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Sociology of Development

SEMESTER - II

SOCIOLOGY

BLOCK - 1

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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COURSE INTRODUCTION:

This Course is meant for the learners of second semester of MA Sociology programme under the revised semester system of Krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University. The course is titled *Sociology of Development.* In this course the learners will be able to learn about different concepts, approaches and issues related to 'development' from a sociological point of view.

This course comprises of two blocks - Block 1 and Block 2. Block 1 contains 7 units and block 2 contains 6 units.

BLOCK INTRODUCTION

This is the first block of the course. This block consists of seven units.

The first unit is titled *Introduction.* This unit will discuss the concept of development, different theories of development and the differences between the concepts of growth and development.

The second unit is titled *Social Structure and Development.* This unit will discuss the concept of social structure and its role in development.

The third unit is titled *Perspectives on Development (I).* This unit seeks to discuss the liberal, marxist and socialist perspectives to development.

The fourth unit is titled *Perspectives on Development (II)*. This unit will discuss the ideas of sustainable development and eco-feminism and their various aspects.

The fifth unit is titled *Paths of Development.* This unit will discuss the capitalist, gandhian and mixed economy approaches to development.

The sixth unit is titled as *Modernisation Theories .*This unit will discuss the concepts of modern and modernisation and its theories.

The seventh unit is titled as *Theories of Underdevelopment.* This unit will discuss the contributions of different scholars in theories of underdevelopment, while highlighting the theories of dependency, uneven development, etc.

While going through this paper, you will notice that some boxes are put in the left hand or right hand side of the text. These boxes are meant to serve the purpose of in-text glossary for you. Again, you may find some boxes marked with: "LET US KNOW". These boxes will provide you with some additional interesting and relevant information. The boxes marked with "ACTIVITY" will help you in making your learning more active and efficient. And, at the end of each section, you will get "CHECK YOUR PROGRESS" questions. These have been designed to self-check your progress of study. It will be better if you solve the problems put in these boxes immediately aftacser you go through the sections of the units and then match your answers with "ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS" given at the end of each unit.

UNIT 1: INTRODUCTION

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1 Learning Objectives

1.2 Introduction

1.3 Meanings of 'development' over time

1.4 Economic Theories of Growth and Development

1.5 Sociological Theories of Development

1.6 Meaning of Growth

1.7 Difference between Growth and Development

1.8 Let us sum up

1.9 Further reading

1.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

1.11 Model questions

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- understand the concept of development
- comprehend the meanings of development
- know the different theories of development
- understand the difference between growth and development.

1.2 INTRODUCTION

This unit lays out a detailed understanding of the concept of development. In development, all the advances in science and technology (reason and logic based) as a result of enlightenment, democratic elements, social elements (values, ethics) fuse into the single humanitarian project of producing a far better world. In its broader sense, development means using the productive resources of society to improve the living conditions of the poorest people.

Development differs from economic growth in that it pays attention to the conditions of production. For example, development is concerned with

the adverse effects of economic activity on the environment. Development entails in it the ideas of freedom, freedom from the vicissitudes of nature through advanced technology and self- emancipation, i.e. conscious control over the conditions under which human nature is formed. In both senses, development implies economic, social, and cultural progress as well as improvement in their conditions.

According to Björn Hettne, 'Development in the modern sense implies intentional social change in accordance with societal objectives'. Since not all societal objectives are developmental (some are simply concerned with establishing authority etc.) he inserts the criterion of improvement and defines development as the organized intervention in collective affairs according to a standard of improvement.

1.3 MEANINGS OF 'DEVELOPMENT' OVER TIME

The term 'development' has not retained the same meaning today as was earlier. It has changed a lot over time. The term 'development' in its present sense dates from the postwar era of modern development thinking. The term 'development' was not necessarily used at the time but development policies have roots in their practices. Thus Kurt Martin (1991) regards the classic political economists, from Ricardo to Marx, as development thinkers for they addressed similar problems of economic development. In this general context, the core meaning of development was catching up with the advanced industrialized countries.

Cowen and Shenton uncovered yet another meaning of development. In nineteenth-century England, 'development', they argued, referred to remedies for the shortcomings and maladies of progress. This involves questions such as population (according to Malthus), job loss (for the Luddites), the social question (according to Marx and others) and urban squalor. For Hegel, progress is linear and development is curvilinear. Accordingly, twentieth-century development thinking in Europe and the colonies had already traversed many terrains and positions and was a

reaction to nineteenth-century progress and policy failures, where industrialization left people uprooted and out of work, and social relations dislocated.

Colonial economics was the predecessor of modern development economics. Colonies did not promote industrialization as they were more interested in the export of raw materials to the metropolitan countries. This is evident from the fact that many manufacturers were destroyed by the colonies. For example, textile manufacturing in India or the counteract efforts in the periphery like Egypt, Turkey and Persia.This is a significant difference between the colonial economies and the latecomers in central and eastern Europe.

In modern development thinking and economics, the core meaning of development was economic growth. Economic growth means achieving a more massive economy, producing more goods and services on the one side of the national account (gross domestic product- GDP) and a larger total income on the other (gross national income-GNI). Hobhouse, for instance defined development in terms of increase in the scale and efficiency of social organization which implies the metaphor of growth. Development was thus understood as directional, cumulative and irreversible. In the course of time mechanization and industrialization became part of this, as in Rostow's Stages of Economic growth. When development thinking broadened to encompass modernization, economic growth was combined with political modernization, that is, nation building, and social modernization such as fostering entrepreneurship and 'achievement orientation'. In dependency theory, the core meaning of development likewise was economic growth or capital accumulation. Its distorted form was dependent accumulation which led to the 'development of underdevelopment'. Development as economic growth was not justifiable for defining development in broader terms without paying much attention to the opportunities, choices available to the people in general. Therefore the focus changes from development to human development. Human

Development is about expanding the richness of human life, rather than simply the richness of the economy in which human beings live. It is an approach that is focused on creating fair opportunities and choices for all people. An alternative measure that takes into account social and cultural variables more attuned to development than just economic growth alone is the "Human Development Index" (HDI) measured by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). The core definition of development in the Human Development Reports of UNDP is 'the enlargement of people's choices'.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1. What is the meaning of Development?

Q2. Does the term development have some specific definition?

Q3. What is Progress for Hegel?

Q4. Who tried sabotaging the manufacturers?

Q5. What was modern development thinking and economics?

Q6.What do GDP and GNI stand for?

Q7. What does HDI stand for?

Q8. Who gave the idea of HDI?

1.4 ECONOMIC THEORIES OF GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

Basically, development has been defined as improving the conditions of life. Conditions here refer to the necessities of life along with certain standard of living (material base). These needs seem to be the domain of Economics i.e. Economics deals with the production of commodities using the available resources. Therefore, development is fundamentally an economic process.

Economics has been a highly specialized field of knowledge for its greater emphasis on the mathematical calculations and logics. Economics theorists make use of scientific laws. Economics theories of development have not been stagnant, and have changed and developed with time i.e. from pre-classical to classical to marginalist to Keynesian and to the post-Keynesian theories.

I Pre-classical Beginnings

The idea of God was close to the medieval period. Medieval theorists always combined religion with economics. For them God is everything and God is behind each and every phenomenon occurring on the earth. Medieval Christianity (Catholics) emphasized duty to God rather than the rights of the individual. This duty entailed moral limitation on the economic actor.

Furthermore, there existed the idea of 'Just Price' for each commodity. According to Aristotle (Greek philosopher), Albertus Magnus (1200-1280) and Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), there should be just and equitable price for commodities and anyone exceeding the just price must be punished by law. The belief of 'Just Price' began to erode with the urbanization, secularization or more appropriately Protestant Reformation (modernity). Now due emphasis is given to human being i.e. there is firm belief that an individual creates his own destiny. It was Max Weber, who in his book *"The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism",* stressed on how differences in the attitude of Protestants from Catholics towards work boosted the economy in Europe. The idea of glorifying God with labour or hard work advances capitalism. Similarly, Martin Luther(1483-1546) was of the belief that God might grant gifts to people but people had to lend a working hand.

Classical Economics developed in a conflictual relation with mercantilism. The mercantile ideology emphasizes the favourable balance of trade with an increased flow of gold and silver. The mercantilist policy aimed at increased national power which is the result of increased production

by exploiting the natural resources using labour. The mercantilist Philipp Von Hornick said:

‘‘Gold and silver once in the country… are under no circumstances to be taken out…but must always remain in circulation…under these conditions it will be impossible for a country that has once acquired a considerable supply of cash…ever to sink in poverty; indeed it is impossible that it should not continually increase in wealth and property.’’ (1961).

The idea of Mercantilism was opposed by the idea of 'free market economy'. It was believed that increased in production should not compromise the potential harmony between individual self-interest and public interest, the idea of state intervention which was the core idea in Mercantilist system was opposed here, the higher productions were to be achieved with increased specialization and Division of Labour (DOL) and most importantly, the ability of the market to yield natural or even just prices.

The political philosophers of 17th and 18th century Britain, especially Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and David Hume, three leading thinkers, were important in forming the philosophical basis of classical economic theory.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q9. Name few pre classical thinkers.

Q10. What is the idea of 'Just Price'?

Q11. What is the idea behind mercantilist policy?

I Classical Economic Theory

Adam Smith in his Theory of Moral Sentiments (1759), tried to reconcile the conflict between the pursuit of material gains and the maintenance of public morality. He found that people show empathy towards others. They perceive each other by putting themselves in the shoe of others. According

to him, economic growth depends on capital accumulation which further depends on the specialization in work or more appropriately division of labour. On the basis of this he tried to explain the disparity between capital accumulations of various nations. Classical economic theory promotes laissez-faire policy. It says the free market allows the laws of supply and demand to self-regulate the business cycle.

David Ricardo derived the notion that supply created its own demand from J.B. Say, as production generated consumption. But he followed Malthus in saying that overpopulation reduced the worker's advantages from economic growth. Ricardo further argued that with the increase in population and demand for food, the production would increase even on the less fertile land. The increase in production earns the capitalist enough money to sustain the workers.

The Neoclassical Interlude

In the last third of the 19th century, 'Marginal Utility' became the central theme for the economists like Hermann Heinrich Gossen who published this concept in his book. In this phase of development the focus changed from national wealth to maximized enjoyment i.e. consumption was favoured rather than production. Neoclassical economics is an approach to economics focusing on the determination of goods, outputs, and income distribution in markets through supply and demand.

The idea of Marginal Utility was developed by Jevons, Menger and Walras independently and simultaneously. According to Menger, individuals exchange things not because of their natural tendency to change as suggested by Smith but to satisfy their wants to the maximum with available scarce means. Also, they exchange goods until their marginal utilities were equal.

Three central assumptions

It was expressed by E. Roy Weintraub that neoclassical economics rests on three following assumptions, although certain branches of neoclassical theory may have different approaches:

1. People have rational preferences between outcomes that can be identified and associated with values.

2. Individuals maximize utility and firms maximize profits.

3. People act independently on the basis of full and relevant information.

Neoclassical economics harmony was disturbed by the critical institutional economist Thorstein Veblen with his "Theory of the Leisure Class". It presents the evolutionary development of human institutions (social and economic) that shape society, such as how the citizens earn their livelihoods, wherein technology and the industrial arts are the creative forces of economic production. That such production of goods and services was not merely the means of meeting the material needs of society, but of earning profits for the owners of the means of production.

Veblen argued that economists should take account of how people behave, socially and culturally in a society. Whereas neoclassical economics define people as rational agents who seek utility and maximal pleasure from their economic activities, Veblen perceived people as irrational, economic agents who pursue social status and the prestige inherent to a place in society (class and economic stratum) with little regard to their own happiness.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q12. Name any two classical theorists.

Q13. Name a book written by Adam Smith.

Q14. Who is known for the idea of "Supply creates its own demand"?

Q15. What is central to the idea of neo classical theorists?

Q16. Who criticized the Neo classical economists?

Dynamic Analysis

The historical school was critical of the neoclassical consensus of Ricardian and marginalist economics. This school of thought was originally formulated by Wilhelm Roscher, Bruno Hildebrand and Karl Knies and developed further by a second generation led by Gustav Schmoller. The unity of social and economic life, the plurality of human motives and the relativity of history i.e. holistic view (view that stressed the natural web of interconnections between things) were the main themes of the historical school. Roscher and other economists disregard the idea of equilibrium or the demand supply balance when there is under consumption or decreased demand and found crises as an inevitable occurrence. Schmoller criticized classical and neoclassical economics for hold ing the notion that people were motivated entirely by self-interest.

Joseph Schumpeter combined theories and approaches and framed the idea of "creative destruction". He was not much interested in small changes but fascinated by the developments of economic system that resulted within the economy(endogenously) disrupting the existing system or precisely displacing the equilibrium. This change accoding to Schumpeter is not due to consumption but from production, specifically from new combinations of productive materials and forces.

According to him, it is entrepreneurs who are very few in any society but innovative, dynamic, energetic with a will to fight and conquer. They tried to change the existing practices and introduce the new things. He saw the development initiated by innovation as uneven,, discontinuous, and taking the form of business cycles.

Keynesian Growth Theory

Keynesian economics or theory came forward with the opposing views to that of classical theorist. It represented a new way of looking at spending, output and inflation. The classical theorists believed that during the period of decreased demand which means reduced production and jobs, there would be decline of prices and wages. So the investors would take benefit of low wages and employ the workers so as to stabilize economic growth.

John Maynard Keynes(1883-1946), a Cambridge economist, discarded the notion of wage earners as maximizers of the voluntary unemployment. According to him the level of employment is determined by the aggregate demands of goods and services with no government role. Keynesian economics is a theory that bring in the important role of the government by saying that the government should increase demand to boost growth through activist stabilization and economic intervention policies. According to Keynes, an increase in spending would increase demand. Similarly, he argued that government spending was necessary to maintain full employment. For him, real investment was the crucial variable which affects growth as a whole.

Cambridge economist Roy Harrod and the U.S. economist Evsey Domar investigated if the economy can grow at a steady rate with full employment. In order to maintain a steady growth rate, the national saving rate(income saved) had to be equal to the product of capital-output ratio and the rate of growth of labour force according to the Harrod Domar model.

On the basis of this model, development policies were used in the First Five Year Plan(1951-1956)



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q17. Who formulated the historical school of thought originally?

Q18. Who presented the idea of creative destruction?

Q19. Who are adherents of Keynesian Growth Theory?

1.5 SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT

Sociological theorists began their idea of development by criticizing the neo-classical economists. They too accepted the idea of copying the west as part of development similar to what neo-liberalists believed. Constant interaction between Naturalism and Rationalism was central to the sociological theories of development. Naturalism is the "idea or belief that only natural (as opposed to supernatural or spiritual) laws and forces operate in the world." Naturalists assert that natural laws control everything around and that humans have instincts on the basis of which they act Rationalism on the other hand deals with the idea of subjecting everything to the science done on the basis of reasons, logics etc.

Naturalism

August Comte, the founding father of Sociology adherent of the idea of naturalism, stressed that social laws and natural laws are very much similar. Therefore, human progress according to him is the result of variations in the operations of social laws.

On the similar line, Herbert Spencer, an evolutionary Philosopher and Sociologist tried to combine nature with society. He brought forward the concept of 'Social Evolution' which is considered to be an important contribution of Spencer to Sociology. He presented an analogy between the physical organism (a biological entity) and the society. According to him, organism and societies adapt to or fit themselves to the natural

environment in a similar manner to derive maximum benefit. Spencer believed that social interaction was the source of creativity and progress.

Rationalism

The idea of Rationalism was derived from Max Weber's theory of Religions. Weber discussed the progress in thinking of man from belief in magic, ritual, taboos etc. to worship, sin, conscience etc. He compared Protestants with Catholics which were contrary to each other in terms of ethical values.

Catholics believed in glorifying God by assuring a regular touch or visit whereas for Protestants, the world they live in is different from the God and thus is not controlled by God. So instead of blind faith in fate, they work hard, make money and look for maximal returns on assets without enjoying the fruits of the work which ultimately boost Capitalism in the west.

Weber concluded that it was the West only where the sciences reach. And since Science and technology intersected with profit motive, economic development was the result in West which was unique.

Rationalism and Naturalism

In Structural Functionalism, the notion of rationalism was integrated with that of naturalism. Talcott Parsons in particular integrated naturalistic, structuralistic, functionalist thought with that of Weber's notion of rationalism in his work *"The Structure of Social Action"*(1948) where he discussed the AGIL model.

Attempts were made by economics theorists to reconsider the economic aspect of development. Bert Hoselitz became more interested in the impact of growth and development on living standards of people or more appropriately the cultural life of individual instead of GDP growth.

Similarly Psychologists like Everett Hagen, David Mc Clelland, and Daniel Lerner etc emphasize on the human personality, psychological

characteristic which according to them orient a man towards economic development.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q20. What is the main idea behind sociological theories of development?

Q21. Name the theorists whose theories were nature oriented.

Q22. Who is linked with the theory of social evolution?

Q23. What was the source of progress according to Herbert Spencer?

Q24. Name any theorist whose theory was oriented towards the idea of Rationalism.

Q25. Name any theorist who made an attempt to combine the ideas of naturalism and rationalism.

1.6 MEANING OF GROWTH

Growth is simply the process of 'increasing in size'. Various classical economists, mainly Adam Smith, Ricardo and Malthus, have studied the concept of growth differently from time to time. The term 'economic growth' refers to the generation of income. Generation of income is the natural outcome of the free play of economic forces. This is because every individual has the natural instinct of raising his personal welfare through increased savings and investment. It may be noted that the terms "Economic Development" and "Economic Growth" are used interchangeably. But economists make a distinction between them. According to them, economic development means growth with change. Schumpeter, in his book *"The theory of Economic Development"* (1911) clarified the distinction between economic development and economic growth. Robert Clower, in his book about Liberian Economy titled *"Growth without Development",* has proved that despite growth of an economy it is possible that it may not have any development.

1.7 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

The terms Growth and Development are often used in our daily lives. They are often used interchangeably. Growth simply means 'getting bigger' or 'increase' whereas development is 'growth with change' or 'improvement'.

Growth can be explained as becoming bigger or larger or having more importance. Growth is termed as a physical change whereas development is said to be physical as well as social or psychological change. For example, we only say that the tumour has grown and not that the tumour has developed. On the other hand, we generally say that 'he has developed into a better man' etc.

In terms of economy, we say there was a steady growth in the country's economy over the last few years. We also say that there was a tremendous growth in the case of hospitals in the region. Further, we also refer to countries as developed and developing, which means that the country has made great strides in all spheres.

A good example might be Amartya Sen's Development as Freedom(2000), concerned with how society grants to individuals the capacity for taking part in creating their own livelihoods, governing their own affairs, and participating in self-government. In brief, development is quite different from growth. Development springs from the most optimistic moment of the modern rational belief, whereas mere growth is practical, technological.

Main differences between growth and development

1. **Single Dimensional and Multi-Dimensional:** Growth is single dimensional. It is concerned with 'increase' or 'getting bigger'. On the other hand, development is multi dimensional which is concerned with growth with structural changes i.e. change in economic, social and political structure of the country. In fact, development is a broad term.

2. **Qualitative and Quantitative Change:** The term 'growth' is quantitative whereas the term 'development' is qualitative. According to Meier, there are many important qualitative changes in the development process which take it beyond growth. For e.g. Growth is defined as an increase in GDP of a country which can be measured quantitatively. But the improvement in living standard, food habits etc. is qualitative in nature which is none other than development.

3. **Continuous and discontinuous Changes:** Growth is a gradual and steady change in the long run which comes about by general increase. Development on the other hand, is characterised by discontinuous and spontaneous changes in the stationary state which forever alters and displaces the equilibrium state.

4. **Measurement:** Growth being quantitative in nature, it can be measured using different scales easily. However when it comes to development, although different indexes have been made but they lack in accurate measurement.

5. **Development implies Growth:** According to some economists the term development is used to describe the determinants of growth such as changes in techniques of production, in institutions etc.

6. **Related to the problem of developed and under-developed countries:** Growth is a solution of the problem of developed countries where most of the resources are already known and developed. Development is a solution of the problem of under-developed countries where there is possibility of developing and using hitherto unused resources.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q26. Do Economic growth and Economic development have similar meanings?

Q27. Is development single-dimensional or multi-dimensional?

Q28. Why is growth considered to be a quantitative change?



1.8 LET US SUM UP

- Development means making a better life for everyone.
- Earlier development was defined as increase in the scale and efficiency of social organization (Economic growth).
- Economic aspect of development defined development in terms of GDP and GNP.
- The conception of GNP growth was criticized for the lack of concern for distribution as could be seen in the widened gap between rich and poor.
- The term 'development' has changed in its meaning over time.
- The idea of 'Just Price' for each commodity was promoted by the pre classical thinkers.
- The belief of 'Just Price' began to erode with urbanization, secularization or more appropriately Protestant Reformation (modernity).
- The merchantile ideology emphasizes the favourable balance of trade with an increased flow of gold and silver.
- According to Menger, individuals exchange goods until their marginal utilities were equal.

- Neoclassical economics harmony was disturbed by the critical institutional economist Thorstein Veblen with his "Theory of the Leisure Class".
- Roscher and other economists disregard the idea of equilibrium or the demand supply balance when there is under consumption or decreased demand and found crises as an inevitable occurrence.
- Schmoller criticized classical and neoclassical economics for holding the notion that people were motivated entirely by self-interest.
- According to Keynes, the level of employment is determined by the aggregate demands of goods and services.
- Naturalists assert that natural laws control everything around and that humans have instincts on the basis of which they act.
- Rationalism deals with the idea of subjecting everything to the science done on the basis of reasons, logics etc.
- Herbert Spencer, an evolutionary philosopher and Sociologist tried to combine nature with the society.
- Max Weber compared Protestants with Catholics which were contrary to each other in terms of ethical values.
- Talcott Parsons integrated naturalistic, structuralistic, functionalist thought with that of Weber's notion of rationalism.
- The assumption of trickledown effect to improve lives of masses was criticized by Pakistani economist Mahbub-ul-haq and Indian economists Amartya Sen who could see no such automatic link between income and human lives.
- The Human Development Index (HDI) calculated by United Nation Development Program (UNDP) measures development in terms of longevity, knowledge and income sufficiency.

- Amartya Sen, the noble Laureate, defined development as expansion of human capabilities,opportunities and freedoms.
- The goals of development cannot be explained as mere economic growth and improvement of human condition but also to aim at generating social harmony, respect cultural diversity and gender equity.
- Growth simply means 'getting bigger' or 'increase' whereas development is 'growth with change' or 'improvement'.
- Economic growth does not necessarily result in economic development.



1.9 FURTHER READING

1) Jain T.R. and Bajaj Balbir Kaur (2007), *Development Economics,* V.K. Publications.

2) Peet Richard and Hartwick Elaine (2010), *Theories of Development,* Rawat Publications.

3) Sen Amartya (1999), *Development as Freedom,* oxford University Press.

4) Escobar Arturo(1995), *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World,* Princeton University Press.



1.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Development implies economic, social, and cultural progress as well as improvement in the conditions of people's lives.

Ans to Q No 2: No, it is a dynamic and broad concept.

Ans to Q No 3: Progress is a linear process for Hegel.

Ans to Q No 4: Colonial economics

Ans to Q No 5: Development was comprehended as the increase in country's GDP.

Ans to Q No 6: GDP- Gross Domestic Product,

GNI- Gross National Income

Ans to Q No 7: Human Development Index

Ans to Q No 8: Mahboob-ul-Haq (Pakistani Economist) and Amartya Sen (Indian Economist)

Ans to Q No 9: Albertus Magnus, Aristotle, Thoman Aquinas etc

Ans to Q No 10: It means the price for commodities should be just and equitable.

Ans to Q No 11: The mercantilist policy aimed at increased national power by exploiting the natural resources using labour.

Ans to Q No 12: Adam Smith and David Ricardo

Ans to Q No 13: Theory of Moral Sentiments(1759)

Ans to Q No 14: J.B. Say

Ans to Q No 15: Marginal Utility

Ans to Q No 16: Thorstein Veblen

Ans to Q No 17: Wilhelm Roscher, Bruno Hildebrand and Karl Knies

Ans to Q No 18: Joseph Schumpeter

Ans to Q No 19: J.M. Keynes, Roy Harrod and Evsey Domar

Ans to Q No 20: Constant interaction between Naturalism and Rationalism

Ans to Q No 21: August Comte, Herbert Spencer, Emile Durkheim etc

Ans to Q No 22: Herbert Spencer

Ans to Q No 23: Social Interaction

Ans to Q No 24: Max Weber

Ans to Q No 25: Talcott Parsons

Ans to Q No 26: No

Ans to Q No 27: Multi-dimensional

Ans to Q No 28: Because it can be measured with different scales.



1.11 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1. What do you understand by the term Development?

Q 2. How is development different pan growth?

Q 3. Do you think the meaning of the term Development has changed over time?

B) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1. Briefly explain the different theories of development.

Q 2. Discuss sociological aspects of development.

Q 3. Trace the evolution of the concept of development.

** ** **

UNIT 2: SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND DEVELOPMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Learning Objectives

2.2 Introduction

2.3 Social Structure: Meaning and definitions

2.4 Views of social thinkers on social structure

2.5 Characteristics of social structure

2.6 Elements of Social Structures

2.7 Culture

2.8 Social Structure as facilitator/inhibitor of Development

2.8.1 Role of caste in development

2.8.2 Religion as facilitator or inhibitor of development

2.8.3 Population as facilitator or inhibitor of development

2.9 Let us sum up

2.10 Further reading

2.11 Answers to Check Your Progress

2.12 Model Questions

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- understand the meaning of social structure
- know the meaning of culture and its types
- comprehend social structure as facilitator of development
- understand social structure as inhibitor of development

2.2 INTRODUCTION

Human beings, like other animals, have needs. At the minimum level it refers to the basic needs such as food, shelter, and clothes. But none of these needs can be fulfilled living all alone in a society. Thus, human being interacts with another individual and makes several relationships which can be easily recognized in the form of formal and informal relations. We

all know that human being is a social animal who has never lived nor can ever live alone. Thus developing relationships is nothing to be surprised at. When human beings relate themselves to each other they establish a structural form. It may be a group, an association or an organization. This unit highlights the concept of social structure and is role in development.

2.3 SOCIAL STRUCTURE: MEANING AND DEFINITIONS

The concept of social structure has been widely discussed by various scholars. It can be viewed as a creative process in which individuals establish patterns of relationships to satisfy their needs. We, as members of family realize the expectations of our role as son, daughter, father, mother etc. We are expected to do certain jobs in certain ways. In short we find that society is already there like a stage when we arrive on the scene as actors i.e. social structures appear to us, not as a product of our own activity, but as a thing with a life of its own that requires us to behave in a certain way.

The meaning of social structure can be easily understood if we take the example of organic structure. An organic structure say the human body, is an arrangement of different parts like hand, limbs, legs etc which are arranged in a systematic way so as to create a pattern. These parts are inert-linked and interdependent upon each other. Though the parts of organic structures are the same in every case, yet the form of organic structure of the people differs. Similarly every social structure has similar parts or institutions such as family, religion, political organization etc, but the forms of social structure differ.

Stated below are some of the definitions of social structure, put forward by different scholars.

Morris Ginsberg regards social structure as "the complex of principal groups and institutions which constitute societies".

Radcliffe-Brown defines social structure as "an arrangement of persons in institutionally controlled or defined relationships, (such as the relationship between King and his subjects, or that of husband and wife)".



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1: What are the basic needs of a human being?

Q2: Why human being cannot live alone?

Q3: How do social relationships emerge?

Q4: Is social structure an abstract or concrete phenomenon?

Q5: What can social structures be compared to, in order to understand it better?

Q6: How are the parts of an organism connected to each other?

Q7: What kind of relationship is there between different parts of an organism?

2.4 VIEWS OF SOCIAL THINKERS ON SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Herbert Spencer (1820-1903)

Herbert Spencer was one of the early scholars to use the term 'structure'. The fact that Spencer brought the terms 'structure' and 'function' into direct association shows that he had an anatomical image in mind.

S.F. Nadel (1903-1956)

He emphasized that in order to study society; social relationships must be referred to instead of private relationships, as they show consistency over a period of time. And according to him, role is the most important dimension in the concept of social structure.

Radcliffe Brown (1881-1955)

He was a great social anthropologist of England. He belongs to the structural-functional school of Sociology. He stated, "Social Structures are just as real as are individual organism." An individual or organism is a collection of different parts arranged in a certain pattern to function as whole; similarly, social structure refers to an arrangement of parts or components related to one another in some sort of larger unity.

2.5 CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The different parts of a social structure work in coordination with each other for the maintenance of the society as a whole. The structures are not static but change according to the needs and expectations of the society. The main features of social structure are:

1. Endurance

Social structures are not formed in a day or two; these are established over a period of time when people start recognizing them collectively. Thus these are relatively of an enduring type which means that it is permanent in nature. Here permanent doesn't mean structures have no scope for change, it simply means that only a slow and gradual change is possible depending on the needs and expectations of a society.

2. Abstract

The term 'structure' as already discussed refers to "some sort of ordered arrangements of parts or components. But the component of the social structure is none other than the human beings who form a pattern of relationships (abstract) in some sort of larger unity.

3. Continuity

Persons who are members of any organization, political party, and religious group may leave after some time but these structures continue to exist as an arrangement of persons with some other individuals.

4. Patterned Arrangement

The concept 'social structure' draws its original inspiration from the works of Herbert Spencer who compared a society with that of a living organism. He established this analogy on the basis of the pattern and working of society and human body. An organism and society are made up of different parts that are inter-linked and inter-dependent upon each other and thus maintain the equilibrium necessary for a society.

5. Normative Base

The parts of a social structure do not work in a haphazard manner but instead follow proper norms and values of the society that guide an individual about the behavior expected from him. An individual is punished for disobeying the norms of society so the members live together harmoniously.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q8: How did Herbert Spencer explain social structures?

Q9: Which dimension was focused by Nadel?

Q10: Whose ideas are similar to that of Spencer's?

Q11: What is the meaning of endurance?

Q12: What are the components of social structures?

Q13: Why are the social structures considered as abstract?

Q14: Can social structures disappear completely?

Q15: When the individual members die or leave any structures, then how does the social structure continue?

Q16: How is social order maintained?

Q17: What are the norms of a social structure?

2.6 ELEMENTS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE

- Status: Linton (1936) has noted two types of statuses:-

  (a) Ascribed Status, (b) Achieved Status

- Role
- Power
- Prestige
- Norms
- Values



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q18: What is status?

Q19: How many types of statuses are there? Name them.

Q20: What are roles?

Q21: What are norms?

2.7 CULTURE

The Sanskrit term for culture is sanskriti. Both 'sanskrit' and 'Samskriti' are derived from samaskar, meaning ritual performance, which is a process of refinement. Human being is born as a social being; human beings undergo the process of socialisaiton and become cultured individuals by going through the samaskars. In general terms, a culture can be said to include all the human phenomena in a society that are not the products of biological inheritance. The ways in which we adopt to our environment are called collectively as culture. No society is devoid of culture. To put it in other words, all societies (preliterate or literate) have culture in some or the other from.

In the words of E. Tylor:

"Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."

Characteristics of Culture

1. It is shared by the members of the society.
2. It is learned and acquired, not inborn or instinctive.
3. It is material and non-material both.
4. It has adaptability and its elements are interrelated.
5. It is transmitted from generation to generation.

Types of Culture

1. **Material Culture:** Material culture includes the objects or belongings of human beings, including a wide range of physical items i.e. things that you can see, feel or touch has the potential to be an item of material culture. Architecture, photographs, documents, artwork, gardens, a can of soda are all examples of material culture.
2. **Non-material Culture:** Non-material culture refers to the nonphysical ideas that people have about their culture, including beliefs, values, rules, norms, morals, language, organizations, and institutions. When considering non-material culture, Sociologists refer to several processes that a culture uses to shape its members' thoughts, feelings, and behaviors. Four of the most important of these are symbols, language, values, and norms.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q22: How many types of culture are there? Name them.

2.8 SOCIAL STRUCTURE AS FACILITATOR/INHIBITOR OF DEVELOPMENT

2.8.1 Role of caste in development

Caste is known as Jati in common parlance. Caste as a system of social relations has been a central point in Hindu society for several centuries. A lot of conjectures, controversies and explanations have come up about its origin, nature, and role in Indian society.

The Varna theory is also known as traditional theory or Divine origin theory. The main source of this is the Purush Sukta of the Rigveda. According to Purush Sukta, the four 'arnas originate from the four different parts of the 'viraat purush'. According to this theory, the Brahmins had emerged from the mouth of Supreme beings, Kshatriyas from the arms, Vaishyas from the thigh and the Shudras from the feet. It is clear now that the Hindu religious scriptures divide the Indian society into four Varnas. Supposedly knowledgeable Brahmins are at the top. The administrator warrior Kshatriya occupies the second place in the hierarchy. Then come the cultivator trader Vaishyas. Shudras or servants, who serve the higher castes, are at the bottom.

Caste is ascribed by birth. Hence, membership to a particular caste group automatically assigns professional identities to an individual, as has been indicated above. One of the significant drawbacks of the caste system is that it does not provide any opportunity to individuals to change the occupation according to the capability. Thus it implies that the achievement orientation is missing in the caste system which further hinders people's

creativity, innovativeness etc. However, it must be noted that the rigidity of the caste based occupation system has weakened over time, particularly in the urban spaces of the country.

Another limitation of the caste system pointed out by several scholars is the lack of inter-caste mixing and mobility. The Caste System ensures sexual division of labour, orderliness and regulation of behavior of its members through endogamy. This division of labour is expected to keep the scope of conflict or disharmony low. Rigidity in case of marriage curbs on the individual liberty and reduces the opportunity of inter-mixing among different castes which is important for development.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q23: Is Caste ascribed or achieved?

2.8.2 Religion as a facilitator or inhibitor of development

There has always been a continuous debate on whether religion promotes or hinders development. Various social scientists have presented their views on the relation between religion and development. For instance, Karl Marx contended that social and cultural phases of human evolution are the consequences rather than the causes of economic forces. The relation between religion and economic development was effectively analysed by Max Weber in his "The Protestant Ethics and the spirit of Capitalism"(1930).

Max Weber on Religion

The principal theme of his work is that, there is a direct relationship between ethics of the community and the character of its economic system.

According to Max Weber, ethic or ideology and economic system influence each other and at times the ethical principles make way for economic changes. He believes that the two are inter-dependent. In order to prove his theory Weber selects the economic ethics and famous six religion of the world namely, Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism, Jainism, Christianity and Judaism and study the economic ethics of each one of them and look at their effect on the economic and social organization of the people who follow that particular religion. The best part of his work is seeing in term of the relationship between Protestants and capitalism. In the capitalist order of work, we are more concerned about the development, specialization and division of labour and maximizing profit. According to Weber the capitalist order in society is guided by a certain kind of motivation that could be seen in the Protestants ethics because it were the protestants who created favourable condition for the growth of capitalism instead of Catholics. He also proved that Protestants are economically better off as compared to Catholics.

Religious philosophies are characterized by various elements. Analysis of such elements enables to understand the role that religious philosophies may have in the process of development. Discussed below are some religious philosophies.

1. Doctrine of Karma

A Hindu accepts his/her caste, occupation, possession etc. as a result of his/her 'Karma". It operates like a law of causation whereby life of an individual 'self' is determined by its actions i.e. present life is the result of the actions of the previous life and one has to face the consequences of present life in the next life.

2. Illusion (Maya)

Several religions believe in 'other-worldly' things i.e. for them this world is an illusion. It is believed that mankind does not have control over his/her present as well as future lives since all depend upon his/her karma. The

belief in karma theory may further inculcate in them the feeling of renunciation.

3. Destiny

The notion that life in this world is the consequence of actions in the previous life and that present actions would determine the next life, makes the present life 'transitory' or secondary'. Thus destiny is comprehended as a pre- decided entity.

4. Elimination of desires

Some religions believe in asceticism and abstinence. It is believed that there are no sufferings if there are no desires. Thus elimination of desires is the ultimate goal.

5. Teachings of spiritual scriptures

The scriptures of different religions lay down various teachings to its followers. For example, the holy book laid stress on action (karma) by active involvement in performing one's duty, without expecting the reward for the same. This clearly indicates the notion "Do good and forget it". Gita considers work inevitable as no one can live without doing work. Religion, thus, focuses on the life of action rather than renunciation of desires.

6. Spiritual Values

Spiritual values are assigned top priority, while material pursuits are placed lowest in the scale. Welty(1973) states:

"Justice and mercy are valued more highly than injustice and cruelty. Spiritual values such as beauty, love and righteousness are of more importance than that of intellectual values such as logic, keenness, clarity and other skills. Below the spiritual and intellectual skills some biological values such as health and vitality and finally material values such as wealth and the like".

Thus an individual performs the action that is of higher values.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q24: How does the doctrine of Karma hinders the development?

Q25: Why is elimination of desires is important according to some?

2.8.3 Population as facilitator or inhibitor of development

India is the second largest country in terms of size of its population. One-sixth of the world's population lives in India. India is an overpopulated country because the growth of its population is much faster than the rate of its economic development. Unemployment, poverty, migration and slow mobility are mainly due to lack of balance between population growth and economic development.

Disadvantages of High Population Growth

1. The problem of overpopulation has created unevenness with regard to migration, employment opportunities, standards of living and styles of life.

2. If the present rate of growth continues, the new addition in the population would require more food, more educational infrastructure, health and medical facilities, more investment in education, housing and transport, the cost of which India can ill-afford.

3. Level of urbanization has increased from 27.81% in 2001 Census to 31.16% in 2011 Census and the proportion of rural population declined from 72.19% to 68.84%. Despite this change, the pressure on agriculture and allied pursuits has not come down.

4. There is a great deal of unemployment and underemployment in India due to overpopulation.

5. A sizeable section is below the poverty line and a large number of people do not get their minimum needs fulfilled. There are limited resources and numerous aspirants for them.

6. Overcrowding of our cities has brought about a virtual breakdown of transportation, electricity and other services. It has also led to the increased crime and violence.

7. Labour could get much low wage rates and thus the richer classes derive more surplus that goes directly in the pocket of those few only, and a larger section of the society is left behind in the overall development.

8. Increased population growth brings down per capita income and nullifies effects of increased productivity and income. Not only this, it hinders development of infrastructure because large investments need cannot be made available.

Advantages of Population Growth

1. India is the second largest country in terms of population, but it is also has the second largest trained and technically qualified manpower in the world.

2. Increase population implies human capital, one of the most important forms of capital in a nation, more than the physical capital (i.e. machinery, equipment etc). Thus there is an increase in each individual's capital in a very special form: skills and education.

3. Much of hunger in India is not due to over-population but because of poor yield and economic deprivation of the lower castes. If the Indian farmer cultivated his/her land as carefully as the Japanese, he/she would obtain nearly four times the yield of rice from the same area.

4. According to Census 2011, 41 % population is under 20yrs and nearly half of the population is of working age i.e. 20-59 age group. This implies that if young and active minds are trained in right direction, then it could benefit the nation.

5. Population growth also leads to an increase in the rate of savings. A rapidly growing population contains fewer old people as indicated by 2011 census (only 9% above 60 yrs). This means a higher proportion of men in the prime of life, able and willing to save.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q26: Do you think population can help develop any country? How?

Q27: How can population growth inhibit development?



2.9 LET US SUM UP

- Human being interacts with another individual and makes several relationships called social relations.
- Social structure is an abstract phenomenon.
- Every social structure has similar parts or institutions such as family, religion, political organization etc.
- Herbert Spencer was the first Sociologist who took Darwins's theory and applied it to how societies change and evolve over time.
- Social Structures are abstract, continuous and permanent in nature.
- Social Structure imparts order to the society.
- Status, Role, Power, Prestige, Norms, Values are the elements of Social Structures.

- Culture includes all the human phenomena in a society that are not the products of biological inheritance.
- Material culture includes the objects or belongings of human beings that you can see, feel or touch etc.
- Non-material culture refers to the nonphysical ideas that people have about their culture, including beliefs, values, rules, norms, morals, language, organizations, and institutions.
- According to Weber the capitalist order in society is guided by a certain kind of motivation that could be seen in the Protestants ethics because it was protestant which created favourable condition for the growth of capitalism instead of Catholics.
- India is the second largest country in terms of size of its population. One-sixth of the world's population lives in India.
- A high population growth has both advantages and disadvantages.



2.10 FURTHER READING

1) Rawat H.K.(2007), *Sociology: Basic concepts,* Rawat Publications.

2) Bhushan Vidya (2014), *An introduction to Sociology,* Kitab Mahal.

3) Shankar Rao C.N. (2007), *Sociology: Principles of sociology with an introduction to social thought,* S. CHAND.

4) Sharma K.L. (2007), *Indian Social Structure and Change,* Rawat Publications.



2.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Food, shelter and clothes.

Ans to Q No 2: because he is a social animal

Ans to Q No 3: Through the process of social interaction.

Ans to Q No 4: Abstract

Ans to Q No 5: Organism

Ans to Q No 6: systematic way or in a pattern

Ans to Q No 7: Parts are inter-dependent and inter-linked

Ans yo Q No 8: by comparing with human body

Ans to Q No 9: Role

Ans to Q No 10: Radcliffe Brown

Ans to Q No 11: Permanent

Ans to Q No 12: Human beings

Ans to Q No 13: The social relationships developed by parts are not visible.

Ans to Q No 14: No, they are continuous.

Ans to Q No 15: It replaces individuals with other individuals.

Ans to Q No 16: Social order is maintained through cooperation between different parts.

Ans to Q No 17: Norms are the guidelines or blueprints.

Ans to Q No 18: Socially defined positions

Ans to Q No 19: Ascribed Status and Achieved Status

Ans to Q No 20: The task assign to each individual

Ans to Q No 21: Norms are the guidelines.

Ans to Q No 22: Two, material and non-material culture.

Ans to Q No 23: It is ascribed

Ans to Q No 24: By making people believe that nothing is in their hand.

Ans to Q No 25: Because desires are responsible for all the sufferings.

Ans to Q No 26: Yes, by using the human capital in appropriate direction.

Ans to Q No 27: Growth in population implies shortage of resources.



2.12 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q1: What do you understand by the term Social Structure?

Q2: Discuss few features of social structure.

B) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q1: What is the meaning of culture? Discuss its types with examples.

Q2: Explain in detail whether social structures act as facilitator or inhibitor of development?

Q3: Explain in details if caste provides hindrance to the development of a nation.

Q4: Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the growth in population in the development of a country.

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UNIT 3: PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT (I)

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1 Learning objectives

3.2 Introduction

3.3: Liberal perspective on development: Ideology, What is liberal perspective on development, criticism

3.4: Marxist perspective on development: Marxism as an ideology on development, criticism

3.5: Socialist perspective on development: Concept, What is social perspective on development, Criticism

3.6: Let us sum up

3.7: Further reading

3.8: Check your progress

3.9: Answers to check your progress

3.10: Model Questions

3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- understand various perspectives on development
- describe the liberal, Marxist and social perspective on development
- know the three ideologies, liberalism, Marxism and socialism as an ideologies on development
- criticise liberalism, Marxism and socialism as perspectives on development.

3.2 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this unit is to explain about what is development and its various perspectives. The concept of development can be defined as the process of advancement in terms of quality of human life. It can be measure in terms of wealth, culture, education, healthcare, opportunities etc. But the different perspectives have defined development in various ways and given various meanings. From this unit we will come to know the concept of development from the liberal, Marxist and social perspectives.

3.3 LIBERAL PERSPECTIVE ON DEVELOPMENT: IDEOLOGY, WHAT IS LIBERAL PERSPECTIVE ON DEVELOPMENT, CRITICISM

Liberalism is accepted as one of the most influential modern political ideologies. It was developed in the 19th century in the west with the roots of the European Enlightenment.

Liberalism as an ideology

Liberal Ideology is not only related to the economic, social, and political fields, rather there are divergent streams of liberal thoughts, particularly for the individual freedom related to the state. Some liberals put more emphasis on economic freedom and allow greater government intervention, while others uphold the idea of minimum state intervention.

Liberalism has its roots in the writings of the 17th century. English political Philosopher John Locke, who emphasised on the priority of individual rights to life, liberty and property, and the elimination of coercive intervention by the state, which is taken as the prime violator of liberty.

Liberal perspective on development

Liberalism has provided a unique perspective of social, economic and political development. But over the past two hundred years and so, there has been a struggle between the supporters of economic liberalism and the defenders of social liberalism. And finally each of the two conflicting perspectives has come out with definite concepts, theories and ideologies to realise the importance and visions of society. Again, the leading perspectives on development, like, the Marxist and the liberals, both have different interpretations on equality and the methods of secured justice for the victims of unequal economy, social and political arrangements. The argument has been built on the issues of the scope of market prices.

Ideologically, liberalism is opposed to the ideals of socialism. Liberalism offers a distinctive vision of society. It explains about the freedom and the

free competition in the field of economic, entrepreneurship, and the role of the state in the control of production and of free citizenship.

As a political ideology, it stands for a social and political atmosphere in which authoritarian demands are registered and the fundamental rights of the individuals and groups, such as the right to freedom, free exercise of religion, speech and associations are promoted.

Criticism

Though Liberalism is accepted as one of the most influencing perspectives on development, it is not free from criticism. Socialist critique of the liberal perspective is based on the interpretation of inequality and social justice. It has been argued that the economic order characterised by inequality would promote further inequality and social injustice in an atmosphere of free market competition. Sociological criticism is on the idea of the individual autonomous self absurd; they have also rejected the possibility of neutral rule which would guarantee the promotion of equal opportunities for all, a precondition of individual liberty.

3.4 MARXIST PERSPECTIVE ON DEVELOPMENT: INTRODUCTION, MARXISM AS AN IDEOLOGY ON DEVELOPMENT, CRITICISM

Karl Marx was the most influential thinker of development in the 19th and 20th century. Around half of the world population followed his suggestive paths of restructuring the social and political organisation and economic development. His contribution to the theory of development is simply unparalleled and path-breaking.

Marxism as an Ideology on development

Marxism is a method of socioeconomic analysis that views class relations and social conflict using a materialist interpretation of historical development and takes a dialectical view of social transformation.

Karl Marx has defined class as all people who share a common relationship to the means of economic production. Those who own and control the means of production, slave-owners, feudal landowners, or the owner of property such as factories and capital-are the dominant class. And on the other side those who work for them such as slaves, peasants or industrial labours - are the sub - ordinate class. The relationship between the two classes is not only one of dominance and subordination, but also of exploitation.

The capitalist class makes use of the state as an instrument of oppression and exploitation. Thus at every stage there are broadly two classes: the owners of means of production, that is, exploiters on one side and the exploited on the other. History presents nothing but war between the classes. Every exploiting class at each stage gives rise to an opposite class.

Materialistic interpretation of history is another basic perspective of Marx for Development. As Marx has stated, economic conditions determine historical phenomena. All evolution is the result of the economic forces alone. Marx regarded the economic forces as the predominant dynamic agency of human society and its history.

Criticism

Marx and his thoughts have been widely criticised. Especially, Marx's theory of conflict and his political ideas have been highly criticised. The most distinct feature of modern capitalism has been the emergence of a large middle class, consisting of managerial, professional, supervisory and technical personnel. However Marx argued that the capitalist society's inevitable tendency towards radical polarisation and self restructuration is too simplistic and fallacious. The Marxian idea of capitalism has not taken into cognisance the advancement of new technological inputs and new employer-employee relationship in the changing world. Many of the aspects are covered in the theory of modernisation and critical theory.

The theory of materialistic interpretation of history is also not free from the criticisms. Marx intended the theoretical scheme of historical materialism to have a universal character. But his researches were limited almost entirely to the 19th century capitalist society. Marx has given only fragmentary accounts of the other types of societies .Again, Seligman has criticised, Marx by stating that only economic factors are not responsible for the wars and conflicts.Other factors such as political conditions, religion, language, art and science are also equally responsible.

3.5 SOCIALIST PERSPECTIVE ON DEVELOPMENT: CONCEPT, WHAT IS SOCIAL PERSPECTIVE ON DEVELOPMENT, CRITICISM

Concept

Socialism is an economic and political system based on collective or state ownership of the means of production and distribution. Socialism as a doctrine, or some would say a utopia is generally agreed to have been spawned as a reaction to capitalism. Max Weber, saw in socialism an accentuation of the process of rationalization commenced under capitalism.

For the social perspective, development is a process of social change, not merely a set of policies and programs instituted for some specific results. Socialism for development is a concept to explain qualitative changes in the structure and framework of society. It emphasizes the view that inequality impairs growth and development, including poverty eradication efforts and that equality itself is instrumental for economic growth and development. It reminds world leaders that, in addressing inequalities, policy matters.

The socialist perspective on development poses a challenge to the capitalist perspective on development. Contrary to the capitalist perspective, the socialist perspective advocates to abolish private property ownership and private ownership of means of production. The socialist perspective focusses on state ownership of means of production and enterprises, and also emphasises on the development of a state controlled economy. It is

important to note here that in both the capitalist and socialist perspectives of development, the means and ends of the idea of development vary. Unlike the capitalist perspective, the socialist perspective on development emphasises on the equal and just distribution of the products of development process.

Criticism

The socialist perspective of development has been widely criticised for being utopian and not pragmatic in terms of its applicability. The ideals of equal distribution of resources amongst all, as advocated by the socialist perspective, has also been criticised for being unrealistic and unjust. It is to be noted here that the fall of the USSR further strengthened the scepticisms towards the socialist perspective of development. In USSR, the socialist model of development not only failed to deliver the desired result of establishing an egalitarian society, on the contrary there could be seen a rise in the several unhealthy socio-economic indicators like poverty, unemployment, etc.



3.6 LET US SUM UP

- Development can be defined as the process of advancement in terms of quality of human life.
- The concept of Development can be better understood with its perspectives. There are basically three perspectives - Liberal, Marxist and socialist.
- The concept of liberalism was developed in the 19th century in the west with the roots of the European Enlightenment.
- Liberal Ideology is for the individual freedom related to the state including economic, political and social field.
- Liberalism has provided a unique perspective of social, economic and political development. It offers a distinctive vision of society. It explains

about the freedom and the free competition in the field of economic, entrepreneurship, and the role of the state in the control of production and of free citizenship.

- Karl Marx was the most influential thinker of development in the 19th and 20th century.
- Marxism is a method of socioeconomic analysis that views class relations and social conflict using a materialist interpretation of historical development and takes a dialectical view of social transformation.
- Max Weber, saw in socialism an accentuation of the process of rationalization commenced under capitalism.
- For the social perspective development is a process of social change, not merely a set of policies and programs instituted for some specific results.



3.7: FURTHER READING

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What is meant by development?
2. What is liberalism for Locke?
3. How is Liberalism opposed to Socialism?
4. For Karl Marx, what are the two classes in society?
5. How Marx has been criticised for his Materialistic interpretation on History?
6. What is socialist perspective?
7. Write true or false:
   i) Liberal Ideology is particularly for the individual freedom.
   ii) Liberalism has its roots in the writings of the 19th century.

3.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. The concept development can be defined as the process of advancement in terms of quality of human life. It can be measure in terms of wealth, culture, education, healthcare, opportunities and can be many.

2. Liberalism for John Locke is the priority of individual rights to life, liberty and property, the elimination of coercive intervention by the state, which is taken as the prime violator of liberty.

3. Liberalism is opposed to the ideals of socialism. Liberalism offers a distinctive vision of society. It emphasises on freedom and the free competition in the field of economic, entrepreneurship aspects. Socialism focuss on the rle of the state in the control of production and distribution of resources.

4. Karl Marx has defined that there are two classes: the "dominant class", who own and control the means of production, and the sub-ordinate class, those who do not own means of production.

5. Marx intended the theoretical scheme of historical materialism to have a universal character. But his researches were limited almost entirely to the 19th century capitalist society. Marx has given only fragmentary accounts of the other types of societies.

6. Socialist perspectives is an economic and political system based on collective or state ownership of the means of production and distribution.

7. i) True.

   ii) False.



3.10: MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Short questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Mention some of the important perspectives on development?

Q 2: What is the main reason of class conflict according to Marx?

B) Long questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Define Development from the perspective of liberalism.

Q 2: Describe how liberalism has been criticised by the social thinkers.

Q 3: "Marxism is a method of socioeconomic analysis that views class relations and social conflict using a materialist interpretation of historical development and takes a dialectical view of social transformation." Explain.

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UNIT 4: PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT (II)

UNIT STRUCTURE

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4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- conceptualize what is development.
- understand the meaning of economic growth.
- know the meaning, origin and requirements of sustainable development.
- know the world conventions on sustainable development, its dimensions, issues arising and challenges faced by the process.
- understand the meaning, definition and origin of the concept of Eco-Feminism.

- know the different theories and criticisms to Eco-Feminism.

4.2 INTRODUCTION

Development is a buzz word of the world since the period following the Second World War. It is a social process affecting as well as wanted by both the rich and the poor nations. This unit gives an overview of the theoretical concept of development and the associated dimensions of it. Here an attempt is made to provide a conceptual analysis of the concept of development, its related concept of economic growth. Further the unit tries to focus on the paradigm shifts in the concept of development over the years. It also focuses on the concepts of sustainable development and eco feminism which have become the dominant paradigms in the development discourse in the contemporary times.

4.3 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT - MEANING AND DEFINITION

Sustainable development is a major approach that has dominated the development discourse in contemporary periods. This approach makes an attempt to combine growing concerns about a range of environmental issues with socio-economic issues. According to this paradigm, development cannot be simply growth and economy centric. But it has to bring a blend between growth, human development and environment. So it has to take into consideration environmental concerns to make development more yielding, lasting and effective.

Sustainable development has thus, the potential to address fundamental challenges for humanity, now and into the future. It tries to bring a synergy between humanity and environment. The approach insists environment is not external to humanity, but an integral part of it. So, development concerns should take into consideration environment issues. Thus, as an approach of development it is environment centric in character.

Sustainable Development implies economic growth together along with the protection of the environment, each reinforcing the other. Sustainable Development, thus, is maintaining a balance between the human need to improve lifestyles and feeling of well-being on one hand, and preserving natural resources and ecosystems, on which we and future generations depend.

The concept of sustainable development is the result of the growing awareness of the global links between mounting environmental problems, socio-economic issues like poverty and inequality, and concerns about a healthy future for humanity. It strongly links environmental and socio-economic issues. This process of bringing together environmental and socio-economic questions was most famously expressed in the Brundtland Report's definition of sustainable development as ‘‘meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs’’. This defines needs from a human standpoint. According to the The World Conservation Union, 1991, sustainable development may also be defined as "improving the quality of life while living within the carrying capacity of ecosystems".

Thus, sustainable development does not focus solely on environmental issues. More broadly, it encompasses the three general policy areas namely economy, environment and society. The Swiss 'Monitoring of Sustainable Development Project' in 2001, proposed the following definition: 'Sustainable development means ensuring dignified living conditions with regard to human rights by creating and maintaining the widest possible range of options for freely defining life plans. The principle of fairness among and between present and future generations should be taken into account in the use of environmental, economic and social resources. According to Robert Prescott Allen, who has been engaged in several projects in this field and has 18 years of experience in evaluating and advising development strategies on four continents, sustainability is just another way of saying

"the good life" as a combination of a high level of human well-being, and a high level of ecosystem well-being that supports it.

4.4 ORIGIN OF THE CONCEPT OF SUSTINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The first important use of the term was in 1980 in the World Conservation Strategy. The idea of sustainable development was very much embedded long ago in Malthus theory of population growth in late 1700s. But the term started gaining coinage in early 1970s following a range of key publications drawing attention to man's over exploitation of environment. Few literary publications gave a boost to the world's thinking on sustainable development. The key among them are: Rachel Carson's *The Silent Spring* (1962), Paul Erich's *How to be Survivor: A Plan to Save Spaceship Earth* (1971), Club of Rome's publication *The Limits to growth* (1972), Barbara Ward and Rene Dubos's *Only One Earth*(1972). Faced with the over-exploitation of natural resources that accompanied economic and demographic growth, the think tank known as the Club of Rome, created in 1968, advocated zero growth. In 1971, this private international association sounded an urgent alarm by publishing *The Limits to Growth.* Broadly speaking, it presents current economic development as being incompatible with the long-term protection of the planet.

4.5 WORLD CONVENTIONS ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The theoretical framework for sustainable development evolved between 1972 and 1992 through a series of international conferences and initiatives. The UN Conference on the Human Environment, held in Stockholm in 1972, was the first major international gathering to discuss sustainability at the global scale. The conference created considerable momentum, and a series of recommendations led to the establishment of the UN Environment Programme (UNEP) as well as the creation of numerous national environmental protection agencies at the national level.

The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm in 1972 gave birth to the first true notion of sustainable development, which was called 'eco development' in those days. In this conference personalities like Maurice Strong, Professor René Dubos, Barbara Ward and Ignacy Sachs cautioned about the integration of ecological concerns in economic planning. This resulted in the creation of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

The recommendations from Stockholm were further elaborated in the 1980 World Conservation Strategy, (a collaboration between the International Union for the Conservation of Nature, the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), and UNEP) which aimed to advance sustainable development by identifying priority conservation issues and key policy options. In 1980, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) published its world conservation strategy. This document is one of the original sources of the expression 'sustainable development'.

In 1983, the UN convened the WCED, chaired by Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland. Comprised of representatives from both developed and developing countries, the Commission was created to address growing concern over the "accelerating deterioration of the human environment and natural resources and the consequences of that deterioration for economic and social development." The term 'sustainable development' remained virtually unnoticed until its revival in the Gro Harlem Brundtland report 'Our Common Future', published in 1987. The report popularized the most commonly used definition of sustainable development: "Development that meets the needs of current generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". Since then, the concept of sustainable development has been accepted all over the world.

The Brundtland report provided the momentum for the landmark 1992 Rio Summit that laid the foundations for the global institutionalization of sustainable development. Marking the twentieth anniversary of the Stockholm Conference, the Earth Summit adopted the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development and Agenda 21, a global plan of action for sustainable development.

Three seminal instruments of environmental governance were established at the Rio Summit: the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), and the legally non-binding Statement of Forest Principles. Following a recommendation in Agenda 21, the UN General Assembly officially created the Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) later that year.

Since that time a number of important international conferences on sustainable development have been held-including the 1997 Earth Summit+5 in New York and the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg. The negotiations at the WSSD in 2002 demonstrated a major shift in the perception of sustainable development-away from environmental issues towards social and economic development. This shift was driven by the needs of the developing countries and strongly influenced by the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

4.6 OBJECTIVES OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Sustainable Development refers to the challenges of reducing global inequity and poverty, and promoting well-being, while reducing threats to the earth's systems from industrial production and consumption. Effective environmental care and management in relation to climate stability, other species and natural resources are the chief objectives of sustainable development. Three main objectives of sustainable development are:

- It should be socially desirable: It means development should fulfil people's cultural, material and spiritual needs in equitable ways.

- It should be economically viable: It implies that the costs of development should not exceed the output.

- It should be ecologically sustainable: It means maintaining long term viability for supporting the eco system.

4.7 REQUIREMENTS OF SUSTAINBLE DEVELOPMENT

Sustainable development implies the fulfilment of several conditions. These conditions are: preserving the overall balance, respect for the environment, and preventing the exhaustion of natural resources. Reduced production of waste and the rationalization of production and energy consumption must also be implemented. In order to be sustainable, development must combine three main elements: fairness, protection of the environment, and economic efficiency. A sustainable development project must be based on a better-developed mode of consultation between the community and the members it comprises. The success of such a policy also depends on consumers accepting certain constraints and citizens observing certain requirements with regard to transparency and participation. The concept of sustainable development is based on a set of requirements as discussed below.

- It must allow the basic needs of present and future generations to be fulfilled with regard to demographic constraints, such as: access to water, education, health, employment, and the fight against hunger or malnutrition.

- Another requirement of this type of development is to improve quality of life, which involves easier access to medical care, social services, culture, and therefore also social well-being.In addition, respect for rights and freedoms and the promotion of new forms of renewable energy such as wind, solar, and geothermal power, are important requirements of sustainable development.

- Sustainable development is required to allow the planet's resources and condition to be protected for future generations and natural assets to be shared.

- The concept of sustainable development also involves narrowing the gaps between rich and poor countries, insofar as these gaps, if maintained or accentuated, could be the cause of violent conflict, which by its very nature leads to regression rather than development.

4.8 DIMENSIONS OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The second half of the 1980s witnessed the development of three dimensions of sustainable development with the publication of the Brundtland Report (1987). The report enshrined them as the strategies to be adopted by local, national and global strategies for development. The Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit, 1992 established them as the three pillars of sustainable development. This is one of the most well-known models created using the three dimensions -Economy, Environment and Society.

However, the UNESCO argued that these are not the three key issues that affect the world today. It claimed that it is culture which to a great extent also determine and detect what people do. Local cultures which are a rich source of knowledge and creativity are in a process of extinction. So, it has to be included as a dimension of sustainable development. Accordingly, in November 2010, culture was included as the fourth dimension of sustainable development in World Summit of Local and Regional Leaders in the Third World Congress of UCLG, held in Mexico City. Today there are four dimensions to sustainable development. They are: society, environment, culture and economy - which are intertwined.

Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen gives the following dimensions for social sustainability:

- **Equity -** The community is to provide equitable opportunities and outcomes for all its members, particularly the poorest and most vulnerable members of the community.

- **Diversity -** The community is to promotes and encourage diversity.

- **Interconnectedness/Social cohesions -** The community is to provide processes, systems and structures that promote connectedness within and outside the community at the formal, informal and institutional level.

- **Quality of life -** The community is to ensure that basic needs are met and is to foster a good quality of life for all members at the individual, group and community level (e.g. health, housing, education, employment, safety)

- **Democracy and governance -** The community is to provide democratic processes and open, accountable governance structures.

- **Maturity -** The individuals are to accept the responsibility of consistent growth and improvement through broader social attributes (e.g. communication styles, behavioural patterns, indirect education and philosophical explorations)

Further, economic sustainability includes the following:

- **Growth-** It refers to an increase is conventional measures like Gross National Product (GNP) and Gross Domestic Product (GDP), etc.

- **Efficiency-** It is reflected in more efficient production and consumption of (mainly marketed) goods and services.

- **Stability-** It refers to the stability of prices and employment.

Again environmental sustainability gives coverage to the following:

It refers to the capacity to preserve over time the three basic functions of the environment: the resource supply function, the waste receiver function

and that of direct usefulness of the environment. In other words, environmental sustainability means the capacity to increase and bring up the value of the environment and its peculiarities, while assuring the protection and the renewal of natural resources. Environmental sustainability involves making decisions and taking actions that are in the interests of protecting the natural world, with particular emphasis on preserving the capability of the environment to support human life. Environmental sustainability is the ability to maintain the qualities that are valued in the physical environment. It demands the maintenance of human life, the capabilities that the natural environment has to maintain the living conditions for people and other species (e.g. clean water and air, a suitable climate), the aspects of the environment that produce renewable resources such as water, timber, fish, solar energy, the functioning of society, despite non-renewable resource depletion, the quality of life for all people, the liveability and beauty of the environment.

Cultural sustainability refers to the process of developing, renewing and maintaining human cultures that create positive, enduring relationships with other peoples and the natural world. Amartya Sen explains, "Cultural matters are integral parts of the lives we lead. If development can be seen as enhancement of our living standards, then efforts geared to development can hardly ignore the world of culture".

4.9 KEY ISSUES IN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The foregoing review of sustainable development concept, dimensions, reveal the key issues that arise repeatedly in debates about sustainability. These are:

- **Intergenerational Equity:** The most important concept in sustainable development is that each generation should have an equitable opportunity to meet its own needs. This is called inter-generational equity.
- **Types of Capital and Assets:** Sustainable development programs often encompass a broad range of different types of capital and assets. Capital

and assets are any store of value that can provide income, benefits, goods, services, or other things of value. They are typically categorized into three types:

a. Manufactured and Financial Capital: It includes buildings, highways stock and bond investments, the Permanent Fund, and any other form of financial or physical asset that we as humans have created or manufactured.

b. Human and Social Capital: People and communities also have stores of value that can be passed from one generation to the next. People embody human capital in the form of knowledge, education, skills, training and other valuable abilities. Communities and societies are stores of social capital in the form of traditions, customs, identity, organizations, laws, and institutions that are passed on to future generations as well.

c. Natural capital: It includes all aspects of the natural environment that provide income, services, resources, or benefits. Natural capital includes raw resources such as oil, timber, and fish. It includes life support services such as climate regulation, nutrient cycling, waste treatment, soil formation and other ecological processes that keep us alive. Natural capital also encompasses hunting, subsistence, and outdoor recreation resources as well as aesthetic and cultural benefits derived from nature.

- **Concept of well-being:** Sustainable development concept expands the traditional understanding of well-being to include the social and environmental well-being of people. Sustainable development programs typically define progress and well-being in broad terms that include measures of the health of the environment, communities, and the people living there. They argue that people need access to a healthy natural environment to meet their need for life support services and to ensure their physical health and well-being. They emphasize the need to sustain natural assets to preserve life support services and the need to conserve

natural resources that future generations will depend on for life. They also emphasize the social well-being of communities, cultures, and individuals. To help ensure social well-being, current and future generations should have access to the wealth offered by communities, institutions, and traditions. Besides accumulating financial wealth, creating jobs, and building physical infrastructure, we also need to ensure that the social institutions and human capital that sustain our communities are also passed on to future generations.

4.10 CHALLENGES TO SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Sustainable development encounters many challenges today. The prominent among them are:

- The world's population is growing rapidly and most of this growth is taking place in cities. Cities are particularly vulnerable to environmental challenges due to their high population density.
- Population growth, poverty and degradation of natural resources often fuel one another and pose a challenge to sustainable development.
- Increased demand and competition for scarce resources such as energy, water and food are putting upward pressure on resources and threatening sustainable development.
- Climate change and its potential impact also challenge sustainable development.
- Successive development and economic planning programmes have neither been thoroughly planned nor wholeheartedly implemented. Consequently, large segments of society remain economically deprived and socially marginalised. This has appeared as the greatest challenge to the notion of sustainable development.
- Globalization, removal of trade barriers, rapid and blind industrialization are negations to the concept of sustainable development.

- Growing consumerism is making people blind and they fail to foresee the needs of the future generation. Uncontrolled consumption of resources leads to resource depletion and challenges sustainable development.Technology driven culture undermines the significance of culture and disregards environment safety. This has posed a great challenge to sustainable development.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1. In which year the term "Sustainable Development" came into existence?

Q2. In which year& month the 4th Dimension of Sustainable Development was incorporated?

Q3. What does GNP stand for?

Q4. What does UNFCCC stand for?

4.11 ECOFEMINISM - MEANING AND DEFINITION

Ecofeminism is a theoretical, political, and educational movement that draws specific parallels between the domination of women and other marginalized groups, and the degradation of nature. While much of ecofeminist thought is focused on examining the interconnectivity between social and environmental injustices, ecofeminism is as vast and varied as its feminist and ecological roots. Given the global environmental and social crises currently sweeping the planet, ecofeminism offers important, albeit diverse, theoretical, practical, and pedagogical perspectives for developing effective responses to such interrelated crises. As such, scholars across a variety of disciplines are revisiting ecofeminist thought. In the field of education, ecofeminism is influencing the ways that we approach questions of justice by offering an intersectional framework that insists on recognizing the interconnected roots of racism, sexism, poverty, and other social

problems with ecological degradation. An ethics of care is woven throughout to form the basis of a pedagogy of responsibility whereby students learn to both critique these cultural foundations of violence and identify practices and relationships that help to create healthy sustainable communities.

As there are several different types of feminism and different beliefs held by feminists, there are different versions of ecofeminism. Charlene Spretnak has argued that there are three main 'paths' to ecofeminism, and that they draw in a diverse group of people, which strengthens any movement, such as: through the study of political theory as well as history, through the belief and study of nature-based religions, through environmentalism

According to Vandana Shiva, women have a special connection to the environment through their daily interactions and this connection has been ignored. She says that women in subsistence economies who produce "wealth in partnership with nature, have been experts in their own right of holistic and ecological knowledge of nature's processes". She makes the point that "these alternative modes of knowing, which are oriented to the social benefits and sustenance needs are not recognized by the capitalist reductionist paradigm, because it fails to perceive the interconnectedness of nature, or the connection of women's lives, work and knowledge with the creation of wealth". Shiva blames this failure on the West's patriarchy, and the patriarchal idea of what development is. According to Shiva, patriarchy has labelled women, nature etc. as "unproductive"

According to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary,(2010) Ecofeminism is defined as a ‘‘philosophical and political theory and movement which combines ecological concerns with feminist ones, regarding both as resulting from male domination of society". According to Webster's New World Encyclopaedia (2013), "Ecofeminism is a movement or theory that applies feminist principles and ideas to ecological issues."

4.12 ORIGIN OF THE CONCEPT OF ECOFEMINISM

The term "ecofeminism" is an intersection of two critical perspectives - ecology and feminism. It liberates political and social construction for those who abhor the designation of nature and women. The word 'ecology' derives from the biological science of natural environmental systems. It is a combined movement of socio-economic and biological study to examine how human use of nature is causing pollution of soil, air and water, and destructions of the natural systems which threatens the base of life. Feminism - a complex movement with multiple layers centralizes on full inclusion of women in both political and economic field against patriarchy, exploitation, oppression and violence against women.

The term ecofeminism was first coined by the French feminist Francois d'Eaubonne (1974). However during the 1970s there was not a coherent body of ecofeminist theory. Instead there were differing accounts that wove together a perceived interconnection between the domination of women and nature. For example, Rosemary Radford Ruether's *New Woman, New Earth- Sexist Ideologies and Human Liberation (1975),* Susan Griffin's *Women and Nature - The Roaring Inside Her (1978)* and Carolyn Merchant's, *The Death of Nature - Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution (1980).* However, they all provide important historical evidence for the Western association of women with nature. *Mary Daly's Gyn/Ecology (1979)* is sometimes framed this way also, and although D'Eaubonne influences her choice of title, this is not strictly speaking an ecofeminist text. In an activist context, the women's movement during the 1970s was clearly intertwined with a peace and environmental movement. Ecofeminism as an academic discourse did not develop until the mid to late 1980s The diversity of ecofeminism is illustrated by its geographical spread, having a significant academic and activist presence in the US, Canada, Northwest Europe, India and Australia.

Types of Eco-Feminism

There are two main types of Eco-Feminism. They are as follows:

a. Cultural Eco-Feminism

b. Constructive Eco-Feminism

The concept of cultural Eco-Feminism entairs the following:

- Women have an essential and distinctive connection to nature that men do not have.
- Women should recognize and celebrate these unique qualities, and we need a culture based on them.
- The earth is inherently feminine:

The concept of constructive Eco-Feminism can be comprehended as:

- The link between women and nature as a social construction.
- Culture has inculcated the "feminine" qualities in women and the "masculine" qualities in men.
- In many cases the socially constructed feminine qualities are superior to masculinism.

4.13 THEORISTS OF ECO-FEMINISM

The following account highlists some of the significant eco-teminist theories and their contributions to this field.

Judi Bari - Bari was a member of the Earth First movement and says she was targeted due to her womanhood.

Françoise d'Eaubonne - Called upon women to lead an ecological revolution in order to save the planet. This entailed revolutionizing gender relations and human relations with the natural world.

Greta Gaard - Greta Gaard is an American ecofeminist scholar and activist. Her major contributions to the field are the ideas of queer theory, vegetarianism, and animal liberation. Her major theories include ecocriticism which works to include literary criticism and composition to inform ecofeminism and other feminist theories to address wider range of social issues within ecofeminism. She is an ecological activist and leader in the U.S. Green Party, and the Green Movement.

Sallie McFague - A prominent ecofeminist theologian, McFague uses the metaphor of God's body to represent the universe at large. This metaphor values inclusive, mutualistic and interdependent relations amongst all things.

Carolyn Merchant - Merchant is historian of science who taught at Berkeley for many years. Her book The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution is a classic ecofeminist text.

Mary Mellor - Mellor is a UK based sociologist who moved to ecofeminist ideas from an interest in cooperatives. Her books - Breaking the Boundaries and Feminism and Ecology are grounded in a materialist analysis.

Maria Mies - Mies is a German social critic who has been involved in feminist work throughout Europe and India. She works particularly on the intersections of patriarchy, poverty, and the environment on a local and global scale.

Val Plumwood - Val Plumwood, formerly Val Routley, was an Australian ecofeminist intellectual and activist, who was prominent in the development of radical ecosophy from the early 1970s through the remainder of the 20th century. In her works "Feminism and the Mastery of Nature" she describes the relationship of mankind and the environment relating to an eco-feminist ideology.

Rosemary Radford Ruether - Ruether has written 36 books and over 600 articles exploring the intersections of feminism, theology, and creation care.

Ariel Salleh - Salleh is an Australian ecofeminist with a global perspective. Salleh is a founding editor of the journal *Capitalism Nature Socialism* and the author of two books and some 200 articles examining links with deep and social ecology, green politics and eco-socialism.

Vandana Shiva - Shiva is a physicist, author, activist, feminist and philosopher from India. She was a participant in the Chipko movement of the 1970s, which used non-violent activism to protest and prevent deforestation in the Garhwal Himalayas of Uttarakhand, India then in Uttar Pradesh.

Charlene Spretnak - Spretnak is an American writer largely known for her writing on ecology, politics and spirituality. Through these writings Spretnak has become a prominent ecofeminist. She has written many books which discuss ecological issues in terms of effects with social criticisms, including feminism. Spretnak's works had a major influence in the development of the Green Party. She has also won awards based on her visions on ecology and social issues as well as feminist thinking.

Starhawk - An American writer and activist, Starhawk is known for her work in spiritualism and ecofeminism. She advocates for social justice in issues surrounding nature and spirit. These social justice issues fall under the scope of feminism and ecofeminism. She believes in fighting oppression through intersectionality and the importance of spirituality, eco consciousness and sexual and gender liberation.

Douglas Vakoch - Vakoch is an American Eco critic whose. Some of Vakoch's works include *Ecofeminism and Rhetoric: Critical Perspectives on Sex, Technology, and Discourse* (2011), *Feminist Ecocriticism: Environment, Women, and Literature* (2012), and (with Sam Mickey) *Ecofeminism in Dialogue* (2018), *Literature and Ecofeminism: Intersectional and International Voices* (2018), and *Women and Nature, Beyond Dualism in Gender, Body, and Environment* (2018).

4.14 MOVEMENT OF ECO-FEMINISM

Ecofeminism which developed from the global feminist movement both have been affected by each other. Rachel Carson, an American marine-biologist, in one of her most famous books, *'Silent Spring'* (1962), aroused a heart-touching voice of conscience in protest against the pollution and degradation of nature. Carson's book sowed the seeds of the modern ecology movement that culminated in the nationwide Earth Day of 1970. A French feminist Francoise d'Eabonne has been credited with coining the word 'Ecofeminism' in 1974 in her book *"Feminism or Death"*(1980). Her book has in fact become a wake-up call for all women to lead an ecological revolution to save the planet Earth. Ecofeminism is a culmination of various social movements, for instance, the Feminist, Peace and the Ecology movements in the 1970s and 80s. The meltdown at Three-Mile Island in Pennsylvania, where large amount of radiation were released from the nuclear power plant, forced large number of women in the US to join together in the first ecofeminist conference - "Women and Life on Earth, a conference on ecofeminism in the 80s" in March 1980 at Amherst, Massachusetts. Ynestra King, a feminist theorist who was one of the organizers of the conference wrote: "Ecofeminism is about connectedness and wholeness of theory and practice. It asserts the spatial strength and integrity of every living thing. For us, the snail-darter is to be considered side by side with a community's need for water, the porpoise side by side with appetite for tuna and the creatures it may fall on with Skylab. We are a woman- identified movement, and we believe we have a special work to do in these imperil times. We see the devastation of the art and her beings by the corporate warriors, and the threat of nuclear annihilation by the military warriors, as feminist concerns. It is the same masculinist mentality, which would deny us our right to our own bodies and own sexuality, and which depends on multiple systems of dominance and state power to have its way." (King 1983: 10) Women thus became aware of the connectedness between patriarchal violence against women and nature. The Chipko movement in 1973 began in defense of the Himalayan forest and of the subsistence-

based economy pursued by women in harmony with nature. A noted Kenyan eco-feminist, recipient of Nobel Peace Prize in 2004, Wangari Maathai in 1977 set up the Green Belt Movement, a non- governmental organization in Kenya which focused to promote a positive image of women and their independence. It encouraged women to plant trees in order to combat deforestation and environmental degradation. However between 1980 and 1981, two important events made the movement popular on an international level: In Washington, about 2000 women protested against nuclear power in 1980 and in 1981 there was another protest held at the Greenham Common Missile base in England. One would never forget the incident on the night of 2nd and 3rd December, 1984, marked by the leakage of 40 tons of toxic gas from Union Carbide pesticides planned in Bhopal India, where women have been mostly affected. This was one of the world's worst industrial disasters. The Chernobyl disaster in 1986 provoked a spontaneous expression of women's outrage and resistance against these nuclear technologies and experiments. Thus, Carolyn Merchant in *'Earthcare: Women and the Environment* (1995)' writes that: "There is no simple relationship between the ways in which nature has been gendered both positively and negatively as female over the past two and a half millennia, and the roles of women in society. Nature has been revered as animate mother, feared and degraded an unpredictable witch, and plowed as virgin land. Yet forces such as the socialization of women and care takers nurturers, the degradation of women's livelihood and bodies, and the double burden borne by women as workers and homemakers in capitalist, socialist, and colonized countries have often propelled them to act to preserve both non-human nature and themselves (Merchant 1995:1). Nobel Laureate Svetlana Alexievich's *"Voices from Chernobyl: The Oral History of a Nuclear Disaster"* (1997), is considered to be the first book to furnish personal accounts of the tragedy from the affected people which reveals fear anger and uncertainty.

4.15 CRITIQUES OF ECO-FEMINISM

Various feminists have augmented their critique of domination on the basis of sex to include domination of nature as well. Francoise d' Eaubonne who envisioned the world 'eco-feminism' to describe this more holistic understanding of liberation, argued in 1974 that when the fate of the human species and of the living planet is at stake, "no male led revolution will counteract the horrors of overpopulation and destruction of natural resources" (Daly 1978: 9). For ecofeminism the central category of analysis is "nature", particularly the interrelated dominations of nature and of women. Though it is not a religious movement per se, it is interesting that Ecofeminists often quote the thought of a theologian, Rosemary Ruether, as foundation for their own: "Women must see that there can be no liberation for them and no solution to the ecological crisis within a society whose fundamental model of relationships continues to be one of domination. They must unite the demands of the women's movement with those of the ecological movement to envision a radical reshaping of the basic socio-economic relations and the underlying values of this society" (Ruether 1975: 204). Feminist scholars like Janet Biehl, Meera Nanda, Bina Agarwal, Cecile Jackson pointed out, this ecofeminist perspective is "ethnocentric, essentialist, blind to class, ethnicity and other differentiating cleavages, ahistorical and neglects the material sphere". Ecofeminist literature reveals the historical exploitation and domination of women and nature as victims in the name of development. It is however understood that any harm to nature harms women equally, as women are closer to nature. Moreover, none of the ecofeminist literature attempts to establish this connection through concrete evidence. It establishes the domination of women and nature mainly in ideology, thereby neglecting the "interrelated material sources of dominance based on economic advantage and political power" (Agarwal 1992:122) as well as the gender division of labour and distribution of opportunity. "The use of metaphors of women as 'nurturing'- like the earth, and of the earth as female abound are regressive rather than liberating women" (Biehl 1991:17). Moreover these arguments seem to overlook those

concepts of nature; culture and gender are ‘‘historically and socially constructed and vary across and within cultures and time periods’’ (Agarwal 1992: 123). This essentialism thus reveals women as an identical class both within countries and across nations. It "fails to differentiate among women by class, race, ethnicity and so on" (Agarwal 1992: 122). Few Ecofeminists disagree regarding the nature of the connections between women and nature and whether such connections are potentially liberating or reinforcing of the inferior or subordinate position of women. Here, Ecofeminists are conscious that the "standpoint consciousness" which categorizes feminist theory- liberal, radical or socialist- will also affect one's position concerning the domination of nature/woman. (Warren1987:9) Liberal feminism called "equal rights" feminism, "idealizes a society in which autonomous individuals are provided maximal freedom to pursue their own interests" (Warren 1987: 8). The liberation of women necessitated the annihilation of those legal and social constraints that prevent women from applying their right of self-determination. Though such questioning of "natural" roles or destinies has worked for women and other dehumanized peoples, Ynestra King argues that liberal feminism, with its individualist, rationalist, utilitarian bias, is the least able appropriately to address ecology, because it is by and large a white middle-class movement, concerned with the expansion of male power and privilege to women like themselves, not the fate of women as a whole (King 1983: 119).

In short, with regard to the connection between nature and women, liberal feminism's position involves rationalization and the ultimate is the domination of nature. However Marxist feminism point out how the economic system and the sex/gender system are reinforced in historically specific ways. Differences between men and women are social-constructions, not biologically given. Capitalism is result of patriarchy; women's liberation requires the end of both.The main problem for Ecofeminists is that while "socialist feminists have articulated a strong economic and class analysis they have not sufficiently addressed the domination of nature. Socialist feminists have addressed domination between persons, but they have not

seriously attended to the domination of either non-human nature or inner nature" (King 1983:128).Despite these limitations, the Ecofeminists working within the socialist fabric have much a lot of potential in considering the association or bond between gender and environment, consequently promoting an organic, holistic and inclusive perception of reality.



4.16 LET US SUM UP

- Sustainable Development allows the basic needs of present and future generations to be fulfilled with regard to demographic constraints, such as: access to water, education, health, employment, and the fight against hunger or malnutrition.

- Another feature of sustainable development is to improve quality of life, which involves easier access to medical care, social services, culture, and therefore also social well-being.In addition, respect for rights and freedoms and the promotion of new forms of renewable energy such as wind, solar, and geothermal power, are important requirements of sustainable development.

- The four major dimensions to sustainable development are: Culture, Society, Environment, Economy.

- Sustainable development is facing several challenges in present times, which include - poverty, population growth etc.

- The concept of Eco-Feminism highlights the intersectionality of ecology and feminism.

- Two major types of Eco-feminism are Cultural and Constructure Eco-feminism.



4.17 FURTHER READING

1) Karen J Warren, *Eco Feminist Philosophy,* Rowman &Littlefield Publisher, United State of America, 2000

2) Karen J Warren, *Eco Feminism Women Culture Nature,* Indiana University Press Pub. 1997

3) Mary Mellor, *Feminism & Ecology,* NYU Pub. 1997

4) Dutta Amitav Krishna (2014) *Pathways to Economic Development,* OxfordUniversity Press.

4.18 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No. 1: The term "Sustainable Development" came into existence in the year 1980.

Ans to Q No. 2: In November 2010, the 4th Dimension of Sustainable Development was incorporated.

Ans to Q No. 3: GNP stands for Gross National Product

Ans to Q No. 4: UNFCCC Stands for United Nation Framework Convention on Climate Change

4.19MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Who initiated the Chipko Movement?

Q 2: Who set up the Green Belt Movement? When?

Q 3: When did the Earth Summit take place?

B) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Make a critical analysis of Eco-Feminism.

Q 2: Discuss the challenges to Sustainable Development.

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UNIT 5: PATHS OF DEVELOPMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives

5.2 Introduction

5.3 Perspectives to understand development

5.3.1 What is Development?

5.4 Capitalist Path to Development

5.5 Socialist Path to Development

5.6 Mixed Economy and Development

5.7 Gandhian concept of Development

5.8 Sustainable Development

5.9 Let Us Sum Up

5.10 Further Reading

5.11 Answers to Check Your Progress

5.12 Model Questions

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- understand that there are varied perspectives to understand development
- understand the capitalist path to development
- understand the socialist path to development
- know the concept of Mixed Economy
- understand the analysis of Gandhian path to development
- critically analyse the pros and cons of each of these perspectives

5.2 INTRODUCTION

This unit seeks to explain the varied understandings of development through a systematic examination of its various meanings over the period of time. The module begins with the assumption that the concept of development, since its inception, has been dynamic in nature; and conferred different meanings and connotations at different periods of time. Second,

the module also asserts that development, in a sense has been 'reflexive' in nature; with its innate ability to adapt and change itself by accommodating the criticisms, reflections and challenges that were levied to it .Development is a well contested term in social sciences. The term means different things to academicians and social scientists. The definitions and indicators of development have therefore varied in different periods of history. For liberalist scholars, the understanding of development means improving the troika of economic, social and political conditions in a society. The socialist perspective blames the developed countries for the underdevelopment of countries in the third world. Several scholars trace the origin of the concept of development to American President Harry Truman's January 20, 1949 speech, where Truman announced the programme of development for the 'underdeveloped world' based on his democratic fair deal. Truman's doctrine envisioned to solve the problem of underdevelopment by way of replicating the features that characterized the advanced societies throughout the world. The problem of underdevelopment was perceived as something which could only be solved by imitating the paths travelled by then advanced nations of Western Europe and northern America, i.e. high levels of industrialization and urbanization, use of advanced technology in agriculture, rapid growth of material production, widespread adoption of modern education and cultural values.

5.3 PERSPECTIVES TO UNDERSTAND DEVELOPMENT

After World War II ended; there was a clamour for freedom in many colonies of the colonized world. In due course of time there were many countries which gained independence from their colonial masters including our own country-India. The process of decolonisation led to an economic reconstruction of the newly born nation states. Thus Economic development became the prime concern of the modern state .Arturo Escobar in his book *"Encountering Development: Making and Unmaking of the Third World"* writes, 'one of the many changes that occurred in the early post-World War II period was the "discovery" of mass poverty and underdevelopment in

Asia, Africa and Latin America'. These were the erstwhile colonies characterised by mass poverty and low quality of life marked by starvation deaths, famine and overall discontent. It was realized by then that around two-thirds of world population are living in conditions of acute hunger, which is at the same time cause and consequence of poverty, squalor and misery in which they live in. The persistent conditions of poverty and social unrest of the poor countries posed serious threat to world peace as well as prosperity of developed countries. Genuine world prosperity was perceived as indivisible, which cannot last in one part while other parts live in conditions of poverty and ill health. It is important to highlight here that the post-colonial understanding and treatment of poverty was quite different from that of colonial approach to poverty. Despite the colonial administration's efforts to enlighten the 'natives', no serious attempt was ever made for achieving economic development for the poor. In the post-colonial times, poverty was considered as a social problem, which required a new kind of intervention in society. The post-colonial treatment of poverty was conditioned by the belief that poverty could be eradicated by securing economic development of newly independent nations through economic and technological assistance from western world.The post-World War II period marked a profound transformation in world affairs, which conditioned emergence of the concept of 'development', as we understand it today. Three important characteristics of the period stand apart, which gave a shape to the programme of development worldwide. First, by the end of World War II, America has emerged as the undisputable leader of world affairs with its economic opulence and military pre-eminence. Second, parallel to the privileged position of United States, there were rising socialist regimes in Eastern Europe and successful march of communists to power in China and Soviet Russia. Third, in the context of cold war and the ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism, the old colonial systems of exploitation and control were becoming untenable leading to decolonization of erstwhile colonial nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This geo-political realignment of the world put in firm place three fold divisions of the

world: the first world, i.e. the free (capitalist) industrialized nations of Western Europe and north America; the second world, i.e. the communist industrialized nations; and the third world, i.e. non-industrialised nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

It is in this geo-political representation of the world, that development emerged as a 'grand strategy for advancement of West - East (i.e. capitalist - socialist) rivalry and lent legitimacy to the enterprise of modernization and development of the third world' (Escobar, 1995: 34). The cold war between two great ideologies and two great forms of economic transformation - capitalism and socialism - undoubtedly played an important role in conforming the strategy of development in the third world. The fear of communist expansion and the night-mare of losing access to raw-material and booming markets of the non-industrial third world became one of the most compelling arguments extending financial assistance and technology under the banner of the mega project of 'development'. The capitalist West had realized by early 1950s that if poor countries were not rescued from their poverty and underdevelopment, they would succumb to communism. Development was perceived as an effective instrument, which would help in successfully establishing US hegemony over the under-developed third world. Escobar mentions that besides the geo-politics of mid-20th Century, two other factors were crucial that influenced the formation of the new strategy of development: advancements in science and technology, and the increased experience with public interventions with economy. The advancements in science and technology, especially during the war years, gave legitimacy to the new discourse of development with its promise of modernizing the underdeveloped world. American President Truman's democratic fair deal of early 1950s also emphasized transfer of modern technology and capital from the economically developed nations to the underdeveloped world. It was believed that application of technology to the underdeveloped world 'would provide progress at a lower price' (Escobar, 1995: 36).

The early years of development emphasized to a great extent on the need for some sort of planning with active state intervention in economy. The experience of social planning of the 'new deal' programme in America and the influence of Keynesian economics strengthened the idea of development of the underdeveloped world with active state intervention and external financial assistance.

The factors discussed above, in a broad sense, were most important in conditioning and shaping the emergence of current discourse of development. A deeper insight into the past of the developed world and its comparison with their then economic opulence, not only emphasized possibility of transformation of the underdeveloped world, but also its desirability and inevitability through the programme of development. It was firmly believed that by tracing the paths of progress of the capitalist (developed) world, sooner or later the poor countries would become rich, and the underdeveloped world would definitely be developed

5.3.1 What is Development

The emergence of the concept of development in mid-20th century was not only an American dream of achieving world prosperity, but also was a product of its own time . The period immediately following World War II witnessed a drastic realignment of relations between the rich and the poor world, with the ascendancy of United States as the dominant power of the capitalist world on the one hand, and concomitant consolidation of communist power by Soviet Union on the other. The then newly independent nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America had one of two choices at that time: either to dissociate their national liberation movement from the framework of world capitalism, and join hands with the socialist/communist revolution; or to associate their national liberation with institutions and international framework of world capitalism (Alavi and Shanin, 1982). Development, as a project of specific intervention through active financial assistance and technological transfer from the then advance nations, pertained to those nations who adopted the second type of choice mentioned

above. In the last six and half decades of developmental history, both negative and positive connotations of the meaning of development have surfaced. In the introduction to the book *'The Development Dictionary',* Wolfgang Sachs writes, 'the epoch [of development] is coming to an end. The time if ripe to write its obituary……The lighthouse [of development] shows cracks and is starting to crumble. The idea of development stands like a ruin in the intellectual landscape. Delusion and disappointment, failures and crimes, have been the steady companions of development, and they all tell a common story: it did not work' (Sach, 1992). In a sharp departure from such a pessimism about the future of development, Daphne Thuvesson, in an editorial to a community forestry newsletter has written, 'As the existing systems crumble around us, new and exciting alternatives are sprouting up in the rubble' (Thuvesson 1995). Sach's pessimism and Thuvesson's optimism point towards the contested, complex and ambiguous meanings of development. Alan Thomas (2000) refers to the meaning of development as: (1) a vision, description or measure of the state of being of a desirable society; (2) a historical process of social change in which societies are transformed over long periods; and (3) a deliberate effort aimed at improvement on the part of various agencies, including governments, all kinds of organizations and social movements.

Duffield (2006) defines development as 'a set of bio-political compensatory and ameliorative technologies of security that define and act upon non-insured populations to improve resilience by strengthening self-reliance'.

According to Hettne (2008), 'development in the modern sense implies international social change in accordance with societal objectives'.

Nederveen Pieterse (2001) defines development as 'the organized intervention in collective affairs according to a standard of improvement'.

Woolcock (2009) defines development as 'the internal and external processes that shape, in a given society or for a particular social group, the

welfare, justice and opportunities of its members, but especially its poorest and most marginalised'.

While these definitions may have their individual specificities, one common feature among them is the idea that development connotes the notion of change, improvement and welfare. Thus one can conclude that economic development has been the central concern since last seven decades in world. What though needs to be pointed out is that there are varied perspectives on how to understand the problem and provide solutions thus to foster development in the third world countries.

5.4 CAPITALIST PATH TO DEVELOPMENT

As already discussed, post world war -II saw adverse set of responses to the industrial and political rise of the West and Southern Europe and North America on the one side, and Russia and communist states on the other, alongside the stagnation of a vast number of nations with low productivity, industrial backwardness and poverty which gave rise to the First, Second and developing world models of development respectively, i.e., Capitalist, Socialist and developing world.

The capitalist model of development is characterized by provision of private ownership of property and means of production, minimum state control on economic enterprises, and a free economy regulated by competition. The developmental model also emphasizes sustained growth and modernization with massive state investment at the takeoff stage.

From the view of this perspective, "economic development would revolve around Industrialization and the transfer of an underemployed rural labour force to the more productive occupations in the urban industrial sector. The state would have to mobilize domestic and foreign saving to create an investment pool from which it could finance a programme of directed industrial development."(Corbridge 1995:2).The First World model of development, however, encountered several challenges with the expansion of the socialist model of development represented by the Second World.

The socialist model was contradictory to the capitalist model of development as it propagated the abolition of ownership of private property and means of production, emphasised state ownership of means of production, state-owned public enterprise, and a state regulated economy and centralized planning by the state for economic growth. While both the capitalist and the socialist models laid primary emphasis on economic growth, the socialist model also emphasized on the equal distribution of the fruits of growth among all sections of the population.

The developing world is represented by the ex-colonial, newly independent and non-aligned countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are industrially backward. Indeed the developing world development perspectives are caught between the conflicting ideologies of the First and Second world. These countries represented a diverse variety in terms of their socio-cultural and political setting and historical experiences and levels of technological and economic development.

However, notwithstanding these variations these countries are economically and technologically underdeveloped, and are undergoing the process of nation-building and fast social transformation in the post-colonial era. As against these backdrops, these countries have been experimenting with diverse models of development. For example, India has followed the path of "mixed economy" by adopting a path of development in between the capitalist and socialist models.

5.5 SOCIALIST PATH TO DEVELOPMENT

The Socialist model of development is a general model in which several socialist thinkers advocate several different views about development goals and means. Some socialists accept democratic means for securing socialist goals of development. The idea of a society that would allow for the full development of human potential has always been the goal of socialists. In his early draft of the Communist Manifesto, Friedrich Engels asked, "What is the aim of the Communists?" He answered, "To organize society in such

a way that every member of it can develop and use all his capabilities and powers in complete freedom and without thereby infringing the basic conditions of this society." Marx summed it all up in the final version of the Manifesto by saying that the goal is "an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all." Our goal, in short, cannot be a society in which some people are able to develop their capabilities and others are not; we are interdependent, we are all members of a human family. The full development of all human potential is our goal.However, the Marxist Socialists and the Revolutionary Socialists advocate revolutionary means and a centralized system of economic and political relations for rapid industrialization, progress and development.

The Marxist Socialist model rejects the capitalist-liberal model of development. The communist states like the USSR (1917-1990), Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, East Germany, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba used a centralized command economic system as the means for development.

They placed full emphasis upon the social and economic rights, particularly the right to equality and social justice. They advocated socialization of means of production and distribution for rapid socio-economic development. Industrialization was held to be the means but it was to be pursued by ensuring the protection of the interests of the workers and common people.

Control of the communist state over the process of industrialization and development was held to be an essential condition for development. Such a state was regarded as the supreme agency for ensuring education, health and social security for the masses. Little emphasis was however placed on the civil and political rights of the people.

However, in 1980s the Socialist/Marxist model of development was found to be weak and unproductive. Around 1985-1991 the economies and polities of all the socialist states began collapsing. They found it essential to adopt

political and economic liberalization of their societies, polities and economies.

All these states decided to adopt liberalization, privatization, democratization and competitiveness as the means for growth, stability and development. The Socialist model of development suffered a big decline in its popularity and liberal-democratic-capitalist model got a new universal acceptance and popularity.

Democratic-Socialist Model of Development:

This model advocates development through the securing of socialist goals by using democratic means. India and several other Third World countries decided to adopt this model. In fact, these states combined the democratic socialist model and welfare state model for rapid industrialization, economic growth and development. Organised planning and democratic process of politics were adopted by them.

However, the actual operation of this model of development also proved to be inadequate for securing the goal of rapid socio-economic- political development. Bureaucratic inefficiency, corruption, faulty planning priorities and slow growth led to an inadequate success in all areas of development.

In the last decade of 20th century, these states also decided to go in for liberalisation, privatisation, competition, market economy and globalisation. These began registering some rapid development by using the new model. However, this model of development has also started showcasing some limitations and dangers of privatisation and globalisation.

It has started acting as a source of commercialization of human relations and even commercialization of education, healthcare and social service sectors. A need for reforms and changes is currently being designed and adopted, particularly for meeting the pressures resulting from global economic recession.

5.6 MIXED ECONOMY AND DEVELOPMENT

A mixed economy is variously defined as an economic system blending elements of market economies with elements of planned economies, free markets with state interventionism, or private enterprise with public enterprise.This meaning of a mixed economy refers to a combination of market forces with state intervention in the form of regulations, macroeconomic policies and social welfare interventions aimed at improving market outcomes. According to Douglas Brown there are in general two broad yet distinguishable definitions of 'mixed economy': a political definition and an apolitical definition. The political definition refers to the degree of state intervention in what is basically a market economy. The political definition of 'mixed economy' precludes extending it to non-capitalist systems. The apolitical definition of 'mixed economy' generally refers to the mix of public and private ownership forms. Here, 'mixed economy' itself does not specify a political form. It means an economy characterized by a combination of public and private ownership as well as planning and markets. The concept of mixed economy represents a middle position between the two extreme type of economies- capitalist economy and socialist economy. One main characteristic of a mixed economy is the ownership of goods by both private and government/state-owned entities. For the economy to be mixed, the government can control some parts but not all. For example, the government may control health care and/or welfare in some mixed economy countries The concept of mixed economy is flexible and has its own means and methods of approaching economic, political and social issues. India is regarded as a good example of a mixed economy. The Indian economy is the world's twelfth largest according to market exchange rates. It is also the fourth largest economy by purchasing power parity (PPP) basis. From 1947 to 1991, the India economic system was based on social democratic-based policies. The features of a mixed economy which exist in India are:

(a) Both private and public ownership of means of production: This is observed in most of the agricultural, industrial and service sectors.

(b) Important role of market mechanism: Market forces of demand and supply have a free role in determining the price of the commodity.

5.7 GANDHIAN MODEL OF DEVELOPMENT

The Gandhian perspective of development, for analytical purposes, needs to be located in the general theoretical framework of humanist and moralist social philosophy which Gandhiji not only spoke about but also practised. The two central distinguishing features of Gandhian perspective on development can be stated as [i] Self-development over material prosperity and [ii] development of villages in a holistic fashion that would include strengthening of rural industries.Gandhian model of development is based upon the following salient features:

[i] Gandhian Model is totally different from Western materialistic model of development. It gives place of primacy to moral development and ethical view of socio-economic-political development. Truth and non-violence are advocated as the basis of all human activities and decisions.

[ii] It stands for complete decentralization of functions and powers with each village acting as a self-regulating and self-sufficient unit of development.

[iii] Development must ensure food, clothing, shelter, education and employment for all.

[iv] Strong reservation about mechanization and industrialisation. Machines deprive human beings of employment and industrialization generates consumerism and profiteering. Industrialization must be based upon the use of manpower and its aim should be to meet the primary basic needs of all the people.

[v] Emphasis upon cottage industries, handicrafts, agriculture and labour.

[vi] Total emphasis upon social equality, non-violence, truthful living, social responsibilities, dignity of labour and moral and spiritual happiness. Development has to be measured on the scale of happiness and not consumerism and profit-making.

[vii] All development must ensure environmental health and happiness.

[viii] Gandhian view of a developed state is a peaceful, happy, non-violent state based on morality and respect for the equal dignity, worth and needs of all the people of society. .

The critics of this model hold it to be an idealist model which cannot be really used. However, the supporters of the presently popular model of sustainable development appreciate the value of Gandhian Model of Development.

5.8 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT MODEL

The significance and consequences of the current perspective and model of development can be easily comprehended by the numerous social, environmental and economic indicators that can be seen. Unprincipled and over-exploitation of natural resources; Air, Water, Soil and Sound Pollution; climate change and its adverse effect on human life; increase in radiation levels; depletion of ozone layer; and disturbances and pressures on the eco-systems, all have amply demonstrated the fact that the past socio-economic development has not been a real development.

Its human cost has been excessively high. It has created a situation of a social-economic-environmental imbalance. It has made it essential for us to work for securing social sustainability, economic sustainability and environmental sustainability. i.e. Sustainable Development. The greatest need of the hour is to put in comprehensive and coordinated efforts for securing development which is socially, economically and environmentally stable and enduringly sustainable.

The Sustainable Development Model is the approach to development which seeks to generate present growth without in any way disturbing and limiting the quality of life for future generations. It focuses attention upon the need to maintain a necessary, healthy, productive and enduringly sustainable balance between human needs, natural resources and features, and eco-systems.

These are to be developed and made to sustain and reinforce each other. The Brundtland Report defines Sustainable Development as: "Development that meets the needs of present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs".

Main Dimensions of Sustainable Development:

The concept of Sustainable Development is very comprehensive. It contains within itself several dimensions of development. It is to secure social economic and environmental development. It includes the concept of sustainable population levels, poverty alleviation, socioeconomic justice, social development, economic development, environmental protection, prevention, control and abatement of pollution, securing of balanced ecosystems and biodiversity, conservation and systematic use of natural resources, development and use of eco-friendly technologies, meeting the challenge resulting from climate change, and securing the needs of present without in any way limiting or harming the ability of the future generations to meet their needs. All these dimensions of Sustainable Development are emphasized by a large majority of the contemporary supporters of the model.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: State one characteristic of a 'mixed economy'.

Q 2: Mention one characteristic feature of the capitalist mode of development.

Q 3: Which model of economic development has India adopted?



5.9 LET US SUM UP

- Generally, the term 'development' is used and understood in terms of economic development. But it is more than purely economic and physical. It is directly related with satisfaction which may have little or nothing to do with objective statistical measures, such as GNP, GDP or per capita income.

- Economic development with no concern for social development is dubbed as 'development without human face'.

- 'Social development is the process of planned institutional change to bring about better adjustment between human needs and aspirations on the one hand and social policies and programmes on the other' This module attempted to examine the ideas and ideologies of development through an exploration of different meanings and connotations of the concept.

- We began with an examination of the geo-politics of mid-20th Century, which explained the role of decolonisation, World War II, Cold War and rising powers of United States of America (USA) in shaping the meaning as well as the practice of the concept. Having originated in the geo-political atmosphere of decolonisation and cold war, development in the early 1950s was conceptualised as economic growth. However, with the increasing criticisms of the growth approach, the concept of development became more inclusive to accommodate concerns of justice, redistribution (equity), education, health, and other non-economics parameters into it

- The divergent meanings and perspectives to the concept of development notwithstanding; we may, for the analytical purpose, conceptualise the term development by delimiting its scope to three most important aspects: (a) development as a long-term process of structural societal transformation, (b) development as a short-to-medium outcome of

desired targets, and (c) development as a discourse of dominant western modernity.

- The capitalist model of development is characterized by provision of private ownership of property and means of production, minimum state control on economic enterprises, and a free economy regulated by competition.

- The democratic-socialist model of development advocates development through the securing of socialist goals by using democratic means.

- Mixed economy refers to a combination of market forces with state intervention in the form of regulations, macroeconomic policies and social welfare interventions aimed at improving market outcomes.

- The Sustainable Development Model is the approach to development which seeks to generate present growth without in any way disturbing and limiting the quality of life for future generations.



5.10 FURTHER READING

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5.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Ownership of goods is both by the private and the state entities in a mixed economy.

Ans to Q No 2: The Capitalist mode of development emphasises on the private ownership of means of production.

Ans to Q No 3: Mixed model

5.12 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q1:Define Sustainable Development.

Q2:Define development.

Q3:What is meant by the 'democratic-socialist model of development' ?

B) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q1:Critically examine the evolving perspective on development.

Q2:Explain how in Gandhian perspective economic progress is not real progress.

Q3:Distinguish between the capitalist and the socialist models of development.

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UNIT 6: MODERNIZATION THEORIES

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives

6.2 Introduction

6.3 Understanding Modernization theory

6.3.1 Giddens' theory of modernity

6.3.2 Rostow's theory of modernization development

6.4 Meaning of the terms modern and modernization

6.5 Historical context of modernization theories

6.6 Modernization and Globalization

6.7 Let us sum up

6.8 Further Reading

6.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

6.10 Model Questions

6.1 LEARNIING OBJECTIVES

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

- understandthe modernization theories
- discuss Giddens' theory of modernity and dependency theory
- know what is modern and modernity
- understand the history of modernization theories
- comprehend the relationship between modernization and globalization

6.2 INTRODUCTION

Modernization is understood as a process which indicates the adoption of the modern ways of life. But it can be better understood with the help of its theories. In this unit we will discuss about the contribution of Anthony Giddens on modernity. Apart from discussing the theoretical concept of modernization, this unit analyses the meaning of modern and modernization. This unit also discusses the historical context of modernization theories along with the relations between modernization and globalization.

6.3 UNDERSTANDING MODERNIZATION THEORY

Modernization theory is used to explain the process of modernization within societies. It attempts to identify the social variables that contribute to social progress and development of societies and seeks to explain the process of social evolution. Modernization theory is a theory used to explain the process of modernization that a nation goes through as it transitions from a traditional society to a modern one. The theory has not been attributed to any one person; instead, its development has been linked to American social scientists in the 1950s.

Marxist have theorised the theory of modernization, as nations developed, adopting a communist approach to governing, such as eradicating private property, would end conflict, exploitation, and inequality. Economic development and social change would lead developing nations to develop into a society much like that of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the capitalist version of modernization theorized that as nations developed, economic development and social change would lead to democracy. Many modernization theorists of the time, such as W. W. Rostow, argued that when societies transitioned from traditional societies to modern societies, they would follow a similar path. They further theorized that each developing country could be placed into a category or stage of development.

Other modernization theorist, such as Samuel Huntington, argued that social mobilization and economic development were the driving forces behind modernization. Increased social mobilization meant that individual and societal groups changed their aspirations. Increased economic development meant that the capabilities of the newly modern society would change. Huntington argued that these societal changes would inevitably lead to democratization.

Most of the classical sociologists were engaged in an analysis and critique of modern society which is clear in the works of Marx, Weber, Durkheim and Simmel. As we move into the 21st century, it is obvious that

today's world is a very different place. The issue is whether the changes in the world are modest and continuous with those associated with modernity or are so dramatic and discontinuous that the contemporary world is better described by a new term, "postmodern." The conceptual framework of social science and the historical legacy of Enlightenment rationality have been challenged by new postmodern knowledge, which contends that reason is a form of illegitimate power that marginalises and excludes cultural vocabularies that do not conform to its categories. As per Giddens, in order to understand and conceptualise contemporary society, a new sociological theory capable of grasping its complexity is required.

6.3.1 Giddens Theory of Modernity

For Giddens in order to understand and conceptualise contemporary society, we need a new sociological theory capable of grasping its complexity. He describes the modern world as a "juggernaut". Modernity in the form of a juggernaut is extremely dynamic; it is a "runway world" with great leaps in the page, scope and profoundness of change over prior systems. Giddens defines modernity in terms of four basic institutions. The first is capitalism, which is featured by commodity production, private ownership of capital and a class system derived from these characteristics. The second is industrialism, which involves the use of inanimate power sources and machinery to produce goods. The third is surveillance capacities which defined the supervision of the activities of subject populations in the political sphere. The fourth is military power, or control of the means of violence, including the industrialisation of war.

According to Giddens, modernity is given dynamism by three essential aspects:

i) **Time-space separation:** With modernization, time was standardised. In large part, social interaction does not take place at the same time and in the same place. Relationships with those who are physically

absent and increasingly distant become more and more likely. New technological measures also call for expansion of our space locale. The modern rational organisation, for example, has been able to connect the local and global in new ways. A modern company can function because it has been possible to break the time-space connection.

ii) **Disembedding of social system:** Earlier the institutions and actions of society were embedded in the local community. The condition has changed because social relations are lifted out of the local interaction context by disembedding mechanisms. Giddens distinguishes between two types of dissembedding mechanisms which contribute to the development of modern institutions. One is symbolic tokens and the other one is expert systems. Together these are called abstract systems. Money is an example of a symbolic token. It represents a value that can be later used to purchase new goods. On the other hand the most obvious expert systems involve professionals like physicians.

iii) **Reflexivity of Modern society:** According to Giddens, reflexivity, the third contributing factor in society's profound process of transformation, is of two forms. The first is general feature of all human action. The second type of reflexivity is unique to modernity. Modern society is experiencing reflexivity at both the institutional and personal levels, and this is decisive for production and change in modern system and modern forms of social organization. Giddens defines reflexivity as institutions and individuals' regular and constant use of knowledge as the conditions for society's organization and change. With the expansion of the time-space dimension, the social practices are constantly investigated and changed on the basis of newly acquired information. Today we reflect on tradition and act in accordance with it only if it can be legitimized by reflexivity.

Although we can conclude with Giddens' view that modernity's culture of incessant reflexivity creates a post-traditional social world. As modernity spreads throughout the globe, it encourages the rise of expert, abstract

systems of knowledge, represented by the social and natural sciences. These expert systems encourage constant change and reflexivity, which separates time and space from their particular context, re-embedding them in new ones. He also views new social movements, as integral to the texture of modern life.

6.3.2 Rostow's theory of modernisation development

Walt Rostow was an American economist and political theorist. According to Rostow, the term modernization theory refers to a theory which states that development in developing worlds can be attained through following the processes of development that are used by currently developed nations.It is a social economic theory which is sometimes known as the development theory. It usually highlights the positive role played by those countries that are developed in modernizing and facilitating sustainable development in those countries that are less developed and it often contrasted to dependency theory. This means that for development to occur in underdeveloped countries there is need to for developed countries to provide aid to developing countries to enable them to learn from their own progress. It looks at the state to be the central actor in bringing about modernization in societies that are backward.

Therefore, Walt Rostow postulated a five stage model of development that will be applicable to all the countries. This model was vital in the sense that it is concerned with the idea that a country is able to develop economically by focusing on the resources that are in short supply. It will enable them to expand beyond local industries to reach global market and finance the country's further development to bring about economic growth. Following are the five stages of Rostow's model of development.

First stage: Traditional society stage

The first stage is known as the Traditional Society which is associated with the country that has not yet developed. It is important to understand that this stage of development is concerned with societies that have a pre

scientific understanding of gadgets. This means that the society and the people in such a society are in a condition of fatalism. It is also important to understand that the states as well as the farmers in traditional society are aware of various irrigation methods and the expansions in order to improve agricultural output levels. There is also a challenge in the changes of the size due to crop failures, earthquakes, and epidemics such as plague and trade fluctuations due to trade or instability.

Second stage: Economic Growth

The second stage of development or economic growth is called the pre condition for taking. For Rostow, the changes in this stage are fundamental in nature in the socio political structure and production technique. It is characterized by the massive development of mining industries, increase in capital use in agriculture, necessity of external funding and some growth in savings and investments. It also consists of certain dimensions that are associated with the transition from traditional society through different conditions to the take off phase.

It is the stage in which agriculture is commercialized and mechanized to bring about technological advancement and growth in entrepreneurship activities. The main focus of this stage is to ensure that investment levels are above 5% of the national income depending on various sectors of the economy. The agricultural activities play an important role in the process of transition or development.

Third stage: Take off

The third stage is called the take off stage of development which is sometimes called the economic take off. It is characterized by dynamic economic growth due to sharp stimulus of economic, political or technological in nature. The main focus of this stage is the aspect of self sustained growth. It is important to understand that this stage occurs whenever the sector led growth becomes common and society is driven more by economic processes than traditions. The growth or economic

progress becomes a normal trend or situation in these societies because those factors that were affecting or limiting growth are removed. There is an increase in industrialization, further leading growth in savings and investments. There is a decline in the number of employees in agriculture and there is an increase in entrepreneurship .It is also important to understand that once take off has taken place a country will take as long as fifty to one hundred years to reach maturity as was the case with the industrial revolution.

Fourth stage: Drive to maturity

The fourth stage after the take off stage is the drive to maturity which is concerned with the extension of modern technology over other sectors of the economy or society. Drive to maturity stage refers to the period when a country has affectively applied the range of modern development. It is important to understand that during this stage the economy finds its place in the international economy and those goods that were imported begin to be produced locally. In this stage growth becomes self sustaining in the sense that wealth generation activities enable further investment in value adding industry and new requirements for import are developed .It is generally an improvement on the take off whose economy focused relatively on narrow complex of industry and technology and the economy of the maturity stage extends its range into a more refined and technologically often more complex processes.

Fifth stage: High mass consumption

The Fifth and final stage is called the age of high mass consumption where the leading sectors in the society shift towards durable consumers goods and services. The consumers focus on durable goods and hardly remember the subsistence activities of other stages. It is characterized by an increase in per capita income, changes in the structure of the working force including those working in the offices or factories and an increase in the desire to benefit from the consumption fruits of a mature economy. In

this age of high mass consumption the society is able to choose between concentrating on military and security issues, on equality and welfare issues or developing luxuries for its upper class. It is important to understand that each country in this state of position chooses its own balance between these goals. There is a desire to develop an egalitarian society and that the country in this stage seeks to determine its uniqueness and the factors that are affecting it are political, geographical and cultural structures and also values present in its society.

It is therefore true to say that education has an important and direct relationship in addressing each of the five stages of modernization theory or economic development in any given society or country .This means that education plays an important role in these five stages of economic growth propounded by Walt Rostow in order to bring about desired development.

Rostows stages of economic development are very important in the sense that every society is supposed to go through all the five stages of development. These stages or transition periods happen at varying lengths from country to country and even from region to region. They are important in the sense that they foster economic self reliance for the development of all sectors to bring about modernization. Education is also considered to be a pre requisite of the development of any society.

6.4 MEANING OF THE TERMS MODERN AND MODERNIZATION

In the simplest form, the modern implies the up-to-date, a current development, or, better still, a spirit in step with its own time. The term used to characterize the stage in the history of social relations, dating roughly from the end of the 18th century, that is characterized by the democratic and industrial revolutions. Strong arguments can be made to the effect that Sociology as a discipline developed as a response to the advent and challenges of modernity. Modernity is typically contrasted with traditional

form of society, like Durkheim's contrast between mechanical and organic solidarity.

In sociology modernization is the transformation from traditional, rural and agrarian society to a secular, urban and industrial society. In fact, "Modernization" is understood as a process which indicates the adoption of the modern ways of life and values.

Today the term "Modernization" is understood as an attempt, on the part of the people, particularly those who are custom-bound, to adopt themselves to the present time, conditions, styles, and ways in general. It indicates a change in people's food habits, dress habits, speaking styles, tastes, choices, preferences, ideas, values, recreational facilities and so on. "The scientific and technological inventions have brought about remarkable changes in the whole system of social relationship and installed new ideologies in the place of traditional ones.

6.5 HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF MODERNIZATION THEORIES

Modernization theory originated from the ideas of Max Weber , which provided the basis for the Modernization paradigm developed by Talcott Parsons. The term was used to characterize the stage in the history of social relations, dating roughly from the end of the 18th century, that is characterized by the democratic and industrial revolutions. Parsons refers to a "structural differentiation which is a process may be triggered in many different ways, but which is most likely to be initiated by changes in either technology or values. The current Modernization theory originated with the ideas of Max Weber regarding the role of rationality and irrationality in the transition from traditional to modern society. Modernisation theory not only stresses the process of change, but also the responses to that change. It also looks at internal dynamics while referring to social and cultural structures and the adaptation of new technologies. The basic principles of Modernisation theory can be derived from the idea of progress, which

emerged in the 18th century Enlightenment with the idea that people themselves could develop and change their society. The French philosopher Marquis de Condorcet was involved in the origins of the theory with the idea that technological advancements and economic changes can enable changes in moral and cultural values". Modernisation theory emerged further in the late 19th century and was especially popular among scholars in the mid-20th century. One notable advocate was Harvard sociologist Talcott Parsons whose *'Mandarins of the Future'* (2003) stressed the importance of societies remaining open to change and saw reactionary forces as restricting development. Maintaining tradition for tradition's sake was thought to be harmful to progress and development.

The Progressives in the United States in the early 20th century were avid modernisers. They believed in science, technology, expertise-and especially education-as the grand solution to society's weaknesses. Characteristics of progressivism included a favourable attitude toward urban-industrial society, belief in mankind's ability to improve the environment and conditions of life, belief in obligation to intervene in economic and social affairs, and a belief in the ability of experts and in efficiency of government intervention.

6.6 MODERNIZATION AND GLOBALIZATION

Globalization is the concept of increased trade and exchange of goods, services and ideas across international boundaries. Movements commence more easily around the world. Modernization, on the other hand, is more a term used to describe using technology to advance the actual processes of manufacturing those goods and services.

The idea of the information society can be linked to the ideas of modernization and globalization. The ideology of modernization explains how societal development must go through a series of stages, with each phase having a different technological base of production. In an information society the base would be information technology. Furthermore, in the

process of increased globalization, economies of the world have become more integrated whereby information technologies play a part in development. With modernization, it can be seen as a potential means to close the gap among nations; with globalization, it is viewed as an important component for nations to participate in the economic process.

The concept of modernization was very much tied to the idea of recreating the world in the image of America and Western European principles and culture. More recently, discussion on Globalization describe a process by which the world is becoming increasingly interconnected and unified, subject to homogeneous and uniform processes of cultural unification.



6.7 LET US SUM UP

- Modernization is understood as a process which indicates the adoption of the modern ways of life.
- Modernization attempts to identify the social variables that contribute to social progress and development of societies and seeks to explain the process of social evolution.
- Giddens theory of modernity is accepted as one of the most popular theory of modernization.
- For Giddens modern world is as a "Juggernaut", which is extremely dynamic.
- According to Giddens, modernity is given dynamism by three essential aspects:

  i) Time-space separation ii) Disembedding of social system iii) Reflexivity of Modern society.

- The term modern implies the up-to-date, a current development, or, better still, a spirit in step with its own time. The term is used to characterize the stage in the history of social relations

- According to Rostow, the term modernization theory refers to a theory which states that development in developing worlds can be attained by following the processes of development that are used by currently developed nations.

- For Rostow, there is a five stage model for development. The stages Traditional society stage, economic growth, take off, drive to maturity, high mass consumption.

- Modernization" is understood as an attempt, on the part of the people, particularly those who are custom-bound, to adopt themselves to the present time, conditions, styles, and ways in general. It indicates a change in people's food habits, dress habits, speaking styles, tastes, choices, preferences, ideas, values, recreational facilities and so on.

- Modernization is also described as "social change involving the elements of science and technology.

- Modernization theory was originated from the ideas of Max Weber which provided the basis for the modernization paradigm developed by Talcott Parsons. Parsons refers to a "structural differentiation which is a process may be triggered in many different ways, but which is most likely to be initiated by changes in either technology or values''.

- Globalization is the concept of increased trade and exchange of goods, services and ideas across international boundaries.

- Modernization is more a term used to describe using technology to advance the actual processes of manufacturing goods and services.

- The idea of the information society can be linked to the ideas of modernization and globalization. The ideology of modernization explains

how societal development must go through a series of stages, with each phase having a different technological base of production.

6.8 FURTHER READING

Scott John and Marshall Gordon, 2009, 3rd edition revised, Oxford Dictionary of sociology, Oxford University Press

Thobani Sunera, Currie .H. Dawn, 2003, *From Modernization to Globalization: Challenges and Opportunities*

Ferraro Vincent, 2008, London: Routledge, *"Dependency Theory: An Introduction,"* in The Development Economics Reader



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1. What is meant by modernisation?

Q 2. Name two theories of Modernity.

Q 3. Giddens describes the modern world as a _____. (Fill in The gap)

Q 4. What are the five stages of development, according to Walt Rostow?

Q 5. Which period is marked by the term modernity?

Q 6. Historically who originated the Modernization theory?

Q 7. What do you mean by Globalization?

Q 8. State true or false.

i) Giddens defines modernity in terms of four basic institutions.

ii) Capitalist version of modernization theorized that as nations developed, economic development and social change would lead to democracy.

iii) Education is most important for each of the stages of Rostows theory of Modernization.

iv) Modernization is understood as a process which indicates the adoption of the traditional ways of life and values.

v) Modernisation theory not only stresses upon the process of change, but also the responses to that change.

vi) The idea of the information society can be linked to the ideas of Technology.

6.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Modernization is understood as a process which indicates the adoption of the modern ways of Life.

Ans to Q No 2: Giddens theory of Modernity and Dependency Theory.

Ans to Q No 3: Giddens describes the modern world as a Juggernaut.

Ans to Q No 4: According to Walt Rostow there are five stage models of development. They are Traditional society stage, Economic growth, take off, drive to maturity, high mass consumption stage.

Ans to Q No 5: The term Modernity was used to characterize the stage in the history of social relations, dating roughly from the end of the 18th century, that is characterized by the democratic and industrial evolutions.

Ans to Q No 6: Modernization theory originated from the ideas Max Weber, which provided the basis for the modernization paradigm developed by Talcott Parsons.

Ans to Q No 7: Globalization is the concept of increased trade and exchange of goods, services and ideas across international boundaries.

Ans to Q No 8: i) True

ii) True

iii) True

iv) False

v) True

vi) False



6.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Short Questions (Answer each in about 150 words)

1. What is meant by Modernization?
2. Mention the five stages of Rostow's model of development.

B) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

1. Explain Giddens' theory of Modernity.
2. Discuss the Historical context of Modernization theory.
3. How Globalization and Modernization are related to each other? Explain.

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UNIT 7: THEORIES OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Learning Objectives

7.2 Introduction

7.3 Why do we need Theories of Underdevelopment?

7.4 The Contributions of Max Weber and Gunnar Myrdal

7.5 Dependency Theory: The Centre-Periphery concept of Andre Gunder Frank

7.6 The concept of Uneven Development by Samir Amin

7.7 World-systems Theory by Immanuel Wallerstein

7.8 Let Us Sum up

7.9 Further Reading

7.10 Answers to Check your Progress

7.11 Model Questions

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- conceptualise the term development
- describe the concept of underdevelopment
- understand the need of theories of underdevelopment
- understand the contributions of Max Weber and Gunnar Myrdal
- comprehend the concept of centre and periphery as proposed by Andre Gunder Frank in Dependency Theory
- elaborate the concept of uneven development given by Samir Amin
- understand the world-systems theory of Wallerstein

7.2 INTRODUCTION

This unit introduces you to the theories of underdevelopment. Before understanding the concept of underdevelopment, it is important to know the concept of development. Development means improving a country's social as well as economic conditions. It also refers to the different ways of controlling an area's natural as well as human resources so that wealth

can be created and people's lives can be improved. It is different from growth. It can be comprehended by differentiating between economic growth and economic development. Economic growth basically refers to a country's increase in its 'real level of national output'. It can be caused by an increase in the quality as well as quantity of resources together with technological progress. In other words, it is an increase in the value of goods and services produced by every sector of the economy. It can be measured by an increase in a country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). For an easy understanding, GDP refers to the total value of goods that are produced as well as services provided in a country in a period of one year. On the other hand, economic development is a broader as well as a normative concept. It refers to an increase in the standards of living, a rise in needs of self-esteem as well as freedom from oppression. Greater choice or having the capacity to choose is also an important criterion to determine economic development. Over the time, the term 'development' has encountered different meanings of itself. Its present understanding can be said to have dated from the post-war period when modern developmental thinking was a dominant characteristic. It is Nobel Prize winning economist Amartya Sen who altered our understanding of development. It is significant to know that the traditional welfare economics focused on income as the primary criteria of measuring well-being in the form of happiness, security, good health etc. However, Sen's 'capabilities approach' to understanding development opened new doors and possibilities to understand the same. It provided a broader perspective on understanding development. It reflects the idea that a person's capability towards living a satisfactory and self-fulfilling life is determined in terms of a set of 'valuable doings'. Such doings can be for instance, good health, the capacity to choose etc. It argues that human beings must be able to achieve the kind of lives that they have reason to value without which they remain impoverished. His work showed that development can be ensured only when human beings have the capability to achieve the highest form of potential living. He realised that poverty involved a wider range of deprivations in health, education and standards

of living, the answers to which could not be provided merely by the income factor. His approach led to the introduction of the UN Human Development Index (HDI) and subsequently the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI). The former is a specific and unique index that determines a country's status and rank in development by taking into consideration three major dimensions: life expectancy, education and a decent standard of living. The MPI is based on the notion that poverty cannot be captured merely by one-dimensional measure such as income. Rather, it is made up of several factors such as poor health, lack of education, disempowerment, threat to violence etc.

The concept of 'underdevelopment' can be understood as a phenomenon evident in a country where the per capita real income is low as compared to that of the West. This definition brings into our consideration that poverty is an important feature of underdevelopment. We all know that all world economies are not equally developed. As such, they are classified into developed economies and under-developed nations. However, it is important to understand that poverty is not necessarily always a passable criterion to determine a country's development status. Unutilised natural resources in a country too contribute to its under-development. Some of the other main features of an underdeveloped economy are low standards of living, unequal income distribution, low rate of capital formation, low levels of productivity, population explosion, unemployment etc.

In this unit, we shall learn about certain theories like the Liberal Theory of Max Weber, Theory of Cumulative Causation given by Gunnar Myrdal, Dependency Theory of Andre Gunder Frank, Uneven Development by Samir Amin and the World-systems Theory of Immanuel Wallerstein.

7.3 WHY DO WE NEED THEORIES OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT?

A theory can be conceptualised as an assessment, modification and abridgment of past knowledge in the form of a universal premise. It also is

the synthesis of assorted opinions and prejudiced knowledge in common structures of explanation. What is referred to as 'development theory' largely belongs to the level of grand theories and broad explanatory frameworks. Underdevelopment of the less developed countries is a consequence of the fact that the developed economies exert dominance and assert control over the former, exploiting their resources for their own benefit. The significance of the theories of underdevelopment lies in the emergence of the structural theory to understanding development. By the 70s of the 20th century, this theory became prominent, making the theory of the stages of economic growth outmoded. The structural theory looks at development in terms of the power relations existing between different nations and views it as a process in which less developed countries are caught up in a "dependent relationship" with the developed countries. As a result, the less advanced nations are caught in a trap of institutional and structural constraints.

The advanced nations are on the other hand, equipped with technological, commercial, capital and socio-political predominance over the former. The theories of underdevelopment are mostly dependency theories. Some of the most prominent proponents are Andre Gunder Frank, Samir Amin and Immanuel Wallerstein. Each of them has contributed significantly to the notion of underdevelopment and its theories. For instance, Frank in his book *Long Live Dependency and Class Struggle* (1974) stresses that the growth of class struggle between the rich and poor nations would strengthen due to hostile policies of the former. Similarly, Samir Amin writes in *'Class and Nations: Historically and in Current Crisis'* (1979), *'Mal-development: Anatomy of a Global Feature'* (1990) etc., about how rich countries have a crucial role to play in the development of underdevelopment and backwardness in the colonial and less developed countries.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1. The less developed nations are caught up in an "independent relationship" with the developed nations. True/False

Q 2. Development theories are grand in nature. True/False

7.4 THE CONTRIBUTONS OF MAX WEBER AND GUNNAR MYRDAL

The liberal theory of Max Weber has been interpreted in different manners. FIrst, it is important to understand Weber's notion of freedom which is positive freedom. He believes that being free means being able to live in a rationally mindful way without internally or externally sacrificing that autonomy. Also, moral foundation of liberal democratic freedom is a developmental pre-requisite to modernisation, rather than simply an independent basis for political legitimacy. According to him, adapting to a particular kind of rationality and to be rational in politics is to take account of the fact that there can be no substantively rational way of deciding among social choices.

The tradition of liberal democratic Enlightenment saw severe reaction from conservatism and aristocratic individualism. It is this from which Weber stayed away. Rather he adopted a pragmatic allegiance to liberal democratic values. For him, believing that any one of us can go on living life without the achievements of the age of the Rights of Man, is a self-deception in itself. This he says is the result of the development of bureaucracy. He never dissents the perception that modern institutions ought to make it possible for individuals to devise personally unfailing commitments and choices and to determine rationally the effective means for carrying out those choices. However, the very means to serve different goals associated with the various embodiments of this ideal have undermined them, the

embodiments being individualist freedom, the enrichment of a national culture or social equality.

Gunnar Myrdal was a Swedish economist and sociologist. He is a renowned scholar in development economics. In regard to his contribution to the theory of underdeveloped countries, it is necessary to understand his theory of 'circular cumulative causation'. It is a multi-causal approach. The main idea behind it is that a change in one shape of an institution shall lead to consecutive changes in another, changes which are global in nature and thus repetitive in a sequence. Myrdal, through this theory, criticised some development theories that represented built-in colonial theory. His theory is primarily an alternative in two ways: First, it focuses on how inequality is enlarged through political processes and how this resulted in making the notion of stable equilibrium relative to other kinds of equilibrium. Second, it gave strong emphasis on institutional factors. It rejects the idea that socio-economic systems have an automatic tendency towards stabilisation. It also holds that a change creates other changes rather than creating opposite reaction. This theory is based on three factors: (1) Wealthy nations are small in number and there are many more tremendously impoverished ones (2) Wealthy countries continue to grow and expand while the poor ones languish. These stagnating countries, according to Myrdal are developing countries. (3) The difference between the rich and the poor is growing larger from a global point of view.

Myrdal was highly confident of the influence of market forces on the deepening of interregional differences. He considers traditional factors such as mobility of capital, regional drainage and selective migration as means by which cumulative mechanisms manifest themselves. ‘‘In Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations’’ (1968), he writes about poverty in Asia. It was assumed that population growth would inhibit economic growth. However, through this book, he explained how he observed the phenomenon that a number of Asian countries experienced both population growth and high economic growth. The book was named so by him because of the

tensions he saw being meted out in Asia between modern and traditional ideals.

7.5 DEPENDENCY THEORY: THE CENTRE-PERIPHERY CONCEPT OF ANDRE GUNDER FRANK

Dependency Theory explains the economic development of a state in regard to how national development policies are influenced by external factors. It is a historical condition which moulds a certain structure of the world economy such that it is advantageous for some countries at the cost of other less advanced countries. Thus a situation arises where the economy of a certain country is conditioned by the development and growth of another. Dependency theory, as a theory, became popular in the 1960s as a response to research by Paul Prebisch who found that wealth of richer countries increases and expands at the severe cost of the poorer ones. Also, economic growth in the advanced industrialised countries did not necessarily lead to growth in the poorer countries. It was seen that the assumption of neoclassical theory about economic growth being equally beneficial to all, was challenged. Thus, at this point, it was understood that dependency theory could be a possible way of explaining condition of perpetual poverty of the poorer nations. A new approach called the world-systems approach emerged which essentially explained poverty in terms of the consequence of the evolution of the international political economy into a fairly rigid division of labour- it favoured the rich and marginalised the poor.

Now let us move to the contributions of Andre Gunder Frank and his theory of dependency. Born in Germany, Gunder Frank was an economic historian as well as a sociologist who promoted dependency theory. He builds his theory based on the global relation of economic domination as well as exploitation of the powerless by the powerful. *'The Development of Underdevelopment'* (1966) written by him, emphasises on the economic polarity that has occurred in the world economy, resulting in underdevelopment in some parts of the world and rapidly increasing growth and development in others. He rejects Rostow's idea of the stages of

economic growth by saying that a country's state of seclusion and isolation from the rest of the world is not the cause of its underdevelopment. Rather, it results from the disparity and inequality in distribution of resources as well as exploitation of the less developed, poor countries. The idea of centre-periphery is crucial to the theory. It reflects the idea that resources flow from a periphery to a core where the former is constituted by poor, underdeveloped states and the latter by wealthy, developed states. This results in the enrichment of the latter at the cost of the former. Frank used this model to analyse underdeveloped nations of Latin America. Modernisation theory is challenged by this model where the latter argues underdevelopment does not form the early stage in the evolutionary process of a country as often supposed. Rather it is a condition resulting from its exploitation by the First World countries. Frank claims the dependent states to be satellite states; their surplus is extracted by the core states which are the metropolis states. Such unequal economic relationship leads to the development of a situation of 'uneven development'.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q3. Gunder Frank's dependency theory is based on the global relation of economic domination and exploitation by the economically powerful upon the powerless. True/False

Q4. The core-periphery notion says that resources flow from a periphery to a core, thus enriching the latter at the expense of the former. True/ False

7.6 THE CONCEPT OF UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT BY SAMIR AMIN

The notion of uneven development as developed by Samir Amin, an Egyptian economist, is related to his concern with the experience of the Third World and the origin of its peripheralization, its current situation and

its future possibilities. The context is capitalism's expansion into a world system as well as the incorporation of the Third World into the system. Amin says, its result is that the timing, form and effects differed throughout the Third World. Peripheral states, he argues, are underdeveloped as their societies experience an inequality of productivity etc.

In Amin's analysis, there is an unequal distribution of the price of the labour force in a way much more than are social labour's productivities. In the 1950s, he started studying globalisation's tendency towards polarisation. He argues that the peripheries are subjected to permanent unilateral adjustment which is caused by the process of accumulation on a world scale. By this, he meant that the globalisation process is being actively shaped by the centre and the periphery is constrained to adapt to it. Also, the increasing centralising tendency leads to the excess growth of income as well as wealth disparities between nations. Hence, the phenomenon of unequal development occurs, polarising the North and the South.



Activity 1

Find out about any current issue of concern pertaining to the notion of uneven development

.....

.....

7.7 WORLD-SYSTEMS THEORY BY IMMANUEL WALLERSTEIN

The world-systems theory was developed by Immanuel Wallerstein. It is a macro-scale approach to social change. It suggests the presence of a world economy system where some countries benefit at the loss of others.

It is established on a hierarchy consisting of three levels: core, periphery and semi-periphery areas. It is the core countries which exert domination over as well as exploit the peripheral countries by procuring their labour and raw materials. The semi-peripheral countries are those countries that share the characteristics of both core and peripheral countries.

It explains the social structure of global inequality. The core countries, according to this theory, have military strength and are not dependent on any one state or country. They are also focused on higher skill and capital-intensive production. Their power allows them to pay lower prices for raw goods and exploit cheap labour. They promote capital accumulation internally through tax policy, government purchasing, sponsorship of research and development etc. The periphery countries are those countries that lack a strong central government and also may be controlled by another core state. They export raw materials to the core countries and thus are dependent on the latter for capital. They also have an underdeveloped economy and industry. These countries have low-skill, labour-intensive production or in other words, cheap labour. These countries are commonly called the third world countries. The semi-periphery countries are intermediate in nature. They are both exploited by the core and take the role in the exploitation of the periphery countries.

Wallerstein argues that the division of labour under capitalism encompasses several nations and hence the idea of a "world-systems". The capitalist world-system began in Europe in about 16th century and spread across the globe over the next few centuries. Establishing long-distance trade in goods enabled the creation of such a world economic system. Also, a link was developed across production processes. This led to the accumulation of capital in Europe. According to him, the creation of a world-economy based on an unequal division of labour was the main interest of the early European capitalists. Such creation led to the accumulation of resources, capital, wealth and profit in the hands of the core countries which produce and maintain the gross economic and political inequalities within and between nations.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS(D)

Q5. The world-system theory is a micro-scale approach to world history and social change that suggests the presence of a world economic system in which some countries benefit at the loss and exploitation of others. True/False



7.8 LET US SUM UP

- Development means improving a country's socio-economic conditions and also refers to the ways of controlling an area's natural and human resources in order to create wealth and improve people's lives.

- Underdevelopment is a phenomenon persisting in a country where the per capita real income is low when compared with the per capita real income of developed states of the West. It can also be understood as a socially constructed phenomenon as the poor countries are made poor and impoverished through certain structures of the world economy.

- Max Weber provided his version of liberal theory. His notion of freedom is that of positive freedom. He believes that being free means being able to live in a rationally mindful way without internally or externally sacrificing that autonomy. Also, moral foundation of liberal democratic freedom is a developmental pre-requisite to modernisation.

- Gunnar Myrdal proposed the theory of cumulative causation. The main idea behind it is that a change in one form of an institution will lead to successive changes in other institutions, changes which are global in nature and thus repetitive in a sequence.

- Dependency theory of Gunder Frank discusses the factors that have resulted in underdevelopment in certain areas and is based on the global

relation of economic domination by the powerful over the powerless. Its central idea is the centre-periphery concept- resources flow from a "periphery" region to a "core" region represented by poor, underdeveloped states and wealthy, developed states respectively.

- Samir Amin discusses about the notion of uneven development. He also mentions about the idea of unilateral adjustment by which the centres are activity shaping the globalisation process while the periphery is compelled to adjust to it.

- Wallerstein proposed the world-systems theory that discusses about the presence of a world economy and an international division of labour based on unequal access to resources and wealth.



7.9 FURTHER READING

1) Pieterse, Jan Nederveen. 2010. *Development Theory.* Sage Publications Ltd.

2) Reece, Edward Allan. 1983. *"Development and Underdevelopment in the Third World: Theoretical Approaches."* McMaster University.

3) Berberoglu, Berch. 1978. *"The Meaning of Underdevelopment: A Critique of Mainstream Theories of Development and Underdevelopment."*Jstor.

4) Palma, Gabriel. 1978. "Dependency: A Formal Theory of Underdevelopment or a Methodology for the Analysis of Concrete Situations of Underdevelopment." World Development. Pergamon Press Limited. Great Britain.



7.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: False

Ans to Q No 2: True

Ans to Q No 3: True

Ans to Q No 4: True

Ans to Q No 5: True



7.11 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1. State two major characteristics of the World System Theory.

Q 2. What is the difference between economic growth and economic development?

Q 3. What are the three factors on which the Circular Cumulative Causation theory is based?

B) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1. Evaluate the basic tenets of theories of underdevelopment by referring to all the theories discussed above.

Q 2. How has Gunder Frank conceptualised his dependency theory? Explain.

** ** **

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Name of the Paper: **Course Code:**

Centre for Internal Quality Assurance (CIQA)
Krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University
City Office, Housefed Complex, Guwahati- 06

Learner's Feedback on Course

Dear Learner,

Regarding the course as mentioned above, we would like to know your opinions and comments so as to improve the quality of self learning materials in future. Please respond to the following statements by ticking the number you feel most reflect your opinion. After completion of the additional comments, please detach the page and send/mail the same to us at the address given below.

The Director, Centre for Internal Quality Assurance, KKHandiqui State Open University
Housefed Complex, Dispur, Guwahati- 781006
(E-mail id: ciqa@kkhsou.in)

1. Approximately how many hours did you spend for studying the units in the course? | | | |
2. Please give your opinions (by √ mark) to the following items based on your reading of the block:

Sl. No.	Statements	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I.	The SLMs of the course fulfil the learning objectives set out in the beginning of each unit					
II.	The units of the SLM could satisfy my academic needs and expectations					
III.	The Unit writers have excellent knowledge about the course contents					
IV.	Language and contents of the units were presented at a level which I could readily understand					
V.	Ample opportunity for participation in the activities provided in the units					
VI.	Used enough Illustrations (Diagrams, tables etc.) for conceptual clarity					
VII.	Quality of content is engaging, relevant, and up-to-date					
VIII.	The self check questions are very helpful					
IX.	The Possible/model questions and the answers to check my progress have benefited me a lot					

Additional Comments: *(Please feel free to provide your open comments)*

1. Which aspects of the SLM, according to you, worked well?

   ---

2. What sort of changes/improvements do you feel KKHSOU could implement to improve the overall quality of the SLM?

Thank you for taking the time to complete this form.

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