academic disciplines, including social sciences and humanities; based on empirical methods have their roots in the Age of Enlightenment. All these developments went hand in hand with European exploration and colonization of the Americas, Asia, Africa and Latin America. Some historians define the Enlightenment as a starting point of European Moment in World history and the long period of European domination over the rest of the world.

1.2.1 Major Enlightenment Ideas

In the mid-18th century, there was an explosion of philosophic and scientific activity in Europe. These activities challenged the traditional doctrines and dogmas prevalent at that time. The philosophic movement was led by Voltaire and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who argued for a society based upon reason rather than faith and Catholic doctrine, for a new civil order based on natural law, and for science based on experiments and observation. The political philosopher Montesquieu introduced the idea of separation of powers in a government.

The Enlightenment thought followed two distinct trajectories. The radical enlightenment was inspired by the philosophy of Spinoza. This line of thought advocated democracy, individual liberty, freedom of expression and eradication of religious authority. The second line of thought was considered to be more moderate, and was supported by Rene Descartes, John Locke, Christian Wolff, Issac Newton and others. It aimed towards seeking accommodation between reform and the traditional systems of power and faith.

Another discipline that played a leading role in Enlightenment discourse and thought was Science. Many Enlightenment writers and thinkers hailed from background in sciences. They associated scientific advancement with the overthrow of religion and traditional authority in favour of the development of

free speech and thought. Broadly speaking, Enlightenment science greatly valued empiricism and rational thought and was embedded with the Enlightenment ideal of advancement and progress.

The Enlightenment has been considered as the foundation of modern Western political and intellectual culture. Political modernization in the West took the shape of democratic values and institutions and the creation of modern, liberal democracies. Likewise in religion, Enlightenment-era commentary was a response to the preceding century of religious conflict in Europe. Enlightenment thinkers sought to curtail the political power of organized religion and thereby prevent another age of intolerant religious war. In the meantime, the Industrial Revolution had started in England in the 1760s with the technological inventions, urbanization, and new forms of transportation and communication. At first these advances were independent of science, but at the end of the 19th century engineering and agriculture learned to build their activities upon the Baconian ideal of the ‘scientization’ of technology and applied science.

Check Your Progress

1. What do you mean by Enlightenment ?

2. Briefly explain the impact of enlightenment on society.

1.2.2 Impact of Enlightenment

The ideas of the Enlightenment played a major role in inspiring the French Revolution, which began in 1789 and emphasized the rights of common men as opposed to the exclusive rights of the elites. Enlightenment writers challenged long-held ideas about government and society. Their theories eventually inspired the American and French revolutions and other revolutionary movements in the 1800s.

The Enlightenment was both a movement and a state of mind. The Enlightenment era carved and strengthened the ideas about 'social change', 'evolution', 'development' and 'progress'. Following section will dwell on each of these concepts.

1.3 The Concepts of Social Change, Evolution, Development and Progress

Within the scope of sociological theories, social change, social evolution, social development and social progress have been often treated as synonyms. These may be treated differently, but are logically connected terms. This section looks at these terms in detail.

1.3.1 Social Evolution

Evolution, as understood in a biological sense, stands for a process in which matter moves from a simple state to a complex one. However, such development is always caused by innate qualities of such organism and not by any extraneous factor.

The Origin of Species was a profound work put forth by Darwin which helped crystallize ideas about the phenomenon of development in living organisms. However, the concept of development was reflected in the writing of some thinkers even before that. Herbert Spencer put forth the theory of organic analogy. He maintains that social evolution is only a part of the general process of evolutionary development in all living matter in the world. Society evolves from simple form into the complex form. Society fulfills the functions of integration and differentiation in its various organisms. Consequently, different social systems emerge out of the same unit of society.

Spencer delineates three stages in the evolution of society; namely: the preliminary stage is known as 'integration', the second stage as 'differentiation' and the final stage is regarded as 'determination'.

In the preliminary stages of societal development, the different units of society have to be integrated and a 'system' has to be established. For instance, the institution of the family is considered to be a basic social unit. Here the first stage

in social evolution would be the bringing together of families and their integration into a larger social unit known as society. In the second stage of development, the function of differentiation was reflected through the societies and marked by the emergence of different classes, castes and tribes. In the final stage, the different segments of society came together and set up a new social structure based on harmony. This stage of determination is characterized by social order through which harmony and equilibrium could be achieved.

McIver and Page have stressed the importance of the process of differentiation in matters of social evolution. According to them social evolution stands for an internal change within the social system itself and as a result of such change, functional differences can be brought about within the system. Primitive societies existed on the basis of a simple solidarity and division of labour was very basic; based on sex and age of individuals.

According to McIver and Page, the salient features of modern complex societies are in sharp contrast to the simple, institution-based primitive society. Traditionally speaking, diffusion of the concepts from the beginnings of the earliest civilizations in geographical region of Mesopotamia, Persia, India and China may have caused the evolutionary development of human thoughts and, therefore, of human society.

Another sociologist, Ginsberg says that evolution is a process of change culminating in the production of something new but exhibiting an orderly continuity in transition. Ginsberg's idea of evolution is that while the process of transition introduces something new, the new idea is only a continuity of some social element that is permanent. According to him, evolution means a change that comes from within but, he also emphasizes that extraneous factors also condition social evolution. Evolutionary changes in society are best understood when the subjects of society, that is, members are taken into account.

1.3.2 Social Change and Progress

Social change in the broadest sense is any change in social relations. Viewed this way, social change is an ever-present phenomenon in any society. The universal human potential for social change has a biological basis. It is rooted in the flexibility and adaptability of the human species. The human constitution makes possible changes that are not biologically (genetically) determined. Social change, in other words, is possible only by virtue of biological characteristics of the human species, but the nature of the actual changes cannot be reduced to these species traits.

Several ideas of social change have been developed in various cultures and historical periods. These are as follows: 1) the idea of decline or degeneration,

2) the idea of cyclic change, a pattern of subsequent and recurring phases of growth and decline, and 3) the idea of continuous progress. These three ideas were already prominent in Greek and Roman antiquity and have characterized Western social thought since that time. The concept of progress, however, has become the most influential idea, especially since the Enlightenment movement of the 17th and 18th centuries.

While any alteration in the structure and functioning of a social system is referred to as social change. Not all social change can be regarded as progress, for progress must mean the taking of a step forward. Within the realm of evolution, we have the stages of integration and differentiation. In this context, progress would stand for a development in a specific direction which is regarded as a step forward according to the definite criteria of value-judgments.

The concept of social change is neutral, as it does not reflect the direction of change, whether it is in the negative (regression) or positive (progression) direction. While evolution has no definite direction other than the one which is inherent and irresistible in itself, progress must stand for a march in a forward direction according to some accepted principle that is formulated by a particular principle of judgment.

Ginsberg puts forth his Idea of Progress, and states that progress 'is a development or evolution in a direction which satisfies rational criteria in value'. It is necessary to apply the test of ethical advancement made by society, if we have to measure progress.

Writers such as Comte and Spencer have maintained that any evolutionary development of society must necessarily mean that it has progress. Herbert Spencer insists that the only meaning that social evolution can have is that of progress. But these views are challenged by modern writers. McIver states in his book, 'Society' that while 'evolution' is a scientific concept, 'progress' has an ethical connotation.

Hobhouse also reiterates the same aspect relating to progress. He observes that evolution of any form does not necessarily imply that it is changing into the better form; and therefore, we cannot conclude that evolution necessarily implies that society is progressing. According to him, progress can be made only when the individual in society strives for ethical advancement. Social progress, therefore, is not a phenomenon marked by spontaneity; rather, it is a product of conscious effort made by members of a society.

The concept of progress visualizes an ideal society in which every individual will have the opportunity of developing his innate qualities that all social relations will be based on the principles of liberty and equality, and in which institutions will

work to achieve the collective good and welfare of its members. However, seen in this sense, the concept of progress cannot be understood without applying the test of values and is a matter of value judgments. Evolution, as a concept, does not depend upon these values.

Scholars observe that the society in which scientific development is hindered will not progress, while the one which encourages such development will have chances of making progress. This observation about social progress can remain scientific in so far as it is based on social facts and not merely ethical considerations.

In recent times there is a recognition that advances in technical knowledge cannot ensure social and moral progress. There is a fear that scientific knowledge may be used for destructive purposes and may outpace and arrest the growth of its power for good.

Social scientists do not agree with the idea of progress for several reasons. In the first place, there is no universal agreement on the standards of value, as a result of which it is difficult to state whether there is progress or not. Evolution or change is an objective condition. Progress, on the other hand, implies a value judgment because it necessarily means 'change for the better'. Secondly, since there is interdependence between all components of the society, change at any point is likely to precipitate changes at other points. Some of these changes may be undesirable. Therefore, social change can pose as a blessing or a boo , values change over time. What is universally recognized as progressive at one period of time may be considered as regressive, deviant, or undesirable at other period of time.

Despite these drawbacks, the idea of progress has not lost its vigour. It is so deeply rooted in the modern mind that its critics never reject it entirely. MacIver observes that faith in progress cannot be eradicated as it is an integral part of human life. We are entitled to deny the reality of progress, however, as human beings we cannot stay away from the concept of progress.

Check Your Progress

1. Explain the Concept of Evolution.

1.3.3 Concept of Development

‘Development’ became the buzz word across the world since the period following the Second World War. Right from the inception, the processes of social and economic development were considered to be integral to a society. However, the emergence of the concept of development as it is currently used, dates back to the early nineteen fifties. The post Second World War period witnessed the process of decolonization and the simultaneous domination of the concept of ‘Development’ in academic literature. During this period, the proactive role of the International Agencies in assisting the war affected nations to rebuild their economies was clearly seen. The nation building process initiated by the newly liberalized countries gave a boost to the concept of development. At the same time, 1960s was declared as the ‘Development Decade’ by the United Nations. This led to publication of literature on the concept in which development was referred to as ‘growth’. Progress, ‘increase in per capita income’, etc. But soon it was realized that the earlier definition of development was uni-dimensional relating to economic implications only. It affected other dimensions of the society, thus drawing sociological interest. Overall, development was understood as a positive process, which was meant to benefit the society and contribute to the improvement in quality of life and conditions of living.

The concept of ‘development’ in its earliest form referred to the opposite of wrapping or bundling, thus unfolding or unrolling. In the 18th century it came to be metaphorically associated with the sense of ‘developing the faculties of the human mind’. In common parlance, development describes a process through which the potentialities of an object or organism are released, until it reaches its natural, complete, full-fledged form. In this format, the concept of development seems to be an extension of the discipline of biology, in close relation to the ideas of evolution. Through this metaphor it became possible to show the goal of development and much later its programme.

The last quarter of the eighteenth century witnessed the transfer of the biological metaphor to the social sphere. Further, the concept of development evolved from a conception of Transformation that towards the ‘appropriate’ form of being, to a conception of transformation that moves towards an ‘ever more perfect’ form. In the mid-19th century the idea of a society passing through definite ‘evolutionary’ stages was being expressed as ‘Development’ - which in turn was defined as, ‘later manifestations being potentially present in the earliest elements’. Implicit in this notion was the idea of ‘progress’. During this period, evolution and development began to be used as interchangeable terms by scientists.

Development can be defined as the process of economic and social transformation that is based on complex cultural and environmental factors and their interactions. Prof. Yogendra Singh defines development as “a strategy of planned social change which is considered desirable by the members of a society.”

Thomas (2000) explains the three connotations of the word ‘development’.

- **Development as a vision:** It is important to challenge the restricted view of what development is. The vision of development should focus on the description of how a desirable society should be.
- **Development as a historical process:** Social change that takes place over long periods of time due to inevitable processes. In this scenario, development refers to the unavoidable results of progress like both capitalism and communism.
- **Development as action:** Deliberate efforts to change things for the better, for eg: Providing food aid to alleviate hunger, societal conditions and improving quality of life etc.

1.3.4 The Intellectual Context of Development

The founding fathers of sociology, in their own ways were concerned with the concept of development. By the end of the 19th century, the word ‘development’ had accumulated a whole variety of meanings.

The concept of development though was not explicitly used, finds its essence in August Comte’s ‘Law of Three Stages’. Comte’s theory of social statics and social dynamics raised some questions in the broad area of development. Emile Durkheim’s ideas on the progress of society were reflected through the notions of mechanical and organic solidarity. Herbert Spencer’s evolutionary theory and Max Weber’s ideas on the growth of modern capitalism were associated with the concept of development.

Karl Marx understands the ideas of progress of societies through different epochs. Marx posed the problem in a more direct manner and has since been a perennial influence on the growth and diversification of development theory. In fact, ‘Development’ became the central highlight of Marx’s works. Development was understood as a historical process that unfolds with the same necessary character of natural laws. Both the Hegelian concept of history and the Darwinist concept of evolution were interwoven in ‘development’, and were supported by the scientific aura of Marx.

In this context, it is necessary to understand the inseparable links that bind ‘development’ with the set of words with which it was shaped specifically:

growth, evolution maturation. Development has always implied a favourable change, a step from the simple to complex, a movement from the inferior to the superior, from worse to better. The word indicates that advancement is necessary, an inevitable universal law and toward a desirable goal. The word proceeds to have the same meaning given to it a century ago by the creator of ecology, Haeckel. According to Haeckel, “Development is, from this minute on, the magic word with which we will solve all the mysteries that surround us or, at least, that which is able to direct us toward their solution.’

In gradual course of time, ‘development’ came to be seen as a fundamental and unavoidable destiny of all human orders. The industrial mode of production, which was no more than one, among many forms of social life, became the definition of the terminal stage of a unilinear way of social evolution. Hence, history was reformulated in Western terms. The metaphor of development gave global hegemony to a purely Western genealogy of history, robbing people of different cultures of the opportunity to define the forms of their social life.

It is however instructive, at this point, to remind ourselves of the ‘Eurocentric’ nature of the ‘development discourse’. Thus for two-thirds of the people on earth, this positive meaning of the world ‘development’ – significantly established after two centuries of its social construction – is a reminder of ‘what they are not’. It is a reminder of an undesirable, undignified condition. To escape from it they need to be enslaved to other’s experiences and dreams.

The definition of ‘development’ and its associated terms have been always controversial over time. As Thomas argues, development as a concept is ‘contested, complex and ambiguous’. The Wolfgang Sachs edited ‘Development Dictionary’ first published in 1992 characterized the last 40 years as the ‘age of development’ while simultaneously asserting that “this epoch is coming to an end and that the time has come to write its obituary”.

1.4 Conclusion

Development, progress and its allied terms are part of social processes which are rooted in the Enlightenment era. These processes have not got uniform patterns all over the globe as humanity is diversely located in terms of its economic, geographic, technological and political advancement. In this unit we have discussed the Enlightenment era and its influence on the ideas of development and progress. We have also discussed each of the concepts of evolution, social change, progress and development in detail. This unit has laid the foundation for a broad analysis of sociology of development which would be followed in the subsequent units of this course.

1.5 Summary

Development is a process that generates growth, progress, positive change or the addition of physical, economic, environmental, social and demographic components.

The Enlightenment was both a movement and a state of mind. The Enlightenment era carved and strengthened the ideas about 'social change', 'evolution', 'development' and 'progress'.

Evolution, as understood in a biological sense, stands for a process in which matter moves from a simple state to a complex one.

Any alteration in the structure and functioning of a social system is referred to as social change.

The Idea of Progress states that progress 'is a development or evolution in a direction which satisfies rational criteria in value'.

Development can be defined as the process of economic and social transformation that is based on complex cultural and environmental factors and their interactions.

1.6 Questions

1. Examine the main ideas of the Enlightenment era.
2. Discuss how the concepts of progress and development are related to the Enlightenment period.

1.7 References:

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MODERNISATION & DEVELOPMENT

Unit Structure

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Modernization
- 2.3 Approaches to Modernization
 - 2.3.1 The Ideal Type Approach
 - 2.3.2 The Diffusionist Approach
 - 2.3.3 The Psychological Approach
 - 2.3.4 The Historical Approach of Radical Social Scientist
 - 2.3.5 The Marxist Approach
- 2.4 The Strengths and Weaknesses of Modernization Theories
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 Questions
- 2.7 References

2.0 Objectives

- Understand the meaning of the term modernization
- To trace the origins of the modernization theory and to focus on the main tenets of modernization theory.
- To critically evaluate the five major approaches of this theory
- To understand Daniel learners important work the passing of Traditional society (1958)
- To critically evaluate the strengths and weakness of the modernization theories.

2.1 Introduction:

The term 'modernisation' became very popular in western social science in the 1960's. In the first development decade of the 1950s, development theory, practice and policy was dominated by the modernization approach and this

continued into the 1960s. The ideological framework proposed by the modernization approach was essentially Western and pro-capitalist. It formed part of the process of Westernization of developing countries. Before moving further, let us trace the beginnings of modernization theory. Conceptually, Modernization Theory was predicated on two distinctive and yet interrelated disciplines:

A - The Classical Evolutionary Theory

B - Functionalist Theory

(A) The Classical Evolutionary Theory (Comte, Durkheim et.al assumed the following:

1. Social change is unidirectional, from a primitive to an advanced state, thus the fate of human evolution is predetermined.
2. The movement toward the final phase is good because it represents progress, humanity, and civilization, the latter three concepts defined in accordance with Western European cultural parameters.
3. It assumed that the rate of social change is slow and gradual. Most importantly, social change, in accordance with Charles Darwin approach to biological development, was evolutionary not revolutionary.
4. From above, the process (from primitive to complex modern societies) will take centuries to complete.

(B) Functionalist Theory, as outlined by Talcott Parsons, 1951, had the following tenets:

1. Human society is like a biological organism, with different parts corresponding to the different institutions that makeup a society;
2. Each institution performs a specific function for the good of the whole, thus there are four crucial functions that every institutions must perform to maintain the social fabric:
 - (i) **Adaptation to the environment** - performed by the economy, but not any economic system, only capitalism can adapt to the environment.
 - (ii) **Goal attainment** - performed by the government, pursuing liberal alms as defined by English and French thinkers.
 - (iii) **Integration** - (linking the institutions together) - performed by the legal institutions and religion. But not any religion. Branches of the Judeo- Christian religions were the right ones.
 - (iv) **Latency** - the maintenance and transmission of values from generation to generation-performed by the family as a historical basic human organization, an education.

Functionalist theory stated that societies tend toward harmony, stability, equilibrium and the status quo. Any behavior jeopardizing these conditions will be considered anti-social and therefore punishable, etc.

Functionalism, or its 'related theories of Structural Functionalism (Malinowski, Talcott Parsons) and Systems Theory has been one of the most influential of all social science theories, not only in political science and sociology, but also in anthropology. Much of its origins depends on analogies with biological systems, and in just the way that a biologist might study the role of some physiological aspect, some set of cells, in the maintenance of life, functionalists have tried to understand what are the necessary "functions" that must be carried out in any political system if it is to cope with its environment and achieve its goals, and to locate the "structures" (political parties, socializing agencies like churches, family, etc.) which facilitate the functioning.

The notion of Economic Development in the Less Developed Countries (often regarded as synonymous with Industrialisation) is a post-World War phenomenon. The strategy which advocated and promoted economic development and modernization in the newly-emergent nation-states of the Africa/Asia/Latin America (i.e. those within the Western sphere of influence) was formalized in the body of Modernization Theory.

After the Second World War, the world was divided into three major groups:

- (i) The socialist countries (those with planned economies) like the then U.S. S. R., China, Mongolia, North Korea, Vietnam, Cuba and others.
- (ii) The developed capitalist countries with market economies, like U. S. A., Canada, Western Europe, Japan, etc.
- (iii) And finally, the underdeveloped countries (Third World) based on market economy and comprising of Africa, Asia, South America, Latin America, etc. (which were recently decolonizing themselves were in search of a new development model).

These under developed societies, which constitute more than two thirds of humanity, are characterized by certain features namely;

- (i) Predominance of animal and human power over inanimate power-such as steam, electricity or atomic energy as basis of production.
- (ii) Low per capita income, dependency on the primary sector of the economy, use of traditional technology and inadequate growth of infrastructural facilities like roads, power plants, ports, etc.

Large number of population living in the rural areas and are still dependent on agriculture. There is very low degree of urbanization.

Level of standard of living of the average individual is very low. There is deficiency in the nutritional intake, basic civic amenities are absent, individuals live in unhygienic conditions and are susceptible to many diseases. Illiteracy is rampant and there is high rate of mortality.

Individuals possess a traditional, primitive, irrational, complacent outlook towards life. They are entrenched in superstitions, have low levels of work discipline and no sense of achievement orientation.

Check Your Progress

1. Briefly explain Classical Sociological Theory?

2. Briefly explain functionalism.

2.2 Modernization

According to scholars, the process of modernization sums up the changes that combine to convert an agricultural or underdeveloped society with a weak state into an industrialized society with a relatively efficient, active government. The modernization process embraces changes that leads up to this industrialization and urbanization.

According to Wilbert Moore, 'modernization is a 'total' transformation of a traditional or pre-modern society into the types of technology and associated social organization that characterizes the "advanced", economically prosperous and relatively stable nations of the Western World'.

Similarly, Daniel Lerner defined modernization as "the process of social change in which development is the economic component".

According to the view prevailing at the time, based on both economic and social interpretations, the countries of the former colonial empires could be seen as having a dual economy, comprising of two sectors, a modern sector which had come into being as a result of colonialism, and a traditional sector which was still based on the precolonial past. This traditional sector was seen as an obstacle to development and in order for the economy to grow and for development to take place in the country, it had to be transformed and be modernized. For economic change to take place it was believed that there should first be social change. This was because it was considered that the value systems of traditional or underdeveloped societies, which emphasized collective ideals and action based on kinship and community, hampered development and prevented the mobility necessary for individual endeavour and achievement along capitalist lines.

Based on this line of thinking, the main tenets of Modernisation Theory are as follows:

- (i) It emphasizes a high degree of structural differentiation and specialization.
- (ii) It is based on a mode of production that has come to be known as the capitalist mode of production. It is implied for this that social order is constituted around two important classes - Capitalist, which owns the means of production, and the Working Class, which sells its labour in this process.
- (iii) It is essentially a wage labour economy. It highlights the growth of a market economy in which both buyers and sellers are seen as individuals capable of engaging in a rational choice and operating within a framework of voluntarism.
- (iv) The theory basically highlights the growth of bureaucratic institutions which themselves are constructed on principles of rationality and role differentiation. It is these bureaucratic organizations that are seen as being the foundations of this theory.
- (v) The theory also emphasizes the growth of a political system based on the principle of right as crystallized within the notion of state and mediated through a set of constitutional principles,

- (vi) The powers of the state are absolute and there is a democratic process based on the principle of political representation and adult franchise.
- (vii) This process of democratization of society has led to the existence of various interest groups within the political process who represent various competing ideologies that highlight the different ways in which the affairs of the state are to be managed.
- (viii) Modernisation theory also emphasizes the growth of individualism, wherein the individual and individual rights are seen as being at the center of all social, economic and political development.
- (ix) Finally, the modernization theories are also emphasizing the idea of social progress and through the process of democratization it is possible for societies to achieve higher levels of individual and social emancipation.

Check Your Progress

1. Explain what is Modernization ?

2.3 Approaches to Modernization

From the sociological point of view, the process of modernization has yielded a vast amount of writing. Modernization theory is not a unified approach therefore, we will broadly analyse five major approaches which are dominant today.

- (i) The Ideal-Typical Approach.
- (ii) The Diffusionist Approach.
- (iii) The Psychological Approach.
- (iv) The Historical Approach of Radical Social Scientists.
- (v) The Marxist Approach

The first three approaches have dominated American thought and received immense support and patronage all over, especially in the fifties and sixties.

There is a lot of literature available on these approaches.

The fourth approach has emerged as a challenge to the other three approaches and offers a critique of their main tenets.

Similarly, the Marxist approach is also opposed to the other four approaches. The Ideal Typical Approach:

This approach has manifested itself in two major variants, namely;

- (i) The Pattern Variable Approach.
- (ii) Historical Stage Approach.

2.3.1 The Pattern Variable Approach

This approach is derived from Max Weber's concept of Ideal Type which was later systemized by Talcott Parson's. According to This approach, characteristics of development and underdevelopment must be located and then programmes and schemes of development be made whereby, underdeveloped countries discard the pattern variables of underdevelopment and adopt those of development.

The sociological model developed by Neil Semelser in 1959 was inspired by the work of Talcott Parsons, whose structural-functionalist approach to social action combining Durkheimian and Weberian views had been very influential in the post-war period to about the 1960s (the pattern variables of Parsons underlie Semelser's differentiation model).

According to Semelser, the modernization process was seen as being made up of four sub-processes:

- (a) The modernization of technology, leading to a change from simple traditionalized techniques to the application of scientific knowledge;
- (b) The commercialization of agriculture, which is characterized by the move from subsistence to commercial farming, leading to a specialization in cash-crop production and the development of wage-labour;
- (c) Industrialization, which depicts the transition from the use of human and animal power to machine power;
- (d) Urbanization, which brings about the movement from farm and village to the large urban centers.

These processes sometimes occur simultaneously and sometimes at different rates. E. g. in many colonial situations, agriculture becomes commercialized without industrialization. Nevertheless, these four processes affect social structure of traditional society in similar ways.

Firstly, as a result of these changes taking place simultaneously or at ' different rates, traditional societies became more structurally differentiated. For Semelser a

developed economy and society is characterized by a highly differentiated structure, whilst an underdeveloped one is relatively lacking in differentiation. By 'differentiation' Semelser meant the process by which more specialized and more autonomous social units were established. He saw this as occurring in several different spheres of traditional society, in the economy, the family, political system and religious institutions. For example, as cash cropping is introduced, it leads to the separation of consumption and production activities of the household; wage labour undermines the family production system, which is no longer the basic unit of production. Thus the nature and functions of the family change. Apprenticeship within the family declines, pressures develop against the recruitment of labour along kinship lines, the pattern of authority is transformed as elders lose the control they exercised and the nuclear family becomes differentiated from the extended family. Marriage norms may also change as more emphasis is given to personal choice in the selection of mates and as women become more independent economically, politically and socially. Individual mobility increases as people are recruited to various occupational, political and religious positions based on achievement rather than ascription. Multifunctional religious and political roles are replaced by more specialized structures.

So structural differentiation is the process whereby one social role or organization... differentiates into two or more roles or organizations which function more effectively in the new historical circumstances. The new social units are structurally distinct from each other, but taken together are functionally equivalent to the original unit.

Secondly, as these differentiated units merge into larger units of the modern type new relationships, which are not based on kinship, develop. This Semelser calls the process of integration. For example, the move from a pre-modern political structure, where political integration is closely bound up with kinship status, tribal membership and control of basic economic resources often with mystical sanctions being attached, to a modern type characterized by the existence of specialized political parties, pressure groups and state bureaucracy formed in which people from different ethnic groups in the country are represented.

Thirdly, Semelser shows that through such differentiation, social disturbances, such as mass hysteria, outbursts of violence, religious and political movements may occur, which reflect uneven processes of change. This can lead to conflict between the old and new orders of society. In other words, it produces what Durkheim called 'anomie' or normlessness, a state of conflicting norms in society and a culture of discontent, where people are unable to realize their aspirations and may turn to violence, crime and other anti-social behaviour or to self-destructive acts such as suicide. As Weber also showed, at the religious level, the process of secularization causes disenchantment, fragmentation between competing or

partial worldviews, social and private worlds become meaningless and there is a sense of despair and hopelessness. One of the reactions to modernization has been the emergence of fundamentalist movements that reject modern values and preach a return to traditional ones.

Check Your Progress

1. Explain any 2 approaches of Modernization.

2.3.2 Historical Stage Approach:

In this approach apart from identification of gap between characteristics of development and underdevelopment, it also specifies the intermediate stages and their characteristics. This approach is mainly associated with Rostow and his economic model developed in 1960.

Walt Rostow was an economic historian who served as an adviser to the American government. His book entitled *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*, which was published in 1960 clearly reflected the pro-capitalist ideological orientation of the modernization approach. His model was neo-evolutionary in nature and derived from the idea in earlier evolutionary theory that change and development take place according to a set of ordered sequences. Rostow's model was based on the British Industrial Revolution.

According to Rostow, the processes of change were simpler and self-sustaining economic growth could be achieved by following a five stage mode of growth. He suggested that 'All societies can be placed in one of five categories, or stages of economic growth'.

Stage 1: the traditional society

Stage 2: the preconditions for take-off

Stage 3: take-off

Stage 4: drive to maturity

Stage 5: high consumption

The first stage: The Traditional Society:

The essential feature of this society is that output is limited because of the inaccessibility of science and technology. Values are generally "fatalistic", and political power is noncentralized. Large number of people are employed in agriculture, which has very low productivity because of the factors mentioned above. In such a society, family and clan groupings are emphasized in the social organization.

The second stage: The Preconditions for take-Off:

This second stage of growth is one of transition. A traditional society does not move directly into the process of industrialization, first certain preliminaries need to take place.

There are clusters of new ideas favouring economic progress arising, and therefore new levels of education, entrepreneurship, and institutions capable of mobilizing capital like bank, etc. investment increases, especially in transport, communications and raw materials, with a general direction toward commercial expansion. But, in accordance with Rostow, traditional social structures and production techniques remain. There is the presence of a "dual society".

The third stage: The Take-Off:

In this stage finally the old, traditional order and resistances are overcome. New forces, which mobilize economic growth, expand and dominate the society. Agriculture is commercialized, there is a growth in productivity, because that is necessary if the demand emanating from expanding urban centers is to be met. New political groups representing new economic groups push the industrial economy to new heights. In Britain, Canada and the United States, the proximate stimulus for take-off was mainly, though not entirely, technological. The take-off period began in Britain after 1783, in France and the United States around 1840, in Russia in about 1890 and in countries like India and China around 1950.

The fourth stage: The Drive to Maturity:

In this stage, the growing economy drives to extend modern technology in all its economic activities, Between 10 and 20 per cent of gross domestic product is invested and the economy takes its place in the international order. Technology becomes more complex, refined and there is a move away from heavy industry. Now production is not the outcome of social necessity but of the need of maximizing profits to survive in a competitive capitalist market.

The fifth stage: Mass Consumption:

In this final stage, the leading economic sectors specialize in durable consumer goods and services. All this stage, economic growth makes sure that basic needs are satisfied and more resources are allocated for social welfare and social security. The emergence of the welfare state is an example. Durable consumer goods and services are diffused on a mass basis.

Rostow thought of his theory as a dynamic one Le..."that deals not only with economic factors but also with social decisions and policies of governments".

The assumptions underpinning Rostow's schema may be summarized as follows:

- Modernization is characterized by "phases", and the stages in this process are common to all societies thus, this assumption put the theory outside historical development.
- Modernization is a homogenizing process. As such, societies tend toward convergence: which can justifies cultural imperialism by the central powers.
- Modernization replicates European/North American values/Wodd-view, the nations of Western Europe and the United States are the models that late comes would like to emulate.
- Modernization is characterized by "phases", and the stages in this process are common to all societies thus, this assumption put the theory outside historical development.
- Modernization is a homogenizing process. As such, societies tend toward convergence: which can justify cultural imperialism by the central powers.
- Modernization replicates European/North American values/world-view. The nations of Western Europe and the United States are the models that latecomers would like to emulate.
- Modernization is an irreversible process. In other worlds, once the underdeveloped societies come into contact with the Western European and North American societies, they will not able to resist the "impetus toward modernization". Towards adopting capitalist relations of production, that is.
- Modernization is a progressive process. Modernization creates agonies and suffering for many, but that is "the right price" to pay.
- Modernization is a lengthy process. It is an evolutionary change, not a revolutionary change.

- Modernization is a transformative process, societies must abandon traditional ways of thinking, traditional ways of human relations. In a word, societies must drop traditional structures, cultures and values, and adopt those of Western Europe and North American societies today.

Critical Examination of Rostow's Theory:

- (i) Rostow has been criticized by many on the basis of the teleological approach. Teleological Approach is one where the purpose, which is not explicitly intended by any-one, is fulfilled, while the process of fulfillment is presented as an inevitable sequence of events. In Rostow's model, policies are the result of development and not vice versa, and this is unacceptable to many, as policies of a state should be chosen and not just merely adopted.
- (ii) Also one cannot assume that every country will have a similar past and future. So generalizations of any sort are not possible,
- (iii) It is felt by many scholars that characteristics of stages might overlap or spill into the other stages, For example, the pre-conditions stage things may continue in the take-off stage and could also get carried further beyond this stage also.
- (iv) Critics feel that Rostow plays down all the obstacles and never discusses them. Therefore, it is felt by many that his approach is conceptually vague and empirically superficial. In the take - off stage, it is felt that merely a shift from agriculture to other sectors is not enough. For example, while Denmark, Canada and France attained this shift, in other countries like Russia, Sweden, Germany, etc it did not take place to the extent conceived by Rostow.
- v) Similarly, it has also been pointed out by extents that Rostow failed to take into consideration other aspects, like the 'bumps, crash landings and nose dive crashes' in his take-off stage. He has failed to discuss:
 - * The hauled take-off (in which progress is limited)
 - * The assisted take-off (in which the economy can be catapulted by something else)
 - * The self-propelled take off (which as the name suggests, is a very powerful take-off like a rocket).
- (vi) Rostow also failed to consider that an economy-could reach the fifth stage without going through all the stages or a particular stage. For instance, it has been pointed out that countries like Canada and Australia entered the stage

of mass consumption even before reaching the stage of maturity. This was happening, in recent times, with the oil rich countries also.

- (vii) Following the same argument, it has also been argued that the last stage of mass consumption may not be reached at all. This could be due to the fact that inflation can reduce the levels of consumption in a society.
- (viii) There are limits to a particular country's growth, As there might be instances when a particular country should be regarded as 'fully developed' even though it might not have reached the standards of the Western countries like the U. S. A, etc. because it have exhausted all its natural resources, manpower and capital, which set the limit of growth.
- ix) Finally, with respect to the less developed countries, it is felt that Rostow did not take into account crucial factors like unemployment, under-employment, poverty, lack of infrastructure, nature of the government, etc.

2.3.2 The Diffusionist Approach:

This approach views development as a process in which there is a diffusion of cultural elements from the developed to the under developed countries. The underlying assumption is that the under developed countries cannot overcome their backwardness without assistance from the developed countries. There is diffusion of capital, technology, Knowledge, skills, institutions including values and so on. These scholars perceive this aid as a sacrifice on part of the developed countries for the benefit of the backward and suffering underdeveloped countries. If still a society does not reach the level of modernity and development as projected by them, then it is blamed on the inherent weaknesses present in the under developed-backward societies, like demographic factors, presence of traditional institutions, beliefs, values, etc. (See characteristics of under developed societies presented earlier).

2.3.3 The Psychological Approach:

This approach is mainly associated with McClelland, Kunkel, Hagen and others. According to McClelland, a society with a high level of achievement will produce energetic entrepreneurs who, in turn, will produce a more rapid economic development. This is because a high level of achievement among people makes them behave in ways which help them fulfill their entrepreneurial roles successfully. Therefore, the crucial factor for economic and cultural development, according to this approach, is the presence of achievement motivation among members. This leads to a planned and concentrated growth and development.

2.3.4 The Historical Approach of Radical Social Scientist

This approach focuses on concrete historical studies of both developed and under developed societies and recognizes the fact that conflicts and tensions of various kinds are present in both, the developed and the under developed societies. This approach has many strands and the main postulates of this approach are sometimes characterized as "new sociology", "radical sociology", "conflict sociology", etc. this approach is especially associated with C. Wright Mills. (His Work Sociological Imagination is considered very important).

The main features of this approach can be summarized as follows,

- * It emphasizes a historical study of both developed and under developed societies,
- * It evolves policies of development on the basis of its concrete findings, and

The creative role of conflicts is highlighted. Though this is different from the approach because here though the role of conflict is recognized, class conflict, as considered to be central. Further, the capitalist class is not considered to be the ruling class in either the developed or the underdeveloped societies.

This approach is severely critical of the first three approaches. The following criticisms have been levied by this approach:

- (i) According to this approach, the other three approaches are based on principles which tend to be abstract and formal.
- (ii) Secondly, these theories perceive change not as it happens actually in history but as transformation of one equilibrium of ideal type to another equilibrium of ideal type. They tend to force reality into abstract ideal-typical social systems rather than concretely evolving social structures.
- (iii) Therefore, as a result, it is felt that the critical spirit disappears in these approaches.
- (iv) Finally, it is argued that these approaches have committed the fallacy of trying to derive particulars of human behaviour in any specified given society on the basis of certain formulas and models that they have evolved.

2.3.5 The Marxist Approach,

This approach accepts the fundamentals of the Marxist philosophical and sociological postulates. According to this approach, the underdevelopment of some countries and the development of others, is linked to the emergence of the modern capitalist system on a global scale. So the causes of under development and the problems arising out of this are blamed on the growth of capitalism.

According to this theory, the relationship between the developed capitalist countries and the underdeveloped countries is not one of harmony and co-operation; instead there is a subtle and indirect subjugation of the latter under the guise of "aid". It is argued that the developed world is transforming the underdeveloped societies into their neo-colonial dependencies and the entire image of "aid", "assistance", and "Support" and diffusion of skills, techniques, capital and modernized institutions and values is false and deceptive. The aid itself is seen as the basic obstacle to overcoming backwardness.

Followers of this approach, further state that the policies and schemes for development pursued by the ruling class of the advanced capitalist countries are based on a theory of development which relies on strengthening and furthering the interests of the propertied class and the rich.

Therefore it is postulated that, a policy of development will only be successful if it is based on achieving the reliance of the working class.

The Marxist Approach also presents a critique of the other three approaches which are;

- * the other approaches failed to explain the true character of under development and its causes,
- * they did not consider the real alternative on the path for development, which is, Socialism.

Daniel Lerner and his important work *The Passing of Traditional Society* (1958)

One of the most famous of early modernization studies was carried on by Daniel Lerner. In his major work *The Passing of Traditional Society* (1958), he examined the process of modernization in several Middle East countries, carried out a sample survey in other under developed societies and supplemented all this with his observations of village society.

Lerner's premise is that modernization is a global process occurring in a similar manner the world over, and the role of indices of development like mass media, urbanization, increase in literacy, etc. are responsible for the emergence of a new economic order. According to Lerner, modernity is result of not merely institutional changes in society but also due to changes in the personality of people. He had illustrated this with his account of the grocer and the chief in the village of Balgat situated in Turkey.

For Lerner one of the crucial aspects of modernization is the development of a 'mobile personality' which is characterized by rationality and empathy. Empathy is the capacity to see oneself in the other person's situation, and this enables people

to operate efficiently in a changing world. Modernization, then, is characterized by a high degree of literacy, urbanism, media participation and empathy.

As mentioned above, Lerner had carried out questionnaires, and on the basis of the responses he had classified the respondents into traditional, transitional or modern. He found that compared to the 'traditional' individuals, the 'moderns' were happier, better informed and relatively young, and the people placed in the 'transitional' category were inclined to be discontented and liable to extremism, especially if their progress was blocked by a lack of suitable political institutions.

But Lerner was aware of the fact that although the people placed in the 'modern' category seemed happier, there were difficulties in development, for example, strains may be put on the government, there are problems of social control, etc. Similarly, there are personal problems at an individual level, for example, individuals placed in the 'transitional' category may have to adjust traditional Arab and Muslim beliefs to a 'modern' setting. (His study was conducted in the Middle East).

Lerner's basic premises can be briefly summarized as follows;

- * There is a classification of society into traditional, modern (like the other approaches), plus an intermediate category.
- * Focus on indices of modernity like urbanization, literacy, mass media, etc.
- * Importance is given to specific personality types in the process of modernization.

2.4 The Strengths and Weaknesses of Modernization Theories:

In analyzing the assets of modernization theory, it should be understood that this school of thought emerged in the early years of the 1950s, and began to disappear in the 1970s when belief in it started to wane. In light of this, it could be presupposed that the weaknesses outnumber the strengths; otherwise the theories would still be relevant today.

The strengths are:

The main quality of modernization theory is that of its simplicity - the objective is already visible in the image of the West, and the path to follow is laid out by the history of Western evolution. All that remains is for the traditional society to recognize what is needed, from examination of other 'take-off's' to modernity, for their own culture to evolve. Having already achieved their goal, the modern societies can assist in the evolution of the traditional society (although in reality this is far from the truth), by reference to their own history, and to essentially

modernization becomes a form of mimicking - a case of 'what works for them - would work for us.' The same concept was already covered in the term 'Westernisation' referring to the mimicking of the West), but the word 'modernisation' has far less -geocentric connotations, and as a result gains much more affection from developing societies are keen to retain some sense of their own history.

However, the strengths of modernization theory also lead to its weaknesses. A few of them are presented below:

- (i) The straight forward approach of advancing a society by way of itself evolving internally is, though easy to grasp and as such has strong exterior appeal, is far too basic to incorporate into the world system we see today. The very fact that there are modernized societies to 'look up' too entails that a communication and possible co-operation between North and South already exists, and that there are therefore links and ties already in place - not necessarily to the extent that dependency theorists would go, arguing that the South cannot grow without the severing of the North's stranglehold, but nonetheless significant ties in the organization of society - which mean that the target society cannot be solely regarded as an internal entity; there is little hope of avoiding international factors in today's global village. To resolve this, some thinkers have developed the theory of diffusionism (covered earlier), which bears many of the same characteristics of modernization, but accepts the diffusion of ideas, product, and workforce between both modernized and traditional societies. A culture can be changed sub-consciously and indeed overnight, in ways that may not be intended or in accordance with the planned evolution. Modernization may be revolutionary, in that it replaces the traditional with the modern, but it must also be considered that revolutions can take some time - they are not an instantaneous event.
- (ii) Another criticism put forth is that while the developing country struggles to update its social, political, and economic structures to that of the developed country, it is extremely likely that the modernized country will continue to grow at the same, or possibly faster, rate that the developing country is, and will find it difficult to catch up. Though global evolutionary equality is not a particular goal of modernization theory, it is surely one of the aims of development as a whole, and something that is worth pursuing. If this 'closing of the gap' cannot be easily achieved by the performance of an established theory, such as seems to be the case with modernization, then it is clearly not a comprehensive cure for the problem of development.

- (iii) It is also argued that since modernization theory is typically a Western phenomenon, its roots obviously must lie around capitalist society-the developing world is to be a mirror image of the civilized, which generally embraces capitalism. For example, it is automatically assumed by thinkers like Rostow that this is the correct way for all, underdeveloped society to develop, without considering the implications or alternatives. (See critique of Rostow)

The most well known reaction to theories of modernization is that of its antithesis, the Theory of Dependency. Dependency theory takes a far more global viewpoint postulates that the difficulties in development are not due solely to the internal working of the country or region in question, but are more to do with the global imposed by the developed onto the less developed. This is best illustrated Gunder Frank's conceptualization of international relations as a chain of satellite' relationships. Frank (of the socialist tradition) suggests that there unseen hierarchical structure to world relations: the chain begins with the first metropolis (usually attributed to the USA) that has no satellites - i.e. that has no strong dependencies on any other region - and continues downwards; the next layer are still strong metropolises, but still require the USA or other well-developed Western societies in some way-, until much further down we reach the ultimate satellite, which is dependent on everything above it for existence. Frank argues that these dependence links are both the key and the problem when an inability to develop arises. The sanctions imposed, often consciously, by the metropolises to which the satellite is dependent, strip the freedom of the satellite society to evolve and grow, because all of their output is effectively consumed by the upper society.

This theory is actually visible in reality, with the situation revolving around aid to the Third World, where the interest rates and terms are so harshly imposed that the recipient country will always be at the mercy of the donor. Frank feels that it is the dismantling of these dependency relations that is the solution to the problem of development: notably, though, this is a very socialist perspective, since the release of such restrictions allows for much freer and potentially diverse global system, one which does not fit well with traditional capitalist characteristics.

The connect this has with modernization theory is simple: both have equal merits, even though they are completely opposed in attributes, but the question of which is most suitable is dependent on the belief to the observer-those brought up and embroiled in a capitalist society, and who believe in

the benefits of capitalism, may be more likely to prefer modernization theory. On the other hand, a neo-Marxist will almost certainly stick with theories of dependency. Clearly it is only the completely impartial spectator that can truly judge the pros and cons of both concepts.

- (iv) Finally, it has been pointed out that modernization theory itself has produced nothing truly visible yet. This is not because there has been no development in the past 50 years, there has been evolution related to both fields of thought-but rather because the theories themselves are so indistinct and vague: modernization theory does not paint a very precise picture of what should be happening, and more particularly, how it should be occurring. As a motivational aid, this theory is an excellent boost to the drive of a developing society, but it is not the solution. What is, remains to be seen.

2.5 Summary

The concept of modernization emerged after the Second World War, instigated primarily by the global dismantling of European empires, and was widely viewed as the most valuable development theory for around 15 years. It is concerned with the development gap between the developed and under developed countries, and how best to lessen this gap so that the Third World can develop quicker and more effectively.

Modernization is a conceptual framework that articulated a common set of assumptions about the nature of developed societies and their ability to transform a world perceived as both materially and culturally deficient. Specifically, modernization theorists posited a sharp distinction between traditional (read poor) and modern (read Western) societies. They took for granted that economic development, from traditional to modern, proceeded along a single straight, unambiguous line. Modernization advocates expected that contact with vital modern societies would accelerate progress in stagnant traditional societies.

Put simply, modernization theory is the fundamental proposition that people in traditional societies should adopt the characteristics of modern societies in order to modernize their social, political and economic institutions. It should also be noted that theories of this nature typically come from Western thinkers, not the societies in question themselves, and so we should also assume that the under developed societies have an aspiration to develop into a modern society. Whether this is an entirely compelling assumption is doubtful.

Naturally, there are many variants of modernization theory, but the most commonly held stems from Walt Whitman Rostow's views, popularized in the 1960s volume, *The Stages of Economic Growth: a non-communist manifesto*. Rostow outlines five main stages of sociological growth, in an effort to define firstly where the constituent parts of the world stand in this scheme, and then how best for the under developed countries to climb the ladder of development.

The first of these stages is the traditional society, which can be said to encompass all societies prior to the 17th century, which possess little of the structural characteristics that can be seen today. Technological constraints limit production in this stage.

As these constraints are removed through education and changes in the value system at the second stage, rational scientific ideas, infrastructure and an orientation to business assume greater importance. These changes do not endogenously as was the case in Western Europe, but from external intrusion, which forces the traditional society into changing. The next stage Rostow terms the preconditions for take-off, which is best illustrated with respect to the third stage, the take-off itself. The take-off is the period whereby a society begins to grow at a steady rate, both in quantity and quality. Essentially, the political, social, and manufacturing sectors are reformed to allow growth within all aspects of the country, and the society can be said to be emerging as a modern, typically capitalist, civilization. The preconditions for this are various, but can be categorized as a general change in direction through all walks of society, toward the transition from a traditional to modern society. The final two stages are natural extensions from the take-off: the drive to maturity is the expansion of the newly developed ideas and technology into other divisions of society, investment increases to 10-20% and modern technology is diffused throughout the economy, and the age of high mass consumption, the final stage whereby the progress made previously has been fully filtered throughout the economy and culture, and is essentially the state of a country whereby little or no growth is longer necessary to maintain itself.

As a theoretical model, Rostow's perspective on modernization is useful in that it is, whether purposefully or not, very indiscriminate and simplistic: it requires little remoulding to adapt from one culture to the other, because there is no real substance to modify. The basis of the theory is that the ultimate goal already exists and can be examined readily, and that this is what the developing country should strive for. Rostow makes no attempt to isolate individual cases and discover different ways to adapt the theory to them, because this is not the purpose of the study - his theory, if not others, supplies the structure and ground rules, rather than the solution,

Smelser was concerned with the effects of economic development (for Smelser, economic development had the restricted meaning of economic growth) on social structures. Smelser distinguished four processes:

- 1) there was a move from simple to complex technology
- 2) there was a change from subsistence farming to cash crops
- 3) there was a move from animal and human power to machine power
- 4) there was a move from rural settlements to urban settlements.

For Smelser these processes would not occur simultaneously, and, more, importantly, changes would differ from one society to another. He added that there was a variety of pre-modern starting points and the impetus to change would also vary, being crucially affected by tradition, thus leading to different paths towards modernization. National differences are also important, even in the most advanced stages of modernization, and wars and natural disasters, can crucially affect the pattern of development.

The other theories of modernization are the Diffusionist Approach, in which development is seen as the diffusion of cultural elements from the developed to the under developed world. The Psychological Approach - associated with McClelland and others, where importance is placed on the individual's personality trait of achievement motivation which accelerates economic growth in a country.

The other two approaches, the Historical Approach and The Marxist Approach emerged as a critique of the other three approaches. According to them, the earlier three approaches are empirically invalid when observed in the context of reality, theoretically inadequate and policy wise ineffective in pursuing the proclaimed intentions of promoting modernization and development of underdeveloped countries.

Then came the ideological, political, and economic earthquake of the 1960s and culture was conceptually pushed aside as the social sciences came to be strongly influenced and not dominated by Structuralism, Institutionalism, Marxism and Dependency Theory. "Modernisation" theory was not only criticized, it was ultimately pronounced dead. The postwar version of modernization theory had seriously neglected external factors, such as colonialism and imperialism, as well as the newer forms of economic and political domination. The emerging neo-Marxist and world-systems theorists emphasized the extent to which rich countries exploited poor countries, locking them into positions of powerlessness and structural dependence. "Culture" was replaced with the specificity of class, race and gender in the developmental process, all of which are still prominent in the social sciences as analytical constructs.

Critics alerted people to the fact that their prevailing belief that industrialization frees them from much of the drudgery found in non-industrial societies was largely a myth. This provided a yet another antidote to the modernization school's implicit assumptions of Western technical and moral superiority.

2.6 Questions:

- (1) What is Modernisation Theory? Discuss its main tenets?
 - (2) Discuss the Modernisation Theory of Daniel Lerner.
 - (3) Broadly analyse the five major approaches of the Modernisation Theory.
 - (4) Discuss in detail with criticisms the Ideal Typical Index Approach.
 - (5) Present a critical analysis of Rostow's Stages of Economic Growth'.
 - (6) Discuss the Modernisation Theory of Semelser.
 - (7) What according to you are the major shortcomings of the Modernization Theories?
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2.7 References:

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HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX

Unit Structure :

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3A.0 Objectives

- To introduce you to the concept of Human Development Index
- To develop an understanding about the indicators of HDI
- To analyse the situations which result in Low HDI
- To suggest measures to improve the HDI ranking of a nation

3A.1 Introduction

For any country to develop, it is important to develop its Human resource. If human resources remain backward, or are not protected, the country cannot reach its expected level of development. So, the concern for development economics in recent years has shifted from economic growth to human development. The main reason for this shift in focus is the growing recognition that Education & literacy, health, physical environment, equality of opportunities to all people irrespective of their background etc, may be just as important as income.

3A.2 The Concept

In search for a Comprehensive measure that could capture the various dimensions of human development led to the definition & formulation of Human Development Index (HDI) by the United Nations, Development Programme (UNDP) in its Human Development Report published in 1990.

The Human Development Index is a statistical tool used to measure a country's overall achievement in its social & economic dimensions, which are based on :

1. A long and healthy life, which is measured by life expectancy
2. Access to education, measured by expected years of schooling
3. Standard of living measured by Gross National Income Per capita

Pakistani economist, Mahbub ul Haq created HDI in 1990 which was further used to measure the country's development by UNDP.

Calculation of the Index combines four major indicators: Life expectancy for health, expected years of schooling, average years of schooling for education & Gross National Income per capita for standard of living.

Every year UNDP ranks countries based on the HDI release their annual report. HDI is one of the best tools to keep a track of the level of development of a country, as it combines all four major social & economic indicators that are responsible for economic development. These indicators have a stronger appeal & draw public attention more powerfully than a long list of indicators.

HDI does not replace GNP but adds considerably to an understanding of the real position of the society in many respects. In addition to income, the HDI also measures Education & Health which makes it multidimensional. It focuses the attention of the policy makers on the ultimate objective of development & not just the means. Improving health care, along with proper education facilities raises the standard of living of the people.

Any upward movement in HDI can be regarded as improvement.

Whereas high income for some can cause relative deprivation for others, this is not true for human development.

3A.3 Principles Of HDI

According to the UNDP report, India ranked at the 129th position in December 2019. The principles that have guided the search for HDI are as follows:

1. Measuring the basic concept of Human development, thus enlarging people's choice which covers the desire to live long, acquire knowledge and get employed, breathe in clean air, to be free and live in a community. The basic idea was to measure other dimensions besides measuring only income in a methodologically sound manner.
2. In order to maintain the simplicity of the index, it was decided to limit the number of variables involved.
3. To construct a composite index rather than constructing a plethora of indexes. The maximum and minimum values for each variable was reduced to a scale between 0 & 1 providing equal weightage on a simple premise that all choices are important.
4. HDI should cover both, social as well as economic dimensions because economic growth increases the resources and social progress creates a conducive environment for the same.

Check Your Progress

1. What is HDI?

2. Mention at least 2 principles of HDI.

3A.4 Major Components Of HDI

Along with the main indicators which include the life expectancy, Access to education and standard of living, following are the major components of HDI :

3A.4.1 Sustainability

An essential component of human development index, Sustainability refers to the next generations right to enjoy the same wellbeing that we enjoy. As emphasized

by Mahbub ul Haq, the sustainability of human opportunities must be at the centre of our concerns which requires sustaining all forms of capital- physical, financial, human and environmental. Sustainability in short, refers to sharing opportunities between the present and future generations.

According to Haq, sustainability does not mean sustaining present levels of human deprivation, poverty, etc. If the poverty and deprivation prevails, efforts should be made to change the same. What is to be sustained is opportunities and not human deprivation. The disparities in lifestyles should be recognized and efforts should be taken to reduce the same. In short, sustainability means using resources economically and rationally so that all its benefits can be enjoyed by future generations.

3A.4.2 Productivity

Productivity is another important component which requires investments in people and an enabling macro- economic environment for them to achieve their maximum potential. Many recent models of development are based primarily on human capital. However, as pointed out by Haq, this approach treats people only as means of development.

Therefore it is better to treat productivity only as one part of the human development paradigm.

3A.4.3 Empowerment

Human Development Paradigm supports full empowerment of the people. It means people are in a position to exercise choices of their own free-will. It implies a political democracy in which people can influence decisions about their lives. It means decentralization of power so that real governance is brought to the doorstep of every citizen. It means all members of Civil society participate in decision making process. The empowerment of people requires action on various fronts. Requires investment in the education & health of the people so that they can take advantage of market opportunities. It requires ensuring an enabling environment that gives everyone access to credit & productive assets. It requires empowering all the three genders, so that they can compete on an equal footing.

3A.5 Reasons for Low HDI

India has had a low level of HDI due to a number of reasons which range from the presence of the caste system to the increasing financial gap between the rich and the poor. A majority of the population lives in slums whereas some live in high rise towers. Similarly, at one end we see the rise of private hospitals which

are available for the upper classes, at the other end, there are people who cannot afford to step in such hospitals and are deprived of the basic health care facilities. Considering the above dimensions, let us discuss how certain factors in each dimension are responsible for low human development index.

3A.5.1 Health

Less number of doctors in India is a major problem. Other major problems include poor sanitation, poor facilities to the majority of people living in slums, lack of toilets in rural areas, lack of safe drinking water, increase in diseases such as dengue, malaria, pneumonia, etc. The food eating habits of the people, increasing rate of obesity also has contributed to poor health of the citizens. Moreover, people also neglect the importance of health and healthcare. Also, the government also does not allocate much resources to health care. Policies are made but not implemented. A boost is given to the private hospitals, which serve the higher classes, depriving the lower classes.

3A.5.2 Education

Education plays a major role in developing the human resource. Today we see a number of private schools, international schools in India but have we ever thought about the reducing number of government schools and also the non-existence of educational facilities or lack of proper infrastructure to build a school in rural areas?. It is important to note that India has empowered girl child education but still, the majority of children are deprived of the basic education facilities. India needs to spend on education to improve levels of literacy, increase the enrollment of teachers, providing free and compulsory education to the mass, boosting distance education services, improving online education systems, etc.

3.5.3 Standard of living

India displays a sharp contrast in the standard of living of the people. On one end we see towers, on the other end there are people living in slum areas where they lack basic sanitation facilities. The products are available but the citizens are unable to purchase the same. Many people continue to face terrible situations due to poverty, unemployment and an unhealthy environment.

There are a number of reasons why India ranks lower at the HDI scale. Measures should be taken continuously in order to provide a healthy environment and by raising the educational levels as well as the standard of living of the people.

Check Your Progress

1. What are the major components of HDI?

2. Can you think of the challenges faced by India which result in low HDI?

3. What steps can be undertaken to improve the HDI of a nation?

3A.6 Conclusion

To conclude one can say that in order to analyse the development of a nation, not only economic dimension is important but other social factors like health, education, gender sensitisation, gender equality, environmental balance also play a vital role. It is important to sustain the opportunities that are available and not the deprivations and the negative aspects. Every country should make an effort to improve the opportunities and productivity of the nation, An empowered human resource, with a higher standard of living, improves the human development index of a particular nation.

3A.7 Summary

Human Development Index (HDI) is a statistical tool used to measure a country's overall achievement considering social and economic dimensions. It does not give

sole importance to economic dimension but it serves to present a view about the development of a particular country by including health, education, standard of living and ranking them accordingly. It considers social and economic dimensions to measure their development. The sustainability, productivity and empowerment constitute the major components of the HDI. Sustainability refers to the ability to sustain the positive aspects and not the negative ones of poverty and deprivation. Productivity refers to the increasing investments where as empowerment means empowering the citizens by decentralizing power and considering their decisions in policy making. The reasons why HDI remains low in India include the hold of the caste system, the gap between the rich and the poor, lack of proper healthcare and educational facilities that leads to lower standard of living. Measures should be taken to overcome these challenges in order to boost the development of our country.

3A.8 Questions

1. Explain Human Development Index. What are the indicators of HDI
2. Explain the Human Development Index and elaborate on its principles.
3. Briefly explain the indicators of development.
4. What is HDI? Elaborate on its principles and its major components
5. What is HDI? Explain the reasons for low HDI.
6. What is HDI? Mention the reasons for low HDI ranking and suggest measures that can be undertaken to improve the same.



ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

Unit Structure :

3B.0 Objectives

3B.1 Introduction

3B.2 The Indian Scenario

3B.3 Capitalism: The Cause of Ecological Crisis

3B.4 The Indian Environmental Movements

3B.6 Our Natural Heritage Under Threat 3B.7 What Can We Do?

3B.7 Questions

3B.8 References

3B.0 Objectives

- To get a better understanding of the relationship between environment and development and the impact of such a relationship.
- Focus on the fact that environment and development are not isolated. They are part of a comprehensive system of local, regional, national and international interdependencies of political and economic power structure.
- To Understand the interrelationship between development and Environment
- To become aware and hopefully more responsible and educated citizens of the world.

3B.1 Introduction

Historically, the term environment is the new linguistic buzz word and refers to different sectors of social reality. We speak of social, personal, cultural, economic, political and, of course, biological and physical environments. Environment, to a certain extent, has replaced the terms nature, society and community. Ecology has replaced ideology-so it seems.

As a political concept, environment is closely linked to the concept of development. Economic growth and technological progress of all kinds are basic approaches of industrialized societies. It is assumed that the development of a society depends on the improvement of the socio-economic conditions, i.e. on

economic growth and the improvement of existing, and the invention of new, technologies to rationalize production processes and services. Research and development are key economic sectors of industrialized societies. The production of knowledge and skills to develop, implement and control technologies lies at the heart of these societies. While traditional societies are based on agriculture, post-traditional societies (Giddens 1991) are based on technology and on those traditional societies which provide them with resources of food, raw materials and in expensive labor.

Development refers to two different processes which happen simultaneously: the improvement of socio-economic living conditions in industrialized countries and the political, economic, technologies and military control development in traditional societies. The development of industrialized countries is based on lower levels of development in other parts of the world. According to classic economics, development has always been linked to economic growth, and subsequently it has been linked to competition rather than to cooperation.

Firstly, mainstream economic has produced flawed theories of economic development for the Third World.

Secondly, these flawed theories imported from the West have lacked fit, resulting in stored and biased Third World development.

Thirdly, Western theorists have stubbornly ignored the basic flaws in their theories, hiding these behind idealized constructions of perfect competition or rational (i.e. Western) behaviour.

Overall, mainstream economists have failed to realized that under development may be causally linked to:

- i) monopoly profits, externalities, transaction costs and other 'market failures', and above linked to:
 - ii) hidden subjective values embedded in these theories themselves.
- This condition has become even more important now that environmental degradation o industrialized countries due to pollution, over-population and excessive use of natural resources, has brought forward the notion of environmental protection.
 - In the 1960s and 1970s, environment protection referred to the physical and biological conditions of industrialized countries. The environment of post-traditional societies and national states was threatened and action had to be taken to preserve their geographical space and the quality of the environment.

Environmental policies had to be implemented because war to gain new territories of better environmental qualities was impossible. The cold War era helped stabilize the global political order as far as post-traditional societies are concerned and forced those societies to implement environmental policies in their respective territories,

- Since the Cold War, the situation has changed dramatically. The export of environmental hazardous production lines, the export of toxic waste, and the expansion of the capitalist economy throughout the world has opened huge potentials for post-traditional societies to improve their survival chance by transferring the costs of environmental protection to developing countries at the same time as pretending that socio-economic development in these countries would improve. While the Rio Earth Summit of 1992 sought the reconciliation of environment and development, Wolfgang Sachs assesses its outcome rather skeptically where he states:
- To put the outcome of Rio in a nutshell: the governments at Rio came around to recognizing the declining state of the environment, but insisted on the re-launching of development. It is probably no exaggeration to say that the rain dance around development kept the conflicting parties together and offered a common ritual which comforted them for the one or other sacrifice made in favour of the environment. At the end, the Rio Declaration ceremoniously emphasized the sacredness of development and invoked its significance throughout the document wherever possible. Only after the right to development' has been enshrined, does the document proceed to consider the developmental and environmental needs of present and future generations.' (Sachs 1993, 3)
- It was the developing countries at Rio which insisted on their right to establish socioeconomic modes of development similar to those prevailing in developed countries. They clearly stated that they were not prepared to control their socio-economic development according to the needs of the developed countries. As the basic economic pattern of development is capitalism as it had been in the case of the developed countries, it can be assumed that environmental degradation in developing countries will take place more rapidly than before and the global environmental condition will worsen accordingly.
- The effects of this kind of development was -and continues to be for the most part top-down, ethnocentric, and technocratic approach, which treated people and cultures as abstract concepts, statistical figures to be moved up and down in the charts of "progress".

- Development was conceived not as a cultural process (culture was a residual variable, to disappear with the advance of modernization) but instead as a system of more or less universally applicable technical interventions intended to deliver some "badly needed" goods to a "target" population. It comes as no surprise that development became a force so destructive to Third World Countries, ironically in the name of people's interest.
- This also applies to developed or post-traditional societies. The psychosocial and ecological costs of full-blown industrialized societies are harder to calculate.

Development, Environment and Health: A Brief Overview:

- Environment and health have become nearly interchangeable concepts in post-traditional societies. We are able to observe almost an obsession with them, as if individual changes in ways of life - important for the individual and significant for the culture, though they may be possessing the power to overthrow a system of economic relations that aims at growth in numerical terms rather than at development, enabling society to sustain its specific modes of private and public interaction.
- Human life is now moulded to a large extent by the changes that man has brought about in his external environment and by his attempt at controlling body and soul.
- It is not possible anymore to talk about the environment without referring to health and vice versa. The environment has become the metaphor for well-being- at least in the industrialized countries suffering from substantial losses of "natural" environments. Densely populated as they are, these countries and their people project the causes of their misery towards the environment. We miss the trees, we fight for each and every one of them, we want the cows in the meadows and the chicken picking around our houses. Forests, particularly rain forests, have captured our attention to the limit of psychological competence such that the forests are in danger of becoming the last victims of human kindness after having been already destroyed so extensively.
- In terms of individual and collective morbidity and mortality, we are confronted with an amount of disease and suffering hardly known to traditional societies. While they are mostly plagued by communicable diseases, post-traditional societies have developed a new panorama of non-communicable diseases such as cancer, cardiovascular diseases, allergies, etc. All together, the global health situation seems to be horrific, as the World Health Organization (1992, xiii) states:

- Serious environmental health problems are shared by both developed and developing countries, affecting: hundreds of millions of people who suffer from respiratory and other diseases caused or exacerbated by biological and chemical agents, including tobacco smoke, in the air, both indoors and outdoors; hundred of millions who are exposed to unnecessary, chemical and physical hazards in their home, workplace, or wider environment (including 500,000 who die and tens of millions more who are injured in road accidents each year).
- Health also depends on whether people can obtain food, water, and shelter. Over 100 million people lack the income or land to meet such basic needs. Hundreds of millions suffer from under nutrition.
- The sheer number of people affected by the repercussions of development as economic growth and technological rationalization can make us feel helpless in respect of the results of the way of life we are leading

In its 1996 World Health Report, WHO (1996) presents a deteriorating picture of the global health condition particularly emphasizing the recurrence of communicable diseases such as tuberculosis and cholera which seem to spread all over the world affecting developed and developing countries alike. It seems that the situation is getting out of control when resistance by disease-causing organisms to ant microbial drugs and other agents has become a major public health problem worldwide. Resistance has no natural barriers; its development in the most remote locations can lead rapidly to a worldwide impact, aided by international air travel (WHO 1996, 18 and 19).

In addition to these health problems, developing countries face a number of social, economic, cultural and political difficulties. Most of these can hardly be dealt with in short term development programs. Among others, they include:

- health care system, educational system, unemployment and under-employment inter-and intracountry migration,
- rapid urbanization,
- public and private transport,
- adequate housing,
- water and sanitation facilities,
- solid waste disposal
- energy supply,
- food supply,
- population growth,
- environmental pollution.

The economic situation of most developing countries is rather unbalanced; the national budget is low, often due to difficulties in collecting taxes, lack of governmental revenues, and rising foreign debt repayments; falling prices for almost all raw materials offered by these countries; and low average income per capita. On the other hand, energy costs have gone up during the past decades so that industrialization is improving only slowly in many countries.

This situation is exacerbated by the lack of vocational training among many people. The lack of an infrastructure needed to improve economic growth prevents foreign investors from coming into the country. Finally, many countries are confronted with unstable political and social conditions.

The sociology of risk tells us, perhaps unintentionally, that all our scientific concepts and methods are much too simple to comprehend the ecological systems we live in and the impact of our technological systems on them. Risk is an abstract category. In real life, we talk of threats and dangers, but this language seems inappropriate when we think of technological progress. However, developed societies have become dangerous indeed. They threaten the global ecosystem, and subsequently, they are a significant threat to human life itself.

Check Your Progress

1. Can you explain the relationship between Environment, Development and Health ?

3B.2 The Indian Scenario:

Assessments of the contemporary ecological crisis are as much political constructs as they are pronouncements on the existential status of Nature - 'the "otherness" to humanity'. Perhaps, more so at this point in time, it would be inadequate, if not erroneous, to be innocent of the politics and interests that substantially and fundamentally influence and determine the rate and direction of ecological degradation, both on a national and global scale in India, especially in recent years, environmental concerns have visibly become an integral part of the

mainstream of political debate and action. Consequently, it is imperative to move beyond the crude problem-policy framework (debating appropriate technologies, etc) to the relatively more sophisticated task of distinguishing between the differing environmental agendas within India's diverse social and political spectrum.

Rightwing environmentalism in India has, in fact, already acquired considerable traction and leverage in the realm of policy and action. Its most dominant variants a neo-Manu-sian strain that currently saturates the popular media in the form of pop analysis of smart sound bites. In the neo-Malthusian schema, environmental degradation is the net result of population growth, i.e., it is argued, in diverse ways, that the sheer excess in human numbers is the primary and sole burden on scarce resources.

This reasoning, that privileges the quantity of the impact rather than the quality of the ecological footprint, though deeply flawed in its argumentation, nevertheless, provides legitimacy to several reactionary social and political agendas. Sanjay Gandhi's sterilization programme during the Emergency years in 1975-77, for example, was an early offshoot of middle class neo-Malthusian inspired paranoia that was violently unleashed on the urban poor. The great lie about neo-Malthusianism is that it deliberately ignores and avoids engaging with aspects of structural inequity and seeks to obscure the political origins of environmental degradation.

When statistics on population growth are shadowed by consumption patterns, for example, an entirely different picture emerges. The Human Development Report 1998 on consumption patterns noted that 20% of the world's people in the highest income countries consumed 45% of all meat and fish (while the poorest 20% account for 5% only), 58% of total energy (the poorest less than 4%), 84% of all paper (the poorest 1.1%), and own 87% of the vehicles (the poorest less than 1%).

Though many of the poor in high-income countries live in relatively severe destitution as well, the HDR (1998) points out that a child born in the industrialized world adds more to consumption and pollution than do 30-50 children born in developing countries. Clearly, it is the quality of the impact on the environment rather than the sheer size of numbers that matters, a claim that is even more apparent if one accepts the 'ecological footprint' accounting of Wakenagel and Rees. Ecological Footprint is essentially an accounting tool which is calculated as 'the flows of energy and matter to and from any defined economy and converts their into the corresponding land/water area required from nature to support these flows.' Rees and Wackernagel's study indicate just how wide the

gap is between the consumption of the rich (few) as against that of the poor (many).

Rees and Wackernagel calculate that on an average, at current rates of consumption, a person who Canada and the U.S. would require roughly 4.3 and 5.1 hectares of land respectively to support his/her lifestyle, while the corresponding figures would be 0.4 (India) and 1.8 (World). This inequality in consumption patterns between different countries is, however, most acutely reproduced within the political boundaries of the national economy as well. Consequently, the Indian elite is as voracious a consumer and polluter as their counterpart in the so-called first or developed world. In fact, in India it becomes particularly nauseating to see the wantonly wasteful lifestyles and egregious consumption habits of the rich and middle class amidst the desperate poverty of millions.

On the other hand, it would be facetious to simply conclude that wasteful consumption patterns and lifestyle preferences are the primary causes of environmental degradation. They are, in fact, more symptom than disease. Rather, it needs to be emphasized that current rates of pollution and environmental devastation derives from the peculiar character of the world's most dominant social and economic system - capitalism.

3B.3 Capitalism: The Cause of Ecological Crisis:

The salience in the observation above, however, lies not in asserting that capitalism destroys the environment, as other social forms such as the socialist experiments (or attempts at socialism) in Eastern Europe and China had also degraded their environments but, more significantly, in ascertaining the uniqueness of the capitalist imprimatur on the natural world. That is, only by identifying and drawing out the specific and distinct impact of capitalism on nature can the method in the madness, so to speak, be uncovered and the pace and direction of the contemporary ecological crisis be tracked and understood.

In effect, capitalism's self-expansion through the appropriation and the production of surplus value is simultaneously the attempt to insinuate into the substances of nature and its varied processes the value relation, in which exchange value subjugates use. That is, the complexity of nature and its innumerable interlinkages are broken down, dissolved and then reified into or treated as capitalist commodities or stock of units of capital.

Several recent studies have, in fact, described how the phenomenon of nature is being recast and compressed through technology to be marched in rhythm with

the ineluctable cycles of capitalist accumulation.

One argument state that biotechnology, for example, meticulously maps the manner in which capital penetrates plant breeding through the science of hybridization and effectively breaks the previous unity of the seed as grain and the means of production. It would indeed not be an exaggeration to state that the entire biotechnology revolution, with all it potentially dangerous consequences, is essentially the projection of the image of capital into seed production.

Terminator seeds, for example, are the classic example of the capitalist signature on the gene. Here, the primary producer is dispossessed from ownership and control over the seed, which is now an input regulated by the laws of interest, profit and ultimately the accumulation imperative. Similarly, the whole carbon-trading regime that some mega. corporations in the industrialised world are currently authoring as a solution to climate change, is premised on the principle of regulating the entire planet's atmosphere though a market imperative. Their intentions roughly translate into a desire to divide up the planet's atmosphere into shares that can then be traded through markets and thereby literally commodify the sky itself.

Capitalism, however, in the process of producing or remaking nature by mapping onto Et forms of exclusive property and attempting to regulate it as commodities, causes various degrees of disarticulation - the dissonance and disruption caused to the integrity or ecological processes. For example, the biological and chemical equilibrium of a fluvial system, in its complex and varied interconnections, may be disconnected by a series of dams. In contrast to the integrity of its previous circulation regime, these dams now artificially manipulate the river's flow to feed the needs of irrigation for intensive agriculture and hydroelectricity for urban use, much to the detriment of aquatic life, wet lands and often the livelihoods of traditional fishermen as well.

Another example would be the manner in which, under the rubric of 'scientific forestry', a large number of forests in India were transformed from being a mosaic of interconnected ecological niches to monocultures for timber extraction. Consequent to which, not only was species diversity severely attenuated in these forests but traditional community access was either extinguished altogether or severely curtailed.

In effect, the uncoupling of ecological processes and the reconfiguring of environmental landscapes by capital had adverse impacts not only on the natural world but also operated as a form of enclosure in the manner it ended innumerable types of customary rights and scales of access of local communities,

i.e., the traditional patterns of resource use.

This, however, is not to suggest that disarticulation is a feature unique only to capitalism. Rather, as a necessary caveat, it needs to be underscored that different social forms bring to bear different rates and intensities of disarticulation to their ecological contexts. What is, nevertheless, unique to capitalism is the global scale and unprecedented intensity of disarticulation that it in as brought about by pollution and through high rates of extraction. In fact, given the range and scope of the natural world's qualitative transformation in the current epoch of capital, it would perhaps not be an exaggerated reaction to believe that nature, as previously known and experienced, has ended' and transformed instead into a new reality.

Not surprisingly, capitalism, given the particularity of its impact, has caused its own peculiar ecological crisis. A crisis that has been termed as the 'second contradiction', whereby capital impairs and exhausts its own social and environmental conditions and thus threatens its ability to reproduce the basis for profit and accumulation. In other words, acid rain, climate change, over-fishing, decimation of wildlife, deforestation, nuclear waste build-up, and so on, are recognized not merely as a common threat to humanity in general but essentially and fundamentally as a crisis for capitalist reproduction.

In effect, crisis-stricken capital collides against a veritable 'rebellion of nature' that finds expression in a range of new social movements that mobilize on themes of environmental degradation such as deforestation, pollution, mining, health and gender. These movements in turn present themselves as 'social barriers' that confront capital's unbridled exploitation of nature.

Indian environmentalism, can be best analysed as being chiefly propelled as a response to the moribund and hyper-exploitative version of capitalism that has been imposed on its populace.

Check Your Progress

1. Can you explain Capitalism?

3B.4 The Indian Environmental Movements:

In the past several decades a virtual explosion in environmental movements or popular mobilization on environmental themes has, in fact, become highly visible on the political landscape. The relatively prominent ones would perhaps include struggles such as (a) Chipko -challenging deforestation in the Himalayas; (b) Narmada Bachao Andolan, Tehri and Koel Karo - resistance against large dams; (c) Chilika Bachao Andolan - against shrimp farming by the Tata Corporation; National Fishworkers Federation - struggles against the entry of mechanized fishing, and so on. (Refer to chapter on Environmental movements)

Besides these, however, there has been a whole slew of what Smitu Kothari, a political activist and scholar terms as a 'million mutinies' of lower visibility but of substantial intensity involving struggles over issues such as industrial pollution (Bichhri, Rajasthan), mining threats to rural and forest based livelihoods (Grandmardhan, Orissa; Rayagadha, Bihar); defence of common lands (Karnataka), among others. These movements, both the prominent ones and those relatively less visible, have essentially turned on question concerning the immiserisation of marginalized communities through the alienation of their livelihood resources.

In fact, since the so called liberalization of the economy in 1991, the overall thrust of capitalist development in India has dramatically moved towards violently destroying the subsistence economies of the poor and marginal by either direct seizure of their resources or by polluting their environments.

These environmental movements, however, have tended to concentrate on issue based coherence rather than comprehensive political cohesiveness. That is, they have remained largely resistance oriented and have been hesitant towards acquiring a broader political thrust vis-à-vis an emancipatory agenda. The formation of the National Alliance of People's Movements (NAPM) in 1992 has, however, begun to explore this possibility. Nevertheless, the lack of political cohesiveness among these movements in actuality stems from a deeper complication, viz., the limitations caused by the forging of multiclass alliances that are operative only as an issue-based approach.

The celebrated agitation against the dams on the Narmada river spearheaded by the NBA, for example, is a creatively welded, though tenuous, alliance between rich farmers and the adivasis or tribals (landless and subsistence peasants). Similarly, the struggle against the Tata Corporation's attempt to move into shrimp farming in Chilika lake (Orissa) was led by a broad coalition of poor traditional fisherfolk, petty contractors and fairly rich and powerful speculators drawn from various segments of Orissa's bureaucratic and political elite.

In other words, these examples suggest that the social and class composition of the alliances may not be able to hold beyond the issue and therefore, not unexpectedly, are rarely able to mobilize on a comprehensive political agenda. However, this is not to suggest that they lack consistent politics as much as to emphasise that class constraints tug at attempts to expand the movement into different realms of struggle, i.e., not all classes and social groups have the same objectives in their opposition to capitalism.

The peculiar sociology of the Indian political landscape, has, moreover, added a unique dimension to environmental struggles in so far as dalit and adivasi communities have been particularly vulnerable to capitalist expropriation. One glaring instance would be with regard to displacement by large dams.

According to the World Commission on Dams (India Report), for instance, though dalits and tribals account for roughly 24.5% of the total population, they comprise 62% of the total of those displaced. Similarly, the impacts of deforestation and the pollution of rivers and streams have been hardest on rural women, the vast majority of whom are actually landless agricultural labourers, often forcing them to spend many more backbreaking hours to secure fuel, fodder and drinking water.

The eruption of resistance through the rubric of environmental movements to the above mentioned threats to subsistence security, environmental degradation and the direct appropriation of resources has, not unexpectedly, also forced both the state and capital in India to review their strategies for rule and accumulation. Their subsequent manoeuvres to readjust the social temperature for exploitation, has essentially comprised a mix, involving tactical retreats in the form of temporary pauses in state violence or a more rigorous attack through righting environmentalism.

Termed as free market environmentalism, its proponents are currently advertising it as a veritable global vision for saving the natural world. The entire history of environmental destruction is being rewritten historically as a product of wrong pricing, inadequate incentives, free riders, subsidies and inefficiency. The solution, according to these market environmentalists, is to allow and enable the rule of the self-regulating market as final arbiter for resource allocation (that operates unhindered through the true laws of supply and demand) with the state only being required to enforce property rights and contract.

Already in India, some of the heady ideas of this convoluted reasoning, alongside the prodding of the World Bank and IMF, have been advanced - most recently in the water sector, for long a social good delivered by government as part of its responsibility to citizens. With the declaration of the New National Water Policy

by the prime minister in the National Water Resources Council meeting (1 April 2002) citizen accountability will be transformed into customer choice. According to item 13 of the new policy, water will be privatized with transnational corporations managing access to it on the basis of profit.

In parts of Africa, in fact, free market principles for 'conserving' nature or wildlife have been in operation for several years. A slew of ecotour operators and hunting companies in places such as Zimbabwe, Zambia and Tanzania in cahoots with pliable governments have successfully transformed nature parks and sanctuaries into commodities that are now frequented only by dollar rich western tourists for trophy hunting excursions. The local communities that previously utilized these areas and their forests resources have either been expelled, often by state violence, or bought out by paltry compensation.

in India, as well, considerable contestation is currently occurring on the issue of customary rights and access of local communities to their resources, now reclassified as natural parks and wildlife zones. Though in the immediate future it appears distant that the Indian government may go the Africa route, the unfolding logic of market environmentalism, nevertheless, poses a serious long-term threat.

3B.5 Our Natural Heritage Under Threat

The National Board for Wildlife (NBWL), a little known statutory body created in October 2003, under the provisions of the amended Wildlife (Protection) Act, 2002 and chaired by the Prime Minister, plans to denotify entire sections of three national parks and biodiversity hotspots. Denotification of an area implies that it is no longer protected and can be utilized for commercial development. The national parks to be denotified are, the Desert National Park near Jaisalmer in Rajasthan, the lower Subansiri river valley in Arunachal Pradesh and the Askot Musk Deer Sanctuary in Pithoragarh, Uttaranchal. This heralds the merciless discrimination of flora and fauna. The future of a fourth protected area, the Govind National Park in Uttarkashi, Uttaranchal, home to more than 150 rare species of Himalayan birds, hangs uncertain.

The endangered species on the death row and doomed for extinction as the notion of India Shining swamps their homes are; the Great Indian Bustard, Gangetic River Dolphin, Snow Leopard, Tiger, Musk Deer, Black Buck, Clouded Leopard, Slow Loris, Himalayan Thar, Monal Pheasant, Civet Cat, Marbled Cat, Capped Langur, Golden Mahseer, Black Bear, Western Tragopan, Bearded Vulture, Common Sandpiper.

The NBWL, ever since its conception, has been acting with one agenda: to be rubber stamp for granting permission for denotification of parks and sanctuaries

under the guise of crating development zones and catering to the whims of the corporate world. The assault on our natural heritage is phenomenal and the question that arises is that how much development is enough? And development for whom?

Only We Can Halt the Worst Wave of Extinction Since the Dinosaurs Died:

- The Baiji is a graceful, freshwater dolphin that once abounded along a thousand miles of the Yangtze River. It may now be the world's most endangered large animal. Caught in a vise of rising pollution and indiscriminate fishing during the past century, its population fell to only 400 by 1980, to 150 in 1993, and is now below 100. Zoologists doubt the species will survive in the wild for another decade. The baiji's closest rivals for early extinction include the Sumatran rhinoceros (probably fewer than 500 individuals survive) and the giant panda of China (fewer than 1,000).
- The media can be counted on to take note when the last member of each of these species dies, or like the California condor, is removed from the wild to be placed in a captive breeding program. But for every animal celebrity that vanishes, biologists can point to thousands of species of plants and smaller animals either recently extinct or on the brink.
- The rarest bird in the world is Spix's macaw, down to one or possibly two individuals in the palm and river-edge forests of central Brazil. The rarest plant is Cooke's koki's of lawaii, a small tree with profuse orange-red flowers that once graced the dry volcanic slopes of Molokai. Today it exists only as a few half plants - branches implanted onto the stocks of their related species. Cooke's koki'o may spend its last days in this biological limbo; despite the best efforts of horticulturists to assist the plant, no branches planted in soil have sprouted pots.
- Around the world, biodiversity, defined as the full variety of life from genes to species to ecosystems, is in trouble. Responding to the problem, conservation experts have in the last two decades shifted their focus from individual species to entire threatened habitats, whose destruction would cause the extinction of many species. Such "hot spots" in the U. S., for example, include the coastal sage of Southern California, the sandy uplands of Florida, and the dammed and polluted river systems of Alabama and other Southern states. Arguably the
- countries with the most hot spots in the world are Ecuador, Madagascar and the Philippines. Each has lost two-thirds or more of its biologically rich rain forest, and the remainder is under widespread assault.

- The logic of the experts is simple: by concentrating conservation efforts on such areas, the largest amount of biodiversity can be saved at the lowest economic cost. And if the effort is part of the political process during regional planning, the rescue of biodiversity can gain the widest possible public support.
- In hot spots around the globe, mass extinctions of local populations have been commonplace. Among them:
- More than half the 266 species of exclusively freshwater fishes in peninsula Malaysia.
- Fifteen of the 18 unique fishes of Lake Lanao in the Philippines, and half the 14 birds of the Philippine Island of Cebu.
- All of the 11 native tree-snail species of Moorea in the Society Islands. Those on nearby Tahiti, as well as in the Hawaiian Islands, are rapidly disappearing.
- More than 90 plant species growing on a single mountain ridge in Ecuador, through clear-cutting of forest between 1978 and 1986.
- These well-documented cases notwithstanding, it is notoriously difficult to estimate the overall rate of extinction. Some groups, like the larger birds and mammals, are more susceptible to extinction than most. The same is true of fishes limited to one or two freshwater streams. Most kinds of insects and small organisms are so difficult to monitor as to make exact numbers unattainable. Nevertheless, biologists using several indirect methods of analysis generally agree that on the land at least and on a worldwide basis, species are vanishing 100 times faster than before the arrival of *Homo sapiens*.
- Tropical rain forests are the site of most of the known damage. Although they cover only 6% of the land surface, they contain more than half the species of plants and animals of the entire world. The rate of clearing and burning of rain forests averaged about 1% each year in the 1980s, an amount about equal to the entire country of Ireland, and the pace of destruction may now be increasing. That magnitude of habitat loss spells trouble for the planet's reservoir of biodiversity. It means that each year 0.25% or more of the forest species are being doomed to immediate or early extinction. How much is that in absolute numbers, as opposed to rate? If there are 10 million species in the still mostly unexplored forests, which some scientists think possible, the annual loss is in the tens of thousands. Even if there are a "mere" 1 million species, the loss is still in the thousands.

- These projections are based on the known relationships between the area of a given natural habitat and the number of species able to live within it. The projections may be on the low side. The outright elimination of habitat is the leading cause of extinction. But the introduction of aggressive exotic species and the diseases they carry follow close behind in destructiveness, along with over hunting or over harvesting of plants and animals.
- All these factors work together in a complex manner. When asked which ones caused the extinction of any particular species, biologists are likely to give the Murder on the Orient Express answer: they all did it. A common sequence in tropical countries starts with the building of roads into wilderness, such as those cut across Brazil's Amazonian state of Rondonia during the 1970s and 80s. land-seeking settlers pour in, clear the rain forest on both sides of the road, pollute the streams, introduce alien plants and animals and hunt wildlife for extra food. Many native species become rare, and some disappear entirely.
- The world's fauna and flora are paying the price of humanity's population growth. The Levey may be acceptable to those who put immediate human concerns above all else.

But it should be borne in mind that we are destroying part of the Creation, thereby depriving all future generations of what we ourselves were bequeathed. The ongoing loss in biodiversity is the greatest since the end of the Mesozoic era 65 millions years ago. At that time, by current scientific consensus, the impact of one or more giant meteorites darkened the atmosphere, altered much of earth's climate and extinguished the dinosaurs. Thus began the next stage of evolution, the Cenozoic era or Age of Mammals. The extinction spasm we are now inflicting can be moderated if we choose. If not, the next century will see the closing of the Cenozoic era and the start of a new one characterized by biological impoverishment. It might appropriately be called the Eremozoic era, the Age of Loneliness..

People commonly respond to the evidence of species extinction by entering three successive stages of denial. Dying out through more than 3 billions years of history without permanent harm to the biosphere. Evolution has always replaced extinct species with new ones.

- (i) All these statements are true, but with a terrible twist. After the Mesozoic spasm, and after each of the four greatest previous spasms spaced over 400 millions years, evolution required about 10 million years to restore the predisaster levels of diversity. Faced with a waiting time that long, and aware that we inflicted so much damage in a single lifetime, our

descendants are going to be-how best to say it? - peeved with us. Worse, evolution cannot perform as in previous ages if natural environments have been crowded out by artificial ones.

- (ii) Entering the second stage of denial, people ask, Why do we need so many species anyway? Why care, especially since the vast majority are bugs, weeds and fungi?

It is easy to dismiss the creepy crawlies of the world, forgetting that less than a century ago, before the rise of the modern conservation movement, native birds and mammals around the world were treated with the same callous indifference. Now the value of the little things in the natural world has become compellingly clear. Recent experimental studies on whole ecosystems support what ecologists have long suspected: the more species living in an ecosystem, the higher its productivity and the greater its ability to withstand drought and other kinds of environmental stress. Since we depend on functioning ecosystems to cleanse our water, enrich our soil and create the very air we breathe, biodiversity is clearly not something to discard carelessly.

In addition to creating a habitable environment, wild species are the source of products that help sustain our lives. Not the least of these amenities are pharmaceuticals. More than 40% of all prescriptions dispensed by pharmacies in the world are substances originally extracted from plants, animals, fungi and microorganisms. Aspirin, for example, the most widely used medicine in the world, was derived from salicylic acid, which in turn was discovered in a species of meadowsweet.

Only a minute fraction of the species or organisms-probably less than 1% have been examined for natural products that might serve as medicines. There is a critical need to press the search in the case of antibiotics and anti-malarial agents. The substances most commonly used today are growing less effective as the disease organisms acquire genetic resistance to the drugs. The bacterium *staphylococcus*, for example, has recently reemerged as a potentially lethal pathogen, and the microorganism that causes pneumonia is growing steadily more dangerous. The age of antibiotics, it has been said, is over. Not quite, but medical researchers are nevertheless locked in an arms race with the rapidly evolving pathogens that is certain to grow more serious. They are obliged to turn to a broader array of wild species to discover the new weapons of 21st century medicine.

Each species is a masterpiece of evolution, offering a vast source of useful

scientific knowledge because it is so thoroughly adapted to the environment in which it lives. Species alive today are thousands to millions of years old. Their genes, having been tested by adversity over so many generations, engineer a staggeringly complex array of biochemical devices to aid the survival and reproduction of the organisms carrying them.

- (iii) Even when that much is granted, the third stage of denial usually emerges: Why rush to save all the species right now? We have more important things to do. Why not keep live specimens in zoos and botanical gardens-on ice, so to speak-and return them to the wild later? The grim truth is that all the zoos in the world today can sustain a maximum of only 2,000 species of mammals, birds, reptiles and amphibians, out of about 24,000 known to exist. The world's botanical gardens would be even more overwhelmed by the quarter-million plant species. These refuges are invaluable in helping to save a few endangered species. So is freezing embryos in liquid nitrogen. But such measures cannot come close to solving the problem as a whole.

To add to the difficulty, no one has devised a plan to save the legion of insects, fungi and other ecologically vital small organisms. And once scientists are ready to return species to independence, the ecosystems in which many lived will no longer exist. Tigers and rhinos, to make the point clear, cannot survive in paddies.

3B.6 What Can We Do?

The conclusion of scientists and conservationists is therefore virtually unanimous: the only way to save wild species is to maintain them in their original habitats. Considering how rapidly such habitats are shrinking, even that straightforward solution will be a daunting task. Many ecosystems have already been lost, and others seem doomed.

- In spite of all these difficulties, there is reason for some optimism. With appropriate measures and the will to use them, the hemorrhaging can be slowed, perhaps eventually halted, and most of the surviving species saved. Some of the most important immediate steps that can be taken are outlined in the Convention on Biological Diversity, signed by 156 nations and the European Union at the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. The convention was the turning point in the awareness of biodiversity as a world issue. It served as a catalyst in accelerating conservation efforts and has been especially important in awakening tropical countries, where biodiversity is both the richest and most threatened.

- One of the first moves under way is the closer surveying of biodiversity, country by country, to pinpoint the extinction hot spots. Such information, when used to sequester parks and reserves, can lead to the rescue of large numbers of endangered ecosystems and specie. A review of bird distribution by the international Council for Bird Preservation, using the best data available for any group of organisms, revealed that 20% of the world's species occur within 2% of the land area. Protecting natural environments in these localities alone would help greatly to slow the rate of bird extinction. It would also shield large numbers of other animals and plants limited to the same habitat.
- Saving the last remnants of the natural environment requires more than just scientific information. There are also formidable economic and political problems to be overcome. Growing populations need new land and increased food production. The priorities of the desperately poor do not include saving the fauna and flora of their country. Funds must be raised to purchase much of the land from private owners, and then to pay for the protection and management of the reserves. To gain the support of local peoples, educational programs are needed to convey the importance of wild lands to sustaining their own environment in a healthy state. The poor need to be helped to a better life on the land they already occupy.
- Out of this welter of conflicting interests has arisen a new kind of environmentalism. It values the world's fauna and flora not just aesthetically as the natural heritage of humanity but also as a source of wealth and economic stability. An infant biodiversity industry is now taking shape along several fronts. In the U.S. more than 20 pharmaceutical companies have contracted with private and national research organizations to push "chemical prospecting" for new medicines in rain forests and other habitats.
- Ecotourism, opening the most spectacular wild lands to paying visitors, has become a major source of income in many developing countries. Reserves and the surrounding land are being reorganized to create an outer buffer zone where local peoples are helped to develop sustainable agriculture, enveloping an inviolate core zone for the maximum protection of endangered species. Some forest tracts previously scheduled for clear-cutting are now selectively logged or cut along concentric swaths, then allowed to regenerate. Because the practices yield higher long-term profits, they are expected to be widely adopted.
- The new approach to biodiversity, uniting conservation and economic development, is obviously far from perfect, and it is not yet fully practiced in

any country. But it is a promising start. Some of the pilot projects have succeeded dramatically. They offer a way out of what will otherwise be a biologically impoverished future.

- With the world population at 5.7 billion and sure to keep on growing rapidly until well into the next century, humanity has entered a dangerous environmental bottleneck. We hope, surely we must believe, that our species will come out the other side in better condition than when we entered. We should make it a goal to take as much of the rest of life with us as is humanly possible. It is also high time that we seriously engage with the critical relationship between environmental degradation and democracy.

3B.6 Summary :

Environment is closely linked to the concept of development. Economic growth and technological progress of all kinds are basic approaches of industrialized societies. According to classic economics, development has always been linked to economic growth, and subsequently it has been linked to competition rather than to cooperation.

- Today, environmental degradation in industrialized countries due to pollution, over-population and excessive use of natural resources, has brought forward the notion of environmental protection,
- Environment and health have become nearly interchangeable concepts in post-traditional societies. Human life is now moulded to a large extent by the changes that man has brought about in his external environment and by his attempts at controlling body and soul. It is not possible anymore to talk about the environment without referring to health and vice versa.
- In India, especially in recent years, environmental concerns have visibly become an integral part of the mainstream of political debate and action.
- Capitalism has been seen as the main cause of ecological crisis. This view has been supported over the years by many studies which describe how the phenomenon of nature is being recast and compressed through technology to be marched in rhythm with the ineluctable cycles of capitalist accumulation. Certain examples have been put forth like, biotechnology terminator seeds, and so on. The crisis caused by the impact of capitalism has been termed as the 'second contradiction', whereby capital impairs and exhausts its own social and environmental conditions and thus threatens its ability to reproduce the basis for profit and accumulation. In other words, acid rain, climate change,

over-fishing, decimation of wildlife, deforestation, nuclear waste build-up, and so on, are recognized not merely as a common threat to humanity in general but essentially and fundamentally as a crisis for capitalist reproduction

In the past several decades a virtual explosion in environmental movements or popular mobilization on environmental themes has become highly visible on the political landscape in India and elsewhere. The relatively prominent ones would perhaps include struggles such as Chipko - challenging deforestation in the Himalayas; Narmada Bachao Andolan, Tehri and Koel Karo - resistance against large dams; Chilika Bachao Andolan-against shrimp farming by the Tata Corporation; National Fishworkers Federation - struggles against the entry of mechanized fishing, and so on.

With the world population at 5.7 billion and sure to keep on growing rapidly until well into the next century, humanity has entered a dangerous environmental bottleneck. We hope that our species will come out the other side in better condition than when we entered. We should make it a goal to take as much of the rest of life with us as is humanly possible. It is also high time that we seriously engaged with the critical relationship between environmental degradation and democracy.

However, beyond all needs for conceptual changes lies an even more difficult task; environment and development are not isolated arenas of political dispute. They are part of a comprehensive system of local, regional, national, and into national interdependencies of political and economic power structures. We are not alone anymore, if we have ever been. Whatever happens somewhere on this planet, it will have an impact on our individual and communal. We are on our way although nobody knows where the journey will lead us. However, one thing is crystal clear the almost insoluble task is to let neither the power of others, nor our own powerlessness, stupefy us.

3B.7 Questions:

- Q1 How is environment and development inter-related? Illustrate with examples.
- Q2 What is the importance of the relationship between environment and development?
- Q3 What ecological crisis is being faced by modern world? Illustrate with examples.

- Q4 Do you think that capitalism is the cause of the ecological crisis? If so, why?
- Q5 Is India facing any environmental or developmental problems? What would you suggest as a solution.

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CONTRIBUTIONS OF W.W. ROSTOW, PAUL BARAN

Unit Structure:

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1. Introduction
- 4.2. Meaning of Development
- 4.3. Amartya Sen on Development
- 4.4. Important concepts
- 4.5. Geopolitics associated with the concept of Development
- 4.6. Walt Whitman Rostow
- 4.7. Stages of Growth
- 4.8. Paul Alexander Baran
- 4.9. Theory of Underdevelopment
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- 4.11. Questions
- 4.12. References

4.0 Objectives

- To understand the context on which theories on Development have been created.
- To learn about the contribution of W.W. Rostow and his theory.
- To learn about Paul Baran and his contribution to the sociology of Development.

4.1 Introduction

This chapter comes under the area of Sociology of Development which is an independent discipline in itself. Here we are going to learn about two thinkers their important work. Now you may be having this question why this chapter and why these two specific thinkers. India is one of the few countries that benefited immensely from globalization in 1991 with the Information Technology

revolution and new businesses like call centers. At Present, several countries are moving their base from China during the pandemic and investing in Asian markets like India due to its second-largest labor force and high population. Hence, to better understand the present situation, we need to learn these theorists and their points of view. Before understanding the contribution of W.W. Rostow and Paul Baran, we need to first learn about its historical context; only then will you be able to connect with what these thinkers are trying to explain. Let us begin with understanding the concept development.

Understanding development theories would help you understand the process of modernization how economics and economic development became priorities than human values and ethics. It would also reveal how the West thinkers have influenced most countries and their policies directly or indirectly. This could be through forming bodies, sponsoring programs in the name of Development.

4.2 Meaning of Development

The term "development" is used to describe national economic growth. The word development was first used in the United States in the early 1940s to introduce American foreign policy. The US urged its social scientists to research and develop strategies for supporting capitalist economic Development and political stability in developing countries. As a result of this policy decision, development theory was born. There are many different perspectives on Development, but nearly all of them focus on growth and governance.

4.3 Amartya Sen on Development

According to Amartya Sen, the 1998 Nobel prize winner, freedom is the primary objective of Development and the principal means of Development. Development is further enhanced by democracy and the protection of human rights. Such rights, especially freedom of the press, speech, assembly, and so forth, increase the likelihood of honest, clean, good government. He claims that "no famine has ever taken place in the history of the world in a functioning democracy." This is because democratic governments "have to win elections and face public criticism, and have strong incentive to undertake measures to avert famines and other catastrophes."

Development is the process of expanding human freedom. It is "the enhancement of freedoms that allow people to lead lives that they have reason to live." Hence, Development requires the removal of major sources of unfreedom: poverty, tyranny, poor economic opportunities, systemic social deprivation, neglect of

public facilities, and intolerance or over interference of repressive states. Sen further argues that there are five interrelated freedoms, like political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency and security. The state has a role in supporting freedoms by providing public education, health care, social safety nets, good macroeconomic policies, productivity and protecting the environmentⁱ.

Check Your Progress

1. Explain Amartya Sen's View on development.

4.4 Important concepts

You will encounter these terminologies in this unit and even in Unit 5, i.e., on Frank, Amin, Wallerstein; hence it is explained here. Generally, the first three words are used very often in developmental studies.

First World

The term “First World” refers the ones which are called as developed, capitalist, industrial countries, roughly, a bloc of countries aligned with the United States after world war II, with more or less common political and economic interests: North America, Western Europe, Japan and Australia.

Second World

"Second World" refers to the former communist-socialist, industrial states (formerly the Eastern bloc, the territory and sphere of influence of the Union of Soviet Socialists Republic) today: Russia, Eastern Europe (e.g., Poland) and some of the Turk States (e.g., Kazakhstan) as well as China.

Third World

“Third World” are all the other countries; today often used to roughly describe the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The term Third World

includes as well capitalist (e.g., Venezuela) and communist (e.g., North Korea) countries as very rich (e.g., Saudi Arabia) and very poor (e.g., Mali) countries.

Fourth World

The term “Fourth World” first came into use in 1974 with the publication of Shuswap Chief George Manuel's: *The fourth world: an Indian reality* (amazon link to the book), the term refers to nations (cultural entities, ethnic groups) of indigenous peoples living within or across state boundaries (nation-states)ⁱⁱ.

Check Your Progress

1. Discuss the meaning of Development.

2. Discuss the politics involved in the emergence of Development.

4.5 Geopolitics associated with the Concept of development

Development can be traced through the major perspectives on Development that have emerged since World War II, as represented by theories of modernization and growth, dependency and world systems theories, the resurgence of neoclassical theory, and a range of newer critical perspectives. Development involves innumerable variables, including economic, social, political, gender, cultural, religious, and environmental factors. Early theoretical models of Development equated Development with economic growth and industrialization,

and theorists saw countries that had not yet achieved these as being at an earlier or lower stage of Developmentⁱⁱⁱ.

Since World War II, the primary perspectives on Development have been created. The emergence of developmental studies can be traced back to ideas of modernization and growth, dependency and world systems theories, the revival of neoclassical theory, and a range of developing critical perspectives. It is also worth noting that Development is influenced by economic, social, political, gender, cultural, religious, and environmental issues.

All the developmental models developed by several scholars have impacted society back then and even today. Even today across the globe a country's growth is counted by its Gross Domestic Product (GDP). There are few countries like Bhutan which counts its growth not by economic terms but by Happiness Index. In other words, it prioritizes happiness than economics.

However, let us try to understand the perspective and contribution of Rostow.

4.6 Walt Whitman Rostow

Walt Whitman Rostow was an educator, economist, and government figure who was born in 1916. He lived experienced World War II. He also lectured at many colleges and institutions. His first book, the American Diplomatic Revolution, was based on his inaugural lecture at Oxford University in November 1946 and was published in 1947. Another book, Essays on the British Economy of the Nineteenth Century, was published the following year.

In 1950, he was assigned to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology as a professor of economic history. He was also named to the staff of that University's Center for International Studies the following year. Rostow held both positions until 1961. During that time, Rostow published a large number of books, articles, and reviews on a variety of subjects. Among them are the following:

The Process of Economic Growth (1953, 2nd ed. 1960); *The Growth and Fluctuation of the British Economy, 1790-1850* (with others, 1953, 2nd ed. 1975); *The Dynamics of Soviet Society* (with others, 1953); *The Prospects for Communist China* (with others, 1954); *An American Policy in Asia* (with R. W. Hatch, 1955); *A Proposal: Key to an Effective Foreign Policy* (with M. F. Millikan, 1957); *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (1960); *The United States in the World Arena* (1960); *Rich Countries and Poor Countries: Reflections from the Past, Lessons for the Future* (1987); and *Theorists of Economic Growth from David Hume to the Present* (1990). *East-West Relations: Is Detente Possible?* (with William E. Griffith, 1969); *Politics*

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Rostow's reputation was as an original and significant economic theorist, as well as a keen observer of modern international affairs, was cemented by these publications.

Rostow returned to teaching in 1969, taking a job at the University of Texas at Austin. He was the Rex G. Baker Professor of Political Economy in the Economics and History Departments at that university in the 1980s. In 1990, he was honoured with the Association of American Publishers Award for Outstanding Book in the Social Sciences. Rostow was named Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer of the Austin Project in 1992. The purpose of this group was to fix the problems of urban America, beginning with Austin, Texas.

The project's goal was to expand governmental and private programmes aimed at prenatal care and assisting poor children. The concept of Rostow was to invest in young people. "The way we fought the Vietnam War reminds me of the way we are attempting to deal with the cities," he said, "go after all the symptoms and putting Band-Aids on them instead of going after the source."^{iv}.

The most influential proponent of this view was the American economic historian Walt W. Rostow. His 1960 book, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*.

4.7 Stages of Growth

Stage 1 Traditional Society –

This is the first stage of Development. Here the economy is dominated by survival activity. Producers consume output; it is not traded. Trade is a barter where goods are exchanged directly for other goods. Agriculture is the most important industry. Production is labor-intensive using only limited quantities of capital. Technology is limited, and resource allocation is determined very much by traditional methods of production.

Stage 2 Transitional Stage (Preconditions for Takeoff) –

In the second stage, Increased specialization generates surpluses for trading. There is an emergence of a transport infrastructure to support trade. Entrepreneurs emerge as incomes, savings and investment grow. External trade also occurs, concentrating on primary products. A strong central government encourages private enterprise.

Stage 3 Take Off

Industrialization increases with workers switching from the agricultural sector to the manufacturing sector. Growth is concentrated in a few regions of the country and within one or two manufacturing industries. The level of investment reaches over 10% of GNP. People save money. The economic transitions are accompanied by the evolution of new political and social institutions that support industrialization. The growth is self-sustaining as investment leads to increasing incomes, generating more savings to finance further investment.

Stage 4 Drive to Maturity

The economy is diversifying into new areas. Technological innovation provides a diverse range of investment opportunities. The economy is producing a wide range of goods and services and there is less reliance on imports. Technology is used more widely.

Stage 5 High Mass Consumption

The economy is geared towards mass consumption, and the level of economic activity is very high. Technology is extensively used but its expansion slows. The service sector has become increasingly dominant. Urbanization is complete. Now, multinationals emergence for large numbers of persons transcends basic food, shelter and clothing. Increased interest in social welfare^v.

His theory, in other words, was a linear-stages-of-growth model that defined Development as a sequence of stages through which all societies must pass. This conception of the nature and process of Development became the basic blueprint for modernization theory (i) As its subtitle suggest "a non-communist manifesto"—through his work, Rostow's argued for the efficacy of the capitalist development model, an argument aimed especially at the newly developing nations of the Third World.

Criticism

- Several scholars criticized the Rostow model of economic growth. Some called it experimentation. Some rejected it as his model of economic growth instead of the Karl Marx phases of feudalism, socialism, Capitalism,

bourgeoisie, and communism. Few scholars say that his model had shifted from economic growth to politics which was practiced by nine major countries.^{vi}

- Critics also point out that it's not necessary that all the countries essentially pass through all the stages, there could be diffusion, investment, environmental reasons, or several other factors, as a result, some stages could be skipped.
- This model is also criticized because it is a top-down approach where the advanced countries are viewed as benchmarks of a progressive society and others who haven't reached their stage are traditional.

Check Your Progress

1. List out three Rostow work's name.

2. List out the five stages of growth of Rostow.

4.8 Paul Alexander Baran

Paul Alexander Baran was a professor of economics at Stanford from 1949 until his death of a heart attack in 1964. His most important works were *The Political Economy of Growth* (1957) and *Monopoly Capital* (1965), co-authored with Paul M. Sweezy, an important critic of Capitalism. Monopoly capital was basically criticism of Capitalism, especially of the United States. Paul Baran was an expert in comparative economic systems (Capitalism and socialism) and considered himself a Marxist^{vii}. Through Baran works, he was trying the history of Capitalism. He made the readers ask questions like when Capitalism would die? He was one of those few scholars of his time who was ready to criticize Capitalism. American education system of those days was promoting Capitalism however, Baran was critical and inspired others too to see a different view point^{viii}. He has published several important works like -

- *The Political Economy of Underdevelopment*, (1952)
- *The Political Economy of Growth*. (1957)
- "Reflections on under consumption," in Abramovitz, Moses; et al. (eds.). (1959), *The allocation of economic resources: essays in honor of Bernard Francis Haley*
- *Marxism and Psychoanalysis* (1960), [pamphlet] Monthly Review Press
- *The Commitment of the Intellectual*, [pamphlet] (1961), Monthly Review Press
- *Reflections on the Cuban Revolution*, [pamphlet] (1961), Monthly Review Press
- *Monopoly Capital: An essay on the American economic and social order*, (1966), Monthly Review Press, New York
- *The Longer View: Essays toward a critique of political economy* (1970),
- *The Political Economy of Neo-Colonialism* (1975).

4.9 Theory of Underdevelopment

Paul Baran's prominent book is the 'The Political Economy of Underdevelopment'. Baran noted that economic Development has historically always brought a transformation in society's economy, society and politics. It cannot be ignored that economic Development has also been led by classes and groups who are interested in a new economic and social order. These groups are also interested in preserving their status quo in the society^{ix}.

He further defines economic growth as an "increase over time in per capita output of material goods" (i.e., increase in labor productivity); Baran stresses the need for net investment (the capitalizing of surplus value). He outlines three types of economic surpluses: First, actual economic surplus (really accumulated surplus value). Secondly, potential economic surplus (accumulated surplus value) which can be produced if the following are eliminated: (a) excess consumption by the middle and upper layers of society; (b) unproductive workers; (c) irrationality and waste in the economy; and (d) unemployment. Thirdly, planned economic surplus (the surplus product of a nationalized and planned economy)^x.

In other words, in an economic system characterized by a hierarchy of classes where economic and political power is concentrated at the top, the output and income beyond what is consumed by most people (food, clothing, housing, public safety, education, and so on) mostly go to the highest class. This extra portion is what he called the economic surplus, a form of savings or income left over after consumption. In a feudalistic system, there is little incentive to use the proceeds of this type of surplus to buy more tools and equipment for more production of output and income. The lord or baron has little incentive to lend or give serfs money because he may not benefit from increased productivity. It is with Capitalism that such incentives to reinvest in production become important^{xi}. In other words, the surplus developed in the colonies was sent back to the mother country than the less developed countries where the actual production took place. According to him, the kind of surplus that existed in the Third World countries depended on Capitalism. The goal was to extract the underdeveloped countries than actually develop them. This in a way, did not let the under developed country grow in any way on their own. This, even in advanced Capitalism, continues even though colonization has ended. In the name of free trade, the raw materials, labor has been used but the profits are taken away. This further led to a capitalist mode of production where they could thrive more in the business and continuously expand themselves in other countries.

He adds the developed countries try to bring the underdeveloped countries through charities periodically so that little Development takes place at a long period. However this change is not sufficient for the actual Development or well being of the people. As any investment will result in returns and in a way, it would profit the investors and due to the unfavorable policies for citizens and corruption the underdeveloped countries anyhow doesn't grow^{xii} (p.13)

Check Your Progress

1. What are the three surplus forms discussed by Baran?

2. Discuss the Underdeveloped theory in few lines.

4.10 Summary

In this chapter we began with looking into the meaning of Development, where "development" is used to describe national economic growth. The word development was first used in the United States in the early 1940s to introduce to American foreign policy. For Amartya Sen, development is the freedom of an individual in a society. We also learned about the different rankings given to countries like first world, second, third. We further observed Rostow and his contribution through his theory of stages of growth, where he developed a nonlinear model. The chapter ends with a discussion on Paul Baran's work and his views on underdeveloped how capitalists use the surplus to profit themselves and their home than Development of the locals.

4.11 Questions

1. Explain in brief the theory of underdevelopment.
2. Explain Rostow theory of stages of Development
3. Write in brief the meaning of Development and its interrelated concepts.

4.12 References

ⁱ<https://www.asiancenturyinstitute.com/development/333-amartya-sen-on-development-as-freedom>

ⁱⁱ<http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/10/150.html>

ⁱⁱⁱHalperin, S. (2018, December 17). *Development theory*. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/development-theory>

^{iv} "Walt Whitman Rostow ." Encyclopedia of World Biography.

Retrieved July 30, 2021, from Encyclopedia.com:

<https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/walt-whitman-rostow>

^v<http://www.uop.edu.pk/ocontents/Lecture%204%20a%20Unit%202%20Lesson%206%20Rostow.pdf>

^{vi}Khan, Z., & Slavador, M. (2017). Summarizing the Miscellaneous Criticism on Rostow's Model of Economic Growth: An Overview. *International Journal of Social Science & Economic Research*, 2(2), 2301-12.

^{vii} <http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8xs5zkx/>

^{viii} Prof Wolff about Paul Baran his talk

^{ix}<https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?collection=journals&handle=hein.journals/guild19&div=12&id=&page=>

^x<https://www.marxists.org/history/etol/document/swp-us/misc-1/edonbaran.htm>

^{xi} <https://business.louisville.edu/faculty-research/research-publications/paul-barans-economic-surplus-concept-the-baran-ratio-and-the-decline-of-feudalism/>

^{xii}Baran, P. A. (2019). *Political Econ of Growth*. United States: Monthly Review Press.



CONTRIBUTIONS OF ANDRE GUNDER FRANK, SAMIR AMIN AND IMMANUEL WALLERSTEIN

Unit Structure

- 5.0 Objectives
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Andre Gunder Frank
 - 5.2.1 Biography
 - 5.2.2 Theory
 - 5.2.3 Study of Latin America
 - 5.2.4 Death
 - 5.2.5 Criticism
- 5.3 Samir Amin
 - 5.3.1 Biography
 - 5.3.2 Work
 - 5.3.3 Theory
 - 5.3.4 Criticism
- 5.4 Immanuel Wallerstein
 - 5.4.1 Biography
 - 5.4.2 World System Theory
 - 5.4.3 Criticism
- 5.5 Summary
- 5.6 Questions
- 5.7 References

5.0 Objective

- To learn about the foundational thinkers on Development studies
- To learn about the different theories given by these thinkers.
- To understand these theories with the present conditions in our society.

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, you learn about three thinkers who have a deep impact on the study of the sociology of development and underdevelopment theories worldwide. These thinkers are among the pioneers who criticized the powerful development countries and their strategies to control the underdeveloped countries. The common thread on which these thinkers unite is that the underdeveloped countries have been used back then during the colonization period and even during the post-colonization period. In other words, the developed countries even today continue their exploitation. You will find certain common themes being discussed by the thinkers; however, these thinkers' concepts and terminologies have changed.

5.2 Andre Gunder Frank

5..2.1 Biography

Andre Gunder Frank, a German-American economist, was born on February 24, 1929, in Berlin. His parents sought safety from the Nazis in Switzerland in 1933 and then in the United States later (1941). Frank earned his bachelor's degree from Swarthmore in 1950 and his doctorate in economics from the University of Chicago in 1957, where he studied under Milton Friedman.

He began his career as an expert in Soviet farm economics at Michigan State University (1957–1961), but he quickly left the United States for Latin America. He inspired numerous economists in Brazil, including Theotonio dos Santos and Fernando Henrique Cardoso. After the coup in 1964, he moved to Chile, where he worked at the University of Chile's School of Economics Center for Socioeconomic Studies. Frank met his wife, Marta Fuentes, in Chile, where he wrote his first series of books on Latin American socioeconomic situations with whom he coauthored several works.

Frank was forced to leave Chile after the military overthrew President Salvador Allende's socialist administration in 1973. Frank took positions as professor of Development Studies in Social Change at the University of East Anglia (1978–1983) and professor of Development Economics and Social Sciences at the University of Amsterdam (1983–1994) after returning to Germany to work at the Max Planck Institute (1973–1978). He became linked with the global-system school and coauthored various works on the dynamics of social crisis and social movements in the world system with Immanuel Wallerstein, Samir Amin, and others.

5.2.2 Dependency theory – Metropolis and Satellite

In the book 'Capitalism and Under Development in North America, he explained the metropolis–satellite relationship. He begins that due to colonization, the underdeveloped began. The metropolis here refers to the developed countries. On the other hand, satellite countries are the ones that are dependent on developed countries. These countries are the ones that have enough raw materials. The metropolis uses the raw material available in the satellite countries and produces the finished goods. The metropolis is the western industrial developed countries, whereas the satellite countries are dependent on agriculture. Generally, satellite countries are facing exploitation. It is because of the metropolis that satellite countries are not able to develop.

Through the early 1970s, Frank had established himself as one of the main figures of dependency theory, which stated that external influences (such as political, economic, and cultural) on national development policies could explain why the third world, particularly Latin America, had been and remained subordinate to Western interests (see, for example, Frank's *World Accumulation, 1492–1789*, 1978). He also claimed that constructing a noncapitalist (socialist) national economy was the only path out of dependence. According to Frank, the development of Western cultures is only a historical blip in an otherwise Asian-centric economy.¹

Frank and others used the historical condition of dependency to explain why economic progress in the West does not convert into economic growth in the periphery: Even after formal independence, colonial programs continued to link the periphery to the international market through commodity chains, frequently through the export of single low-value-added goods (raw materials). The colonizer-colonized connection was a feature of global capitalism dynamics, not only pre-capitalist imperialist history, and this relationship continues to degrade the third world long after formal independence due to a local lumpen bourgeoisie making it impossible for former colonies to catch up with the West. The latter then reinforces this neo-colonization through its use of debt.

Frank began to take a revised perspective to world history in the 1990s, dismissing world-system theory and most orthodox historical and theoretical interpretations as deeply Eurocentric. Frank researched a 5,000-year-old trading system, drawing on his earlier studies of long-term economic cycles, and concluded, most notably in his book *Reorient* (1998), that the world economy had been Asia-centered for thousands of years and was now going back in that direction. Frank asserted in his latter years that the West's recent success was a

fleeting phenomenon caused by the East's transitory collapse and that the analytical idea of capitalism had lost its relevance.

5.2.3 Study on Latin America

Frank argued against both the widely influential orthodox Marxist theory—which classified Latin America as being in a semi-feudal stage—and the Western-centric modernization theory, which saw the lack of development in the so-called "Third World" as a result of incomplete "modernization" and insufficient or backward capitalist institutions—in his classic work *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America* (1967). Frank's "development of under-development" thesis maintained that Latin America has been used as a peripheral by major colonial powers in the framework of capitalism expansion across the Atlantic since its inception.

5.2.4 His Death

Frank died in Luxembourg on April 23, 2005, after publishing over 35 books and hundreds of articles in dozens of languages. His contributions to dependence and world-system theory impacted many in anthropology, sociology, political economics, and even liberation theology. His final multidisciplinary study program, which was cut short by his death, was an ambitious attempt to deconstruct Eurocentrism in history and modern social theory. Frank was a social activist and an academician who never received the recognition he deserved—yet his research will continue to spark numerous disputes.ⁱⁱ.

5.2.5 Criticism

Frank is being criticised that he did not give a clear definition of capitalism. He is also criticized, stating that he did not explain industrialization as a process. He limited himself in explaining the metropolis and satellite relations. He has also not much discussed the role and importance of the state.

Check Your Progress

1. Explain Dependency theory of A.G. Frank in few lines ?

2. Discuss the criticism over A. G. Frank theory ?

5.3 Samir Amin

5.3.1 Biography

Samir Amin was born in Cairo, Egypt, with two doctors, an Egyptian father and a French mother. In northern Egypt's Port Said, he grew up where he attended the French lycée and received his baccalaureate in 1947. Amin then enrolled at the Lycée Henri IV in Paris to study mathematics and at the Institut d'études Politiques in Paris to study law, which was the standard path to economics. He earned a certificate in political science in 1952 and a law and economics license in 1953 before pursuing a Ph.D. in economics. In 1956, he earned a statistics certificate from the Institut de Statistiques de l'Université de Paris. Amin was awarded a Ph.D. in economics in June 1957.

In June 1957, Amin received a doctorate in economics under Maurice Byé and with the additional guidance of François Perroux. As a student, Amin spent much of his time as a militant with various student movements. From 1949 to 1953, helped publish the journal *Étudiants Anticolonialistes*. He met many of the future members of Africa's governing elite.

From 1957 to 1960, Amin worked in Cairo on economic development issues for the Egyptian government, then moved to Bamako, Mali, where he was an adviser to the Malian planning ministry (1960-1963). In 1963 he moved to Dakar, Senegal, where he took a fellowship (1963-1970) at the Institut Africain de Développement Économique et de Planification (IDEP). He became a director at IDEP (1970-1980) and subsequently was named director of the Third World Forum (1980–). Amin has at various times held professorships in Poitiers, Dakar, and Paris.

5.3.2 Works

Imperialism and Unequal Development, Specters of Capitalism: A Critique of Current Intellectual Fashions, Obsolescent Capitalism: Contemporary Politics and Global Disorder, and The Liberal Virus are a few of Samir Amin's writings. In October 2006, his memoirs were released. Accumulation on a Global Scale: A Critique of the Theory of Underdevelopment was his dissertation published in English in 1974. It was the first big study to claim that most of the world's underdevelopment directly resulted from the capitalist economy's functioning. He claimed that this polarization is the result of profit transfers from poor to rich countries, which help to alleviate potential under-consumption problems in industrial economies by allowing the industrial world to pay higher salaries or offer lower prices to consumers than would be possible if the labour theory of value to work were applied only at the national level.

5.3.3 Dependency Theory – Exploitation of Labour Market

Amin's focus on the global economy as a unit of study is meant to explain global wage and price disparities within the context of a Marxist labor theory of value. Even his subsequent publications (such as Obsolescent Capitalism and Beyond U.S. Hegemony) build on this paradigm to criticize imperialist goals in general and U.S. hegemonic aspirations in particular after September 11, 2001. Amin advocates for a polycentric world to combat monopolies in fields like technology, banking, natural resources, media, and weapons manufacture, which disproportionately harm developing nationsⁱⁱⁱ.

High periphery imports in the long run, capital imports, are the result of already existing structural deformations of the role of peripheries in the world system, namely rapid urbanization combined with insufficient local food production, excessive expenditures of local bureaucracies, changes in income distribution to the benefit of local elites (demonstration effects), insufficient growth of and structural imbalances in the global economy. As a result, Amin contends, the history of peripheral capitalism is littered with short-term "miracles" as well as long-term obstacles, stagnation, and even deterioration^{iv}.

Samir Amin has written about Dependency theory in the book 'Imperialism and Unequal development'. He has used two concepts – i.e., core (developed) and periphery (underdeveloped) to explain the ideas. Developed countries are using the cheap raw materials of the underdeveloped countries. On the other hand, finished countries are given by the developed countries at a high price. As a result, the per capita income increases more in the developed countries and in the underdeveloped countries decreases. As the finished goods are always sold at a

higher price than the raw material. Let us take this with an example of a Lays packet. The farmer sells a piece of potato at the cost of not even Rs. 25 paise, however, a packet of lays costs more than Rs.10. The second example is that of Ketchup which is being made from the tomato. Few tomatoes are needed to make a ketchup bottle; however, it is sold more than Rs. 100. Same with products like peanut butter and many more things. Peripheral countries are always made to rely on foreign assistance. The wages in peripheral countries are always low. The social movement organized by the peripheral countries is always suppressed. The peripheral goods are always producing the primary goods and the rich countries produce the finished growth. The structural imbalance and politics are taken advantage of by the core countries.

5.3.4 Criticism

It is criticized that he did not focus on the human, social, and cultural factors that some countries developed themselves. Critics also point out that if the periphery countries use their resources properly, they could also be developed countries. So, somewhere they could also rise instead of being a victim themselves. The role of open market and free trade, which creates such a structure is not seen as being blamed in the theory.

Amin's reliance on a labor theory of value and under consumptionist theory has limited his analytical outlook and led him to make overly simplistic predictions despite allowing a holistic historical materialistic perspective. Nevertheless, his criticisms of neoclassical equilibrium models and imperialistic projects have long since been joined by economists and social scientists from many different theoretical persuasions.

Check Your Progress

1. Explain your understanding of exploitation of labour market as discussed by Amin.

2. Discuss the criticism over Amin's theory

5.4 Immanuel Wallerstein

5.4.1 Biography

In the post–World War II (1939–1945) period, Immanuel Wallerstein was one of the most important and productive American sociologists. He graduated from Columbia University in New York City with a B.A. in 1951, an M.A. in 1954, and a Ph.D. in 1959. Wallerstein was largely apolitical sociologist in his early years as an assistant professor of sociology there. While performing fieldwork in the region, his experience in African independence movements led him to meet social thinker Frantz Fanon (1925–1961). The political and revolutionary action that swept the African continent in the late 1950s and early 1960s forced Wallerstein to rethink the nation-state as a valid unit of analysis, especially in countries where such institutions were a clear byproduct of long-term colonialism and imperialism. Wallerstein supported students in their anti–Vietnam War (1957–1975) protests against university administration in the late 1960s, resulting in his book *University in Turmoil* (1969) and his decision to leave Columbia to join the Department of Sociology at McGill University in Montreal. During his time there, he wrote the first book of *The Modern World-System* (1974), translated into thirteen languages and was influenced by French economic historian Fernand Braudel's (1902–1985) long-term perspective of historical processes.^v

5.4.2 World Systems Theory

The Silk Route was the major player in the "world-system" in the 11th century, and nations along the silk route were the dominant actors in international industry and trade. With today's advanced communications and transportation technologies, nearly every culture is now a member of the global system as a supplier of raw materials, a producer, or a consumer.

With its three-level hierarchy of core, periphery, and semi-periphery, World Systems Theory was created by Immanuel Wallerstein. According to World Systems Theory, there is a global economic system in which some countries prosper while others are exploited. Core nations are dominating capitalist countries that extort labor and raw resources from periphery countries. Peripheral countries rely on funding from core countries and have undeveloped industries. Semiperipheral countries have traits from both the core and the periphery. Peripheral countries rely on funding from core countries and have undeveloped industries. The term "core" refers to the dominant capitalist countries that exploit the periphery for labour and raw supplies. Semiperipheral countries have traits of both the core and the periphery.

World Systems Theory, like dependency theory, proposes that wealthier countries benefit from and exploit the populations of other countries. In contrast to dependence theory, this model acknowledges the modest benefits that low-status nations in the global system get. The thesis was developed by sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein, who claims that how a nation is integrated into the capitalist world-system impacts how that country's economy develops.

The international economic system, according to Wallerstein, is split into three types of countries: core, semiperipheral, and periphery. Core countries (e.g., the United States, Japan, and Germany) are powerful capitalist nations with high levels of industrialization and urbanization. Core nations are capital-intensive, with high pay and high-tech production processes and reduced levels of exploitation and coercion of workers. Peripheral nations (e.g., most African and low-income countries in South America) are less industrialized and urbanised and rely on core countries for capital.

The majority of peripheral nations are agricultural, have low literacy rates, and lack reliable Internet connectivity. South Korea, Taiwan, Mexico, Brazil, India, Nigeria, and South Africa are semiperipheral countries that are less developed than core countries but more developed than peripheral countries. They serve as a buffer between the core and the periphery.

The core nations control the majority of the world's money and technology and global trade and economic agreements. They also serve as cultural hubs, attracting artists and intellectuals. Core countries rely on peripheral countries for labor and supplies. Core nations utilize both semiperipheral and peripheral countries, just as semiperipheral countries use both semiperipheral and peripheral countries. Raw minerals are extracted at a low cost in core nations. They can also fix pricing for agricultural items exported by peripheral nations independent of

market prices, causing small farmers to quit their fields due to a lack of funds for labour and fertilizer. The wealthy in peripheral countries benefit from the labor of poor workers and from their economic relations with core country capitalists^{vi}

5.4.3 Criticism

Some Scholars have criticised as the cultural change has been ignored, and more of the economic process is given importance. Some view this as Eurocentrism approach. Socialist countries have been ignored in this theory however, countries who are going through modern capitalism are been only documented.

5.5 Summary

This chapter is one of the foundational topics in understanding the discrimination towards the underdeveloped countries. It explains the process through which they are being exploited like extraction of raw materials, favourable policies by the developed countries. Three thinkers have been discussed here namely, A.G. Frank, Wallerstein and Samir Amin. All these thinkers have explained their perspective by using certain concepts. For example – Frank uses metropolis (developed countries) and satellite (under developed countries), Samir Amin uses core periphery and Wallerstein uses Core (Developed), semi periphery (middle) and periphery (under developed) countries. In a way, through this chapter the geopolitics nature has been explained which has been further advanced due to globalisation.

Check Your Progress

1. Explain the main ideas with reference to World systems theory.

2. Discuss the criticism over the World system theory.

5.6 Questions

1. Explain in brief the theory of Wallerstein
2. Write about contribution of Samir Amin and his theory
3. Explain the theory given by A. G. Frank

5.7 References

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^{iv} <https://wapescholar.pure.elsevier.com/en/persons/samir-amin>

^vWallerstein, Immanuel ." *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. . Retrieved September 22, 2021, from *Encyclopedia.com*

^{vi}<p id="citeText">World-Systems Theory. (2021, February 20). <https://socialsci.libretexts.org/@go/page/8190></p>

POST DEVELOPMENT THEORY – DEVELOPMENT AS DISCOURSE

A. ESCOBAR,W. SACHS

Unit Structure

6A.0 Objectives

6A.1 Post-development Theory - Introduction

6A.2 Arturo Escobar

6A.3 Wolfgang Sachs

6A.4 Conclusion

6A.5 Summary

6A.6 Questions

6A.7 References

6A.0 Objectives

- To understand the concept of post-development as a school of thought within development theory
- To examine the contributions of post-development theorists and their critique of ‘development’

6A.1 Post-Development Theory - Introduction

Post development theory is one of the most compelling and controversial fields of thought in contemporary development studies. This body of literature became prominent in the 1990s and has since sparked fierce debate and attracted attention, in a positive as well as negative way. The term Post-Development is considered to be a school of thought in development theory which provides a critique of the very idea of ‘development’. One distinguishing highlight of this theory is their rejection of past development theory and practice and their insistence that development initiatives have done more harm than good. It goes further to provide and promote alternative ways of thinking and acting beyond

this idea. To some extent, dependency theory can be considered to be a precursor of post-development theory. However, what distinguishes dependency theory from post-development theory is that it provides a critique of modernity.

The first examples of what would become the post development theory emerged around the 1980s with the critiques of development provided by Ivan Illich (1979), Gustavo Esteva (1987), Wolfgang Sachs (1992), Arturo Escobar (1995), and Majid Rahnema (1997). Other eminent scholars are also seen as part of Post-Development, such as, Vandana Shiva (1989), Gilbert Rist (1997), Serge Latouche (1993) and others. Several Post Development writers have known to collaborate with indigenous and social movements in the Global South. A point in case is Escobar who has worked on the 'Proceso de Comunidades Negras de Colombia' (Black Communities of Colombia) and Esteva has worked with the Zapatistas and others in Mexico. The Zapatistas rebellion fought for the rights of the indigenous people in Mexico.

The aim of the Post Development scholars was to expose 'development as an ideology originating in the Cold War and thus to pave the way for alternatives. According to post development thinkers, 'underdevelopment' was 'invented' in the post-World War II era by the West in order to promise material improvements to the global south to avert the threat of Socialism and to legitimize economic expansion. The West argued that the poor countries would be able to 'catch-up' through investments, transfer of technology and 'development' experts provided by the West. Post development theorists denounced this view as Eurocentric, as it reduces countless ways of living in diverse cultures to toeing the footsteps of the western industrialized capitalist countries. The non-western 'other' was merely seen as backward and under-developed.

However, a few decades later, by the end of the twentieth century, the post development theorists claimed that the era of 'development' was coming to an end. This could be due to several reasons: The developed way of life has brought with it the problem of environmental destruction. The environmental crisis has cast a doubt on the validity and desirability of the development project. Another problem experienced by the developed world has to do with the socio-cultural characteristics of the developed regions. Latouche has referred to the West as 'an impersonal machine, devoid of spirit' because the West is riddled with problems such as, spiritual desolation, meaningless work, neglect of the aged and insecurity.

This critique of the West's Idea of development and progress led to the emergence of alternative to development. Diversity, to post-development theorists, is an asset. As long as there is diversity, alternative ways of living are evident. These theorists consider themselves to be the defenders of the 'local'. In

line with their defense of diversity many are opposed to ‘global solutions’ because such solutions usually take a ‘top down’ approach and tend to ignore the specificities of the region.

The post development theory is not without its criticism. Scholars like Corbridge (1998), Nanda (1999), Nederveen Pieterse (2000) have challenged the post development approach from various levels. The highlight of the critique is that post development theory romanticizes local communities and cultural traditions, legitimizes oppressive structures through cultural relativism and yet again prescribe ways of living to the people in the global south.

The post development theory provides a useful and thought-provoking critique of past development theory and practice. Despite its weaknesses, the post-development theory is relevant not only to those interested in development theory, but also to those interested in thinking of alternatives to the capitalist, industrialized way of life that upto this point had been upheld as ideal and desirable and towards which all should strive.

The following section deals with two post-development scholars: Arturo Escobar, and Wolfgang Sachs.

6A.2 Arturo Escobar

Escobar’s ideas are best summarized up in his book, ‘Encountering Development’ (1995), which offered an analysis of mainstream development economics and the development actors and institutions it inspired. The book was seen as a critique of the western ideas that supported development. It evolved around the thought that “the discourse and strategy of development produced its opposite: massive underdevelopment, impoverishment, exploitation and oppression”. Escobar argues that there are “the three axes that define development”: its forms of knowledge; the system of power that regulates its practice; and the forms of subjectivity fostered by this discourse.

Escobar dwells on the “problematization of poverty” which he contends is a result of reinforcement of development discourse from the early post-World War II period upto the present. The idea of development was deployed through two means: 1) professionalization of development knowledge, 2) institutionalization of development practices. Systemic pauperization was made inevitable through the formation of capitalism. Economic growth was projected as the sole solution to the problem of insufficient income. Through all of this, people, human resources were left out of the equation.

“Development was – and continues to be for the most part - a top-down, ethnocentric, and technocratic approach.” He cites the examples of development in

communities in Nepal and among the Gapun of Papua New Guinea to show the development encounter and illustrates how discursive homogenization was the “key to its success as a hegemonic form of representation.”

According to Escobar, development amounted to little more than the West’s convenient “discovery” of poverty in the third world. This would enable the West to reassert and continue its moral and cultural superiority in the post-colonial times.

Escobar noted that, “Perhaps no other idea has been so insidious, no other idea gone so unchallenged as much as the idea of ‘Development’. Development, according to him was unavoidable an ideological export as well as an act of cultural imperialism. With the usage of highly technocratic language and a forthright deployment of norms and value judgments, development took on the form of cultural imperialism that poor countries could not, or did not have the means to resist.

Drawing on influences from Michel Foucault to Edward Said, Escobar’s arguments have evolved in a highly sophisticated manner. The first of these influences was the French philosopher Michel Foucault and his idea that power is not simply something that the rich, powerful people hold over others, but is produced in and through all the things we do – even things like extending help to others. Escobar talks about how development works, through ‘forms of knowledge’. He demonstrates the way in which the mechanisms of development function. It functions through the systematic production of knowledge and power in specific fields – such as rural and sustainable development and women and development.

Escobar also drew from the insights of the Palestinian literary theorist Edward Said and his analysis of the concept of “Orientalism”. Said had shown how the West constructs the Orient as exotic and enticing, at the same time dangerous. These were not mere passive descriptions of other people and places, but were central to the imaginative production of those places. These were constructed as sites of excess, relating to sexuality, for example, or conversely as lacking in some fundamental value characteristic of civilization. The only way of improving the situation was through development. Hence it was ultimately a way for the West to manage the rest of the world for their own vested interest and gain, allowing poor people a future that the rich could imagine for them.

The post-development scholars have partly succeeded in ‘slaying the development dragon’, but Escobar admits that the process of unmaking development “is slow and painful” and that “there are no easy solutions”. He

articulates a post-development regime of representation and how to pursue alternative practices in the context of the social movements in the Third World today. According to him, ‘hybrid cultures’ in Latin America are a form of cultural affirmation. They allow traditional cultures to survive through their transformative engagement in the midst of modernity’s crisis. He does not provide for grand alternative models or strategies. Instead he calls for rethinking, reinventing alternative practices and representations in local settings. This is reflected through the contexts of hybridization, collective action and political mobilization.

Through “Encountering Development”, Escobar successfully creates a dialectic that examines the discourse of development. It reveals how development ultimately created the very problems it was trying to solve. Although written two and a half decades ago, the book is pertinent to today’s times as much of the dominant development discourse remains unchanged.

6A.3 Wolfgang Sachs

‘The development dictionary: a Guide to Knowledge as Power’ is a classic collection of articles written by the world’s most eminent critics of development, Wolfgang Sachs. This book reviews the key concepts of development discourse from a historical and anthropological point of view highlighting its particular bias. The authors assess the concepts as historically obsolete and intellectually sterile, and therefore make a call for bidding farewell to the whole development idea which is Eurocentric in nature. Thus, for two-thirds of the people on this planet, this positive meaning of the word ‘development’ – profoundly rooted after two centuries of its social construction – is a grim reminder of ‘what they are not’. It is a reminder of an undesirable, undignified condition. To get out of it, they need to be enslaved to other’s experiences and dreams.

The book opens with an alarming observation. Wolfgang Sachs observes that, “the last forty years can be called the age of development. This epoch is coming to an end. The time has come to write its obituary.” The book challenges all human activity that is classified as development. It is a pioneering collection of 19 essays, which review the key concepts of the development discourse after the Second World War.

In the post-Second world war period, the United States was the most powerful state economically, militarily and ideologically. It was a formidable and incessant productive machine, unprecedented in history. Its superior standing of living, its anticolonial heritage and its commitment to liberalism in domestic as well as

international relations gave it the trappings of an ideal society on the world stage. It was the undisputed leader of the First World and it came to be the model of a developed society.

In his typical dramatic way Wolfgang Sachs proposes to call the “age of development” that particular historical period which began on January 20, 1949, when the then US President Harry S. Truman declared in his inaugural address that from now on, the Southern Hemisphere would be referred to as an “underdeveloped areas” - for whom, a bold new programme, for making available, the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress would be made. He reiterated that the old imperialism-exploitation model for foreign profit has no place in our plan. By doing so, he redefined development, and ushered in the Age of Development and an era of American global hegemony and provided the cognitive base for both arrogant Northern interventionism and Southern self-pity.

With Truman’s inaugural, two billion people became underdeveloped and “ceased being what they were, in all their diversity, and were transmogrified into an inverted mirror of other’s reality”. Since then, countries in the South sought to escape from the undignified condition called underdevelopment. This connotation, which focused on economism and marketization, gripped the minds of policy makers, planners, academicians and grassroot workers.

For two-thirds of the world’s population underdevelopment means a life of struggle, subordination and discrimination. The new mantra at the international level is ‘Redistribution of risk’ – rather than ‘Redistribution of wealth’. This is reflected in the fact that the Northern countries in 1960 were 20 times richer than the Southern ones, and 46 times richer by 1980.

The book takes a critical look at the buzz words such as ‘people’s participation’. This term is used sometimes as a politically viable slogan, and at other times it is seen as an attractive fund-raising strategy. The World Bank too reiterates on the term, projecting it as a panacea to all problems and one of the sure shot ways to revive an economy.

As regards environment, a prime challenge to the societies of the West – aims towards new levels of administrative monitoring and control. Not willing to see the obvious impact of competitive production and unbridled consumption, which is the root cause of the planet’s ecological crisis, it reduced ecology to a set of managerial strategies initiated and controlled by the West.

The book proposes “new commons that allow people to live on their own terms.” The book hints towards democratic measures such as - decentralization,

empowerment of communities to control their resources and the power to choose their own destinies. It would require immense political will to put the suggestions listed in the book, into action.

A critical analysis of development idea is urgently needed in order to liberate people's minds – in both North and South – in order to respond boldly to the environmental and ethical challenges that confront humanity. Experts, scholars, students and grass-root movements need to relook the claims made by development throughout the development discourse.

6A.4 Conclusion

The post-development perspective became popular in the 1990s. Theorist from within this perspective such as A. Escobar and W. Sachs are critical of Western models of development, arguing that development was always unjust, that it never worked, and that developing countries should find their own pathways to development. Escobar argued that the Western model of development justified itself by claiming to be rational and scientific and therefore neutral and objective. However, in reality, modernization theory was a top-down approach which treated people and cultures as commodities and statistical figures in the name of progress. Escobar criticized modernization theory for being ethnocentric, which denied people within developing countries the opportunities to make their own choices and decisions. Wolfgang Sachs also has critiqued the idea of development through his writings on the Development Dictionary. The book invites the reader to review the developmental model of reality and question the prevailing development discourse.

6A.5 Summary

The term Post-Development is considered to be a school of thought in development theory which provides a critique of the very idea of 'development'.

The aim of the Post Development scholars was to expose 'development as an ideology originating in the Cold War and thus to pave the way for alternatives.

The highlight of the critique is that post development theory romanticizes local communities and cultural traditions, legitimizes oppressive structures through cultural relativism and yet again prescribe ways of living to the people in the global south.

The book ‘Encountering Development’ (1995) by A. Escobar evolved around the thought that “the discourse and strategy of development produced its opposite: massive underdevelopment, impoverishment, exploitation and oppression”.

‘The development dictionary: a Guide to Knowledge as Power’ is a classic collection of articles written by the world’s most eminent critics of development, Wolfgang Sachs.

Wolfgang Sachs observes that, “the last forty years can be called the age of development. This epoch is coming to an end. The time has come to write its obituary.”

A critical analysis of development idea is urgently needed in order to liberate people’s minds – in both North and South – in order to respond boldly to the environmental and ethical challenges that confront humanity.

6A.6 Questions

- 1) State the origin and growth of post-development theory
- 2) Discuss the contribution of Escobar and Sachs to the development of post-development theory

6A.7 References

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POST DEVELOPMENT THEORY – DEVELOPMENT AS DISCOURSE

6B - MANUEL CASTELLS – GLOBALIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Unit Structure

- 6B.1 Introduction
- 6B.2 Information and Communication Technology
- 6B.3 Globalization
- 6B.4 Networking
- 6B.5 Network Society
- 6B.6 Fourth World
- 6B.7 Conclusion
- 6B.8 Summary
- 6B.9 Questions
- 6B.10 References

6B.1 Introduction

Manuel Castells is a Spanish sociologist who is associated with research on the information society, communication and globalization. He was raised in a La Mancha but moved to Barcelona, where he studied law and economics. He was a politically active student and later fled from Spain to France. In Paris he served as a professor in several universities. Since 2008 he has been a member of European Institute of Innovation and Technology. Some of his notable works include: Information Society, Globalization, Organization Theory, Network Society, Urban Planning and Sociology, Fourth World.

6B.2 Information and Communication Technology (ICT)

After the 1970s with the fall of authoritarianism throughout the world capitalism came up. For the first time in history the entire planet became capitalist and also some command economies survived or developed by linking with the global capitalist markets. The idea of capitalism is very old but fundamentally new. It is said to be old because it engages continuous competition in order to pursue profit. It is fundamentally new as it is backed by new information and communication technology that provide roots for new productivity sources and formation of global economy.

Despite the diversity of their cultures and institutions, information and communication technology is shared by all countries. The changes in our lives would not be possible without Information and Communication Technology (ICT). In 1990s the entire planet was organized around telecommunication networks including information systems and communication processes. Ordinary people can enjoy the power of information because of the acceleration of technological innovations.

Software development is making possible user friendly computing, so that millions of children, when provided with adequate information can progress in their knowledge, and in their ability to create wealth and enjoy it wisely, much faster than any previous generation. Internet has proved to be a channel of universal communication where interest and values coexist in a creative sphere.

However, this may not be true of all societies. The spread of ICT is extremely uneven. On one hand, it allows countries to modernize their production system and increase competitiveness faster than in the past. On the other hand, the economies that are unable to adapt to the new technological systems are experiencing backwardness.

Thus, information and communication technology is the essential tool for economic development and it conditions power, knowledge and creativity. Cultural and educational development conditions technological development, which conditions economic development, which conditions social development. The resultant impact is that this stimulates cultural and educational development. This, according to Castells, is the virtuous circle of development.

6B.3 Globalization

Globalization is the word used to describe the growing interdependence of the world's economies, cultures, and populations, brought about by cross-border trade in goods and services, technology, and flows of investment, people, and information. Although globalization is multidimensional, it is understood through the economic dimension. A global economy is an economy whose core activities work as a unit in real time on a global scale. This means that the capital markets are interconnected worldwide. After centuries of technological progress and advances in international cooperation, the world is more connected than ever.

The multinational corporations in manufacturing services and finance constitute the core of the world economy. Furthermore, the highest level of science, the one that shapes and commands overall technological development, is concentrated in a few dozen research centres and milieus of innovation around the globe,

overwhelmingly in the United States, Western Europe and Japan. Engineers from other countries such as Russia, India or China can attain certain of scientific development only by linking up with these centres. Thus highly skilled labour is also increasingly globalized.

Globalization and liberation do not eliminate the nation state, but they redefine its role and impact its operation. During times of turbulences, national governments join hands with supranational institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, NAFTA or other trade organizations to which they surrender their sovereignty. So they manage to survive, but under a new form of state which is characterized by network of interaction and shared decision making that becomes the predominant and prevalent political form of the information age: the network state.

Thus, globalization is a new historical reality which convinces citizens to surrender to markets. It also involves processes of capitalist restructuring, innovation and competition, which are enacted through the powerful medium of new information and communication technologies.

6B.4 Networking

In the 'Information Age' and many subsequent works Castells defines network as a set of interconnected nodes. Relationship between nodes is asymmetrical, but they are all necessary for the functioning of the network for the circulation of money, information, technology, goods and services or people throughout the network.

According to Castells, if you are connected to the network you can share and enhance information, and stay updated. But if you are out of network or switched-off, you are sidelined as everything that counts is organized around a world wide web of interacting networks.

Networks are the appropriate organization for the constant adaptation and extreme flexibility required by an interconnected global economy. Networks always existed among humans but now they have become most powerful form for organizing instrumentally, rather than expressiveness.

With new information and communication technology the network is centralized and decentralized. It can be coordinated without a center. Instead of instructions we have interactions. Higher level of complexity can be handled without any major disruptions. The concentration of capital is accompanied by decentralization of organization, in which each component element is given considerable autonomy. Each element of these networks is usually a part of other networks, which in turn are linked with other large corporations whose ultimate aim is to generate a profit.

Networks have the ability to adapt, reform and restructure by changing their composition, membership and even their tasks. But the human matter on which the network was living cannot mutate so easily. It becomes trapped, or downgraded or wasted. And this leads to social underdevelopment, precisely at the threshold of the potentially most promising era of human fulfillment.

6B.5 The Network Society

The term network society was first coined in 1981 by Norwegian sociologist and social psychologist Stein Braten, to describe a society powered by networked information and communication. Since then, Castells has written extensively about the network society. He argues that it emerged as human societies moved from the industrial age into the information age. In this tradition, capitalism is no longer centered on the production of material goods and services, but on information and knowledge.

The term network society refers to the social structure of this new age. Castells termed its economic manifestation, the global informational economy, and its cultural expression, the culture of real virtuality. A network for Castells is a decentralized system of nodes through which communication can occur. Networks now form the new architecture of society, and are the dominant mode of organizing social relations.

Networks have an open structure and are able to expand and contract as necessary. The communication that occurs across these networks takes place via nodes and is multidimensional and multidirectional and is not restricted by time and space. While networks are not new, as they have existed in the forms of models of social organization, their current form is directly related to the information age.

Within the network society, the process of managing information within social network is made possible through the use of microelectronic based communication technologies (internet, mobile telephones). This enables geographical and spatial mobility resulting in decentralization of communication and increase in the efficiency of networks. This was not possible in the hierarchical bureaucratic structures which were a part of the earlier societies. Castells argues that the new social networks are highly effective, dynamic and innovative and are able to adapt rapidly to changing social conditions.

The rise of the network society has also led to transformation in social dynamics and interpersonal relationships, as well as how individuals related to institutions and organizations. Access to network is no longer dominated by one powerful social group. While economically disadvantaged groups may find it difficult to use the new networks particularly amongst the poor in the global south, networks are increasingly available to more and more people around the world.

Castells also argues that as a result of structural changes to society, place and time are gradually becoming less relevant to social life. This is because the network society is organized around new forms of time and space: timeless time and the space of flows. While spatially bound networks which are determined by proximity and shared ways of being are still considered meaningful, they coexist with new identities and ways of life that are formed and maintained in the space of flows.

Space and time are conceptualized differently in the information age. Timeless time refers to the disordering of social action and interaction. Here, the perception of time becomes more compressed resulting in the sequence of life becoming scrambled and even randomized. Timeless time makes it possible for people to be in several places at the same time and to participate in more than one activity at the same time, such as browsing on the internet and listening to music. Timeless time does not mean the ‘disappearance of linear time’, rather it means the ‘significance of linear time’.

6B.6 Fourth World

Manuel Castells coined the concept of the Fourth World which is an extension of the Three-World model. The term Fourth World is used to refer to sub-populations socially excluded from global society, such as un-contacted people – hunter-gatherers, nomadic, pastoral, and some subsistence farming peoples living beyond the modern industrial norm. These have lost value for dominant interests in informational capitalism due to many reasons such as – they are sick or mentally unfit, drug addicts, uneducated, homeless and populations, etc. The inhabitants of the fourth world which Castells refers to as ‘Multiple blackholes of social exclusion’, become disconnected, devalued and excluded. This proves that there is a direct relationship between the rise of informational and global capitalism and the extraordinary growth of social exclusion and human hopelessness.

6B.7 Conclusion

In the global network society, knowledge and communication are key resources for development. Castells argues that the challenge is to understand the ways ICTs can both empower and disempower different groups in society. It would be necessary to understand the kinks of power relationships that are involved in communication and how these influence the kind of information that is communicated. In general, a deep social divide between those who obtain knowledge and skills valued in the global world economy and those who are disadvantaged in this respect is a fundamental feature of globalization and its byproduct such as uneven and unequal development.

6B.8 Summary

Manuel Castells is a Spanish sociologist who is associated with research on the information society, communication and globalization.

The idea of capitalism is backed by new information and communication technology that provide roots for new productivity sources and formation of global economy.

Internet has proved to be a channel of universal communication where interest and values coexist in a creative sphere.

A global economy is an economy whose core activities work as a unit in real time on a global scale. This means that the capital markets are interconnected worldwide.

Networks are the appropriate organization for the constant adaptation and extreme flexibility required by an interconnected global economy.

The term network society was first coined in 1981 by Norwegian sociologist and social psychologist Stein Braten, to describe a society powered by networked information and communication.

The rise of the network society has also led to transformation in social dynamics and interpersonal relationships, as well as how individuals related to institutions and organizations.

The term Fourth World is used to refer to sub-populations socially excluded from global society, such as un-contacted people – hunter-gatherers, nomadic, pastoral, and some subsistence farming peoples living beyond the modern industrial norm.

6B.9 Questions

- 1) Examine the contribution of Manuel Castells to the understanding of the Network Society.
- 2) Discuss the key features of Castells theory on globalization and development

6B.10 References

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DR. B.R AMBEDKAR AND M.K GANDHI

Unit Structure

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Ambedkar-Gandhi and the Congress
- 7.3 Ambedkar v/s Gandhi: Social Economic and Political Reform
- 7.4 Planning and Development: Differing Views
- 7.5 Conclusion
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7.0 Objectives

- To understand Dr. Ambedkar's and Gandhi's contribution to economic thought
- To examine the contributions of Dr. Ambedkar and Gandhi in development and nation building

7.1 Introduction

The era after the Second World War was a tumultuous one. The countries in Asia and Africa were decolonized and left to fend for themselves. These countries were not only victims of imperialist exploitation, but also suffered from social imbalances because one section of society which collaborated with the imperialist powers had siphoned off many benefits at the cost of the weaker sections of the society. Dr. Ambedkar and Gandhi worked towards the same objective, but differed in terms of their perception of the problem as well as their approach to seek adequate solution.

In this backdrop, there is a need to study the history of economic thought, the benefits of which are as follows: Firstly, it gives use new ways of looking at

problems, because analysing failed models can be fruitful in many ways. Secondly, it gives us a better understanding of economic thought, and thirdly, scholars and researchers can trace the meaning of concepts over time. It is necessary to trace the ideas of Dr. Ambedkar, especially those that originated during the colonial period, with respect to planning, social reform and economic development. This section will also provide insights into the way in which Dr. Ambedkar carves out his differences with Gandhi and other early nationalist economic thinkers.

Globalization has led state to retreat from its responsibilities. The safety net provided through social security and welfare investment no longer exists. In this context the ideas of Dr. Ambedkar command attention. Dadabhai Naoroji is considered as the most important of early Indian economists and the symbol of Indian economic nationalism. Nevertheless, he felt that the Congress could not take up the social reform of particular classes alone, and must address questions regarding the entire nation. There was a debate between two schools of thought among Congressmen regarding the issue of social reform versus political reform. Naoroji's theory of 'economic drain' focused on foreign domination. Naoroji felt that the Indian rich classes are as much instruments of exploitation as foreign capitalists. In contrast to this, Dr. Ambedkar's ideas on economic development and planning emphasized on the need to include suggestions relating to social and legal reform, especially with reference to one section of Indian society – the Depressed Classes.

7.2 Dr. Ambedkar - Gandhi and the Congress

In 1917, a resolution on the Depressed Classes was passed by the Congress. The resolution urged upon the people of India to work toward removing all disabilities imposed by custom on the Depressed Classes. It observed that these disabilities are oppressive in nature and subject the classes to unimaginable hardship and inconvenience. Gandhi's Constructive Programme (1992) included one resolution on the Depressed Classes: to organize the depressed classes for a better life, and provide them with facilities which the other citizens enjoy. However, it is Dr. Ambedkar's contention that Gandhi did little for the 'Untouchables'. The Congress session was led by Mrs. Annie Besant and Dr. Ambedkar has quoted her earlier remarks justifying separate schooling for the Depressed Classes.

Dr. Ambedkar stated that the Congress only passed the resolution on the Depressed Classes because they wanted the support of the Depressed Classes for the Congress-Muslim League scheme on changes in the constitutional structure of

India. In 1917, the Depressed Classes in Bombay asked for separate electorates, free and compulsory education and removal of all disabilities. This support was on the condition that the Depressed Classes agree to give support to the Congress-League Scheme. The Congress resolution was considered a mere formality and as a part of the contract with the Depressed Classes negotiated through Narayan Chandavarkar, an ex-President of the Congress and President of the Depressed Classes Mission Society.

7.3 Dr. Ambedkar V/S Gandhi: Social, Economic and Political Reform

Dr. Ambedkar's ideas about economic development were always associated with social reform. His emphasis was on the special legal, social and economic protections for marginalized groups. He was in favour of targeted development. It would be difficult to understand Dr. Ambedkar's ideas without reference to what he has to say about Gandhi. Rowena Robinson has referred to Dr. Ambedkar's speeches and writings titled 'What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables' and made some observations.

According to Dr. Ambedkar, Indians had always understood reconstruction of Indian social and economic life in terms of individualism versus collectivism, capitalism versus socialism and conservatism versus radicalism. He observed that the new kind of 'ism', had emerged in the form of Gandhism which was projected as an alternative to Marxism. Gandhi took over the economic drain theory, propounded by Naoroji. In 1867, Dadabhai Naoroji put forward the 'drain of wealth' theory in which he stated that Britain was completely draining India. So poverty was caused by the colonial rule that was draining the wealth and prosperity of India. Gandhi considered himself an heir to the nineteenth century thought of Naoroji.

Gandhi envisaged development that centred around village self-sufficiency, *swaraj*, and trusteeship. He believed that India did not need to be industrialized in the modern sense of the terms, this fact being reflected in his stern opposition to the mills and industry. He objected, not to machinery, but to the craze for machinery, which he linked to violence and drudgery. His model of development revolved around the revival of village communities in which 'man' is at the centre of activities as against the mindless or exploitative nature of machines. Quoting the example of the charkha or spinning wheel, he valued the goods which were produced by manual work.

Gandhi viewed trusteeship as a moral responsibility. According to him trusteeship was voluntary. Labour should not be seen as a means to earn profit but as equal partners in a common enterprise. Set on these lines, industrial relations would be based on cooperation and not on conflict. He felt that the State must not be allowed to dispossess capital. There could be protest against exploitative capital using non-violent, non-cooperation, or mobilizing public opinion, but never the forceful deprivation of possessions.

Gandhi's model of economic development was devoid of centralized planning. Any model of development which includes planning automatically becomes centralized. He did not agree with the notion of paternalistic state. He felt that villagers were reduced to mere passive recipients of state care and lost all sense of autonomy and movement in the right direction. This would strip them of their dignity, freedom of thought and expression. Gandhi was suspicious of the endowing the state with unlimited power. On the contrary, small and appropriate technologies would give people autonomy and help relocate people to the centre.

On the other hand, Dr. Ambedkar felt that Gandhism is a social and economic policy that it does not benefit the marginalized group in a substantial way. Gandhi's ideas formed a traditionalist view that Dr. Ambedkar regarded as both anti-modern and anti-democratic. Dr. Ambedkar's hallmark was that he believed moving in a direction of social reform and transformation using legal and economic means. This path was not followed by the other nationalists, neither Gandhi nor Nehru. Dr. Ambedkar also critiques Gandhi's opposition to machinery. He challenges Gandhi's idolization of the Charkha and his views of modern, western civilization as being satanic. Dr. Ambedkar argues that Gandhian economics is not sound and viable and will deprive the common man of fulfilling his dream for freedom and a better life.

Gandhi's views on the ills of machinery have been echoed in the writings of Ruskin, Rousseau and Tolstoy. However, Dr. Ambedkar observes that modernity has produced many problems, but argues that the problems we need to work on are the problems of private property and the pursuit of personal profit and not the ones relating to modern machinery or civilization. Arguing in favour of modernity, Dr. Ambedkar states that modernity holds the promise of altering the social organization and in effect benefitting all. He further states that Gandhism reduces the common man to a life of drudgery, like an animal. Dr. Ambedkar felt that for culture to be nourished, leisure time is needed. Therefore, machines are needed to reduce and replace toil. According to Dr. Ambedkar, Gandhian economics and social policy are necessarily non-democratic in nature. A democratic society must use machines and ensure less toil and more leisure to all.

Dr. Ambedkar, in his second set of criticisms against Gandhism brings focus on another marginalized group – labour. Gandhi proposes to eliminate class war and class struggle between employers and employees and landlords and tenants through non-violent means. He felt that two paths are open before India; either to adopt the Western principle of “might is right” or adopt the Eastern principle that ‘trust alone conquers’. Gandhi’s notion of trusteeship focuses on goodwill of employers and considers it of paramount in maintaining harmony in the industrial sphere. Referring to the labour unrest in the textile industry, Gandhi felt that non-violent action or satyagraha is the only acceptable path. He felt that the capitalists do not engage or fight on the basis of monetary strength alone. They also possess intelligence and tact, which the labour does not possess. Thus strikers should avoid using brute force or violence and strike only for real grievances and real demands, which are articulated before hand. He voices similar views on the problems between the kisans (peasant farmers) and zamindars. He states that the Kisan movement must be confined to improvement of status of kisans and betterment of relations between zamindars and themselves. Kisans may suspend payment of taxes only when absolutely essential. The interests of the zamindars need to be protected; therefore we should not deprive zamindars of their rent. It was evident that Gandhi did not want to hurt the propertied classes.

Gandhi’s idea of trusteeship relied on voluntarism and spiritual obligation. Gandhi insisted on a class structure and treated this as a permanent feature of Indian social organization. He felt that since duties and occupations of persons were fixed, caste helped prevent competition and class struggle. Dr. Ambedkar on the other hand believed that the division of classes of society must be abolished. Caste is not the only mechanism through which social functions can be fulfilled, instead, it breeds corruption. Gandhian notion of caste system is complete and unquestioning of restrictions on inter-dining or inter-caste marriage. Dr. Ambedkar finds such ideas revolting. To Gandhi, caste is a form of control, which puts limits on enjoyment. He sees it as a natural order of society. While Dr. Ambedkar sees caste as a legal system maintained by force.

Seen from a broader perspective of the nation, Dr. Ambedkar feels that there is no major obstacle to economic development than caste. Devoid of any rational principles, Caste system forces a division of both labour and labourers and assigns occupations by virtue of birth rather than skill, knowledge or talent. From the economic point of view, the mobility of capital is also restricted for it is constrained by caste boundaries. Untouchability is a system of unmitigated and uncontrolled economic exploitation.

Dr. Ambedkar viewed Gandhism as a paradox. While on one hand it sought to destroy foreign domination, on the other, it sought to preserve the internal domination of one class over another. By this logic, Harijans could aspire only to serve others and not to own property. Dr. Ambedkar was wary of the psychological, moral and socially detrimental impacts this would leave on the marginalized sections. In this context, he felt that there should be legal provisions and reservations for the Depressed Classes in terms of recruitment, separate electorates and reservation in public services. Apart from a monetary allocation for the higher education of Scheduled Castes, land should also be set apart of the SCs to live in their own villages. In the All India Scheduled Caste Federation of September 1944, Dr. Ambedkar proposed that there should be safeguards for the untouchables in the new constitution. This clearly shows that for Dr. Ambedkar, the issue of reform and development did not end with economic issues, but had social and political dimensions too.

7.4 Planning and Development: Differing Views

We have reached a point in history where we need to reassess the role of the state in a globalizing economy. Globalization has increased transnational linkages and has led to near demise of the nation-state. The Indian state has withdrawn from the social sector in the years after liberalization, we are faced with an agrarian crises while land reforms have failed in most states. With the ‘top-bottom’ model clearly failing, there are calls for decentralization and putting development in the hands of people’s participation. This puts forth a strong case for Gandhi’s vision of building self-sufficient village communities. There is a need to rethink development and the relationship between state, social change and democracy.

Dr. Ambedkar’s view had emerged from his experience and understanding of the centuries-old oppression of the Dalits. Gandhi’s insistence on changing people’s tastes and habits on moral persuasion as a mode of change is unreliable and unimaginable for Dr. Ambedkar. Dr. Ambedkar was well aware that society left on its own will would hardly give up either its class or caste privileges. So he believed that the State needed to play a proactive role of protecting marginalized citizens. Dr. Ambedkar observed that both the State and Society were institutions which had the potential for misuse or abuse of power. In this case Gandhi would place his faith in society, while Dr. Ambedkar would opt for the State.

Dr. Ambedkar was in favour of producing a 'socialist' economy, and not reinforcing the position of the rich classes. As a maker of the Indian Constitution, Dr. Ambedkar proposed that:

1. The important industries should be owned and managed by the State
2. Basic and non-key industries should be owned and run by the State or corporations established by the State
3. Insurance should be nationalized and a monopoly of the State. Every adult citizen should have a life insurance policy according to their wages.
4. Agriculture should be a State industry and should be organized by the State on the following lines:
 - i. The State shall divide the land acquired into farms of standard sizes which can be let out for cultivation to the residents of the village as tenants. The farm shall be cultivated as a collective farm, according to rules and directions issued by the Government, and the tenants shall share the farm produce among themselves after payment of charges which are levied on the farm.
 - ii. The land will be distributed to the villagers without any discrimination on the basis of caste or creed. The distribution will be in such a manner that there will be no landlord, no tenant, and no landless labourer.
 - iii. The State needs to take the responsibility to finance the cultivation of the collective farm by providing supply of water, draft, animals, implements, manure, seeds, etc.

Thus, in both sectors; agriculture and industry, it was the obligation of the State to provide capital and other provisions. For Dr. Ambedkar, it is the fundamental duty of the State to protect its citizens from economic exploitation. Such planning should lead to the greatest productivity and benefit to the society, while ensuring equitable distribution of wealth. However, it is to be noted that Dr. Ambedkar was not against private enterprise, but did not want the State to delegate private persons to govern others.

7.5 Conclusion

For both Dr. Ambedkar and Gandhi the path to nation building was diverse. Dr. Ambedkar's understanding of economic development was the removal of poverty, inequality and exploitation. He emphasized the varied aspects of

development and exploitation including the economic, social, religious and political. In terms of his strategies, Dr. Ambedkar is much more insistent than Gandhi on bringing to the fore the extent of exploitation of the masses; the labour and marginalized castes; by the privileged capitalists and elite classes. Dr. Ambedkar argues that poverty is directly linked to exploitation and that economic development and planning must eradicate this exploitation through explicitly and targeted measures. Dr. Ambedkar also argued that it is not enough for the state to create a 'safety-net' or a 'welfare-basket' for the poor. In this day and time the non-interventionist philosophy of the state has left the poor, the landless labourers, small farmers and unorganized labour to the mercies of globalization. This has created illiberal dictatorship that Dr. Ambedkar had warned us of.

7.6 Summary

Dr. Ambedkar and Gandhi worked towards the same objective, but differed in terms of their perception of the problem as well as their approach to seek adequate solution.

Dr. Ambedkar's ideas about economic development were always associated with social reform. His emphasis was on the special legal, social and economic protections for marginalized groups.

Gandhi envisaged development that centred around village self-sufficiency, *swaraj*, and trusteeship. He believed that India did not need to be industrialized in the modern sense of the terms, this fact being reflected in his stern opposition to the mills and industry.

Dr. Ambedkar's hallmark was that he believed moving in a direction of social reform and transformation using legal and economic means.

Gandhi's views on the ills of machinery have been echoed in the writings of Ruskin, Rousseau and Tolstoy.

Gandhi's notion of trusteeship focuses on goodwill of employers and considers it of paramount in maintaining harmony in the industrial sphere.

Dr. Ambedkar was wary of the psychological, moral and socially detrimental impacts this would leave on the marginalized sections. Therefore he proposed various provisions to safeguard the rights of the marginalized sections.

The Indian state has withdrawn from the social sector in the years after liberalization. There is a need to rethink development and the relationship between state, social change and democracy.

7.7 QUESTIONS

- Examine the notion of development as espoused by Dr. Ambedkar and Gandhi.
- Discuss Dr. Ambedkar's and Gandhi's idea of planning and economic development.

7.8 References

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8A

SOCIAL CAPITAL - BOURDIEU, PUTNAM

8(A) SOCIAL CAPITAL THEORY – BOURDIEU

Unit Structure

8A.1 Social Capital - Introduction

8A.1.1 Defining Social Capital

8A.2 Social Capital Theory – Pierre Bourdieu

8A.2.1. Theoretical Concepts

8A.2.2 Transformations and Conversions

8A.3 Critique

8A.4 Conclusion

8A.2 Social Capital Theory - Putnam

8A.2.1 Variations of Social Capital

8A.2.2 Criticisms

8A.3 Conclusion

8A.4 Summary

8A.5 Questions

8A.6 References

8A.0 Objectives

- To understand the concept of Social Capital.
- To examine the key proponents of the Social Capital Theory

8A.1 Introduction

‘Social capital’ theory can be traced back to the works of three main authors – James Coleman, Robert Putnam and Pierre Bourdieu. In this section we will take a brief look at the Social Capital theory and then focus on the contribution of Putnam and Bourdieu.

The concept of social capital came to be widely used in academic circles only recently, but the term has been in use for almost a century while the ideas behind it go back still further. “Social capital” may first have appeared in a book published in 1916 in the United States that discussed how neighbours could work together to oversee schools. Author Lyda Hanifan referred to social capital as “those tangible assets [that] count for most in the daily lives of people: namely goodwill, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse among the individuals and families who make up a social unit”. Social capital can be understood as the links, shared values and understandings in society that enable individuals and groups to trust each other and work together.

Social capital comprises the potential of individuals to secure welfares and formulate explanations to complications through involvement in social networks. Social capital orbits around three propositions: 1) interconnected networks of relationships between individuals and groups (social ties or social participation), 2) levels of trust that characterize these ties, and 3) resources or benefits that are both gained and transferred by virtue of social ties and social participation.

The concept of social capital draws attention to the effects and consequences of human sociability and connectedness and their relations to the individual and social structure. The concept is not really new. In various forms, social capital has been theorized by Durkheim, Marx, Weber and Tönnies. Other authors have convincingly traced these themes to more recent and diverse ideologies. The treatments of social capital by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam may have some common threads, but their different underlying ideologies make integration of the concept difficult.

Despite its current popularity, the term does not embody any idea that is radically new to sociologists. That contribution and participation in groups can have positive consequences for the individual and the community is a primary notion. This idea dates back to Durkheim's emphasis on group life as an antidote to anomie and self-destruction and to Marx's distinction between an atomized class-in-itself and a mobilized and effective class-for-itself.

8A.1.1 Defining Social Capital

Coleman defines social capital as “social organization constitutes social capital, facilitating the achievement of goals that could not be achieved in its absence or could be achieved only at a higher cost”. Along the same lines, Putnam, Leonardi and Nanetti (1993) provide a similar characterization, “social capital refers to features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society”.

In his definition of social capital, Fukuyama (1997) argues that only certain shared norms and values should be regarded as social capital: “Social capital can be defined simply as the existence of a certain set of informal rules or norms shared among members of a group that permits cooperation among them. The sharing of values and norms does not in itself produce social capital, because the values may be the wrong ones. The norms that produce social capital must substantively include virtues like truth-telling, the meeting of obligations and reciprocity”.

Finally, one finds in a recent book-length treatment, Lin (2001), “social capital may be defined operationally as resources embedded in social networks and accessed and used by actors for actions. Thus, the concept has two important components: (1) it represents resources embedded in social relations rather than individuals, and (2) access and use of such resources reside with actors”.

From these definitions, we can distinguish three main underlying ideas: (1) Social capital generates positive externalities for members of a group; (2) These externalities are achieved through shared trust, norms, and values and their consequent effects on expectations and behaviour; (3) Shared trust, norms, and values arise from informal forms of organizations based on social networks and associations.

The study of social capital is that of network-based processes that generate beneficial outcomes through norms and trust.

8A.2 Social Capital Theory – Pierre Bourdieu

Pierre Bourdieu (1930 – 2002) was a French sociologist and public intellectual whose main concern was to understand the dynamics of power in society. His work on the sociology of culture continues to be highly influential. Bourdieu was concerned with the nature of culture, and how it is reproduced and transformed. One of his key formulations was the relationship between different types of such capital, including economic, social, cultural and symbolic.

Bourdieu’s conceptualization of social capital is based on the recognition that capital is not only economic and that social exchanges are not purely self-interested and need to encompass ‘capital and profit in all their forms’. Bourdieu has borrowed from the theories of social reproduction and symbolic power. Bourdieu’s theory helps us to fill some important methodological and conceptual gaps. Bourdieu’s main distinction is his belief that social capital operates as a tool of cultural reproduction.

According to Bourdieu, social capital is defined as “the aggregate of the actual potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition” Social capital for Bourdieu is interrelated to the size of network and the volume of past collected social capital demanded by the agent. Bourdieu perceives clear profit as being the chief purpose that actors take part in and maintain associations in a network. That profit is not necessarily economic, but according to Bourdieu, it can be reducible to economic profit. The actors’ potential for accumulating social profit and control of capital are differentially circulated. This differential circulation of potential and control is a fundamental notion in Bourdieu’s theories of social reproduction and social space.

Check Your Progress

1. What is meant by Social Capital?

8A.2.1 Theoretical Concepts

Three key theoretical concepts need to be explained in relation to Bourdieu’s perspective on social capital: 1) Habitus; 2) capitals; 3) fields.

Habitus: Bourdieu uses the concept of Habitus to explain how objective structures and subjective perceptions impact upon human actions. The concept can be understood as a set of regulatory schemes of thought and action, which upto some extent, is result of prior experience. Habitus consists of ‘a set of durable, transposable dispositions’ which control and regulate mental activity to the point where individuals are often unconsciously aware of their influence. In essence, habitus concept tries to explain how social and cultural messages (both actual and symbolic) shape individuals’ thoughts and actions. The concept is not static since

it allows the individuals to mediate or negotiate these messages, even to the point of resisting embodied beliefs. The *habitus* is influenced by social, cultural and historical contexts. For example, some groups are more capable of mobilizing their own deeply held beliefs on an issue. Often such values are shaped by a general set of outlooks in their immediate environment. These values do not operate at the conscious level, but may be deeply embodied within certain individual's cultural set-up. Social class factors (or other factors) play a strong role in guiding mediated thought and action. Bourdieu refers to this as 'class habitus'.

Capitals: The second important theme in Bourdieu's theory is that of Capitals. Depending on the field in which it functions, and at the cost of the more or less expensive transformations which are the precondition for its efficacy in the field in question, capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital.

Economic capital refers to income and other financial resources and assets. It is most liquid capital which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights. Economic capital on its own is not sufficient as it cannot buy 'status' or position. For this it relies on the interaction with other forms of capital.

Social capital, made up of social obligations ("connections"), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility. This consists of a set of lasting social relations, networks and contacts.

Cultural capital is manifested through three forms: *objectified*, *embodied*, and *institutionalized*. Each form serves as 'instruments for the appropriation of symbolic wealth socially designated as worthy of being sought and possessed'. The objectified form manifests in items which are concrete. The embodied form is connected to the abstract form, while the institutionalized form represents the respective institutions.

Symbolic Capital is used by Bourdieu to explain the ways in which capitals are perceived in the social structure e.g., the status value attached to some objects, places or values. In relation to capitals, all forms are key factors that define positions and possibilities for individuals engaged in any field. Moreover, there is a 'multiplier effect' emerges in relation to any form of capital accumulation i.e. one capital often exchanges for another.

Fields: In Bourdieuan language Fields relates to a structured space of forces and struggles consisting of an ordered system and an identifiable network of relationships that impact upon the *habitus* of individuals. According to Bourdieu,

all forms of capital, by being progressively related to situations in social space, act in two ways concurrently: they reproduce all forms of capital and they use these resources to surround the actor's position further. So, situations of actors are both the reason and the result of all forms of previous build-ups of capital, mainly social capital. Bourdieu claims that as certain individuals enter the field, they (consciously or unconsciously) are more aware of the rules of the game and therefore have a greater capacity to manipulate these rules through their established capital appropriation.

For Bourdieu, social space is defined by the complex grouping of actor's positions. Those actors with prior qualifications or strong occupational social status will engage in strategies. Strategies in the actual or symbolic form are employed by individuals to distinguish themselves from other groups and give themselves a vantage point. Such strategies can only become meaningful if they exhibit symbolic relevance. Symbolic power is said to have its greatest expression in general acceptance that 'the rules of the game are fair'. Bourdieu uses the term 'Misrecognition' to suggest that some individuals who are in disadvantaged contexts 'play the game without questioning the rules'. This amounts to, what Bourdieu terms, 'symbolic violence'.

Check Your Progress

1. Can you explain Habitus, Capitals and Fields.

8A.2.2. Transformations and Conversions

The different types of capital can be derived from economic capital, but only at the cost of a more or less great effort of transformation, which is needed to produce the type of power effective in the field in question. For example, there are some goods

and services to which economic capital gives immediate access, without secondary costs. Other goods and services can be obtained only by virtue of a social capital of relationships or social obligations. Such relationships are cultivated over a period of time and for their own sake (and not for the sake of economic benefits). These cannot act instantaneously, at the appropriate moment, unless they have been established and maintained for a long time, and therefore outside their period of use, i.e., at the cost of an investment in sociability. This is necessarily long-term because the time lag is one of the factors while converting a pure and simple debt into that recognition of nonspecific indebtedness which is called gratitude. In contrast to the cynical but also economical transparency of economic exchange, in which equivalents change hands in the same instant, the essential ambiguity of social exchange, which presupposes misrecognition, in other words, a form of faith and of bad faith (in the sense of self-deception), presupposes a much more subtle economy of time.

It has been seen, for example, that the transformation of economic capital into social capital presupposes a specific labour. This requires a substantial expenditure of time, attention, care, concern, which, for example, is seen in the effort to personalize a gift. This has the effect of transfiguring the purely monetary import of the exchange and, by the same token, the very meaning of the exchange. From a narrowly economic standpoint, this effort is bound to be seen as pure wastage, but in the terms of the logic of social exchanges, it is a solid investment. The profits will appear, in the long run, in monetary or other form. Similarly, if the best measure of cultural capital is undoubtedly the amount of time devoted to acquiring it, this is because the transformation of economic capital into cultural capital presupposes an expenditure of time that is made possible by possession of economic capital. More precisely, it is because the cultural capital that is effectively transmitted within the family itself depends not only on the quantity of cultural capital, itself accumulated by spending time, that the domestic group possess, but also on the usable time (particularly in the form of the mother's free time) available to it (by virtue of its economic capital, which enables it to purchase the time of others) to ensure the transmission of this capital and to delay entry into the labour market through prolonged schooling, a credit which pays off, if at all, only in the very long term.

8A.3 Critique

Bourdieu's theory has been critiqued as reductionist for benefitting economic capital as the crucial source and ultimate interchange form of all other capitals. Bourdieu is also criticised for attributing, (like human capital and rational action

theorists,) an interest-bound, utility-orientation in all human action. In Bourdieu's theory, social capital develops vastly context-specific as a straight result of the relativity amongst the social, cultural, economic and symbolic arenas. This makes any automatic accumulation of social capital challenging.

8A.4 Conclusion

Various disciplines of social sciences have applied and analysed the concept of social capital. Social capital is seen as an important resource which lies in social relations, ties or connections in a social or network structure embedded with certain elements such as trust, shared norms, cooperation, etc. In some cases it consists of certain important characteristics of physical and human capital. Its nature ranges from pure private good to merit and public good, depending on the level of beneficiaries and exclusivity.



8B

SOCIAL CAPITAL - BOURDIEU, PUTNAM

8(B) SOCIAL CAPITAL THEORY – PUTNAM

Unit Structure

8B.0 Objectives

8B.1 Variations of Social Capital

8B.2 Criticisms

8B.3 Conclusion

8B.4 Summary

8B.5 Questions

8B.6 References

8B.0 Objectives

Putnam's theory of social capital is rooted in the functionalist perspective as its central focus is on social integration. But it is further more influenced by notions of pluralism and communitarianism. His core idea is that a well-functioning region's economy; along with a high level of political integration are the result of that region's capacity to successfully amass social capital.

Social capital has three components: 1) moral obligations and norms; 2) social values (with a focus on *trust*); and 3) social networks (membership of voluntary associations). Social capital in this format is important for the creation and nurturing of civil communities and civil society in general. According to Putnam, the productive capacity is manifested through its capacity to 'facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit'. However, the productive capacity can be threatened. The threat comes from changing social trends which appear to indicate that such 'coordination and cooperation' is on the decline.

Putnam observes that social capital is eroded in modern societies. He cites the example of America in terms of the falling participation numbers in various organizations. Union membership, net religious involvement, parent-teacher organizations and group associations have seen a decline over the years. There

may be some counter trends, but the general observation is that social capital is being eroded. This can have disastrous consequences and can be noted in the loosening of bonds within the family and a decline in social trust and relationships within communities.

In recent years, the term social capital entered the popular imagination with the publication in 2000 of Robert Putnam's bestseller, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. Putnam argued that while Americans have become wealthier their sense of community has withered. Cities and traditional suburbs have given way to "edge cities" and "exurbs" – vast, anonymous places where people sleep and work and do little else. As people spend more and more time in the office, commuting to work and watching TV alone, there's less time for joining community groups and voluntary organisations, and socialising with neighbours, friends and even family.

To demonstrate this decline, Putnam looked at the way Americans play 10-pin bowling, a sport with a big following in the United States. He found that although bowling has never been bigger, Americans are no longer competing against each other in the once-popular local leagues. Instead, they are – literally – bowling alone. Putnam argued that the decline of the community networks that once led Americans to bowl together represents a loss of social capital.

In Putnam's analysis, social capital is pre-eminent from a feature of individuals and small groups in local communities to a feature of large population masses. Fukuyama observes that social capital is a feature of a stable democracy. Therefore, those citizens who obey norms of strong associational contribution and who are owners of high social capital are certainly more inclined to work together on economic and political projects.

One more reason is concrete. Social capital decreases transaction costs linked with formal harmonisation instruments. Therefore social capital is regarded as 'universal lubricant' of social relations. The informality that is produced in social capital relations makes the functioning of contemporary economies relatively simple. Social capital in this respect may function either as bridging or as bonding. The first type of capital enlarges networks and linkages while the second increases their interconnection. Thus one should presume a positive link between indicators or types of social capital and outputs such as civic engagement, economic prosperity and growth and level of (democratic) citizenship.

8B.1 Variations of Social Capital

There's much debate over the various forms that social capital takes, but one fairly straightforward approach divides it into three main categories:

Bonds: Links to people based on a sense of common identity (“people like us”) – such as family, close friends and people who share our culture or ethnicity.

Bridges: Links that stretch beyond a shared sense of identity, for example to distant friends, colleagues and associates.

Linkages: Links to people or groups further up or lower down the social ladder.

The potential benefits of social capital can be seen by looking at social bonds. Friends and families can help us in lots of ways – emotionally, socially and economically. In the United Kingdom, for example, a government survey found that more people secure jobs through personal contacts than through advertisements. Such support can be even more important in countries where the rule of law is weak or where the state offers few social services. There are numerous cases wherein clan members and kinship group fund the education of relatives and find them work, and look after orphans and the elderly.

But bonds can hinder people, too. Almost by definition, tightly knit communities, such as some immigrant groups, have strong social bonds, with individuals relying heavily for support on relatives or people who share their ethnicity. Simultaneously, their lack of social bridges can turn them into eternal outsiders from wider society, sometimes hindering their economic progress. Of course, social exclusion works both ways: tightly knit groups may exclude themselves, but they may also be excluded by the wider community.

Like almost any form of capital, social capital can also be put to ends that harm other people. The links and trust that allow drug cartels and criminal gangs to operate are a form of social capital, albeit one that the rest of us could do without. Companies and organisations can also suffer if they have the wrong sort of social capital – relationships between colleagues that are too inward-looking and fail to take account of what’s going on in the wider world. Conversely, social capital can also help businesses. In *Bowling Alone*, Putnam attributes a large part of the success of Silicon Valley in the United States to formal and informal co-operation between start-up companies in the area.

8B.2 Criticisms

The concept of social capital has its critics. One argument that is made is that Putnam got it wrong when he said social engagement is eroding. Instead, it may just be evolving. Rather than joining groups in our neighbourhoods, like bowling leagues, we’re now joining groups made up of people who share our beliefs – fighting for environmental protection or gay rights, for instance – rather than our locality. These groups – such as a branch of Greenpeace or Amnesty International

– can exist in the “real” world. But they may also exist only virtually on the Internet, which is arguably creating whole new “communities” of people who may never physically meet but who share common values and interests. Not everyone, however, is convinced that these new forms of community have the same value as more traditional forms.

Critics also argue that the term “social capital” is vague, hard to measure, poorly defined and perhaps not even a form of capital at all. Economists often argue that capital involves making some form of sacrifice in the present – like studying in school to raise your human capital when you could be playing outside – to produce gains in the future. Despite the debate, social capital is a concept that’s attracting interest among politicians and policy makers. One reason for this is the increasing concern over marginalisation in our societies.

8B.3 Conclusion

The knowledge economy puts a premium on human capital and can worsen the job prospects of people with limited education, who are also often the least well off in our societies. Some analysts speak of the emergence of an “underclass” in developed countries, a group that is outside the mainstream of society and has little chance of re-entering it, both because of a lack of human capital and, arguably, the “right” sort of social capital. Indeed, that twin absence may not be a coincidence.

8B.4 Summary

The concept of social capital draws attention to the effects and consequences of human sociability and connectedness and their relations to the individual and social structure

Bourdieu’s conceptualization of social capital is based on the recognition that capital is not only economic and that social exchanges are not purely self-interested and need to encompass ‘capital and profit in all their forms’.

Bourdieu uses the concept of Habitus to explain how objective structures and subjective perceptions impact upon human actions.

The second important theme in Bourdieu’s theory is that of Capitals, which can present itself in three fundamental guises: as economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital.

In Bourdieuan language Fields relates to a structured space of forces and struggles consisting of an ordered system and an identifiable network of relationships that impact upon the habitus of individuals.

Putnam's Social capital has three components: 1) moral obligations and norms; 2) social values (with a focus on *trust*); and 3) social networks (membership of voluntary associations).

There's much debate over the various forms that social capital takes, but one fairly straightforward approach divides it into three main categories: Bonds, Bridges and Linkages.

8B.5 Questions

1. Elaborate on the concept of Social capital.
2. Examine the key ideas of social capital formulated by Bourdieu.
3. Discuss the significance of community relationships in understanding social capital as formulated by Putnam.

8B.6 References

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AMARTYA SEN – CAPABILITY APPROACH

Unit Structure

9A.0 Objectives

9A.1 Capability Approach – Introduction

9A.2 Core Concepts of the Capability Approach

9A.2.1 Functionings and Capabilities

9A.2.2 Capabilities as Real Freedoms

9A.2.3 Conversion Factors

9A.2.4 The means-ends Distinction

9A.2.5 Acknowledging human diversity and agency

9A.2.6 A metric for interpersonal comparisons

9A.3 Conclusion

9A.4 Summary

9A.5 Questions

9A.6 References

9A.0 Objectives

- To understand the relevance of Capability Approach in development thought
 - To examine key components of the Capability Approach
-

9A.1 Capability Approach - Introduction

The Capability Approach was put forth by Amartya Sen in the 1980s, and remains most closely associated with him. It has been applied in the context of human development, for example, by the United Nations Development Programme, and is considered as a broader and deeper alternative to economic metrics such as growth in GDP per capita. Sen was concerned about the crudeness of the Human Development Index (HDI), but agreed upon Mahbub ul Haq's argument for a composite index of human well-being that could compete directly with the crude GDP and its influence in development thinking. Over the last decade Amartya Sen's Capability Approach has emerged as the leading alternative to standard

economic frameworks for thinking about issues such as poverty, inequality and human development.

There may be some philosophical disagreements about the best description of the capability approach; nevertheless, it is generally seen as a conceptual framework for a range of normative exercises. The Capability Approach is a theoretical framework that involves two normative claims: 1) the assessment of the individual well-being; 2) the evaluation and assessment of social arrangements; and 3) the design of policies and proposals about social change in society. This approach is different from other approaches such as utilitarianism or resourcism, which emphasizes on particular well-being or the accessibility of means to the worthy life, respectively.

While the roots of the capability approach can be traced back to Aristotle, Adam Smith and Karl Marx, it is possible to identify more recent links. Economist-philosopher Amartya Sen pioneered the approach and philosopher Martha Nussbaum and a growing number of scholars across the humanities and social sciences have contributed to its development such as Martha Nussbaum, Elizabeth Anderson, John Alexander, Sabina Alkire and others). The capability approach states that freedom to achieve well-being is concerned with what people are able to do and to be, and by effect, the kind of life they are able to lead.

9A.2 - Core Concepts of the Capability Approach

9A.2.1 Functionings and Capabilities as doings and beings

At the centre of the capability approach is a normative commitment to understand well-being in terms of capabilities and functionings. Functionings are ‘doings and beings’, that is, various states of human beings and activities that a person engages in such as being well nourished, getting married, being educated and travelling. On the other hand, capabilities are the real, or substantive, opportunity that they have (or are available) to achieve these doings and beings. The person’s ‘capability-set’ denotes the set of capabilities that he or she can choose from, while the term ‘basic capabilities’ has two alternate meanings: a) “the innate equipment of individuals that is necessary for developing the more advanced capabilities” such as the capability of speech and language, which is present in a newborn but needs to be nurtured; or b) freedom to do some basic things considered necessary for survival and to avoid or escape poverty or other serious deprivation. Thus, functionings are capabilities that have been realized.

In this way, the capability approach changes the focus from means (the resources people have and the public goods they can access) to ends (what they are able to

do and be with those resources and goods). This shift in approach valid since resources and goods alone cannot ensure that people are able to convert them in actual doings and beings.

The Capability Approach focuses directly on the quality of life that individuals are actually able to achieve. This quality of life is analysed in terms of the core concepts of ‘functionings’ and ‘capability’.

Functionings are states of ‘being and doing’ such as being well-nourished, having shelter. They should be distinguished from the commodities employed to achieve them (as ‘bicycling’ is distinguishable from ‘possessing a bike’).

Capability refers to the set of valuable functionings that a person has effective access to. Thus, a person’s capability represents the effective freedom of an individual to choose between different functioning combinations – between different kinds of life – that she has reason to value. (In later work, Sen refers to ‘capabilities’ in the plural (or even ‘freedoms’) instead of a single capability set, and this is also common in the wider capability literature. This allows analysis to focus on sets of functionings related to particular aspects of life, for example, the capabilities of literacy, health, or political freedom.)

Resources (such as a bicycle) are considered as an input, but their value depends upon individuals’ ability to convert them into valuable functionings (such as bicycling), which depends, for example, on their personal physiology (such as health), social norms, and physical environment (such as road quality). An individual’s capability set is the set of valuable functionings that an individual has real access to. Achieved functionings are those they actually select. For example, an individual’s capability set may include access to different functionings relating to mobility, such as walking, bicycling, taking a public bus, and so on. The functioning they actually select to get to work may be the public bus. Utility is considered both an output and a functioning. Utility is an output because what people choose to do and to be naturally has an effect on their sense of subjective well-being (for example, the pleasure of bicycling to work on a sunny day). However the Capability Approach also considers subjective well-being – feeling happy – as a valuable functioning in its own right and incorporates it into the capability framework.

9A.2.2 Capabilities as Real freedoms

Sen introduces the concept of ‘freedom’. There are many kinds of freedom (some valuable, some detrimental, some trivial) and ‘freedom’ could mean different things to different people. A thorough reading of Sen’s work clarifies that capabilities are freedoms if they are understood as real opportunities. Real freedom

means having all the required means to achieve that ‘doing and being’ that one wants to. This does not refer to formal freedom, but the actual, substantial opportunity to achieve it. For example, a person may have the formal freedom to vote in elections, because the person has the right to vote. But he/she may lack the substantial possibility to vote either because there is no transportation facility or vehicle ownership to reach the polling station which is kilometres away. Conversely, another person may be living close to the voting station, but may still not have the real freedom to vote because of cultural or societal restrictions or threat of violence. Capabilities are thus real freedoms in the sense that they are corrected for any potential impediments. ‘Functioning’ simply denote that those capabilities that have been achieved whether voluntarily or by chance. For example, a person may have the real freedom to vote, but may choose not to, and thus does not have the functioning of voting.

Check Your Progress

1. What is Capability Approach?

2. Mention core concepts related to Capability Approach.

9A.2.3 Conversion factors

Merely having the capability to achieve something is not sufficient. The success of the task depends on what Sen calls the ‘conversion factors’. Resources in the form of marketable goods and services have certain qualities which make them of interest to people. For example, a person may be interested in a bike not because it

is an object made from specific material, having a particular colour, size or shape, but because it can increase our speed and it is better and faster than walking. These characteristics of a good/commodity enable to contribute to a functioning. A bike enables the functioning or mobility, to be able to move a person freely and more rapidly than walking.

There is a close relation between a good/product and the achievement of certain 'beings and doings'. This relation is understood as the 'conversion factor' which is understood as: the degree in which a person can transform a resource into a functioning. For example, an able bodied person who has learnt to ride a bicycle as a child has a high conversion factor, which enables him to turn a product/bicycle into the ability to move around efficiently. On the other hand, a person with physical disability, or a person who was never taught to ride a bike has a very low conversion factor. The conversion factors thus represent how much functioning one can get out of a good or service; and in case of the above example, how much mobility the person can get out of a bicycle.

Sen puts forth a variety of conversion factors which may be categorized into three groups. All conversion factors influence how a person can be or is free to convert the characteristics of the resources into a functioning, yet the sources of these factors may differ.

- (1) **Individual /Personal conversion factors** – are internal to the person, such as the metabolism, physical conditions, variations associated with illnesses, disability, age, and gender, reading skills or intelligence. If a person's is disabled or suffering from bad physical health, or has never learned to cycle, then the bike will be of limited help in enabling the functioning of mobility. In order to achieve the same functionings, people may have particular needs for non-standard commodities – such as prosthetics for a disability – or they may need more of the standard commodities – such as additional food in the case of intestinal parasites. Note that some of these disadvantages, such as blindness, may not be fully 'correctable' even with tailored assistance.
- (2) **Local environment diversities** – emerge from the physical or built environment in which a person lives. Geographical factors such as location and climate, epidemiology, and pollution and the presence or absence of seas and oceans. Among aspects of built environment are the stability of buildings, roads, and bridges, means of transport and communication. These can impose particular costs such as more or less expensive heating or clothing requirements.

- (3) **Variations in social conditions** – are factors from the society of which one is a member, such as the provision of public services, public policies, education and security, social norms, nature of community relationships, social hierarchies, practices that unfairly discriminate, or the power relations related to caste, class or ethnic divisions.

Besides the above, there are other conversion factors, which are as follows:

Differences in relational perspectives – Conventions and customs determine the commodity requirements of expected standards of behaviour and consumption, so that relative income poverty in a rich community may translate into absolute poverty in the space of capability. For example, local requirements of ‘the ability to appear in public without shame’ in terms of acceptable clothing may vary widely.

Distribution within the family – distributional rules within a family determining, for example, the allocation of food and health-care between children and adults, males and females.

The diagnosis of capability failures, or significant interpersonal variations in capability, directs attention to the relevant causal pathways responsible. Note that many of these interpersonal variations will also influence individuals’ abilities to access resources to begin with. For example, the physically handicapped often have more expensive requirements to achieve the same capabilities, such as mobility, while at the same time they also have greater difficulty earning income in the first place.

Referring back to the example of the bicycle; how much a bicycle contributes to a person’s mobility depends on that person’s physical condition (a personal conversion factor), the social norms and attitudes including whether women are socially allowed to ride a bicycle (a social conversion factor), and the availability of decent roads or bike paths (an environmental conversion factor) will determine the success.

The capability approach usually focuses on the conversion of resources into individual capabilities and functionings. Some scholars have argued that this is too individualist. They observe that many capabilities can be only be held or achieved through collective action. This has given rise to the notion of ‘collective capabilities’. For example, the capabilities for friendship, collaboration, assembly will be realized only in relation to other individuals. Cultural contexts also influence individual agency goals and thus the capabilities that we choose to pursue. In these ways, social relations, collectives, and the larger social, cultural and economic institutional context function as conversion factors for some capabilities.

9A.2.4 The means-ends Distinction

Against the context of the conversion factors, the capability approach clearly relies upon a key analytical distinction: the means-ends distinction. The approach emphasizes on the fact that we should always be clear, when valuing something, whether we value it as an end in itself, or as a means to a valuable end. Within the capability approach, the ultimate ends of interpersonal comparisons are people's capabilities. This means that the capability approach evaluates policies and other changes according to how much these policies have impacted people's capabilities as well as their functionings. It asks whether people are able to be healthy and whether all resources to ensure and promote good health are in place. It enquires into the means of resources necessary for this capability such as clean water, adequate sanitation, and access to medicine, doctors, protection from infections, basic knowledge of diseases and health issues and checks whether these are present. It asks whether people are well-nourished, and whether the means of conditions for the realization of this capability, such as having sufficient food supplies and food entitlements are being met. It also asks whether people have access to high-quality education system, real political participation, to community activities which fosters care and friendships and which support them to cope up with the challenges of daily life.

9A.2.5 Acknowledging human diversity and agency

One of the important highlights of the capability approach is it understands human diversity. The capability approach is critical of other normative approaches, such as the distributive justice approach; on the basis that they do not acknowledge the full human diversity among people. This also explains why the capability approach is favourably regarded by the feminist scholars or philosophers who are concerned with care and disability issues. The scholars complain that the mainstream moral and political approaches have been relatively indifferent to the problems of the invisible, marginalized and disadvantaged groups. They observe that there is relative invisibility of the fate of those people who do not belong to the able-bodied, 'non-dependent', 'caregiving-free' groups of people who belong to the dominant ethnic, racial and religious groups. People of colour, marginalized people, disabled persons and many socially disabled groups like women do not fit that picture.

The capability approach thus takes account of human diversity in three ways. Firstly, it focuses on the plurality of functionings and capabilities as important evaluative spaces. There are a wide range of dimensions in the understanding of the concepts of well-being and well-being outcomes. During assessments, some dimensions may be of particular importance for some groups, but less so for others. Secondly, the capability approach emphasizes on human diversity through its focus

on personal and socio-environmental conversion factors that make it possible to convert commodities and other resources into functionings. It also emphasizes on the social, institutional and environmental context that affects the conversion factor and the capability set directly. Third, the capability approach acknowledges human agency and the diversity of goals people have in life, hence reflecting human diversity.

9A.2.6 A metric for interpersonal comparisons

The capability approach considers ‘functionings’ and ‘capabilities’ as the best measurement for most kinds of interpersonal evaluations. In other words, those interpersonal evaluations should be understood in terms of people’s functioning and their capabilities. The ‘beings and doings’ together make life more valuable. Whereas ‘functionings’ are the proposed conceptualization for interpersonal comparisons of (achieved) well-being, ‘capabilities’ are the conceptualization for interpersonal comparisons of the freedom to pursue well-being, which Sen refers to as ‘well-being freedom’.

9A.3 Conclusion

Thus, according to the capability approach, overall well-being, freedom, justice and development should be understood in terms of people’s capabilities. What is relevant is not only which opportunities are available by themselves, hence in a segmental and piecemeal way, but rather which combinations of sets of potential functionings are open to people. The Capability Approach is not concerned with information collection for its own sake, but rather with the appropriate use of information for assessment. The approach is successful in demonstrating that capability related information can be used systematically as a credible supplement to economic metrics. Sen admits that the Capability Approach is not a theory of justice but rather an approach to the evaluation of effective freedom.

9A.4 Summary

The Capability Approach is a theoretical framework that involves two normative claims: 1) the assessment of the individual well-being; 2) the evaluation and assessment of social arrangements; and 3) the design of policies and proposals about social change in society.

The Capability Approach focuses directly on the quality of life that individuals are actually able to achieve. This quality of life is analysed in terms of the core concepts of ‘functionings’ and ‘capability’.

Merely having the capability to achieve something is not sufficient. The success of the task depends on what Sen calls the ‘conversion factors’ which are individual, geographical, social, cultural, political, health and well-being.

The capability approach usually focuses on the conversion of resources into individual capabilities and functionings.

One of the important highlights of the capability approach is it understands human diversity.

Sen admits that the Capability Approach is not a theory of justice but rather an approach to the evaluation of effective freedom.

9A.5 Questions

1. Examine the contribution of Amartya Sen towards the Capability Approach.
2. Examine the significance of Capabilities and Functionings in the context of the Capability Approach.

9A.6 References

The Capability Approach

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JEAN DREZE – RIGHTS BASED APPROACH

Unit Structure

9B.1 Objectives

9B.2 Rights based Approach – Introduction

9B.2.1 Research and Action

9B.2.2 Poverty Alleviation

9B.2.3 Right to Food

9B.2.4 Employment Guarantee

9B.3 Conclusion

9B.4 Summary

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9B.1 OBJECTIVES

- To examine the key components of the rights based approach
- To discuss the relation between rights based approach and social transformation

9B.2 Rights Based Approach - Introduction

Several development agencies have promoted a rights-based approach to affect a positive transformation of power relations among the various development actors. The approach integrates norms relating to human rights and principles in the design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of policies and programmes. Its central thesis is the principle of equality and freedom from all forms of discrimination. A rights-based approach invests beneficiaries as ‘rights-holders’, creates an avenue for their voices to be heard, and enables them to play an active role in rebuilding and development. This is in contrast with the need based approach which provides support or services to beneficiaries who have no say in what action is taken. In this section, we take a look at the rights-based approach to development vis-à-vis the writings of Jean Dreze. We focus on Poverty, Food, Employment, Research and Action.

There is a fundamental difference between the needs-based approach and the rights-based approach. While both focus on manifestations of problems and seek immediate causes of problems, the needs-based approach is passive, works toward outcome goals, recognizes needs as valid claims. It focuses on meeting ‘needs’ but underplays empowerment. It accepts charity as the driving motivation for meeting needs. Generally, it involves narrow sectoral projects and focuses on social context with negligible emphasis on policy. The rights-based approach, on the other hand, seeks to work toward outcome and process goals, it emphasizes realization of rights. It also recognizes that rights always imply obligations of the State and that rights can be realized only through empowerment. It does not believe that charity is the solution; instead, it states that charity is insufficient motivation for meeting needs. To that effect, it involves intersectoral, holistic projects and programmes. It focuses on varied the social, economic, cultural, civil and political context of the problem and is policy-oriented.

9B.2.1 Research and Action

Jean Dreze in his essays focus on action-oriented research, or “research for action”. The book titled *‘Sense and Solidarity: Jholawala Economics for Everyone’* which is written by Dreze states that the aim of research is contribute to practical change. He argues that research for action is still research – it need not involve compromises with scientific methods or objective enquiry. However, it differs in some important ways from the conventional approach to research in academic circles. In an article called “On Research and Action”, Dreze argues for the complementarity of research and action, and challenges the traditional view that involvement in action deviates from objective enquiry.

First, action-oriented research is not a stand-alone activity, rather it involves democratic action, that is, action based on democratic means and institutions – public debate, the media, the courts, the electoral process, and street action, among others. He quotes the example of one useful form of action-oriented research, which is to counter some of the propaganda that appears in the mainstream media. Academic research rarely engages with action. This proves that action-oriented research has an important role, and has the potential to become a form of democratic action in itself.

Second, social scientists must refrain from falling into the trap of “verbose phraseology”. Research needs to be presented in a reader-friendly manner and must appeal to a wider audience if it has to translate into action.

Third, action-oriented research resists the common tendency to think of the government as the main agent of change and this is reflected in the conclusions of research papers categorized as “policy implications”. This assumes that public policy is the prime mover, but Dreze argues that there are also other means of

bringing about practical change. Research for action addresses itself to the public at large, not just to the government.

Fourth, action-oriented research challenges the traditional perspective of action and research as diametrically opposing activities. The conventional view which is popular in academic circles is that involvement in action detracts from objectivity. However, objectivity requires intellectual honesty, not an abdication of convictions. We have to remember that academic institutions are not neutral spaces. Each institution is integrated with other institutions of power, such as the government, funding agencies, and the corporate sector. Action can be a great eye-opener, and thus contribute to more enlightened research, just as research can lead to more effective action.

Fifth, research for action also makes demands on ethical standards. Ethical lapses in academic papers are seen to take place in the form of plagiarism, opportunism, fudging, and selective reporting of results and so on. They may or may not have serious consequences. The challenges are much higher when research is linked with real-life action. Another ethical issue relates to action-oriented research in terms of maintaining aloofness. Research in the field on social development, often brings us in direct contact with people who are struggling with extreme forms of poverty and exploitation. In such situations it is difficult not to be involved, making this another good reason for seeking ways of linking research with action.

Sixth, a related demand of action-oriented research is to avoid obligations to funding agencies and institutions that may stifle our freedom of expression or action. Indeed, the dependence of academic research on funding agencies is a serious matter. Dreze observes that even some Ph.D. work is now being paid for by the World Bank and the corporate sector. While some funding agencies follow ethical standards and are independent, but many are an integral part of the structures of power, which could effectively compromise the neutrality of the project. In some cases researchers will have to explore ethical sources of funding such as individual donations from people who share or support the spirit of the project.

Last but not least, discussion, dialogue, and debate are essential features of action oriented research. When we get involved in action, we inevitably develop strong views on the issues at hand. There are also professional biases and pressures to conform – of a different kind – in academic circles. This situation can be avoided by adopting some safeguards, mainly through dialogue and arguments with people of different views. Dreze observes that researchers, action-oriented or not, can turn dangerous when they think of themselves as experts who are competent to design public policies on their own.

Needless to say, research for action can be either valid form of research or it could be challenging - much depends on what sort of action it is geared to. Dreze

makes a claim that research for action carries innumerable possibilities especially in a country like India where relatively sound democratic institutions coexist with massive social problems.

9B.2.2 POVERTY ALLEVIATION

With regards to many social programmes in India, one of the greatest difficulties is the selection of eligible households. In the 1990s and early 2000s, the standard approach was to restrict them to households “below the poverty line” (BPL). The identification of BPL households, was far from easy and posed several technical issues. Caps on the number of BPL households were imposed state-wise, based on poverty estimates supplied by the Planning Commission. These estimates essentially involved a headcount of households with monthly per capita expenditure (MPCE) below a pre-specified threshold, called the poverty line, using National Sample Survey (NSS) data. There are obvious limitations in the ways to estimate poverty and identify BPL families.

In the absence of valid data, proxy indicators such as occupation or asset ownership are used. Due to the imprecise nature of the proxy indicators, compounded by unreliable survey methods, the entire approach had a hit-or-miss character. This method is fraught with risks such as exclusion errors (the omission of eligible households) as well as inclusion errors (the insertion of ineligible households). The stringent nature of the poverty caps, which are based on a relatively low poverty line, does not help matters.

In the early 2000s, many social programmes targeted BPL households. If the central government had had its way, even programmes such as the Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) and the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) would have been restricted to BPL households. Around that time however, the idea that many of these social benefits should be regarded as a right of poor households, if not all households, gained ground. BPL targeting does not agree in principle with a rights approach, since it tends to leave out many poor households. Gradually, BPL targeting gave way to three alternatives.

First, some entitlements were universalised. School meals, for instance, were extended to all children, at least in government and government-assisted schools. It would have been difficult to identify only BPL children. Second, some programmes were built on the principle of self-selection – allowing people to decide for themselves whether to participate. NREGA is a prime example: every rural household is eligible for a job card, but the work requirement ensures that most NREGA workers come from disadvantaged sections of the population. So far studies have suggested that this self-targeting process works relatively well, at least in the case of NREGA. Third, in the context of implementing the National Food Security Act (NFSA), the “exclusion approach” was adopted by some

states, wherein they identified and excluded well-off households and included everyone else by default. They used simple, tangible, transparent, and verifiable criteria such as: ownership of a four-wheel vehicle, land ownership, pucca house, etc. to narrow down the list. The main advantage of this approach is that the risk of excluding poor households is low. Apart from the above, BPL targeting continues in some centrally sponsored programmes such as the Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana (a health insurance programme).

9B.2.3 RIGHT TO FOOD

One of the first Supreme Court orders in the “Right to Food Case” directed state governments to introduce cooked midday meals in all government and government-assisted primary schools. This order, dated 28 November 2001, actually did nothing more than direct governments to do what they were already supposed to under the National Programme of Nutritional Support for Primary Education (NPNSPE), launched by the central government in 1995. The NPNSPE aimed to provide cooked meals in primary schools, but instead, dry rations (monthly quotas of wheat or rice) had been distributed to schoolchildren until then, and even those were conditional; only for students with regular attendance. The court order led the government to do what it intended to do.

In due course, midday meals came to be seen as one of India’s most effective social programmes. Several studies have shown their positive impact on school attendance, child nutrition, and pupil achievements. The scheme took some time before take-off. Initially the schools had no kitchen sheds, children had no plates, hygiene was lacking, and the meals were frugal, also some cases of food poisoning and caste discrimination were reported. The tears and triumphs related to this scheme form the first three essays in *Sense and Solidarity* book i.e. ‘*Hunger in the Classroom*’, ‘*Food for Equality and Midday Meals*’ and ‘*The Joy of Learning*’ are part of a stream of articles that tried to convey a more balanced picture of the achievements and failures of midday meals at that time.

Jean Dreze has also observed the way in which the midday meal could be creatively used as an opportunity to educate children about nutrition, hygiene, mutual co-operation, environmental responsibility, and more. There is a reference to Japan and its schools in which the nutritious food sometimes grown on the school grounds by teachers and children was consumed by both. This made Dreze realise that there is still enormous scope for enhancing the nutritional, educational, and social value of school meals in India. There is every reason to look forward to this great enterprise of public service.

9B.2.4 EMPLOYMENT GUARANTEE

India's National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, 2005 (NREGA) is based on the simple idea that people who have no better means of livelihood should have a right to be employed on local public works at a minimum. As per this act, people are entitled to receive payment within fifteen days, basic worksite facilities, and an also unemployment allowance if work is not provided. The act aims to: improve economic security, empower rural women, activate gram sabhas, protect the environment, control distress migration, create productive assets, and promote social equity, among others.

The proposed Employment Guarantee Act has been supported by political parties, social movements, and the public at large and is reflected in the recent report of the Standing Committee on Rural Development. However, there is opposition by powerful section of the corporate sector and its allies in government. It tends to be rooted in a "minimalist" view of the role of the state in the social sector. This argument should not be lightly dismissed. The record of anti-poverty programmes in India is far from encouraging. Early feedback on the National Food for Work Programme (NFFWP) suggests that the programme is a potential lifeline for the rural poor, and also has many other positive effects, from slowing down rural–urban migration to the creation of useful assets. However, much of this potential has been wasted due to widespread corruption which is seen in the form of fudging muster rolls.

There is much to learn from this experience. First, corruption is not an immutable feature of rural development programmes. Second, the best way to fight corruption in public works is to empower the victims of fraud and embezzlement – starting with the labourers, for whom it is a matter of life and death. Third, the right to information is a powerful tool of empowerment. The national Right to Information Act, which is due to come into force, next month, is a major breakthrough in this respect. Fourth, a law is not enough – legal rights have to be combined with a process of public mobilisation that enables people to exercise those rights.

The premise of the Employment Guarantee Act is that every adult has a right to basic employment opportunities at the statutory minimum wage. It is a political initiative based on the state's responsibility to protect the right to work. The existence of corruption should not be used as an excuse to abdicate this responsibility – it can and must be fought.

9B.3 Conclusion

The rights based approach aims to tackle issues of inequality and fight against all forms of discrimination. Dreze uses this approach in the context of various areas

which need attention from the government agencies, NGOs and the civil society. He is well known for his commitment to social justice. He has worked on many issues relating to development economics including hunger, famine, education, gender equality, childcare, school feeding, employment guarantee, etc. He is known to combine standard economic methods along with anthropology, supported by extensive field work and qualitative analysis of everyday life.

9B.4 Summary

The rights based approach integrates norms relating to human rights and principles in the design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of policies and programmes.

Dreze argues for the complementarity of research and action, and challenges the traditional view that involvement in action deviates from objective enquiry.

In the early 2000s, many social programmes targeted BPL households. If the central government had had its way, even programmes such as the Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) and the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) would have been restricted to BPL households.

Several studies have shown their positive impact on school attendance, child nutrition, and pupil achievements.

India's National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, 2005 (NREGA) is based on the simple idea that people who have no better means of livelihood should have a right to be employed on local public works at a minimum.

9B.5 Questions

1. Discuss the key features of the Rights based approach.
2. Examine Jean Dreze's contribution to the rights based approach.
3. "The central idea of rights based approach is equality and freedom from all forms of discrimination". Discuss

9B.6 References

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GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

Unit Structure

- 10.0 Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Theories: Women and Development
 - 10.2.1 Cultural Dualism
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10.1 Introduction

The debate and discussion regarding Women and Development has gained momentum during the last few decades. This theme has assumed importance because two major areas of research are concerned: the status of women and economic development. Recently, development has been viewed as a cure for the problems of less developed countries. It has been advocated that once a modern infrastructure is created, the economy will develop bringing about a solution for all ills and ameliorating the lives of people. In spite of this view, it appears that in most developing countries and among all classes, development has brought little relief to the conditions of women, especially in relation to that of men.

The concern about women in relation to development has led to several research projects being undertaken, seminars and conferences being organized at national and international levels. All these have pointed towards a need for a multidimensional definition of development. This must include political, social and human aspects along with economic aspects of development. It is also seen that development has widened the gap between the incomes of men and women and has had a negative effect on the lives of women. This is largely due to a lack by development planners in recognizing women's dual roles and the continuing use of old stereotypes as a base for development plans.

The concept of women and work also needs to be understood more comprehensively, especially the changing patterns of women's participation in the labor force as development takes place. In this chapter, we will look at some theories on Women and Development, the pioneering views of Ester Boserup and Maitreyi Krishna Raj on the subject, Women's relation to development and development indicators and women.

10.2 Theories: Women and Development

Women secondary status in modern society and their subordination to men have been traced to the beginning of history and culture. Today, as societies are following the path of development, it is seen that the position of women has not improved obviously and significantly. The benefits of development have gone mostly to the male population in society whereas it seems that women have been adversely affected by it. The role of women in development and the impact of development on women are undergoing serious consideration. While this points to the need for new theories, methodologies and research, it is necessary to understand and analyse earlier intellectual traditions and perspectives. We shall therefore briefly outline some theories regarding development and its relationship with women. Some of these theories are:

- (i) Cultural dualism used by Simone de Beauvoir to look at the position of women;
- (ii) Social evolutionary theory which gave rise to both modernization theory and the Marxist analysis of stages in the development of capitalism;
- (iii) Developmentalism, which identified obstacles to women's participation in national development; and
- (iv) Dependency theory which examined the nature of development and underdevelopment.

10.2.1 Cultural Dualism

The theory of cultural Dualism may be attributed to Simone de Beauvoir who uses it to explain woman's secondary status in society. According to her, the origin of woman's subordinate status lies partly in her relationship to nature and partly in nature's relationship to culture. Human societies have a universal opposition between nature and culture. Human beings, by their very constitution, make great efforts at overcoming the limits of nature through culture. In the process of attempting to control nature man is more free than woman who is naturally restricted in this by her tasks of reproduction and sustaining life. At the same time, man cannot live without woman, just as he cannot do away with nature. As a result, man regards woman with contradictory and opposed feelings. He reverses her and also degrades her. He wishes to control her but also refrains from completely quashing her creativity. In some cultures such as the Hindu culture, this ambivalence is all prevalent. In some others, women do play a dominant role in regulating nature and sexual behaviour. In evaluating such dualistic theory, it must be accepted that there are some universals in the social and cultural position of women butting across almost all known societies. However, such a theory does not throw much light on the question of women and society, as it pays little attention to differences of fundamental patterns of human existence nor is it concerned with change.

10.2.2 Social Evolutionary Theory

The Social Evolutionary theory has viewed societies as undergoing progressive change as a result of changes in population balance and in increasing division of labour and differentiation. The question of changing status of women and their roles has also been perceived from the Point, of social evolutionary theory.

According to this theory, societies range from simple, where the some persons perform several tasks, to complex societies where there is higher level of technology, formal institutions and greater occupational specialization. By characterizing societies on the basis of division of labour, social evolutionary theory has tried to explain inequality both among and within societies. As specialization increases, each labouring group becomes more specialized and productivity also increased. Thus societies moving toward specialization have a higher level of productivity. And, simple societies with less specialization remain less productive and therefore poorer. Within complex societies those groups performing less specialized tasks are also less productive and 'therefore disadvantaged. This is how inequality is explained by the social evolutionary theory. Extending this argument and applying it to the sexes shows that since women are normally found to be relegated to backward sectors of the economy, they

suffer inequality. The same argument has been used to explain the effect of social differentiation on political participation. With increasing differentiation between domestic tasks and those of politics and governance, women were relegated to domestic chores and kept out of participation in public decision making. The subordination of women increased as society became more complex with the growth of a specialized state, professional armies and bureaucracies.

10.2.3 Developmentalism

The developmental approach has perceived that modernization has affected men and women differently and seeks to locate the causes preventing women from participating in the development process. The developmental perspective basically views social change differently from the modernization theorists. This difference can be found in three basic ideas:

Society is not seen as a single unit so that changes in one area will generate changes in other areas. Therefore technologies introduced to raise productivity as part of development planning does not benefit women as it does men.

There are contradictions in the process of social change thus women's exploitation may increase if only employment is increased and not wages and working conditions.

Conscious policies are necessary to move society in a particular direction. In this external forces and national leaders play a positive role.

The failure to implement development programme has led to developmentalists taking a modified approach to the problem of women in development. They feel that it is important to look at women as rational decision makers. They point out that by concentrating on increasing the value of the GNP, the full production of a society is undervalued and the question of distribution is ignored. The contribution of women in hidden sectors is not taken into account. This involves neglect in non-market work done in households, subsistence agriculture and the informal labour market, all of which is done more often by women than men. It has also led to policies which impede its productivity. Women suffer an increasing narrowing of social roles and capacity to generate income as little attention is paid to upgrading non market work. Ester Boserup and others have proposed expanding of the GNP to include women's work as a strategy to include assessment of their costs in the formation of development goals.

10.2.4 Dependency Theory

Dependency theory developed as a result of the dissatisfaction of the developmentalists's explanation of poverty and backwardness in Third world countries. Their investigation pointed to constraints on development in these

countries caused by international forces. Even after formal colonization declined, former colonial powers controlled Third World Economies in a new garb of neocolonialism. The backwardness of these countries was perpetuated through economic dependence on industrialized nations. As regards women, the dependency theory disagreed with conservative Marxists. While the latter argued that power relations between men and women cannot be understood except in the context of the mode of production, dependency theory points out that how the mode of production affects Third World women is part of an international system based on dependency. The classic Marxist explanation that women's subordination is due to women's relegation to the domestic economy and denial in the opportunity to participate in production of goods for exchange in the large society has been belied by different case studies. Dependency theory explains that if industrial capitalism places women on the edge of the economy. Third world capitalism makes their position even more difficult. Capitalism in dependent nations finds women holding a disproportionate number of jobs in sectors such as agriculture, domestic servants, street vendors and prostitutes and the like, in short, the informal labour market. The significance feature of the dependency theory regarding women is that it does not distinguish between socially productive and domestic work, all women's work is taken as one and considered uniformly. It does however link the role and status of women to the economic position of the whole society which is ultimately determined by the international system.

10.3 Women and Development Ester Boserup:

The study of women and Development owes a great deal to Ester Boserup whose contribution in this area has been very significant. Through her pioneering work 'Women and Development' she first drew attention to how the process of development and related social change was affecting the lives of women. She states that status of women and economic development are two significant areas in which research is needed and is rightfully being conducted especially in the Third World. Studies on women in these countries has shown that the problems of women in the labour force are peculiar. Women are over burdened with work while their efforts are partly wasted because they have less training and even more primitive equipment than the male labour force in their communities. This brings about a need for more research to improve the working conditions of women in the Third World, especially women in domestic work and in rural areas and to provide them with better access to the labour market. Boserup states that there has been objection to studies on women and development as they largely stress on the Problems of labour market and productivity which is not seen as a major problem confronting women. Studies show that women in developing countries are actively

involved in agriculture, crafts, trade or construction and support themselves and their families by such work. In spite of being wholly engaged in labour activities, their social status continues to remain low. Therefore, the study of women's status especially in relation to male family members is the main issue and should take priority over labour market studies.

However, in Third World countries, the subordinate position of women derives from legal or customary rules which women are unable to change. As a result, economic self-support exists along with inferior status. In some countries important changes have taken place in the legal status of women by giving women the right to divorce, guardianship of her children in the case of divorce or widowhood. But, these have not brought about a corresponding change in the real family status of women. Economic change is also occurring in most developing countries. This change however is making it more difficult for women to support themselves. Women's work is mostly in the informal sector or in the household. If women do not have opportunities to earn money their dependence on men will increase and their social family status will decrease in spite of their legal dependence.

Studies on women and development must be integrated with studies of the development process itself. In this process, some groups get a large share of development benefits while others may become victims of development because their products, activities or skills may be replaced by newer, more productive or efficient activities. Both men and women may become victims of development but it is mostly women who suffer from the adverse impact of development. This happens because women find it more difficult to adapt to new conditions because of the following reasons. (i) They are less mobile than men due to family obligations; (ii) traditionally their choice of occupations is more narrowly limited; (iii) they usually have less education and training; and (iv) They face sexual discrimination in recruitment. Also, in developing countries, a much larger percentage of the female labour force is involved in traditional occupations which are gradually replaced by newer enterprises in economic development. This generally points to large numbers of women in Third World countries being adversely affected by development.

The speed of modernization and economic growth in the different Third World countries is at great variance. The occupational opportunities available to women are related to the differences in natural resources, the stock of human and physical capital, foreign relations, and government policies. In countries where economic growth is rapid attitudes toward women's work outside the home are also changing swiftly and women are joining the labour market. Conversely, in countries where

economic growth is slow and population growth is rapid, women from economically weaker sections are forced into already crowded occupations such as market trade and domestic service, to help support their large families. Therefore, in order to help women improve their status in developing countries, the patterns of development to be applied must take into account the economic conditions, institutional patterns and attitudes to women's work in that specific country. It would make little sense to merely apply the development models, either 'Western' or 'alternative' to the developing country.

10.4 Women and Development Maitreyi Krishna Rai:

Yet another perspective on women and Development has been put forward by Maitreyi Krishna Raj. According to her, the process of underdevelopment and development has had much significance for women. The impact of development on women's status in society can be understood only if one accepts the fact that the oppression of women is completely linked to the exploitative world system of which development is a part. She asserts that real development means ending the exploitative system and reducing the vast gulf between the rich and poor nations. The adverse effect that development has had on women can only be altered if the nature of development itself is changed. The world Conference of the U. N. Decade for women held at Copenhagen in 1980 has defined development as follows, "Development is here interpreted to mean total development in the political, economic, social cultural and other dimensions of human life as also the development of economic and other material resources and also the physical, moral, intellectual and cultural growth of the human person. The improvement of the status of women requires a change in the attitudes and roles of both men and women. Women's development should not only be viewed as an issue in social development but should be seen as an essential component in every dimension of development."

Check Your Progress

1. Explain Women's role in development.

10.4.1 Development and Women's Dependency:

Maitreyi Krishna Raj states that the process of development has in fact led to underdevelopment and greater dependency of women. This is especially so in the case of developing countries such as India.

In pre-colonial and pre-industrial and pre-capitalist India there was an advanced technology and adequate resource management to provide's people with a simple way of life. There was also a great deal of technology transfer from East to West which has been completely reversed today. Today, India has a small modern and developed sector of the economy which is the organized sector while the larger sector remains scattered in small units of production called the unorganized sector. Women, due to their subordinate status and special social responsibilities are mostly drawn into the unorganized sector. Developmental processes have also destroyed the earlier balance with nature, leading to environmental degradation creating special problems for women. Due to pressures of foreign trade, women are used as cheap labour in export-oriented industries,

Krishna Raj further reiterates that the political economy of women has been subjected to the continuing ideology of patriarchy. This ideology perpetuates the unequal, discriminatory and oppressive relations between the sexes. These relations derive their strength from a material base through production whereby the woman's role in labour and family leaves her in a state of dependence. The discrimination against women and their subordination is further encouraged in India through socialization, customs and practices. The model used for development has not tried to change these structures and provide a base for involving women in developmental participation. The continuing structures of male dominance has prevented women from receiving any benefit of development. Moreover, commercialization imposed on traditional values has brought tragic consequences for women. Increasing violence against women and general devaluation of women through various forms of exploitations are the expressions of these new disorders. The older anti-social practices against women such as sati, child marriage or female infanticide have been replaced by new ones such as bride burning for non-fulfillment of dowry and female feticides.

Discrimination against women has been persistent despite and even because of development. This affects women, of all classes, but more so poor women who have little access to social resources essential for effective human existence; education, health and employment. They are also denied access to power and authority and thus deprived of the opportunity to speak for themselves. Changes brought about by development have increased the contradictions for women though their forms vary in different classes and cultures.

Strategies for improvement in the position of women adopted until now have had little impact because they do not attempt to change the conditions that cause subordination of women but simply aim at alleviating some of the glaring negative expressions. The alleviation too have not been effective as is shown by the increasing marginalization and pauperization of women in the country and the increasing violence against women.

10.5 Women's Relation to Development:

Development is today accepted as meaning the creation of conditions by which the potential of all human beings can be fulfilled. This of course includes women. However it seems that development has not only missed women but has also hurt and exploited them in the process. Women have yet to become partners in the development process. Development literature from developing countries in Asia, Africa and South America point to two trends, (i) that disparities exist in opportunities for survival and growth between men and women, (ii) that development is bringing about new forms of oppression and subordination of women. The status of women still remains secondary. She is essentially a dependent being suffering exclusion from decision making and devaluation of her personality. The emancipation of women has been hindered by patriarchy and male domination. This is seen in society's refusal to recognize women's contribution and independent identity.

Women support a large part of the world economy by their services in the home and the community. Women have always worked and been part of the economy though much of their work is not included in the definition of work. Women's work, is plagued by low status, low pay and low skills. For reasons of bias and prejudice in statistical and conceptual analysis, much of the work performed by women has been officially described as non-economic activity.

A glaring discrepancy is seen in the fact that though women are the main growers, providers and distributors of food, it is the men who always receive more food than women. Women, by are excluded from ownership of land and also from access to technological developments. Development has yet to draw women equally into its process.

10.6 Development Indicators and Women:

Women differentially affect the process of socio-economic, growth and are differentially affected by the changes brought about by this development. Conventional measures and indicators have failed to capture adequately both women's contribution to development as well as the impact that development has

on women. Therefore, it is necessary to have gender sensitive development indicators.

In recent years the HDI (Human Development Index) has become a development indicator of choice. The HDI has three components, namely, adult literacy, life expectancy and purchasing power parity. Of the three, the first two are non-economic indicators. The use of the HDI in ranking countries has shown the huge gap that exists between men and women, everywhere, particularly in education. The inequality of access at all levels of education (primary, secondary, university) is only one discriminatory factor against women.

As early as 1980, there was a demand that women's work should be counted and included in GNP (Gross National Product). This was raised at the international level in Copenhagen during the mid-term evaluation of the UN Decade for Women. During the last twenty years, several attempts have been made to include women's work in the calculation of the GNP of various countries. However, the prerequisites of these calculations were focused "on non-economic activity" which includes seventy five percent of women's work not recognized in official statistics.

The World Bank's World Development Report of 1991 defined economic development as "a sustainable increase in living standards that encompass material consumption, education, health and environment." The report also published nine indicators, including the GNP in which there was an attempt to desegregate data by sex. All other development indicators, namely, education, labour, force participation, access to health, number of seats in parliament, had data desegregated by sex over a period of twenty years for a large number of countries. By using these indicators women were included for the first time in the 'parameters of development.'

10.7 Summary

The Social Evolutionary theory has viewed societies as undergoing progressive change as a result of changes in population balance and in increasing division of labour and differentiation. The question of changing status of women and their roles has also been perceived from the Point, of social evolutionary theory.

The subordination of women increased as society became more complex with the growth of a specialized state, professional armies and bureaucracies.

In pre-colonial and pre-industrial and pre-capitalist India there was an advanced technology and adequate resource management to provide's people with a simple way of life. The significance feature of the dependency theory regarding women is

that it does not distinguish between socially productive and domestic work, all women's work is taken as one and considered uniformly. As early as 1980, there was a demand that women's work should be counted and included in GNP (Gross National Product). This was raised at the international level in Copenhagen during the mid-term evaluation of the LIN Decade for Women. The World Bank's World Development Report of 1991 defined economic development as "a sustainable increase in living standards that encompass material consumption, education, health and environment." The report also published nine indicators, including the GNP in which there was an attempt to segregate data by sex.

10.8 Questions

1. Explain the role of Women in Development.
2. Explain various theories related to women and development
3. Explain the relation between Development and dependency of Women

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MIXED ECONOMY MODEL (1947-1960s), CENTRALISM AND HEGEMONY (1970s -1980s)

Unit Structure

11.0 Objectives

11.1 Introduction

11.1.1 Economic Policy from 1947-1970

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11.0 Objectives

- To examine the evolution of Indian economy in post-independence era
 - To assess the challenges of the decades prior to globalization
-

11.1 Introduction

In the era before independence, India had the political and governance structure which resembled a matrix where the feudal system co-existed with some areas under direct rule of the British Raj from Delhi. Post-independence, the first challenge was to create a new political entity named India through mergers of independent regions as much as possible. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and his Deputy Prime Minister, Vallabh Bhai Patel met that challenge. Before any

allocation related decision could be made, the first economic policy task was to assess the economic resources and productive capacity of the country. Independence gave the individual economic, social and political freedom. Since then India's economy has undergone a radical transformation. Several factors shaped the economic policy of a newly born nation state. It is necessary to know the history of India's economy since 1947, and its evolution from socialism, post-socialism, liberalization and after. Over the last several decades, India has emerged as a stable economy. Economic policies of the Indian government have guided and shaped India into a mixed economy. This section will deal with an introduction to the Mixed Economy Model (1947-1960s), followed by an era of Centralism and Hegemony (1970s-80s).

11.1.1 Economic Policy from 1947 to 1970

India's independency was in itself a turning point and an important milestone in its economic history. The country was rendered impoverished as a result of steady deindustrialization by Britain. Problems like illiteracy, abject poverty and sharp social differences had cast doubts on India's survival as one nation. As former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh observed that the brightest jewel in the British Crown was the poorest country in the world in terms of per capita income at the beginning of the 20th century.

In the early years after independence there were two competing thoughts. One approach came from Mahatma Gandhi and the other from Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. Gandhi believed that India should grow by using the local, indigenous resources where people, materials and technology are. This would help prevent mass migration to urban centres, which would trigger problems of unemployment, homelessness and crime. Gandhi argued that the ideal industrial policy would be the one that had the potential to create small scale industries guided by the principle of self-reliance and could be used to achieve self-sufficiency. A number of policies and programmes were developed towards this end; however, they did not accomplish much. It was understood that agriculture was to be the basis on which India would come out of its economic backwardness. But Nehru wanted rapid economic progress. He wanted to create a large base of education, science and technology which could trigger growth and development in India.

Nehru found the idea of economic planning feasible for India. Indian mathematicians, statisticians and economists introduced the two-sector model of economic planning; agriculture and industry. Nehru's development model envisaged a dominant role of the state as an all-pervasive entrepreneur and

financier of private businesses. The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 proposed a mixed economy. Earlier, the Bombay Plan, proposed by eight influential industrialists including J.R.D. Tata and G.D. Birla envisaged a substantial public sector with state interventions and regulations in order to protect indigenous industries. The political leadership observed that the state and public sector would inevitably play a leading role in economic progress, since planning was not possible in a market economy.

11.1.2 Concept of Mixed Economy

A mixed economic system is a system that combines aspects of both capitalism and socialism. A mixed economic system protects private property and allows a level of economic freedom in the use of capital, but allows for governments to interfere in economic activities in order to achieve social aims. According to the neoclassical theory, mixed economies are less efficient than pure free market economies. But supporters of government interventions argue that the base conditions required for efficiency in free markets, such as equal information and rational market participants, cannot be achieved in practical application.

Mixed economies have the following characteristics:

- A mixed economy has the combined features of some free market elements and some socialistic elements. This is located on a continuum somewhere between pure capitalism and pure socialism.
- Mixed economies typically have private ownership and control of means of production, but it is often under government regulation.
- Within mixed economies, certain select industries are socialized. These industries are deemed essential or that produces public goods.
- All known historical and modern economies are examples of mixed economies. However, some economists have critiqued the economic effects of various forms of mixed economy.

Check Your Progress

1. What is Mixed Economy?

11.1.3 Focus of Five Year Plans

Immediately after independence, India was in a nascent stage of growth and thus the efforts towards planning, commissioning, and executing the programme to hasten growth were made. India set up the Planning Commission in 1950 to oversee this process including resource allocation and appraisal of five-year plans. The five-year plans were centralized economic and social growth programmes modeled after those prevalent in the USSR.

The first Five Year Plan (1951-56) focused on agriculture and irrigation to boost farm output as India was losing precious foreign reserves on food grain imports. It proposed roughly equal amount of investment in the two sectors. It was planned that in agriculture, the government would provide information, subsidized loans, seeds and irrigation to private farmers. Fortunately, the idea of collective farms, never reached India. By the end of the third plan (1961-1966) the investment ratio was 2 to 1 in favour of industry - the bulk of government industrial investment in public sector large scale industries. For the private sector, the government chalked a Plan which indicated which industries it should invest in to realize the overall goals of the economy. Towards this objective, regulatory and licensing structures were put in place which guided private investment into desired areas and discouraged or banned investments in others.

Self-sufficiency and Self-reliance

One desirable outcome of the concept of self-sufficiency was that there was diversion of scarce resources into investments that would directly benefit the whole population. Conspicuous consumption by the rich was curbed or simply banned through the licensing requirement. For examples, automobiles were considered as a luxury item and therefore their production was limited. While this made political sense, it created an impact on the automobile industry for forty years. Roads were not built, therefore road travel was discouraged. Thus the automobile industry and its multiplier effect were delayed for forty years.

Self-reliance also meant that imports of consumer goods were banned or were subject to steep tariffs. This also impacted the import of industrial materials and machinery. This economic policy has two-fold aims: to encourage domestic economic activity; and to conserve foreign exchange which was valuable and scarce. This foreign exchange was to be used for importing food and other essential industrial goods for the private and public sectors.

As in many countries after the Second World War, there was a strict control on foreign exchange. India was a signatory to the Bretton Woods agreement, which created the IMF and WB and through it convertibility and free movement of

currencies was promoted. As a part of the two-sector model of economic growth, the industrial policy of import substitution was created; leading to more harm than good for the economy. India suffered considerable economic damage and missed many opportunities as a consequence of this policy.

The focus was to build heavy industries such as steel, chemicals, petroleum, power generation, telephone, radio and TV. The aim was to construct dams, irrigation systems, atomic power plants and operate these through government and government run entities. To achieve this Nehru had to seek financial and technical support from nearly all industrialized countries. Also there was borrowing from the World Bank for long-term infrastructure development. India received foreign aid from several countries such as United States, Great Britain, France, Germany and the Soviet Union. This enabled the rise of a huge public sector. India's close ties to the Soviet Union earned it the label of a socialist economy even though gross public sector investment in the economy was less than 50 percent of total investment.

Here it is important to understand why Nehru focused on government enterprise. The private sector in India was weak; because it did not have the industrial base nor did it have large scale financial capital. Government investment in the economy was necessitated by marketplace reality and not influenced by Nehruvian socialism and idealism. Nehru's idea was to herald India into the modern world as quickly as possible while at the same time maintain a free society and a stable political system.

Dependence on Foreign Aid

Foreign aid became a significant feature of India's economy during its first twenty years after independence. Much of the aid was diverted to import food and other necessary items, which were crucial to India's survival as new-born nation. It is because of foreign aid that the 'green revolution' became possible. The aid financed agro-economic research, introduced hybrid high yield variety seeds, irrigation and use of fertilizers from Iowa and Illinois. Collaboration with Harvard, MIT and other universities facilitated transfer of technical and engineering knowledge. Some scholars argue that foreign aid was given to make the givers (Developed countries) feel good by absolving themselves of colonial guilt. The criticism that foreign aid reduced domestic saving may be partially true, but to a large extent it directly benefited India.

The government also made investments in many top class engineering colleges, polytechnic institutes, management institutes, medical institutes, as well as industries. However the Planning Commission (1992) noted that despite a

substantial amount invested in education in India, there is a dearth of seats in top class institutions.

The two sector model of economic planning can be considered to be a pragmatic approach and a mix of private and public sectors within industry and a strong private sector in agriculture. The path taken in the 1950s and 1960s have yielded desirable results today. Not only is it self-sufficient in food, it manages to export the surplus food grains. India has become the second biggest exporter of rice in the world after United States. Heeks (1992) observed that it is also ranked as the 12th most industrialized country in the world with a broad base of industries, mostly in the private sector.

The Era of License Raj

The second five-year Plan and the Industrial Policy Resolution 1956 paved the way for the development of the public sector and ushered in the License Raj. The resolution set out the establishment of a socialist pattern of society as national objective. Industries of basic and strategic importance were to be exclusively in the public sector. The second group consisted of industries that were to be incrementally state-owned. The third, consisted mostly of consumer industries, was left for the private sector. The private sector, however, was kept in tight control through a system of licenses.

11.2 Centralism and Hegemony (1970S -1980S)

Centralism is an idea on how to organize a state or government. The idea is to focus this organization under a single government instead of using many local government bodies. In a centralized system such as monarchy, a small circle of elites such as; nobles, clergymen and military officers made laws, enforced laws and judged lawbreakers. The majority of the population in a centralized system lack the ability to challenge the system since it is very powerful.

Hegemony refers to the ability of an individual with overwhelming capability to shape the system through both coercive and non-coercive means. The various definitions of hegemony state that it is the position of being the strongest and most powerful and therefore able to control others. The debate on hegemony revolves largely around two principal meanings; that of domination and leadership.

This section will focus on the manifestation of the concepts of centralism and hegemony through the economic policy during the “Nehru Dynasty” years from 1970 to 1990. Here, it would be imperative to understand the political situation during the 1960s. China attacked India in 1962, which led a shock to Nehru, who

eventually died of a stroke in 1964. His successor, Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, had the tough task to deal with an attack from Pakistan in 1965. After Shastri's death in 1966, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, served as the Prime Minister of the country.

11.2.1 Five-Year Plans Period

A shaky economy forced India to chart out annual plans in place of the five-year plan. It was decided to suspend the five-year briefly, and draw up annual plans between 1966 and 1969 instead. This was done as the country was not capable to commit resources over a longer period because of a number of reasons. The war with China, the less than average growth outcomes of the third Plan, and the diversion of capital to finance the war with Pakistan had left a crippling effect on India's economy. The shortage of rainfall during 1966-67 season worsened food shortages leading to inflation. The constant need to import food grains or seek foreign aid also posed a serious risk to India's political economy.

The fourth plan (1969-1974) and the subsequent Plans evolved from the successes and failures of the 1960s. The impact of the economic policy was the growing emphasis on industrial development, making of nuclear industries in the public and private sectors. The focus shifted from increasing productivity through more use of new hybrid seeds, expanding irrigation and more use of fertilizers.

The 1960s was a decade of multiple economic and political challenges for India. Two wars had caused hardships for the masses. The death of Nehru and Shastri in quick succession had led to political instability. The devaluation of the Indian rupee had led to a general price rise. In the 1970s the Indira Gandhi regime sought to diversify the economic base and to increase investment. During her long tenure Mrs. Gandhi furthered the growth of private industry and of consumer goods industries. She continued to privatize priority sectors of agriculture and heavy and large scale industry, which were previously in the public sector. The Planning Commission (1992) stated that the purpose of large scale public sector industries was to create the necessary infrastructure base for the private sector. The major aim of the economy was to increase and mobilize national savings, so as to enable financing of investment. Financial sector was given high priority to open banks and other saving mechanisms to promote savings.

11.2.2 Nationalization of banks

In the bid to extend financial support to all sectors, Indira Gandhi government nationalized all major banks early in her regime. As an immediate measure, Indira Gandhi nationalized 14 private banks. She did not trust private banks as they were controlled by large industrial houses whose affiliated businesses would be given

preference and therefore better access to funds than to outside borrowers. The nationalization of banks in 1970 led to a rapid expansion of branch networks of all banks in their areas. Some banks were allowed to open branches outside their areas to create competition among nationalized banks.

In one stroke Indira Gandhi sought to make political gains from economic moves. Gandhi's draconian move, aimed at aligning the banking sector with the goals of socialism, had pleased her supporters. Bank nationalization helped boost farm credit and lending to other priority sectors. Financial savings jumped as banks were made to open branches in rural areas. However, the lenders became complacent in the absence of any competition. Lending decisions were politically influenced, which led to crony capitalism. Instead of focusing on project appraisals, these banks competed to please their political bosses, the long term consequences of this move are seen today.

11.2.3 Balance of Payment Crisis

In June 1966, Indira Gandhi took the drastic step of devaluing the Indian rupee by a sharp 57%. This was done to counter India's significant balance of payment crisis. The country's apathy to foreign investments and neglect of the exports sector meant that it had to bear losses in the form of constant trade deficits. The devaluation was aimed to boost exports in the midst of limited access to foreign exchange. Instead, it led to accelerated inflation, which attracted wide criticism. India's move had implications for other countries as well. Oman, Qatar and the UAE, which used the Reserve Bank of India- issued Gulf rupee, had to come up with their own currencies.

To tackle the problem of balance-of-payment deficit, India borrowed heavily, from the public financing sector of the world; the IMF and World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. India had not yet become sufficiently credit-worthy to borrow in world banking and other commercial credit markets. This worked in India's favour as it avoided the debt problems faced by many countries during the 1980s. As Western bank's lending activity had become saturated in the other Third World market, it began to qualify India for borrowing. India began to borrow just as quickly as Poland, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela, Peru, Bolivia, Turkey, Nigeria and others had done in the 1970s. By the end of the 1980s, India had accumulated a total foreign debt of 75 billion dollars, which increased to over 90 billion by 1994 and touched 99 billion by 1996. This oncoming debt-service problem was visible and India needed to and did avert a default towards the end of the 1980s.

11.2.4 End of License Raj

After the Emergency, Indira Gandhi was ousted out of power, only to return to power in 1980. Gandhi, a left-leaning populist until the 1970s, initiated ambitious economic reforms in order to secure an International Monetary Fund loan. The sixth five-year plan (1980-85), made a pledge to initiate a string of measures aimed at boosting the economy's competitiveness. This meant the removal of price controls, initiation of fiscal reforms, a revamp of public sector, reductions in import duties, and de-licensing of the domestic industry, or in other words, ending the License Raj.

The warning signs of India's 1991 economic crisis were visible long time ago. The country, for the first time, had to sell 20 tonnes of gold to investment bank UBS on 30 May that year to secure a loan of 240 million dollars. It pledged gold three more times after that sale, shipping 46.8 million tonnes of the yellow metal to secure 400 million dollars in loan from the Bank of England and the Bank of Japan. All this gold was repurchased by December that year. The Narasimha Rao led government with Manmohan Singh as finance minister launched a plethora of economic reforms, including the dismantling of the License Raj. This set the stage for the processes of Globalization, Liberalization and Privatization.

11.3 Conclusion

Since independence the objective of India's development strategy has been to establish a socialistic pattern of society through economic growth with self-reliance, social justice and alleviation of poverty. These objectives were to be achieved within a democratic political framework using the mechanism of a mixed economy where both public and private sectors co-exist. Indian economy evolved along various challenges, which prompted the government to embark on the journey of globalization, liberalization and privatization, which will be discussed in the following section.

11.4 Summary

In the era before independence, India had the political and governance structure which resembled a matrix where the feudal system co-existed with some areas under direct rule of the British Raj from Delhi.

A mixed economic system is a system that combines aspects of both capitalism and socialism. A mixed economic system protects private property and allows a level of economic freedom in the use of capital, but allows for governments to interfere in economic activities in order to achieve social aims.

India set up the Planning Commission in 1950 to oversee this process including resource allocation and appraisal of five-year plans. The concepts of centralism and hegemony indicate where the authority rests.

The two sector model of economic planning can be considered to be a pragmatic approach and a mix of private and public sectors within industry and a strong private sector in agriculture.

The second five-year Plan and the Industrial Policy Resolution 1956 paved the way for the development of the public sector and ushered in the License Raj.

The concepts of centralism and hegemony indicate where the authority rests.

The 1960s was a decade of multiple economic and political challenges for India.

The major aim of the economy was to increase and mobilize national savings, so as to enable financing of investment.

To tackle the problem of balance-of-payment deficit, India borrowed heavily, from the public financing sector of the world; the IMF and World Bank and the Asian Development Bank.

Indian economy evolved along various challenges, which prompted the government to embark on the journey of globalization, liberalization and privatization

11.5 Questions

- Discuss the policy measures initiated by the government of India in the post-independence period.
- Examine the key features of the Indian society under the various five-year plans.
- Evaluate the India's policies in the context of centralism and hegemony.

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12A

12A STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT AND LIBERALIZATION (1990s and ONWARD)

Unit Structure

12A.0 Objectives

12A.1 Introduction

12A.1.1 Reforms in Indian Economy-1991 onwards

12A.1.2 NEP and Future Prospects for India

12A.1.3 Neoliberalism and After

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12A.0 Objectives

- To understand the features of the New Economic Policy
- To examine the impacts of the neoliberal economic policy regime

12A.1 Introduction

India's New Economic Policy was launched in 1991. The new policy framework reflected standard structural adjustment measures which were advocated by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank and were applicable at the global level. In other words, it followed a basically neoliberal approach to economic policy. It was felt that these measures of economic liberalization would transform the Indian economy and trigger economic growth.

One question is who benefits from this new economic growth regime and does it have the potential to improve the conditions of life for millions of poor people in India. It needs to be understood that international neoliberal policy regime was adopted in India when India was facing a severe economic crisis. It was introduced through coercion and conditionality, and this is bound to create long-term structural changes in the power calculus of global capitalism. This section

will review the New Economic Policy and its accompanying processes of globalization, liberalization and privatization and its impact on people and society.

There is a need to take a critical look at India's recent development. The earliest movement towards the neoliberal economic policy regime began to be articulated in the 1980s. It was later reinforced and institutionalized as a result of the 1991 economic and political crisis in India. It is necessary to make a detailed study of the international and domestic origins of India's NEP, its structure, its application and results.

12A.1.1 Reforms in Indian Economy- 1991 onwards

India embarked on the project of economic liberalization and opening up of the economy to the rest of the world was considered to be essential in order to realize higher internal economic growth. It was necessary to have access to foreign exchange to avoid a major debt-service problem in the future. Around the same time there was disintegration of USSR with whom India has had protective ties could result in the loss of foreign markets in terms of its exports and therefore drastic, radical measures had to be undertaken to save the Indian economy.

Soon after coming to power Mr. Narsimha Rao and his finance minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh announced the programme of economic liberalization. Dr. Singh was a economist trained in neoclassical economics with specialization in international trade. His strongest asset was his flexibility in adapting to ideas and practices of market economies as well as regimes which include economic planning. The New Economic Policy (NEP) and programmes announced in 1991 included the following features: significant reduction in import tariffs; elimination of import quotas except for consumer goods; elimination or reduction of restrictions on foreign ownership; currency convertibility on the trade account; reduction in licensing requirements; easing of regulations and red tape; opening all industries except six to private ownership; and reduction in domestic excise taxes, among others. The NEP introduced some very fundamental changes in the previous state policy, for example, input subsidies, credit, extension services in agriculture were rolled back, several infrastructure and services were privatized, and domestic markets were opened to international trade.

The consequence of this reform is that it led to foreign direct investment from companies such as Pepsi, General Motors, General Electric, International Business Machines, Coca-Cola, McDonald's, Enron, etc. There were similar investments from companies from Great Britain, Japan and Germany, Mutual funds, investment banks, securities firms, insurance firms, commercial banks have invested in Indian securities. From the onset of the reforms Indian firms

were raising funds in the world capital markets and merging with one another and with foreign companies. The NEP has managed to control inflation and the budget deficit has come down. Scholars observed that the GDP grew at about 5 percent in a record time of just under three years; in an environment in which it is still difficult to do business.

The 1991 reforms were considered a success, so Mr. Rao and Dr. Singh continued the reform process. Universally the reforms were appreciated in and out of India. The Finance Minister of the time observed that the reforms were so welcomed in the 1994-95 budget, which included reduction in customs duties, reduction in corporate tax, reduction in income tax, and a ceiling on the central bank financing of government debt beyond which the government had to go to the market.

12A.1.2 NEP and Future Prospects for India

When the NEP was introduced, it held immense potential and promise to India in terms of bringing macroeconomic stability. The policy would help control inflation, budget deficit, allow a careful management of debt and more use of equity markets to finance growth. This policy would be beneficial to India, promote expanded trade with other countries, increase competition within the economy, imbibe confidence in its currency, and increase savings and investment in private initiatives and activities.

The New Economic Policy envisaged privatization of public enterprises. The policies relating to public sector enterprises whether they are in agriculture, manufacturing or services and to the practice of maintaining a closed market within a country or region with government controlled prices have proven to be a failure in India and elsewhere. One reason for the inherent inefficiencies, low productivity, lack of innovation and lack of progress in the public sector enterprises is the lack of autonomy. Such a system does not allow for multiple sources of ideas for improvement and change, or provide incentives that help foster new ideas, or encourage risk taking or being innovative.

Prior to globalization Indian markets in resources, goods and services were geographically closed to outside and inside competition. This resulted in non-innovative economic environment and uneconomical use of domestic resources and technologies. Closed markets cannot take advantage of specialization. With the introduction of the NEP India has rapidly opened its markets to inside and outside competition in all three areas of resources, products and services following the guidelines in the new General Agreement on Tariffs and Treaties (GATT) approved in 1993.

India has been able to withstand external competition and reduce inflation substantially. Post -1991 India was able to recorded domestic price stability with an inflation of 5-7 percent, as against 15 percent in the 1980s. India did not experience the problem of flight of capital, as was experienced by Brazil, Mexico, Peru, Argentina, and Venezuela in the 1980s. India has maintained macroeconomic discipline. The 1994-95 Budget put a limit on monetization of public debt as an automatic financing technique. This policy indicated a goal of not letting deficit financing and inflation become a problem for India.

The NEP envisaged a reduction in income tax, capital gains tax, and excise taxes on a large variety of items. This would create an economic environment of incentives for savings and investment. There is no more suppression of consumer industries in favour of investment in heavy and large industry in public enterprises. Licensing and other bureaucratic nightmares have been reduced and financial markets are being liberalized to encourage investment in the economy.

Mahatma Gandhi knew the scale of the effort required to cope with India's poverty. The NEP worked towards promoting economic growth and slowing down population growth, and thus tackling India's poverty. Traditionally, subsidies available to a large segment of the population for the purchase of food and other essentials were the only ways government could help to reduce the problem. But with the economic reforms, the idea is to remove subsidies and let market forces do their job of signaling price and profit incentives to producers. The new policy has also challenged the misconception about the fatalistic nature of Indian society. Thus, it can be said that in the early years of NEP, India appeared to be on a path of significant growth. India's economic future looked promising as it had never before as it was moving forward on the unique path of open economic policy. The Ministry of Finance (1995) was highly optimistic and observed that India's strength is its ability to absorb new ideas. India provides a healthy political and social milieu for the economic renewal. He further stated that India will stay on the path of economic reform with virtually no chance of backsliding.

Check Your Progress

1. What is NEP?

2. Which reforms were made in India post 1991?

12A.1.3 Neoliberalism and After

Scholars question whether the neoliberal policy regimes are capable of dealing with social problems effectively; some problems have persisted for several decades after independence. India is projected as a success story of neoliberal success in the context of deeply embedded state bureaucracy which operated in the form of the License Raj. Within the development debate India is uniquely important because it is a country of more than one billion people, a very important human resource. But, it is also a country of paradoxes, with many people living in hunger and poverty. Examining the Indian model of development is instructive in itself, as well as for its considerable implications for policy in other developing countries.

Scholars like Waquar Ahmed have linked global neoliberalism to the specific case of India and observed that the Class and Caste has been impacted in India's Policy transition. The neoliberal transformation that we see in India is not simply a 'top-down', 'outside to inside' process. The hegemonic neoliberal policy discourse at the global level has an ally in the Indian elite. This further produces sub-hegemonic power centres and more specific forms of class-biased economic growth. Ahmed refers to the electric power industry and shows how the coercive power of global institutions of governance has worked in collaboration with the interest of the local elite to produce neoliberal changes in the country. We need to understand the intra-class and inter-class and caste contestation and how it impacts India's economic and electric power policy.

It is also observed that neoliberalism has been accompanied by a disproportionate increase in the political and economic power of the urban elite. This occurs alongside the marginalization of the poor who live in villages and a part of the urban sprawl across Indian cities. Further, class position within Indian society intersects with caste position. The higher castes in Indian have greater access to education and economic opportunities, and have therefore benefited the most from India's NEP. The reassertion of class and caste power has been fundamental to the NEP in India. So, while neoliberalism was imposed on India due to

imperatives of global capital market, by the World Bank and the IMF and the US. However, its continuation has been ensured by a large sections of caste and class elite. In other words, the exogenous power of the global institutions of governance has worked hand in hand with the interest of the local elite. This has produced, what Gramsci calls, Hegemony – consent through non-physically coercive means.

Economic growth should, as a rule, be accompanied by development. The immediate question is about the socioeconomic effects of private entrepreneurship in the 1980s and the adoption of neoliberalism in the early 1990s. It is clear that the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy, touted as the “Indian Miracle” have become dominant within the Indian economy since 1991. However, sharp disparity between the urban and rural areas still persists. The neoliberal growth has come at the cost of rural indebtedness, mounting unemployment, and depleting natural resources. These have contributed to large-scale agrarian distress, reflected in high and persistent level of malnutrition, illiteracy and preventable illnesses.

There is a claim that is made by governments, intellectuals, business and the media that neoliberal growth has the potential to produce development in India and elsewhere. In reality the economic growth under the new economic policy regime as persistently and consistently benefitted a minority of the population. Neoliberal growth appears to have spectacular effects, in the way of building tall office buildings, opulent houses, high level of conspicuous consumption, “modern-looking” young people, new cultural styles, cosmopolitanization, etc. This gives the impression to the most critical minds that a process of development is underway and will benefit everyone in the future. Therefore, State power must be exercised ruthlessly whenever necessary, because the powerful have seen the future, and it works, whereas resistance merely blocks the way towards progress for all.

However, the perspective from the “other side” is completely different. This is the perspective of the people who have been “left behind” and have been ravaged by neoliberal growth. Dependency theory observes that neoliberal development goes hand in hand with the under-development of the vast majority of people. There is sufficient statistical evidence to show that neoliberalism’s main socioeconomic product is inequality, because that is the very intention of the process. In turn, the main outcome of inequality is poverty. Inequality is exploitative and emanates from the process of power and capability of some to benefit at the cost of others. In other words, neoliberalism cannot solve social problems because it causes them.

12A.2 Conclusion

A developmental approach to understanding the growth scenario means to evaluate policy in terms of whether it has brought about any impact on the living standards and conditions of majority of the people. Mere economic growth is not enough, it should lead to development. The neoliberal policy regime has brought about poverty and negatively impacted rates at the national, regional, and local levels in India, damaged people and caused deficiencies in aspects of life.

12A.3 Summary

India's New Economic Policy was launched in 1991. The new policy framework reflected standard structural adjustment measures which were advocated by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank and were applicable at the global level.

The NEP introduced some very fundamental changes in the previous state policy, for example, input subsidies, credit, extension services in agriculture were rolled back, several infrastructure and services were privatized, and domestic markets were opened to international trade.

Scholars question whether the neoliberal policy regimes are capable of dealing with social problems effectively; some problems have persisted for several decades after independence.

It is also observed that neoliberalism has been accompanied by a disproportionate increase in the political and economic power of the urban elite.

The neoliberal growth has come at the cost of rural indebtedness, mounting unemployment, and depleting natural resources

Inequality is exploitative and emanates from the process of power and capability of some to benefit at the cost of others. In other words, neoliberalism cannot solve social problems because it causes them.

12A.4 Questions

- Elaborate on the characteristics of the New Economic Policy.
- Discuss how globalization has led to uneven and unequal growth in the developing countries.
- Evaluate the impacts of the neoliberal economic policy regime.

12A.5 References

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12B

DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL JUSTICE (CASTE-TRIBE)

Unit Structure

12B.0	Objectives
12B.1	Introduction
12B.2	Development and social justice
12B.3	Understanding the notion of social justice
12B.4	Dr. Ambedkar and social justice
12B.5	Constitutional Safeguards
12B.6	Social justice and women's emancipation
12B.7	Conclusion
12B.8	Summary
12B.9	Questions
12B.10	References

12B.0 Objectives

- To understand the contributions of Dr. Ambedkar to social justice
 - To examine the relevance of social justice to development discourse
-

12B.1 Introduction

Dr. Ambedkar is regarded as a visionary who, through his political writings dedicated his life working for a socially just and egalitarian society. His thoughts and philosophy paved the way for a 'roadmap to progress' for the nation and its people. He believed that it was necessary to accelerate the process of social change in the country. So, he worked towards securing human rights and challenged the forces which suppressed humanity. Using a radical approach, he waged a war against the indignity and inhumanity forced upon the oppressed classes and untouchables within the fold of the Indian

society. Showing a clear relation between social emancipation and political emancipation, he argued that no economic or political reform would be successful unless the monster of social justice was eliminated. He strived towards making the Indian polity free from social exploitation because he strongly believed that political justice cannot be possible in the absence of social justice. These thoughts have been reflected through the writings of Dr. Ambedkar who believed that no true development can take place without social justice. In this section we will first trace the relation between development and social justice. This is followed by Dr. Ambedkar's understanding of social justice and his efforts towards the upliftment of oppressed sections of the Indian society.

12B.2 Development and Social Justice

The concern for social justice is an important driver of progressive development policy. It is necessary to explore social justice as a value and its implications for development policy and programming. Scholars have identified four basic principles of social justice: equal citizenship; entitlement to a social minimum; equality of opportunity; and fair distribution. In development discourse Amartya Sen has reiterated on the human development paradigm. Sen focuses on the centrality of rights and freedom and links individual entitlements to the wider understanding of justice. Seen through this prism, it becomes the obligation of individuals and collectivities to deliver human rights. This thinking is also reflected in the Millennium Declaration, 2000. The Declaration is generally remembered for the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), but the goals are located in a general framework of rights and justice, viz., freedom, equality, solidarity, tolerance, respect for nature and shared responsibility. Other definitions have included aspects such as human rights, democracy, sustainability and multilateralism. These different formulations provide a platform for discussion on development and social justice.

12B.3 Understanding the Notion of Social Justice

Social justice is an application of the concept of distributive justice to the wealth, assets, privileges and advantages that accumulate within a society or state. This is because the essence of justice is the attainment of the common good for all as distinguished from the good of individuals. It is a novel and revolutionary ideal and encompasses both the economic and social justice. It strives to create a fair and just social order for all.

The concept of social justice is dynamic and changes according to the needs of the society. It takes on new dimensions as it encompasses new patterns and expands to hitherto unseen areas. Indian society is classified on the basis of caste and communities. The caste system is hierarchical division of society, in which the status is ascribed, with limited or no mobility. The caste-based inequalities pose serious challenges to human rights and are a threat to Indian democracy. Social justice is the availability of equal treatment and opportunities for the development of the individual without any discrimination on the basis of caste, creed, race, ethnicity, etc. At an operational level, social justice is understood as the process of bringing together individuals from all strata and ensuring just and equal treatment. As an extension of this, social justice is associated with the idea of social good.

The primary responsibility of the State is to establish and maintain justice within its borders and enable the functioning of a well-ordered society. As members of a society, we would prefer justice to injustice. Justice is related with wisdom, benevolence and virtue. Scholars and social thinkers have explained and eulogized the concept of justice in various ways.

12B.4 Dr. Ambedkar and Social Justice

In the Indian context, social justice is a distant dream for most sections of the society even today. The Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and women under the Hindu caste hierarchy have suffered mistreatment for centuries, which have rendered them socially, economically and politically deprived. Social justice aims to address the historical injustices meted out to the low castes at the hands of the high caste. Social justice is thus a compensatory justice to offset the accumulated disabilities suffered by a disadvantaged section of the society. The absence of social justice would manifest itself through social imbalance and tension resulting in anarchy and disobedience to the rule of the law.

Dr. Ambedkar's concept of social justice can be understood in the context of the depressed, the underprivileged and the untouchables who have been at the receiving end of the Varna system of the Hindu social order. Dr. Ambedkar's views on social justice are relative to the victims of the caste system of Hindu society.

Dr. Ambedkar's Vision

For Dr. Ambedkar social justice is related to the concepts of liberty, equality for all, thereby leading to the emotional integration of all human beings. The objective of social justice is to remove all kinds of inequalities and strive

towards equal distribution of social, economic and political resources of the community. He was fully aware that different sections of society harboured different aspirations, which could lead to conflict of interest among the groups. He strived to achieve social justice and social democracy in terms of one man-one value. He treated social justice as a true basis for patriotism and nationalism. His view on social justice was to remove man-made inequalities of all shades through law, morality and public conscience; he stood for justice for a sustainable society.

He believed that democracy was possible only through a society based on equality for all. Democracy, to Dr. Ambedkar, is not just a form of government but also primarily a mode of associated living. He observed that the caste system ensured that democracy was dysfunctional or absent. In such a social order large sections of the disadvantaged sections are denied their basic human rights. He remarked that rights are protected not by law but by the social and moral conscience of the society. He said that equality in the absolute sense is not possible, but equal treatment of men is possible.

Dr. Ambedkar led a historical and peaceful movement for social justice and human rights for the untouchables. Owing to his untiring struggle during pre-independence and post-independence era, a number of benefits and safeguards have been conceded to the oppressed sections by the government. He will be remembered for his efforts to redeem the untouchables from the centuries old evil practice of untouchability. Certain basic human rights were prohibited to a particular section of the Hindu society in the name of untouchability. The world untouchable indicated that people from the lowest caste, also considered as ritually polluted, shall not be touched by others and vice versa. They were denied admission and free movement into the areas where the high caste Hindus lived. They were denied the right to dignity, right to movement and access, right to liberty, right to equality, right to education, right to religion, etc. This meant that human dignity, which is the core and essence of the concept of human rights and social justice, and by extension, 'Right to Life' was denied to them. Dr. Ambedkar's commitment to social justice is proved from the fact that he resigned from the post of Law Minister in the cabinet of Jawaharlal Nehru in September 1951, on the issue of non-acceptance of Hindu Code Bill.

In the context of social justice, Dr. Ambedkar concluded that: The untouchables must rekindle pride and self-respect for themselves. To achieve this, they must disconnect themselves from traditional bonds of untouchable status. They must seek to reform themselves, become professionally qualified, and transform themselves to contribute to a modern civilization.

They must be represented by their own representatives at all levels of government. Such leaders will be the true leaders with genuine interest in their community. He called upon the government to take on the responsibility for their welfare by creating special rights and access to educational and economic opportunities. The untouchables should have recourse to legal channels for the protection of their rights and all forms of caste must be abolished. Since the caste system is a creation of man, man alone should take the responsibility to abolish the system. Functions of each member of society should be redefined on a rational basis, corresponding to each individual's skill, training and educational achievements.

Check Your Progress

1. Can you explain Dr. Ambedkar's vision of development?

12B.5 Constitutional Safeguards

Describing the miserable situation of the untouchables, Dr. Ambedkar said, "Depressed by the government, suppressed by the Hindus and degraded by the Muslims, we are left in a most intolerable position of utter helplessness to which I am sure there is no parallel". Dr. Ambedkar remarked that there was powerlessness, alienation and hopelessness for the lowest section of the society. Owing to the concrete efforts of Dr. Ambedkar, untouchables secured many privileges and rights. The preamble of the Indian Constitution aimed to secure to the people of India, Social, economic and political justice, liberty equality and fraternity. The provisions are stated as under:

In pursuance of the above ideals, a new constitutional name was provided to the untouchables, ie., Scheduled Castes. The Preamble promises to secure social, economic and political justice.

- Article 14 provided equality and assured human dignity. It declares that the equality before law and equal protection of laws shall be available to all.
- Article 15(4): Compensatory discrimination for the SC/ST
- Art. 15: No discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth or any of them.

- Art. 15(5): This clause was added in the 93rd amendment in 2005 and allows the state to make special provisions for backward classes or SCs or STs for admissions in private educational institutions, aided or unaided.
- Ar. 16: Equality of opportunity in public employment.
- Art. 16(4): To reserve vacancies in public service for any backward classes of the states that are not adequately represented in the public services.
- Art. 16(4A): To implement reservation in the matter of promotion for SCs and STs.
- Art. 16(4B): To consider unfilled vacancies reserved for backward classes as a separate class of vacancies not subject to a limit of 50% reservation. Constitutional protection to the marginalized/vulnerable group
- Art.17: aims to abolish untouchability and its practice in any form. (the Protection of Civil Rights Acts, 1955, The SC/STs (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989.
- Art. 29 & 30: Guarantees cultural and educational rights.
Besides the above, the Directive Principles of State Policies aim at (Art. 36-51). It comprises of the Social and Economic Charter, Social Security Charter, Community Welfare Charter. It ensures the following:
 - Right to adequate means of livelihood, 39(a)
 - Equal pay for equal work for both men and women 39(d)
 - Protection of health and strength of female, male and child workers
- Art. 40: Provides reservation in 1/3 seats in Panchayats
- Art. 46: Enjoins the state to promote and safeguard the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections, especially SC and STs.

Check Your Progress

1. Mention any 5 constitutional safeguards.

12B.6 Social Justice and Women's Emancipation

The concept of social justice that Dr. Ambedkar envisioned was incomplete without emancipation of women, especially women from the SC and STs; as they are crushed under the double burden of caste/ethnicity and patriarchy. They have been ignored as a weaker sex, and have been denied full social, economic, political and educational justice. The self-respect for women and struggle for women's emancipation came to occupy the central position in his life. He criticized the traditional and conservative values which worked to downgrade the status and dignity of women in India. His views on the Maternity Benefit Bill and on birth control recognized the dignity of women and were revolutionary even in those times.

12B.7 Conclusion

Dr. Ambedkar's notion of social justice is based on equal rights and human dignity through a legal framework. As a result of his thought, Indian Constitution guarantees equal rights to all. Dr. Ambedkar was concerned about overall development of vulnerable section of the Indian society and strived to demolish existing caste discrimination. He proposed affirmative action for the disadvantaged groups as the only recourse to social justice, as centuries of discrimination could not be abolished within a few decades. Therefore, Dr. Ambedkar's notion of social justice is relevant in contemporary Indian society to accomplishing justice within the framework of constitutional and legal methods.

12B.8 Summary

Dr. Ambedkar is regarded as a visionary who, through his political writings dedicated his life working for a socially just and egalitarian society.

It is necessary to explore social justice as a value and its implications for development policy and programming.

Social justice is an application of the concept of distributive justice to the wealth, assets, privileges and advantages that accumulate within a society or state.

Dr. Ambedkar's concept of social justice can be understood in the context of the depressed, the underprivileged and the untouchables who have been at the receiving end of the Varna system of the Hindu social order.

The preamble of the Indian Constitution aimed to secure to the people of India, Social, economic and political justice, liberty equality and fraternity.

Dr. Ambedkar's notion of social justice is relevant in contemporary Indian society to accomplishing justice within the framework of constitutional and legal methods.

12B.9 Questions

- Write a note on Development and Social Justice.
- Discuss the notion of social justice. Examine Dr. Ambedkar's contribution towards social justice in the Indian context.

12B.10 References

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