UNIT 7: IDEOLOGIES OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

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7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- define sustainable development;
- discuss the development-environment debate;
- describe the origin and evolution of sustainable development;
- bring out the salient feature of Brundtland Commission Report;
- critically examine the usefulness of sustainable development; and
- examine sustainable development in the context of globalization

7.2 INTRODUCTION

After the Industrial Revolution, industrialism has come to dominate all thoughts of development. The present mode of development is therefore heavily industrial based and growth-oriented. The concept of human development attempts to give the development paradigm a direction from

economic growth towards human beings, yet industrialism remains dominant. In the past few decades, a new concept - sustainable development - has emerged. Just as human development poses the question of human beings vis-à-vis economic growth, the concept of sustainable development attempts to pose the question of nature, environment and ecology vis-à-vis the growth-driven model of development by raising the issue of sustainability. This is done on two grounds: resource depletion and environmental pollution. Since economic development means speedy use of earth's resources for ever rising production, how long can earth's resources sustain such depletion of finite resources is the main question. Besides, the large-scale pollution of air, water and soil, increase in green house gases, ozone layer depletion, global warming etc. which are byproducts of resource use for industrial production and consumption-oriented lifestyles, threaten the environment and life bearing systems with an ultimate collapse. This has brought the danger to survival of humankind closer than anyone had ever imagined. In his critique of modern civilization, Mahatma Gandhi, a pioneering philosopher of a socially just and ecologically sustainable form of development, had warned of this situation when he said "the earth has enough for everyone's need, but not for everyone's greed."

7.3 SUSTAINABLE DVELOPMENT: CONCEPT AND MEANING

The concept of sustainability is defined differently in different contexts. In context of development and environment, the first official definition of sustainable development has been given by the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development (WECD) in its report titled Our Common Future (1987). This is popularly referred to as the Brundtland Commission Report, named after its Chairperson Gro Harlem Brundtland, a former Prime Minister of Norway, and now a Special Envoy on Climate Change for UN Secretary General. This Report was adopted as a resolution in the UN General Assembly in the same year. The Commission defines:

"Sustainable development is the development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs. It contains within it two key concepts:

- the concept of 'needs', in particular the essential needs of the world's poor, to which overriding priority should be given; and
- the idea of limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organization on the environment's ability to meet present and future needs."

This definition focuses on two things- meeting the needs of the poor through development, and the destructive impact of today's technology and development on earth's resources which endanger the survival of future generations. It tries to reconcile two seemingly irreconcilable entities - environment and development. It recognizes that the humankind has to depend on nature to meet its 'needs', and development must go on to address the needs of the poor people who are untouched by development till now. But at the same time, earth's resources like land, forests, water, air, minerals, fuel etc. are limited. If the rate of resource extraction is maintained at the current rate, there would be nothing left for the future generations. Hence, development must be a balance between these two ends so as to become sustainable.

You can see that the concept is a shift in the growth-oriented development thinking which emphasizes ever higher growth and ever rising consumption of material goods as highly desirable. Sustainable development warns that such model is destructive to itself and that only is sustainable which does not bring irreparable damage to earth's capacity. It thus brings in a notion of limits to development.

One may question that however much the rate of growth is slowed down, resources are ultimately finite and would get exhausted one day anyway. So what kind of model of development or what strategy does the concept of sustainable development advocate? We will explore these issues in the next sections. Now let us take a look at the development-environment debate which has given birth to this concept.

7.4 DEVELOPMENT- ENVIRONMENT DEBATE

Beginning with Industrial Revolution, nature had to undergo an unprecedented transformation. Prior to this, the major form of exploitation of nature was clearing of forests for woods and agriculture. Industrialization needed raw materials which expanded from cotton, wood and coal to deposits of minerals hitherto unexplored. There was a heightened use of resources for more and more production. Also the more factories opened, the more polluted the atmosphere became.

The eighteenth century Europe saw a new philosophical development known as Enlightenment, which believed that forces of science and technology can be used to end human misery and suffering, and serve as a means of 'progress.' The factory system of production equated progress with satisfaction of material wants and eventually created a consumer oriented society. The Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution laid the foundation of an 'expansionist economic world view' (Taylor of Maser, 1997) from which arises the concept of continuous growth.



The current problem is wants are unlimited and resources of nature are limited. Thus the development environment debate gained much concern after the 2nd World War.

In this expansionist economic worldview, Nature is seen as a vast store house of resources which must be converted to commodities for the satisfaction of material wants of the growing population. This material growth is equated with economic growth, which is equated with social development, seen as a pre-requisite for happiness and prosperity. Any drop in rate of growth would therefore result in economic stagnation, mass unemployment and social distress.

The dominant development paradigms are located in this expansionist economic worldview. The problem is that wants are unlimited and resources of nature are limited. So this expansion of material goods cannot go on forever.

There was resentment against this development model from environmental movements. The impact of industrial mode of development on nature was devastating which threatened the survival of mankind. The deterioration of nature was two fold: strain on finite resources like coal, minerals, oil etc. and degradation of quality of environment air, water, river,

land pollution. This was not limited to advanced industrial countries only, because the industrialization model of development had been transferred to third world countries too. The exploitation of nature was on a global scale, so were the threats to nature.

In this scenario, there emerged two schools of thought. One supported the cause of development, and the other championed the cause of environment. The former were pro-growth, who did not want to compromise on the pace of development while the later were for zero growth, and total preservation of nature. The pro-environment school called for rethinking development policies, strategies and programmes. In this process, development and environment came to be regarded as two dichotomous entities. This is essentially the development - environment debate. It gained pace after the Second World War.

Meanwhile, the growth-oriented development model was coming under increasing criticism for not sharing the economic growth with the poorer masses. Inequalities between 'rich' and poor nations were rising despite economic growth, as were disparities within their richer and poorer sections of population. This growth approach therefore began to be questioned on the grounds of 'equity' and 'human welfare'. These developments were crucial to the origin of the idea of sustainable development. As we will see, sustainable development contains all these elements. It sees development and environment dichotomy as false and believes that both can be addressed together.

7.5 DIMENSIONS OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The Brundtland Commission Report 'Our Common Future' is the most important landmark in the concept of sustainable development. It has defined the term, spelt out the concerns and prescribed broad policies for actions for sustainable development.

Sustainable Development and Growth

Environmental degradation had led to questioning the growth approach of development. But the question of growth as it has been spelt out in Our

Common Future has become a matter of debate between pro-growth and anti-growth economists. The concept of sustainable development has not abandoned the approach to growth because it does not put any absolute limits to growth, but it clearly says that it puts limits imposed by the state of technology and social organization on environmental resources. Technology and social organization can be managed and improved for a new era of economic growth. In other words, the concept advocates the idea of 'sustainable growth' (Paul, 2007).

Environmental Protection

Sustainable Development recognizes the criticality of environment as an endangered entity due to development and also the casuality of environment for development. It brings a reconciliation of the two, saying we should strive for conserving the resource base and for reviving the regenerative capacity of ecosystems.

Focus on Equity

Sustainable development focuses on equity in distribution of the gains of development, particularly directed at the developing nations and the poorer masses. It recognizes the 'needs' of the poor people to develop, and that is why it does not set any absolute limits on the rate of growth, but only relative limits.

Future Orientation

The crucial dimension of sustainable development is not only intra-generational equity, but also intergenerational equity. The present generation must take the responsibility to see that the coming generations are at least equally well off as they are. Sustainable development seeks to distribute the rights and assets across generations because future generations have a right to inherit earth's.

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A New View of Progress

Sustainable development offers a new way to look at the notion of progress, which presumed a unilinear worldview of technical mastery over nature. Now, the belief in technology is increasingly in doubt because people recognize that every new technology, even those designed to correct the problems of earlier technologies, brings unforeseen consequences (Norgaard, 2005). There are side effects of technological intervention, but beside that, there is a realization that new technologies do not necessarily increase happiness and welfare.

Objectives of Sustainable Development

Sustainable development for the first time addresses the need for setting up policy objectives and devising strategies to achieve them. It assumes that these would be followed by all nations so that the effort is truly global and meaningful. Our Common Future has listed some critical objectives for environment and development policies that follow from the concept of sustainable development. These include:



Sustainable Development asserts that rights and assets to be distributed fairly accross generation because earth's resources are to be inherited later also.

1) Reviving growth
2) Changing quality of growth
3) Meeting essential needs for jobs, foods, energy, water and sanitation
4) Ensuring a sustainable level of population
5) Conserving and enhancing the resource base
7) Reorienting technology and managing risk
7) Merging environment and economics in decision making, and
8) Reorienting international economic relations
9) Making development participatory

The ninth objective has not been spelt out in Our Common Future. But most organizations and agencies promoting the concept of sustainable

development subscribe to this additional operational goal (Lele, 2005).

Strategy of Sustainable Development

According to Our Common Future, the common theme throughout the strategy for sustainable development is the need to integrate economic and ecological considerations in decision making. In its broadest sense, the strategy for sustainable development aims to promote harmony among human beings and between humanity and nature. The pursuit of sustainable development requires:

1) a political system that secures effective citizen participation in decision making
2) an economic system that is able to generate surpluses and technical knowledge on a self-reliant and sustained basis
3) a social system that provides for solutions for the tensions arising from disharmonious development
4) a production system that respects the obligation to preserve the ecological base for development
5) a technological system that can search continuously for new solutions
7) an international system that fosters sustainable patterns of trade and finance and
8) an administrative system that is flexible and has the capacity for self-correction



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: What is sustainable development?

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Q 2: State the objectives of sustainable development.

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7.6 RESURGENCE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

The relative autonomy of the civil society, that is various communities and collectives of people, often informal and inarticulate, is being perceptibly eroded by the advancing process of overbearing economic, political and cultural influences of remote forces (Roy,1997). According to Srinivasan (1994). The growing pre-eminence of the state as an agency of centralized social and political control, led to homogenization and unification of society and the state. He noted that as an alien system of rational, centralized state government was imposed on the complex and herterogenous ealities of Indian society. All other forms of solidarity---linguistic, regional,communal---were defined in advance as representing a rudimentary polity, which is doomed historically. As the indigenous tradition is neither a fossil nor an empty sentiment but a conscious structure of knowledge and experience, nation building is a coercive logic of indigenous institutional and ideological replacement. It is responsible for the cultural diversities to raise their heads as 'problems' of casteism, communalism and regionalism (Srinivasan, 1994).

According to Vandana Shiva(1997), the centralized nation state is anti-democratic and the representative democracy is inadequate to protect people's interest in a period of globalization. The ideology of democratic pluralism recognizes that diverse communities have diverse interests, they all have legitimate democratic rights of decision making and self determination and self determination in matters that affect their lives, according to her. According to Capra, the ethnic and cultural diversities contribute to the viability of the human society.

The Manifesto of People's Global Action (1998) states the following aims of joint actions against WTO, 'free trade' and corporate rule:

- Taking backcontrol of the means of productin from the hands of both transnational and national capital, in order to create free sustainable and community controlled livelihoods bassed on solidarity and people's need and not on exploitation and greed
- Accepting only those technologies which can be managed and operated by local people

- Rejecting the principles of competitiveness as a solution of people's problems
- Respecting the right of indigenous people's to territorial autonomy
- A decentralized economy and polity based on communities rights to natural resources and to plan their own development with equality and self reliance as the basic values
- Respecting traditional knowledge and cultures consonant with the values of equality, justice and sustainability, evolving creative ways to use and fairly distribute natural resources
- Taking control over culture, out of corporate hands and reclaiming it by communities
- Celebrating diversity of cultures and communities and place none above the other.

7.7 IDEOLOGIES OF SUSTAINABLE AND PEOPLE CENTERED DEVELOPMENT

Capra (1997) promoted the ideology that the world is not a collective of isolated objects, but a network of phenomenon that are fundamental interconnected and interdependent. In nature there is no 'above' or 'below' and there are no hierarchies. There are only networks nesting within other networks. Ultimately, such deep ecological awareness is spiritual or religious, according Capra. According to Capra, the principles of the planets ecosystems organize themselves to maximize sustainability through interdependence, recycling, partnership, flexibility and diversity. The same principles can be used as guidelines to build sustainable human communities.

Sustainable development is a process in which economic, fiscal, trade, energy, agricultural, industrial and all other policies are designed to bring about about development that is economically, socially and ecologically sustainable. This means the current consumption cannot be financed for long by incurring economic debts that others must repay. It also means that enough must be invested in the education and health of today's

generation to avoid creating a social debt for future generations. Moreover, it means that natural resources must be used in ways that do not create ecological debts by overexploiting the earths carrying and productive capacity. All postponed debts ---whether economic, social or ecological--- mortage sustainability (Haq, 1998)

People centered development is a vision that is an expression of people's awareness, aspiration and struggles and therefore sustainable. This vision accepts that people are knowledgeable about their situation and how to manage them, given the necessary resources. It acknowledges that people have a right to plan their own destinies and determine their own lifestyles. It appreciates that local solutions must be congruent with local realities at the time, both geographical and human. (Cox, 1993)



Ideology of People Centred Devlopment advocates investing in education & health of today's generation to avoid creating social debt for future generations.

7.8 IDEOLOGIES OF NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS

As the limitations of state-sponsored, project based, top-down development become apparent, the 1980s and the 1990s saw increasing attention focused on private , professional development organizations called non-government organizations (NGOs). NGO is a United Nations term coined mainly to indicate the difference between the organizations of the states, which are its direct members, and the organizations that do not belong to the state. Privatization and Globalization catapulted the NGO into the centre stage, often according them a major role in dealing with the new social, economic, political and environmental concerns(Voluntary Action Network India, nd). The founding members of the NGOs that came up in the 1980s and 1990s were still the middle class or lower middle class professionals and quasi-professionals.

The Seventh Five Year Plan(1985-1990) granted formal recognition to NGOs. The 1980s and 1990s also saw growth in the size and the number of NGOs, and diversification of its role into three types:

- The NGOs that concentrate on development while acting as intermediaries between doner agencies(including the government and foreign) and the poor

- NGOs that concentrate on empowerment, which take initiatives to form community based organizations(CBOs), help the poor obtain their rights from the state, organize them around issues that adversely affect them, and lobby for them at various levels of the state, from networks around popular issues and campaigns around issues such as energy, environment, housing or women's rights.
- NGOs as development consultants which provide training to smaller NGOs and CBOs, consulting services to government and foreign agencies and conduct documentation and research.

Many radical scholars believe that funds from imperialistic countries proliferate voluntary groups, primarily to influence the course of development of the respective societies in which they operate, to systematically counter and weaken the potential of the Left Movement in these countries. It has shifted the main course of people's movement from 'Liberation' to 'Development'. Samuel (1998) criticizes the term NGO as a blanket term that appropriates the diverse ideological, cultural ethical and institutional initiatives under an all encompassing stereotype. It exemplifies the homogenizing tendency of globalization.It homogenizes the whole social change spectrum. It suckd up various shades of experience into a dominant discourse dictated by a handful of multilateral developmental institutions in a handful of rich countries. Secondly, government is the reference point for the term. In the Indian historical context, voluntary organizations or social change initiatives have always treated people , rather than government, as the major reference point (Samuel, 1998).

According to Sethi (1998), the NGOs with specialized skills attempts to reach out both to the grassroots and the policy makers. Most of these new efforts depend strongly on an external infusion of funding, often international. Everyone, from the donor government , the social commentator and the middle class para-professional now find it lucrative to enter the 'grassroot business' in the process hegemonising the voice of the grassroots. Rajni Kothari (1989) has noted that there has taken place a striking growth of individualism and egotism among activists and professionals and the draw of material incentives.

7.9 GLOBALIZATION AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Sustainable development is also one of the ingredients of globalization thinking because resources and their depletion are thought to be global phenomena. The risk of unsustainable development is ultimately global because atmosphere, oceans, carbon cycles, hydrological cycles, global warming and climate change are not limited to national boundaries. How is the process of globalization going to affect the future of sustainable development? The flowing discussion is based on Wolfgang Sachs' authoritative work (2005).

Proponents of economic globalization argue that it reduces the use of resources in five ways.

1) It brings to end state monopoly of resources in closed economics where there is higher rate of use of natural resources because natural treasures are seen as cost-free. So growth is achieved only by extensive ways of increased production, causing faster resource depletion. Globalization cuts this mismanagement by enforcing at least an economic nationality.
2) Trade and investment increase access to technology which is more efficient with regard to resource utilization, particularly in sectors such as mining, energy, transport and industry.
3) Transnational corporations tend to standardize technologies between countries at an advanced level.
4) The open markets make the fast developing nations efficient vis-à-vis resources, because their exports to advanced countries have to adapt to the stricter environmental standards prevailing there.
5) Finally, the globalized economy allows production to be efficient in terms of use of energy and raw materials in a global scale by deploying the factors of production in optimal manner everywhere.

What, however, is downplayed in this argument is the fact that market rationalization may lower the use of particular resources, that is, the input per unit of output. But the total use of resources will grow if the volume of

economic activity expands. The size of growth in production and consumption will be too big for the small gains made in efficiency. As the history of industrial society shows, efficiency gains have quite consistently been converted into new opportunities for expansion. From an ecological point of view, this is the Achilles heel of globalization.

According to Sachs, this is precisely what is happening. The goals of globalization are to spur the world economic growth through the strategies of intensive development expansion. There has been a doubling of world economy between 1975 and 2000, much of which has put even greater pressure on the biosphere. Sachs presents them in the following manner:

Direct foreign investment and the expansion effect

The USA-EU- Japan triad has transferred massive private capital to the emerging markets of East Asia and South America, along with it the fossil model of development (intensive use of fossil fuels), which is highly resource intensive. The targets of investment are raw material extraction or energy and transport infrastructure which all push the use of energy up. The removal of national barriers to foreign investment has thus reflected in the steep rise in the carbon dioxide emission of the developing world while there has been only marginal increase in the industrialized countries. For instance, the swelling up of cars in the roads of India (due to several new car manufacturing corporations setting up plants here) has pushed out public transport, bicycles etc. And increased vehicular pollution to a great degree, even if these cars are more efficient than the earlier ones.

Another symbol of globalization, the "Big Mac" has caused big lifestyle changes in many countries of Latin America and Asia between 1990 and 1997. The number of McDonald's restaurant has multiplied manifold, and there has been a high rise in meat consumption. These trends imply that more water, cereals and grazing land for cattle, thereby receding forest cover by 10 to 30 per cent in these countries.

Deregulation and the competitive effect

Globalization is intended to release market regulations from the web of national norms and standards in order to bring them under international

competition. Like all other regulated sectors, protection of environment is coming under pressure in many countries which are attaching higher value to attaining competitive strength than to protecting their environment or natural resources. In most countries, the process of economic globalization has blocked any real progress in national environmental policy.

The other dimension of deregulation is to introduce efficiency and lower prices. If it happens in environmentally significant sectors like Oil, coal etc., then their prices fall and demand shoot up. Also it will be less worth introducing conservation technologies which may have higher prices. Under price systems that do not reflect environmental costs, global competition will deepen the crisis of nature (Daly 1997, cf Sachs, 2005).



Globalization aims to release markets regulation from national norms and standards and bring them under international competition.

Currency crisis and the sell out effect

In case of a currency crisis, the affected countries are often pushed to export their natural resources more extensively and speedily to raise exports and earn foreign exchange, so that they are able to repay loans and import their minimum needed food, goods and capital. That Nature has become the currency earner is evident from the large-scale export of oil, gas, metals, wood, animal feed and agricultural produce from countries of the south hit by financial crisis. Fishing rights are being sold by Senegal to fleets of vessels from Asia, Canada and Europe; tree felling rights by Chile to timer corporations from USA and exploration rights by Nigeria to the Oil multinationals (French 1998 cf. Sachs, ibid). Mexico, after the collapse of Peso (the Mexican currency) rescinded its laws protecting national forests to promote exports; Indonesia was compelled under talks with IMF to change its land ownership legislation to allow foreign paper corporations to move in on its forests (Menotti 1998, cf. Sachs, ibid).

Measures to rectify a balance of payment crisis under IMF necessitate a country to increase its exports and attract investors back into the country. Although the removal of environmentally damaging subsides and liberalization of markets generally promotes a more efficient use of resources, the rate of exploitation soon increases with the mobilization of raw materials and agricultural produce for exports.

Vanishing distance and the transport effect

Globalization rests upon the rapid overcoming of space, rendered by electronic networking. It is ecologically a less wasteful way of communication, but the amount of waste generated by computers, mobile sets, floppies, discs etc. puts heavy toxic burden on environment.

Moreover, outside of international financial market that works through electronic communication, all forms of economic globalization rely heavily upon physical transport. T-shirts go from China to Germany and tomatoes from Ecuador to USA. Transport requires vehicles, highways, airports, harbors and fuel - all of which require a considerable amount of materials and land. The overcoming of geographical distance and time barriers has been paid through the spoiling of nature.

Colonization of Nature

Sachs argues that economic globalization fosters a new colonization of nature. The patent regime allows monopoly control to corporations over biotic species like seeds and plants excluding their use by others. Genetic engineering can play havoc on the biodiversity in the agriculture of the developing countries. Just like agrarian capitalism led to monoculture of plant varieties (commercial agriculture for export purposes), the 'life industries' would force the specialization in a few genetically optimized and economically useful plants (Lappe and Bailey, 1998). Apart from food security threats to the poorer sections, it would mean the simplification biosphere.

Changing Geography of Stress

Globalization changes the geography of environmental stress. The supply chain lengthening shoots the ecological division of labour between the countries of the south and those of the north. Special export zones of fishery and other resources come up in countries like Bangladesh, Egypt or Mexico for their cheap resources, cheap labour, tax breaks and lax environmental norms which reduce production costs. The environment stressing production chain are put in less developed regions while the cleaner and less material stages tend to be in G-7 countries. Nayar (1994)

points this out in 'politics of sustainable development' that polluting industries are being relocated in the third world countries.

The dynamics of sustainable development in the context of globalization was summed up by Fidel Castro at Rio Earth Summit in the following words: "a consistent interpretation of sustainable development should begin with the recognition that underdevelopment is the result of plundering of the third world, which has been prolonged in our time by an international economic order that uses the mechanism of debt, unfair division of world's labour, trade protectionism and control over the flow of finances to heighten the exploitation of the underdeveloped nations, and as a consequence, the ensuring ecological degradation" (Castro 1992, cf. Nayar, 1994).



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 3: What is colonizing of nature?

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Q 4: Define the term 'NGO'.

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7.10 LET US SUM UP

In this Unit, we discussed the concept of sustainable in terms of its location in the development-environment debate. We looked at the Brundtland Commission Report which defined sustainable development comprehensively and spells out policy objectives to achieve it. We also traced the origin and development of the idea

of sustainable development. We have examined sustainable development through some critical views. We also discussed the critiques regarding the politics of the concept. Lastly, we looked at how globalization would affect sustainable development by reworking of development-resource relationship, mainly to the detriment of nature.



7.11 FURTHER READING

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5. Salunkhe, S.A. (2003): 'The Concept of Sustainable Development: Root, Connotations and Critical Evaluation', Social Change, vol.33,no1,pp.77-80.

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7.12 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

Answer 1. Sustainable development is the development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs. It contains within

it two key concepts: the concept of 'needs', in particular the essential needs of the world's poor, to which overriding priority should be given.

Answer 2. Objectives of sustainable development are: reviving growth,changing quality of growth, meeting essential needs for jobs, foods, energy, water and sanitation, ensuring a sustainable level of population, conserving and enhancing the resource base and others.

Answer 3. Economic globalization fosters a new colonization of nature. The patent regime allows monopoly control to corporations over biotic species like seeds and plants excluding their use by others. Genetic engineering can play havoc on the biodiversity in the agriculture of the developing countries.

Answer 4. NGO is a United Nations term coined mainly to indicate the difference between the organizations of the states, which are its direct members, and the organizations that do not belong to the state. Privatization and Globalization catapulted the NGO into the centre stage, often according them a major role in dealing with the new social, economic, political and environmental concerns.



7.13 MODEL QUESTIONS

Q.1: Describe the various dimensions of sustainable development.

Q.2: Explain the relationship between environment conservation and sustainable development.

Q.3: How does globalization effect sustainable development?

Q.4: Discuss the ideology of people-centred development.

Q.5: On what grounds are functioning of NGOs criticized?