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SEMESTER - II

SOCIOLOGY

BLOCK - 2

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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BLOCK INTRODUCTION

This is the second block of the course. This block consists of six units.

The first unit of this block, which is Unit 8, is titled as *Politics of Development.* This unit will discuss the role of knowledge and power in the process of development, and will also analyse the post -development theories.

The second unit of this block is Unit 9 which is titled as *Civil Society and Alternative Discourses of Development*. This unit will discuss the meaning, origin and significnce of civil society, non-government organisations, Corporate Social Responsibility and Institutional Social Responsibility.

The third unit is Unit 10 which is titled as Contemporary concerns in Development. This unit will discuss some issues of concern in the development process in contemporary times.

The fourth unit is Unit 11 which is titled as *Development and Displacement* This unit will discuss the adverse effects of development.

The fifth unit is Unit 12 which is titled as *Development and Protest Movements in India.* This unit will discuss protests against developmental projects due to various factors like loss of livelihood, land, environment destruction,

The sixth unit is Unit 13 titled as *Development Discourse in North East India.* This unit will discuss the discourse on development in North East India, also highlighting the NEC, DONER, etc.

While going through this paper, you may come across some boxes put on 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 after 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 8: POLITICS OF DEVELOPMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives

8.2 Introduction

8.3. Knowledge and Power in Development Process

8.4 Post-Development Theories

8.5 Critique of Post Development Theories

8.6. Let Us Sum up

8.7 Further Reading

8.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

8.9 Model Questions

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- understand the role of knowledge and power in the development process.
- understand the major tenets of post development theories.
- examine the critique of post development theories
- critically understand the pros and cons of each of these perspectives.

8.2 INTRODUCTION

Development is a normative concept referring to a multi-dimensional process. Some scholars argue that development must be spatial-temporal in context. In other words, it should be relative to time, place and circumstance. Development is customarily translated into improvements in certain social indicators and indicators of the (physical) quality of life, such as life expectancy. Ideas of development engender debate over the theoretical and empirical relationships between the rate and pattern of economic growth, the distribution of the benefits and equity. There are a lot of differences among social scientists to arrive at any universal formula of development. There are various common factors despite the divergent views. Some of the factors are-

[a] increased economic efficiency

[b] expansion of national economic capacity

[c] technological advancement

[d] economic and industrial diversification

[e] adaptability in the face of adversity

These factors are generally accepted as necessary conditions if development is to be sustainable cutting across disciplines many social scientists also point to other factors, listed below:–

[f] Changes in social structure, attitudes, and motivation or other specific purposes of economic improvement

[g] increase in Gross National Product (GNP) and average real incomes should be treated as means and not ends.

[h] Increase of general social welfare that encompasses even spiritual and cultural attainment.

The above points are crucial in understanding the true intent of development but the list is not exhaustive in itself. What needs to be emphasized at this juncture is that the mindless pursuit of development through an increase in the income per capita without a thought on how the benefits of growth are distributed in the society, will results in greater income disparities and other inequalities and cannot qualify to be understood as development.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1. Mention two indicators of development.

A handful of billionaires and a majority of population wallowing in abject poverty can never ever be the true intent of development. Unfortunately many scholars point out that the divide between rich and poor is increasingly growing.The traditional approach to development has failed to address the need of the developing countries, hence the need for a new conceptualization of development has arisen. At the level of the individual, development implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well-being. On the level of the society, development cannot be seen purely as an economic affair, but rather as an overall social progress which is dependent upon the outcome of man's efforts to deal with his natural environment.

The questions to ask about a country's development are therefore:

[i] what has been happening to poverty?

[ii] What has been happening to unemployment?

[iii] What has been happening to inequality?

If all three of these have declined from high levels, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result "development" even if per capita income doubled (Seers 1969, 3).Development in this sense is just not all about growth but all about people. It only ascertains that the gains of growth are redistributed to provide for a better quality of life for everyone. Development is the process by which people create and recreate themselves and their life circumstances to realize higher levels of civilization in accordance with their own choices and values.

However, there are other holistic concerns which go beyond mere quantification of the indicators and have been included in development discourse. Some of these are

[i] Increasing national self-determination, predicated on the notion that development is something a country does to itself and means reducing external dependency,

[ii] notions of environmentally sustainable development, or development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs

[iii] feminist theories of development that emphasizes gender and women's issues specifically.

Democratization, accountable government and a respect for human rights have also recently become more prominent as features of political development contained by the generic sense of development. Development, then, values increased freedom, after all, the most basic for all may be the freedom to define your own needs, taking part in decisions that affects your own life. Truly speaking economic development cannot be merely treated as economic in nature and cannot be divorced from the other aspects of development. It's principal contribution is to enhance the range of human choice for all members of society without discrimination.

Modern observers of the third world argue that whatever else development is, it must be participatory -a "bottom up" exercise where the common people understand, initiate and control the process.

8.3. KNOWLEDGE AND POWER IN DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

Undoubtedly Knowledge and power are central to understanding the development process. Kofi Annan, U.N Secretary General has rightly remarked that 'Information does not belong to one ideology or another, knowledge is not the privilege of one creed or conviction. If information and knowledge are central to democracy, they are the conditions for development. It is that simple… It is our duty and our responsibility to see

that gift bestowed on all the world's people, so that all may live lives of knowledge and understanding'.

For any development process to yield positive results there is a need for a robust public policy. It should be kept in mind that a meaningful public policy for larger good is not generated simply by increasing the amount of research on a particular topic .Lot of efforts go in to arrive at the root of the problem as there are complex issues to navigate . The effort is to ensure that the best available knowledge is sourced, interpreted and used to further development goals.

Harry Jones, Nicola Jones, Louise Shaxson and David Walker in their Working and discussion papers of January 2013 titled 'Knowledge, policy and power in international development: a practical framework for improving policy' have pointed out "In other words, defining, selecting and promoting knowledge in policy is an inherently variable and complex process - as much concerned with matters of power and politics as it is with rational debate and problem solving. However, this does not mean that any analysis of the interface is hopelessly context-specific or driven solely by 'political will''. Our work shows that while it is impossible to construct a single one-size-fits-all model, the interface between knowledge and policy is influenced by some common dimensions:

1. The relative strength of actors involved in knowledge production and policy-making, the distribution of their interests on the issue and the interplay of values, beliefs and credibility

2. The salience of the different types of knowledge generated and sought

3. Processes of knowledge interaction - those processes that mediate between sources of knowledge and policy decisions and that can be facilitated by so-called 'knowledge intermediaries'.

The authors have analyzed the political context of the knowledge-policy interface and have outlined the following poser to explain the varied intricacies of the process.

1. Who has the strongest voice in policy debates?
2. What checks and balances are in place to ensure that weaker voices can be heard?
3. How does this vary between different state types?

The above three political contexts are mediated by following factors-

[a] Capacity of institutions to absorb change

[b] External forces

[c] Informal political relationships

[d] Formal political participation

Understanding the checks and balances between different branches of government, and between central and local government, helps clarify processes of policy scrutiny, and how different branches of government are able to source, interpret and use different forms of knowledge.

The opportunities for public debate affect whether non-elites can express their preferences in policy-making processes. Formal political participation is often complemented by informal relationships based on wider social structures or individual personal patronage. How international agreements are debated and implemented by governments may have wider implications for whose evidence base counts in the policy process. How policy-makers interact with a variety of knowledge providers will vary by type of state, with implications for where and when 'policy windows' may open or close.

8.4 POST- DEVELOPMENT THEORIES

The Post-Development Perspective was a strong outcome against western models of development. It became a part of academic concern from 1990s. Theorists from within this perspective are extremely critical of Western models of development, arguing that the earlier development was always unequal, that it never worked for the masses. Moreover these scholars argued that developing countries should find their own pathways to development.

Escobar has been critical about the whole modernization discourse and has flawed it for being ethnocentric.

The basic drawback of these western discourses was that they completely ignored many ancient philosophies and traditions which had worked in poorer countries for thousands of years. According to Escobar this is both arrogant and disrespectful, and created the potential for opposition and conflict.

Escobar argued that the Western model of development justified itself by claiming to be rational and scientific, and therefore neutral and objective. However, in reality, modernisation theory was a top-down approach which treated people and cultures as abstract concepts and statistical figures to be moved up and down in the name of progress. Modernisation theory effectively denied people within developing countries the opportunity to make their own choices and decisions.

Sahlins has argued that Western Aid agencies incorrectly assume that people who lack material possessions are poor and thus unhappy. However, he argued that people in developing world may have few material possessions, but this does not necessarily mean they are poor. The reason behind this flawed understanding is primarily due to the way happiness is perceived in the western world. Concepts like inner peace, spiritual solace, do not fit in the western notion of development. On the contrary to the western understanding these seemingly simple people may actually be

happy because they belong to a supportive community and they have the love of their family. Joint family system accompanied by the network of kinship affiliation is a support which no money can buy in the world. Happiness for them does not lie in the fancied restaurants of the rich but a simple feast of local dishes with their brethren. This idea has been practically applied in Bhutan where development is measured in terms of Gross National Happiness, rather than Gross National Product.

Other post-development thinkers argue that modernist explanations of underdevelopment have rarely sought contributions from sociologists and economists who actually live in the developing world. McKay argued that development strategies are too often in the hands of western experts who fail to take account of local knowledge or skills and that development often has little to do with the desires of the target population.

Post-Development sociologists further argue that Western models of development have created a diverse set of problems for the populations of developing societies. Indigenous peoples have been forcibly removed from their homelands, grave environmental damage is being done to the rainforests, children's labour is being exploited and aggressive marketing of unhealthy products is taking place all over the developing world, all in the name of achieving economic growth and the name of progress.

Some post development sociologists are of the opinion that development is an eyewash as it was never really designed to deal with humanitarian problems. In fact it was about helping the industrial world, especially the United States to maintain its economic and cultural dominance of the world.

Consequently, post-development thinkers argue that we need alternative models of development rather than the industrial-capitalist model promoted by western countries.

The pertinent question that remains is that from a 'Post-Development Perspective - How should developing countries develop?'

Korten argued, to truly realize the full potential of development, it should be people centred, which means that the intended beneficiary and the target population both should have a say in how their communities (and countries) develop and also the people should get a more participatory role in the process of development.

The Nobel laureate Prof. Amartya Sen (1987) is of the view that development needs to be about giving people independence so that they have real power and choice over their day to day situations. It should not be a 'top down' entity coming from the west, via governments and then trickling down to the people.

'People Centered Development' theorists also have a much broader conception of what 'development' could actually mean. They don't believe that development has to mean them becoming more like the West, nor that development should be seen in narrow terms such as industrialising and bringing about economic growth. Development projects should be much more diverse, and should facilitate the people living in developing countries. These theorists reject western definitions of 'underdevelopment' - just because some cultures are rural, non-industrialised, and not trading, does not mean they are inferior.

Vandana Shiva is a good example of a theorist who comes under the umbrella of a People Centred Development approach to development. She has spent much of her life in the defence and celebration of biodiversity and indigenous knowledge. The concept of seed freedom is central to Shiva's work. It means the rejection of corporate patents on seeds, and protecting the rights of local peoples to save their own seed. Vandana Shiva has also played a major role in the global Ecofeminist Movement. According to her 2004 article *'Empowering Women',* Shiva suggests that a more sustainable and productive approach to agriculture can be achieved through reinstating a system of farming in India that is more centered on engaging women. She advocates against the prevalent "patriarchal logic of exclusion."

People-centered development rejects the anthropocentric humanism of the Enlightenment. It values people's cultural andspiritual respect for the places and natural systems, including the Earth and the Universe itself, to which people belong. It holds that, insofar as the natural environment belongs to anyone, it belongs to all people not just to the rich and powerful.Because of its support for diversity, there are many different paths to development within the Post Development/ People Centred Development perspective.

Some of the models of development which preach a similar view are listed below:

- Socialist models of development - where governments control most aspects of economy and aim towards justified redistribution of resources.
- Indigenous peoples maintaining traditional lifestyles, effectively rejecting most of what the west has to offer is also something post-development perspectives support, as in the example of Bhutan.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 2. Which country has adopted Gross National Happiness as a measure of development?

Q 3. State True or False

'People Centered Development' approach have a broader conception of 'development'. They don't believe that development has to mean them becoming more like the West and development shouldn't be seen in narrow terms such as industrialisation and economic growth only.

8.5 CRITIQUE OF POST DEVELOPMENT THEORIES

The post development critique of development discourse has by now been widely discussed and criticised. Post development texts have been interpreted as a cynical legitimation of neoliberalism or a futile romanticisation of premodern times. More sympathetic critics have at least acknowledged its potential to criticise the shortcomings of development theory and policy.

It is pointed out that a new way of thinking about development began in 1949 with President Harry Truman's declaration: "The old imperialism-exploitation for foreign profit-has no place in our plans. What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair dealings." While claiming that the "era of development" began at this point, post development theorists do not suggest that the concept of development was new. What was new was the definition of development in terms of an escape from underdevelopment. Since the latter referred to two-thirds of the world, this meant that most societies were made to see themselves as having fallen into the undignified condition of "underdevelopment", and thus to look outside of their own cultures for salvation.

Development, according to these critics, was now a euphemism for post-war American hegemony; it was the ideals and development programs of the United States and its (Western) European allies that would form the basis of development everywhere else.

All the other theories argue that, eventually, if a poor country really wants to improve the lives of its people in the long term, it needs money, this can only come from industrialisation and trade, is it really possible to improve standards of living through small scale projects?

Focusing solely on small scale development projects still leaves local communities in developing countries relatively poor compared to those in the West, is this really social justice?

In a globalising world it simply is not realistic to expect developing countries to be able to tackle future problems if they remain underdeveloped - eventually population growth or climate change or refugees or drugs or loggers are going to infiltrate their boarders, and it is much easier to respond to these problems if a country has a lot of money, a well-functioning state and a high level of technology.



8.6. LET US SUM UP

- That there is a varied understanding of the term development. Social scientists have been grappling with the issue in both form and content.
- The term development and its understanding have undergone tremendous changes. From being a merely economic factor, it has included all facets of life.
- To measure development it is essential to understand that merely reducing it to a western understanding would be a gross injustice to mankind.
- Development must include within its ambit theme like Social Justice; Inclusivity and most importantly bottom up approach and, not top down.
- The whole planning process should be designed with communities living in developing countries, and not by western experts.
- It is vitally necessary that national policies,especially in rich-countries, be reoriented to support people-centered,ecologically sustainable development. This would be in the interest of the entire world, including the citizens of the rich countries. For example, systemsof subsidies and taxation must be restructured to discourage pollution and wasteof resources, reduce the costs of employing people so that more jobs will be created, and enable people to do useful and rewarding unpaid work as analternative to paid employment.

8.7 FURTHER READING

Agarwal, B. (1985) 'Women, Poverty and Agricultural Growth in India', The Journal of Peasant Studies, Vol. 13, No 4, pp 165-220.

_____ (1989) 'Rural Women, Poverty and natural resources: Sustenance, Sustainability and Struggle for Change', Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 24, No 3, WS 46-WS112.

_____ (1994) 'Gender and Command Over Property: A Critical Gap In Economic Analysis and Policy in South Asia', World Development, Vol. 22, No 10, pp 1455-1478.

_____ (1995) A field of One's Own: Gender and Land rights in South Asia, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

8.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Technological advancement, Increased economic efficiency

Ans to Q No 2: Bhutan

Ans to Q No 3: True

8.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Short Questions (Answer each question within 150 words)

Q1. Why is it important to take non -economic factors into development process?

Q2. What are the positive and negative effects of globalising process on developing countries?

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

Q1. What are the prime reasons for criticism of development theories? Which are the factors which need to be included for a complete understanding of the process?

Q2. What is post development perspective? Why is it important to take gender concern in development perspectives?

** ** **

UNIT 9: CIVIL SOCIETY AND ALTERNATIVE DISCOURSES OF DEVELOPMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 Learning Objectives

9.2 Introduction

9.3. Meaning of Civil Society

9.3.1 Emergence of the idea of civil society

9.3.2 Significance of Civil society.

9.4 Meaning of Non-Government organizations

9.5 Significance of N.G.O in Development process.

9.6. Meaning of Corporate Social Responsibility and Institutional Social Responsibility.

9.6.1Significance of Corporate Social Responsibility and Institutional Social Responsibility in the development process.

9.7 Let Us Sum Up

9.8 Further Reading

9.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

9.10 Model Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- understand the meaning, emergence and significance of civil society
- explain the meaning and significance of N.G.O.
- understand the nature of Corporate Social Responsibility and Institutional Social Responsibility
- analyze Significance of Corporate Social Responsibility and Institutional Social Responsibility in the development process

9.2 INTRODUCTION

This unit discusses important concepts like civil society, N.G.O., CSR, ISR, etc. Civil society and nongovernment organizations (NGOs) have the power to influence individual behavior and the institutions that are involved

in shared perception of general well-being of a society. Civil society and nongovernmental organizations can:

- lead grass-roots mobilization and advocate for any issue which involves the good of society and should be placed on the public agenda for opinion and discussion
- support the wide dissemination of information on the prevention of social ills, health issues amongst many others
- form networks and action groups to promote the availability of information on various issues which they intended to highlight in the public domain
- advocate and support multifarious activities which would raise awareness level and thus create pressure on the state to deliver
- monitor and work with other stakeholders such as private sector entities
- Contribute in putting knowledge and evidence into practice.

Corporate social responsibility (CSR) is a business approach that contributes to sustainable development by delivering economic, social and environmental benefits for all stakeholders.CSR is a concept with many definitions and practices. The way it is understood and implemented differs greatly for each company and country. Moreover, CSR is a very broad concept that addresses various issues such as human rights, corporate governance, health and safety, environmental effects, working conditions and contribution to economic development. Whatever the definition is, the purpose of CSR is to drive change towards sustainability.

On the other hand Institutional Social Responsibility is practiced by those institutions which are ardently committed to social responsibility and accordingly are proactive and increasingly responsive to community-based development initiatives. Being active agents of social change is not only considered a strategic priority for them but is also seen as a much needed responsibility. Sensitization of intended beneficiaries and other stakeholders

is the key agenda behind any of their social initiatives and the organization are committed to being a socially responsible group.

9.3 MEANING OF CIVIL SOCIETY

The term civil society means associations or communities that work above and beyond the state. Civil society thus consists of a host of institutions that look after the activities, which are not taken up by the state.These may relate to various religious, cultural, economic and other activities of a society. The medieval church of Europe, Hindu Mutts, Sikh Gurdwaras, Muslim Mosques, and other religious trusts in India, caste and kinship associations, business, sports and cultural associations represent the civil society.

It is important to note that civil society is also referred to for its moral value and authority; as the state is more akin to an administrative unit. Civil society, in opposition to the state, lays the moral foundation of society. It is in this sense that civil society has widely been viewed as an epitome not only of moral authority but also as a bastion of culture against the state, the law and capitalism. However, the dimension of opposition in civil society has been in a state of flux as its relationship with the state, the market and capitalism has not always been the same everywhere and every time. However, today we tend to see civil society as the home of culture, of freedom, of independence, which enables us to rein in the state.

Importantly, Civil society has long been playing a pivotal role in influencing the state's policy on social welfare, articulating views on current issues, serving as the voice of constructive debate, providing a forum for the exchange of new ideas and information, initiating social movements by way of creating new norms, identities, institutions. Civil society is, together with the state and the market, one of the three spheres that interface in the making of democratic societies.Civil society is the sphere in which social movements become organized. The organization of civil society, which represents many diverse and sometimes contradictory social interests, is

shaped to fit the social base, constituency, thematic orientations (e.g. environment, gender, human rights) and types of activity. They include church related groups, trade unions, cooperatives, service organisation, community groups and youth organisations as well as academic institutions. Civic involvement has always been an inseparable part of the development process of human society. In Putnam's argument, higher levels of civil involvement gives rise to "social capital" which in turn makes possible more civic involvement.

In Gramscian sense, civil society is the terrain where the state, the people and the market interact and where people wage war against the hegemony of the market and the state. The status of civil society organisations has been widely explained in terms of their relationship with the state and the market. In Tocqueville's view, civil society represents a vision of politics and democracy that is non-state centred and that has taken root in contemporary social movements and non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

However to the liberals and the neo-liberals, civil society is organised around the market economy as a non-political privatised delivery system for services such as welfare, education, healthcare, clean water and so on. In recent years, there has been a phenomenal proliferation of the civil societies all over the globe. Social scientists have attributed this phenomenon to the crises in the states on the one hand, and the market triumph on the other. At times the state is beset with a legitimisation deficit that destroys the conditions of its own stability, paving the way for the civil society.

Notwithstanding such a debate on the pro or anti state stand of civil societies or that of state failure of legitimisation crises, civil societies have been viewed as a force for democratisation, counterweights to the state and economic power and have emerged as alternative vehicles of citizens' participation at both the national and transnational levels of governance. Their activism and initiatives have also been viewed as a movement for

transformation of regional, national and global politics and economics. Many scholars, however, see the civil society beyond the state and market syndrome, as the state and the market contribute something, but not everything towards the cohesion and the dynamics of the society.

Indeed there is a need to view the civil society both as a structure (of organisation, social and political space and relationship) and also as a process (the ways in which the elements of structure come into being, and interrelate). In the wake of globalisation, introduction of the structural adjustment programme and paradigm shift in the social development strategy there has been an attempt to redefine the role of the state and the civil society. In the emerging scenario the emphasis has been (a) on the increasing roles of the civil societies "to take the burden off the state, by involving citizens and communities in the delivery of the collective goods" and (b) on "strengthening of the abilities and opportunities of civil society and local communities" to ensure the process of empowerment of the marginalised in society. However, in the contemporary development discourse, there has been a process of involvement of civil society organisations along with the state in the formulation and implementation of development initiatives.

In the context of globalisation or otherwise there have been claims of universality of civil societies. It is argued at one point that specific economic, social and political conditions influence the growth and functioning of civil societies and thereby it can't be universal. On the other hand, there has been the argument that as there have been universal processes like modernisation, secularisation, democratisation, globalisations and so on the claim of universality of civil society has emerged to be a reality.

In view of the emergence of global social movements like human right, animal right, ecological and environmental movements etc., global civil society has been a reality. Phenomenal expansion of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) has smothered the global emergence

and networking of civil societies as a social movement. In this backdrop, let us examine the interface between civil society and social movements.

There are important parallels between social movements and civil society initiatives. It is rather at times pointed out that civil society initiative is a variant of social movements. Here, before we go into identifying the variants, we should know the parallels.

i. Both social movements and civil societies are having structures like organisations, a well- identified leadership and ideology

ii. Civil society initiatives and social movements are social processes, which undergo several stages of progression from mobilisation to intensive collective action.

iii. Both structures and the processes have support bases or bodies of followers who are mobilised through diverse means to get their objectives fulfilled.

iv. In general both social movements and civil societies pledge for change in established order of the society. However, many civil societies or social movements also work to resist change in society. For example, many religious organisations pledge for the fundamentalist position in society.

v. Both civil society and the social movement occupy a civil space in society.

vi. The creation of a new collective identity is an essential part both of social movements and civil societies. Collective identities are evolved either based on certain issues or ideological choices. However, identities also get reconstructed or transformed through the processes of sustained mobilisation.

vii. Though a good deal of moral authority and idealism are attached to civil society activism and to social movements, at times both these

processes are initiated by enterprising people for the maximisation of specific interests.

However, notwithstanding these parallels, social movements are broader categories or agencies. At times social movements look for a radical change by attacking the pre-existing power structure of society, e.g., the Naxalite movement. Civil society, on the other hand, looks for gradual change within the existing arrangement. Though civil society initiatives tend to be a political one, many a time they ask political questions and political solutions through developmental activities. Indeed in the contemporary development discourse of development with empowerment, civil society division is very much involved in the political issues at the grassroots.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1: Mention one similarity between social movement and civil society.

9.3.1 Emergence of the idea of civil society

The notion of civil society reemerged in political and sociological theories during transitions from authoritarian rule toward more liberal democratic governments in Eastern and Central Europe, South America, and, recently, Asia and Africa. Many struggles against communist and military dictatorships have revived the concept of civil society.

Let us examine in brief the contributions of various thinkers on this concept .Over two thousand years ago, classical philosophers were grappling with the concepts surrounding communal life in the polis, the Greek city-state. How could people obtain the 'good life' given the inherent conflicts between their needs as individuals and the needs of their society? Socrates, according to Plato, advocated that issues be resolved via public argument using the dialectic, a form of rational dialogue in which the arguers

test propositions against other propositions in order to uncover the truth, that is, until they achieve a reasoning that cannot be refuted. Plato described a person's soul, or personality, as having three parts: an appetite, which seeks physical satisfactions; a spirit, which seeks social approval; and reason, which seeks truth. A just person is one in whom reason, aided by a strong spirit, constraints the demands of the appetite. A just society is one in which people dedicate themselves to the common good, practice civic virtues of wisdom, courage, moderation and justice, and perform the occupational role to which they are best suited. Plato's ideal state is ruled by philosopher-kings, who make decisions based solely on the common good.Martin Luther and John Calvin founded the Protestant religion at the beginning of the Renaissance period as a protest against the authority of the Roman Catholic Church, which they viewed as being corrupt. Their main contribution to the idea of civil society was not that the State should be similarly replaced, but rather that people should be free to choose their own religious commitments while demonstrating charity and service to their neighbours.Thomas Hobbes lived at the time of the English civil war of 1642 to 1651, which pitted the King and his supporters, fighting for traditional government in Church and State, against the supporters of Parliament, who sought radical changes in religion and a greater share of power at the national level. Hobbes believed that in their original 'state of nature', people regarded themselves as equal to all others and, in competing for scarce resources, lived in a society of "all against all". Upon realizing that such a state of constant struggle for individual power limits social developments and common wealth, people would seek a new basis for society in which civic virtues are derived from natural laws, the first of which is that all persons ought to seek peace. The second, derived from the Bible's Golden Rule, is that one should respect the rights of others in order to safeguard one's own rights.

Reflecting the growth in economic transactions in society, Hobbes stated that social relations are to be based on equality and mutual trust, and each person must live up to their agreements and contracts

Jean-Jacques Rousseau in the mid-1700s devised the idea of the social contract as a means whereby citizens would make the common good their highest priority. This is accomplished by each person subjugating their right for the individual pursuit of happiness to that of their community's right for collective well-being. The state is the arena for defining the nature of the common good, and civil liberty emerges when all people are willing to abide by the general will. Since common people are to be the law-makers, they will promulgate laws that result in moderating accumulation of individual wealth and thereby promote equality and trust.Immanuel Kant's main principle regarding civil society was that people should treat other people as ends in themselves rather than means to the ends of others. In other words, we must consider how others would benefit themselves from our actions, rather than how we might use them only for our own benefit, and we must ensure that whatever means we use to pursue our own self-interests does not interfere with others' rights to pursue theirs.Alexis de Toqueville was a French sociologist and politician who provided a contemporary analysis of American society from the beginning of the democratic state. He felt that Americans based their actions on two primary concepts, individualism and equality. While de Toqueville felt that too much emphasis on individualism would lead to widespread egoism and a breakdown in civic virtue, he acknowledged that Americans had a saving grace in their promotion of equality. It is through a feeling of being equal to others that allows people the mutual respect needed to encourage successful public participation in political life.Karl Marx was also concerned about the growing power of the owning class. Although he believed that a democracy was the best type of state, he felt that Hegel incorrectly idealized the state, erroneously assuming it could set the moral tone of the society and ensure the common good among competing interests. Marx felt that the private dimension of civil society overpowered the public aspect, which, in a market-oriented society, resulted in an overemphasis on the rights of the individual to pursue self-interest and a corresponding de-emphasis on the rights of the citizen to pursue communal interests.

People, he thought, in a society characterized primarily of a system of production and consumption, became alienated insofar as they were prohibited from developing their full talents and powers as human beings. Being atomized and estranged from others, they also are less likely to cultivate civic virtues, and more likely to treat others as means, not ends. In a capitalist market economy, in which the quest for money is encouraged, avarice is a common value. One's feeling of self-worth and identity rests less on traditional virtues, and more on one's occupation, income and possessions.

Under capitalism, wealthy owners of the means of production treat workers as a commodity, using them as machine tenders in increasingly sophisticated technologically-based systems of goods manufacture. They expropriate the surplus value of their labour, and use this capital both to enrich themselves and to further expand and develop their business. As these enterprises grew, they became increasingly important to the national interests in a highly competitive international arena. This, said Marx, meant that the state was even more likely to protect their interests against the interests of the workers. This domination of one class over another is inevitable under capitalism and would continue until a revolution occured, instilling a classless society in which a true civil society would flourish.John Rawls is one of the foremost political thinkers of this century. His main contribution to the concept of civil society is his theory of justice. To set a common standard viewpoint by which to judge the various means of allocating what Rawls calls primary goods, such as rights, powers, opportunities, income, wealth, and the bases for self-respect, he postulates a "veil of ignorance" that assumes that one's position and situation in life is not known. This makes it likely that decisions regarding distribution of primary goods will be made on the basis of providing a decent life for those in the worst possible situations, since the decision-makers may find that, upon lifting the veil, that is the position they themselves are in.

In addition to a principle of equal liberty, which includes the right of all people to vote and hold public office, freedom of speech, conscience, thought, association, the right to private property, and due process of law, he adds a second principle of equal opportunity to compete for any position in society. These principles underscore Rawls' idea of 'political liberalism', in which he differentiates between a political realm, consisting of public institutions and social structures, and a nonpublic cultural realm, in which people interact with others in a diversity of associations according to shared moral doctrines. No single morality arising from a non-public setting should be allowed to become the basis of justice, lest the state becomes a repressive regime.

To ensure the values of a constitutional democracy, which Rawls feels is the best kind of government since it allows for pluralism as well as stability, a constitutional consensus must be achieved through equal rights, a public discourse on political matters, and a willingness to compromise.

9.3.2 Significance of Civil society

By civil society it is meant the entire range of organized groups and institutions that are independent of the state, voluntary, and at least to some extent self-generating and self-reliant. This includes non-governmental organizations, independent mass media, think tanks, universities, and social and religious groups. To be part of civil society, groups must meet some other conditions as well. In a democracy, civil society groups have respect for the law, for the rights of individuals, and for the rights of other groups to express their interests and opinions. Part of what the word "civil" implies is tolerance and the accommodation of pluralism and diversity. Civil society groups may establish ties with political parties and the state, but they must retain their independence, and they do not seek political power for themselves. Civil society organizations engage in advocating the public's rights and wishes of the people, including but not limited to health, environment and economic rights. They fulfill important duties of checks and balances in democracies, they are able to influence the government

and hold it accountable. Therefore, free and active civil societies are an indicator of a healthy participatory democracy. However, they can only function where freedom of speech and right of free assembly are guaranteed.

What, then, can the independent, voluntary, law-abiding, tolerant and pluralistic organizations of civil society do to build and maintain democracy?

The first and most basic role of civil society is to limit and control the power of the state. Of course, any democracy needs a well-functioning and authoritative state. But when a country is emerging from decades of dictatorship, it also needs to find ways to check, monitor, and restrain the power of political leaders and state officials. Civil society actors should watch how state officials use their powers. They should raise public concern about any abuse of power. They should lobby for access to information, including freedom of information laws, and rules and institutions to control corruption.

This constitutes a second important function of civil society: to expose the corrupt conduct of public officials and lobby for good governance reforms. Even where anti-corruption laws and bodies exist, they cannot function effectively without the active support and participation of civil society.

A third function of civil society is to promote political participation. NGOs can do this by educating people about their rights and obligations as democratic citizens, and encouraging them to listen to election campaigns and vote in elections. NGOs can also help develop citizens' skills to work with one another to solve common problems, to debate public issues, and express their views.

Fourth, civil society organizations can help to develop the other values of democratic life: tolerance, moderation, compromise, and respect for opposing points of view. Without this deeper culture of accommodation, democracy cannot be stable. These values cannot simply be taught; they must also be experienced through practice. We have outstanding examples from other countries of NGOs-especially women's groups-that have

cultivated these values in young people and adults through various programs that practice participation and debate.

Fifth, civil society also can help to develop programs for democratic civic education in the schools as well. After dictatorship, comprehensive reforms are needed to revise the curricula, rewrite the textbooks, and retrain teachers in order to educate young people about the crimes of the past and teach them the principles and values of democracy. This is too important a task to leave only to officials in the education ministry. Civil society must be involved as a constructive partner and advocate for democracy and human rights training.

Sixth, civil society is an arena for the expression of diverse interests, and one role for civil society organizations is to lobby for the needs and concerns of their members, as women, students, farmers, environmentalists, trade unionists, lawyers, doctors, and so on. NGOs and interest groups can present their views to parliament and provincial councils, by contacting individual members and testifying before parliamentary committees. They can also establish a dialogue with relevant government ministries and agencies to lobby for their interests and concerns.

Also, it must be noted that it is not only the resourceful and the well organized groups who can have their voices heard. Infact, over time, many groups that have historically been oppressed and confined to the margins of society may organize themselves to assert their rights and defend their interests as well.

A seventh way civil society can strengthen democracy is to provide new forms of interest and solidarity that cut across old forms of tribal, linguistic, religious, and other identity ties. Democracy cannot be stable if people only associate with others of the same religion or identity. When people of different religions and ethnic identities come together on the basis of their common interests as women, artists, doctors, students, workers,

farmers, lawyers, human rights activists, environmentalists, and so on, civic life becomes richer, more complex, and more tolerant.

Eighth, civil society can provide a training ground for future political leaders. NGOs and other groups can help to identify and train new types of leaders who have dealt with important public issues and can be recruited to run for political office at all levels and to serve in provincial and national cabinets. Experience from other countries shows that civil society is a particularly important arena from which future women leaders and other leaders are recruited.

Ninth, civil society can help to inform the public about important public issues. This is not only the role of the mass media, but of NGOs which can provide forums for debating public policies and disseminating information about issues before parliament that affect the interests of different groups, or of society at large.

Tenth, civil society organizations can play an important role in mediating and helping to resolve conflict. In other countries, NGOs have developed formal programs and training of trainers to resolve political and ethnic conflict and teach groups to solve their disputes through bargaining and accommodation.

Eleventh, civil society organizations have a vital role to play in monitoring the conduct of elections. This requires a broad coalition of organizations, unconnected to political parties or candidates, that deploys neutral monitors at all the different polling stations to ensure that the voting and vote counting is entirely free, fair, peaceful, and transparent. It is very hard to have credible and fair elections in a new democracy unless civil society groups play this role.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q2: Mention one function of civil society.

9.4 MEANING OF NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANISATIONS

A non-governmental organization (NGO) is any non-profit, voluntary citizens' group which is organized on a local, national or international level. Task-oriented and driven by people with a common interest, NGOs perform a variety of services and humanitarian functions, bring citizen concerns to governments, advocate and monitor policies and encourage political particpation through provision of information. Some are organized around specific issues, such as human rights, environment or health. They provide analysis and expertise, serve as early warning mechanisms and help monitor and implement international agreements.

9.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF N.G.Os IN DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

There is a very wide range of non-government organizations (NGOs). NGOs are groups of concerned citizens who are independent of the government and business, and are thus nominally non-political and non-profit organizations. NGOs typically have charity status and raise funds through a combination of voluntary donations from the public, and also grants from governments and other international development institutions.

Many NGOs are tiny, focusing on development in one region and specializing in one area, others, however, are global institutions, have huge budgets and work in several countries on numerous types of development project. This section focuses on these larger 'aid organisations' with an

international focus - such as Oxfam and Action Aid. Although such organisations have an international focus, they still have a tendency to divide their attention so that they can focus on hundreds of different micro-level projects at one time.

Following are some of the primary functions of NGOs:

1. The development function - This typically involves focusing on small scale aid projects such as local irrigation schemes, or developing rural health and education schemes in conjunction with local communities.

2. The Empowerment Function - NGOs aim to 'empower' local communities "This involves striving to give local communities a role in how aid projects are developed, and also lobbying at international institutions like the European Union to establish trade rules which do not unfairly advantage Western companies and farmers."

3. The Education Function - Oxfam is a good example of an NGO that puts a lot of money into developing education for schools and advertising to keep developing world issues in the public consciousness.

4. The Emergency Aid Function - when natural or social disasters occur, for example earthquakes, hurricanes, famines, etc. NGOs are often in the front line in the delivery of emergency aid.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q3: Mention two functions of NGOs.

9.6. MEANING OF CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND INSTITUTIONAL SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

The term CSR refers to a company's obligation to maximize its positive impact on society, accommodating changing social, market and stakeholder pressures in an effort to achieve sustainable economic, social & environmental development throughout its operations and activities. CSR puts expectations, continuous improvement and innovation at the heart of business strategies and the four dimensions of social responsibility are generally considered to be economic, legal, ethical and philanthropic.

Institutional Social Responsibility bound institutions are those institutions which are an active agent of social change. These institutions undertake voluntary actions in the creation of a culture of social responsibility in society through a myriad of activities that address both their competitive interests in the public domain and welfare of the society in which they operate. Many universities in India under their guidance actively promote institutional social responsibility within and outside their campuses.The young students who enter universities and colleges are energetic, curious and interested to make some contributions. Proper guidance and support by the institutions at this juncture can reinforce their ethical and social responsibilities. While many individuals in such institutions have undertaken innovative efforts, there has not been an adequate institutional mechanism for promoting the same.

It is with this view that the Planning Commission has recommended inclusion of 'fostering social responsibility' as an integral part of the strategy for advancing higher education in the 12th Plan. As greater public and private investments in higher education take place over the next five years, it is imperative that the expanding access is complemented with improved quality of learning. The products of such educational institutions should not only improve their livelihoods and advance their professional opportunities, but also become and act like good citizens of the country.

It is in this context that 'fostering social responsibility in higher education' needs to be placed as an important pillar of the future directions. By improving engagements with the community, institutions of higher education can reinforce the values of social responsibility amongst the youth. Partnerships with communities and civil society need to be encouraged to realize this potential.

9.6.1 Significance of Corporate Social Responsibility and Institutional Social Responsibility in the development process

The growth of CSR has been influenced by many factors. A global economy and improvements in technology have enabled the public access to information relating to how socially responsible and ethical corporations are being, which has resulted in increased worldwide sensitivity to ethical issues. Consumers are taking more interest in the companies which they use, their impact on the environment, on local communities, and in how they treat their workforce. For example, Nike was widely condemned over their treatment of workers and use of child labour in their production sites in developing countries. Investors are making investment decisions based on social sustainability and governments have tightened legislation and developed economic, environmental and social initiatives to encourage CSR. Many companies as a part of their annual policy document incorporate report on social and environmental issues affecting their business. These factors mean that organizations are now evaluated on the basis of financial, social and environmental performance and are being forced to address social problems, previously perceived as the responsibility of government & civil society.

In order to succeed and be perceived as good corporate citizens, more organizations are integrating social and environmental concerns into their business operations, creating value and profit by producing goods and services that society demands.

Two global organizations that see CSR as integral part of their business and operations are Tata's and Infosys. Both companies implement CSR strategies that contribute value to business and society, demonstrating their commitment by being involved in the planning, execution, measurement and reporting of their policies.

Institutional Social Responsibility aims to contribute to the society around it. To achieve this goal and develop such standards within all stakeholders, with which it interacts, an institution formulates the policy on institutional social responsibility. For instance an educational institution of higher learning can address the issue of institutional social responsibility by promoting social learning among the students and faculties of university. This would help in the following ways

- To ensure Leadership, Community and Team Building Skills in students.
- By providing civil education, enriching the ideas of health and hygiene of community.
- To generate sensibility for challenges in society.
- To spread awareness for social responsibility.



9.7 LET US SUM UP

- Civil society consists of institutions that look after the activities, which are not taken up by the state.
- Civil society and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have the power to influence individual behavior and institutions.
- Civil society has the ability to influence the state's policy on social welfare, assert views on current issues, serve as the voice of constructive debate, provide a forum for the exchange of new ideas and information, and initiate social movements.

- There are important parallels between social movements and civil society initiatives.
- Civil society organizations engage in advocating the rights and demands of people.
- A non-governmental organization (NGO) is any non-profit, voluntary citizens' group which is organized on a local, national or international level.
- The term CSR refers to a company's obligation to maximize its positive impact on society, through the adoption of welfare measures.
- Institutional Social Responsibility acts as an active agent of social change. These institutions undertake voluntary actions in the creation of a culture of social responsibility in society through various activities.



9.8 FURTHER READING

DeLue, Steven M., *Political Thinking, Political Theory, and Civil Society,* Allyn and Bacon, Boston, 1997

Seligman, Adam B.*The Idea of Civil Society,* Macmillan Inc., New York, 1992

Ackerman, R. W. (1973). How companies respond to social demands. *Harvard Business Review,* 51(4), 88-98.

Ackerman, R. W. ,& Bauer, R. A. (1976). *Corporate social responsiveness.* Reston, VA: Reston.



9.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Both civil society and social movement are characterized by an identified leadership, an ideology, and organization.

Ans to Q No 2: One of the functions of civil society is to promote political participation.

Ans to Q No 3: Development function, Empowerment function.



9.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

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

Q 1. Briefly explain Gramsci's notion of the civil society.

Q 2. State Rousseau's idea of Social Contract.

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

Q 1. Trace the evolution of civil society as a theoretical construct.

Q 2. Explain the necessity of N.G.O's in contemporary Development scenario.

Q 3. How is Institutional Social Responsibility instrumental in nation building?

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UNIT 10: CONTEMPORARY CONCERNS IN DEVELOPMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives

10.2 Introduction

10.3 Contemporary Concerns of Development - Issues and Challenges

10.4 Contemporary Concerns of Development - Poverty

10.5 Contemporary Concerns of Development - Social Capital

10.6 Contemporary Concerns of Development - Gender

10.7 Let Us Sum Up

10.8 Further Reading

10.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

10.10 Model Questions

10.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- understand the various contemporary concerns that development evokes
- know the issues and challenges involving development projects
- analyze the agenda of development and its impact on poverty
- examine the interrelationship between development and social capital
- comprehead development and its impact on gender issues.

10.2 INTRODUCTION

This unit seeks to provide an understanding of the idea of 'development', and examine its positive and negative effects. It traces the genesis of contemporary concerns and would do so by explaining various concepts underlying poverty, social capital and gender. In our understanding, development goes beyond poverty reduction, conflict prevention, and the sustainable use of natural resources. Next to these goals, development

also implies social change, the transformation of norms and values and the introduction of new social, economic, and political structures. These are the key concerns of sociological research into development processes. Since its inception as an academic discipline, Sociology was committed to elucidating questions regarding the nature, conditions and possibilities of social change.

10.3 CONTEMPORARY CONCERNS OF DEVELOPMENT - ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

For social scientists, development entails the systematic use of scientific and technical knowledge to meet specific objectives or requirements for the benefit of the society. This process of economic and social transformation that is based on complex cultural and environmental factors and their interactions should benefit the society. The study of development has been one of the fundamental aspects of Sociology since the beginnings of the discipline. The competing visions of Weber's *'Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism'* (1904-5) and Marx's *Das Kapital* (1867) have made debates concerning the rise and evolution of capitalism central to the core theoretical debates of Sociology. Development is at the center of the sociological debates. In this sense the Sociology of Development addresses pressing intellectual challenges. Some of these challenges are namely- internal and international migration, transformation of political regimes, changes in household and family formations, technological change, sustainable (and unsustainable) population and economic growth, and the production and reproduction of social and economic inequality. Development is not purely an economic phenomenon but rather a multi-dimensional process involving reorganization and reorientation of entire economic and social system. Development is a process of improving the quality of all human lives with three equally important aspects. These are:

i. Raising peoples' living standards, i.e. incomes and consumption, quality of food, medical services, education through relevant growth processes

ii. Creating conditions conducive to the growth of peoples' self-esteem through the establishment of social, political and economic systems and institutions which promote human dignity and respect

iii. Increasing peoples' freedom to choose by enlarging the range of their choice variables, e.g. varieties of goods and services



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1. Define 'development'.

10.4 CONTEMPORARY CONCERNS OF DEVELOPMENT - POVERTY

It must be clear that development and globalisation are closely intertwined. The contemporary understanding of poverty can be only situated against the backdrop of Globalisation. While discussing the various issues in next few paragraphs the term globalisation and development would be closely interlinked. Globalisation and poverty are important issues in every country's agenda whether it be developed or developing. Poverty is a multifaceted concept, which includes social, economic political elements. According to United Nations "poverty is the inability of getting choices and opportunities, a violation of human dignity. It means lack of basic capacity to participate effectively in society. It means not having enough to feed and clothe a family, not having a school or clinic to go to, not having the land on which to grow one's food or a job to earn one's living, and not having access to credit. It means insecurity, powerlessness and exclusion of individuals, households and communities. It means susceptibility to violence, and it often implies living in marginal or fragile environments, without access to clean water or sanitation." (UN, 1998).

Poverty is generally of two types: absolute poverty, which is the same as destitution and occurs when people cannot get hold of sufficient resources (measured in terms of calories or nutrition) to maintain a minimum level of physical health. Absolute poverty means the same almost everywhere, and can be eliminated as proven by some countries. Relative poverty occurs when people do not enjoy a certain minimum level of living standards as determined by the state and enjoyed by the majority of the population. These standards may vary from country to country and sometimes within the same country. Relative poverty occurs everywhere, is said to be increasing, and may never be eradicated. Once economic development has progressed beyond a certain minimum level, the issue of the poverty problem - from the point of view of both the poor individual and of the societies in which they live - is not so much the effects of poverty in any absolute form but the effects of the contrast, daily perceived, between the lives of the poor and the lives of those around them. For practical purposes, the problem of poverty in the industrialised nations today is a problem of relative poverty. In this context, it is important to understand the phenomenon of globalisation and it's impacts on the larger economic scenario and not only poverty. In terms of the repercussions on the economic front, globalisation can be understood both by it's positive and negative effects. Following are some of its positive impacts.

i. Higher export generated income promotes investment in productive capacity with a potentially positive local development impact depending on inter firm linkages, the ability to maintain competitiveness etc.

ii. Employment growth is relatively labour intensive and causes an increase in overall employment or reduction of employment in lower wage sectors. Either of these outcomes tends to increase wages.

iii. Exposure to new technology leads to improvement in skills and labour productivity which facilitate the upgrading of industry into more value added output, while either enabling further wage growth or relaxing the downward pressure.

iv. The considerable increase in employment and thus in wages leads to reduced social inequality, if the social structure, political institutions and social policies play a vital role.

Some of the negative impacts of globalizing processes according to Stiglitz are:

i. The rules governing globalization favour developed countries, while the developing countries sink even lower.

ii. Globalization only regards monetary value of items, rather than other factors involved, one being the environment.

iii. Developing countries are controlled by globalisation and it has negative effect on their democracies. Developing countries borrow a large amount of funds from other countries and the World Bank which essentially causes them to give up the benefits of their democracy because of the strings attached to the loan repayment.

iv. There is a prevailing notion that it does not live up to its original expectations. Globalisation was advertised to boost countries economically; however, it has not shown improvement in developed nor developing countries.

v. The new system of globalisation has basically forced a new economic system on developing countries. This new economic system is seen as the "Americanisation" of their policies as well as culture. This has caused quite a bit of resentment and financial damage.

Many other negative aspects are as follows:

i. The increase in employment and wages is in contradiction to the supposed positive effects and is unlikely to be sufficient to reduce inequality. In most of the developing countries, inequality is likely to grow because of unequal control.

ii. Pressure to create local employment and international competition in bidding for it often puts international firms in a powerful position to impose or negotiate labour standards and labour management practices that are inferior to those of industrialised countries.

iii. Relocation of relatively mobile, labour intensive manufacturing from industrialised to developing countries in some conditions, can have disruptive social effects. If there is an absence of effective planning and negotiations between international companies and the government or companies of the host country, the relocated activity promotes urban bound migration and it will stay for a shorter period.

iv. Recent decades have witnessed the feminization of poverty, or the significant increase in the numbers of single women in poverty alone, primarily as single mothers. In the last three decades the proportion of poor families headed by women has grown to more than 50 percent.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 2. What are the two types of poverty?

10.5 CONTEMPORARY CONCERNS OF DEVELOPMENT- SOCIAL CAPITAL

The concept of social capital became fashionable only relatively recently, but the term has been in use for almost a century while the ideas behind it go back further still. "Social capital" may first have appeared in a book published in 1916 in the United States that discussed how neighbours could work together to oversee schools. Author Lyda Hanifan referred to social capital as "those tangible assets [that] count for most in the daily lives of people: namely goodwill, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse among the individuals and families who make up a social unit". That gives

some sense of what's meant by social capital, although today it would be hard to come up with a single definition that satisfied everyone. For the sake of simplicity, however, we can think of social capital as the links, shared values and understandings in society that enable individuals and groups to trust each other and so work together. Social capital may be defined as those resources inherent in social relations which facilitate collective action. Social capital resources include trust, norms, and networks of association representing any group which gathers consistently for a common purpose .In recent years, the term entered the popular imagination with the publication in 2000 of Robert Putnam's bestseller, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community.* Putnam argued that while Americans have become wealthier their sense of community has withered. Cities and traditional suburbs have given way to "edge cities" and "exurbs" - vast, anonymous places where people sleep and work and do little else. As people spend more and more time in the office, commuting to work and watching TV alone, there's less time for joining community groups and voluntary organizations, and socializing with neighbors, friends and even family.

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

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

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

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

The potential benefits of social capital can be seen by looking at social bonds. Friends and families can help us in lots of ways - emotionally,

socially and economically. Such support can be even more important in countries where the rule of lavis weak or where the state offers few social services: clans can fund the education of relatives and find them work, and look after orphans and the elderly. Bourdieu extended the notion of capital, defined as sums of money or assets put to productive use. Bourdieu habitually refers to several principal forms of capital: economic, symbolic, cultural and social. John Locke (1632-1704) was probably the first who introduced the term "civic society". Although each individual in the state of nature has the right to enforce the natural law in defense of property interests, the formation of a civil society requires that all individuals voluntarily surrender this right to the community at large. Civil society, and more recently "social capital", refer to the growing space between the individual and the government or state. This subsequently implies the restructuring of governance or governmentality (Foucault, 1991). Since the beginning of the 1980s and even more during the 1990s plenty of surveys have been conducted on social capital and an increasing number of studies and articles have been published (Bourdieu, 1986 and 1993; Putnam, 1993 and 2000; Coleman, 1988, Woolcock, 1998; Fukuyama, 1999; Burt, 2000; Norris, 2003; Tillberg Mattsson et al., 2004, Árnason et al., 2004). Bourdieu and Coleman, from whose work the idea originated emphasized the importance of social ties and shared norms to societal well-being and economic efficiency, and their concept has widely been used in the study of social inequality and hierarchical social structures. Putnam above all linked the ideas of social capital to the importance of civic associations and voluntary organisations, and emphasised positive aspects of social control.

According to Bourdieu`s, there are different forms of capital. Economic capital is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the forms of property rights. Bourdieu's cultural capital, which may be institutionalized in the forms of educational qualifications, includes what economists consider as human capital, but it is a wider

concept. His concept of social capital encompasses the resources derived from one's belonging to a group. Relations of social capital may exist on the basis of material and/or symbolic relations of exchange, and they may also be institutionalized in the forms of a title of nobility. Social capital can be defined as the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. The membership in a group provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively owned capital, a credential which entitles them to credit. According to Bourdieu, the amount of social capital held by an individual depends on the extent he or she is able to mobilize a social network and from the capital (including the economic, cultural or symbolic capital) held by the members of that network. Social capital, like other types, of capital, is unevenly distributed, mobilized, utilized, transformed and exchanged in society.

In *Making Democracy Work* Putnam explored the conditions for creating responsive and effective democratic institutions that lead to economic growth. Putnam points out that features of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks of civic engagement (associations) can substantially improve a society's efficiency in overcoming dilemmas of collective action. Putnam uses social capital as an attribute of the social structure in which a person is embedded, and emphasizes that social capital is "not the private property of any of the persons who benefit from it" (Putnam, 1993, 170). Networks of civic engagement like neighborhood associations, choral societies, cooperatives, sports clubs, and mass-based parties represent intense horizontal interaction which essentially promote trust, reciprocity and co-operation within the society. In contrast, vertical networks such as patron-client relationships can, according to Putnam, do not sustain social trust and co-operation, and rather tend to undermine solidarity, especially among clients. The radius of trust is the circle of people among whom cooperative norms are operative. Social capital promotes access to resources and social capital is also assumed to be produced by networks, defined as social actors, or nodes and flows of information and resources.

A territorial approach to social capital was brought into discussion by Rifkin. He states that all real culture exists in Geography because that is where intimacy takes place, and without intimacy it is not possible to create bonds of social trust and engender true feelings of empathy. Our more ancient nature is embedded as much in Geography as in temporality. Simultaneously, according to Giddens, there is a process of disembodying between space and time and consequently a loss of special intimacy. Local societies are traditional historical communities .There is a continuous process of transformation going on in rural areas, and the means of living, the population structure and social cohesion are in a state of flux. Yet, territory is more than just a social convention, and rootedness to geographical place is still valued. Some feel a deep empathy with a certain place or territory, others with the local social community, some both of them. New communication means have made location less of a constant in fashioning of social relationships. However, there is a close relationship amongst people and long-term individual experience with a territory also enhances social capital.

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q3. Define ‘Social Capital’.

10.6. CONTEMPORARY CONCERNS OF DEVELOPMENT- GENDER

To understand the gendered nature of the development process, one has to locate men and women within the complex history of policy interventions. Scholars from feminist perspectives, and women's organisations argue that development planning and practice has not taken into account unequal gendered power relations. Women, in particular, have been seen as the more disadvantaged group. This account emphasizes on the consequences that an inadequate attention to gender equation has resulted in. In the context of India, several studies point out that the crimes against women show an upward trend, in particular brutal crimes such as rapes, dowry deaths, and honour killings. These trends are disturbing as a natural prediction would be that with growth come education and prosperity, and a possible decline in adherence to traditional institutions and socially prescribed gender roles that hold women back. Thus women's position remains unchanged and has in many situations worsened. The development discourse has perceived women as submissive recipients of state's largesse. Connel (1987) says women are the major consumers of welfare services, because of the ways in which state support is designed to substitute for 'husbands'(breadwinner) wages, presupposing women's exclusion from the labour market. The literature on women and development in India have focused on how in the course of economic development, the dependence on market conditions, technological options and socio-legal institutions has consistently had devastating effects on Indian women's work and employment according to several scholars. Discrimination against women and girls is a pervasive and long-running phenomenon that characterizes Indian society at every level. India's progress towards gender equality, measured by its position on rankings such as the Gender Development Index has been disappointing, despite fairly rapid rates of economic growth.

Initially the Planning Commission defined three areas of special focus for Indian women's development- education, social welfare and health, emphasising the nurturing role of women rather than her productive role. Till the Sixth Five Year Plans the approach to women's issues was mainly welfare oriented, celebrating the image of 'nurturing and caring mother'. For example under health programmes the focus was maternal and child health services, supplementary feeding for children, and for nursing and expectant mothers. Women continued to be seen as beneficiaries of programmes of social welfare, mainly through voluntary organisations, with the help of the Central Social Welfare Board, according to Kalpagam.

The image of women as passive recipients was continued even within the various poverty alleviation programmes implemented by the government in the early 1970s. These programmes were initiated at a time when 'poverty had become a political issue'.. Such development strategies support the status quo they do not benefit women. These reinforce patriarchal norms of behaviour.

Gendered analysis of the schemes in the first few years' post-independence India reveal two major shortcomings: first there was no special effort to integrate specific needs of women, and second it focused on the household and was not sensitive to unequal power relations operating within it. The major assumption was that the household is a unit of congruent interests, among whose members the benefits of available resources are shared equitably, irrespective of gender. This gender critique was the result of the debates in the seventies regarding 'women and development'.

These debates were the result of three interrelated factors discussed below:

First, it refers to organisation of gender specific empirical evidence and analysis by the Committee on the Status of Women in India in form of the *'Towards Equality Report'* in 1974. The Report stated that the secondary and subordinate position of women was the result of 'patriarchal' nature of mainstream development process. The Report stated that women and in

particular poor women fared worse in social, economic, and political indicators of development. Additionally, the Government was not acknowledging the role of women in development. It pressurised the state to take cognizance of the fact that a 'top-down and additive' approach to Indian women's development concerns does not address the needs of women. The Committee recommended on conducting research to gather data on gender discrimination in employment, education, land redistribution inheritance, nutrition and health began to be collected and theorised on.

Secondly, the mushrooming of women's organisations loosely constituted a women's movement since the late 1970's. The new women's movement, in late seventies and early eighties through campaigns on rape and dowry conceptualised women's concerns within a gendered framework. Through the campaigns a gendered critique of the patriarchal structures of the state and its policies were made. The upsurge of mass movements, in late sixties and early seventies which articulated the discontent of Indian citizens with the development model also emphasised the need to rethink the development model.

The Third was in the international context. Kabeer and Saunders argue that two interconnecting factors led to the recognition of women as a constituency in development process. The first was the efforts by academics such as Boserup who showed how women played a critical role in agricultural production in sustaining local and national economies. The Second was the growing realisation that the processes of colonialism and modernisation has had a negative impact on the economies of sub-Saharan Africa and Third World countries and that in the Third World countries one could see women's increased marginalisation. Therefore there was a growing demand that women must be integrated into the development process as active economic agents if countries are to prosper. The next influence was the social movements by women in the sixties and seventies against male domination and oppression. It also involved a process of theorising on

patriarchy on lines of three theoretical perspectives- liberal, radical and Marxist/socialist feminisms.

Feminist economists recognised the failure of the trickle-down theory, which argued that benefits of economic growth and development would trickle down to women and called for a need to design a development model that would focus on poverty alleviation measures and redistribution of resources for women. ‘‘This 'equity' argument was bolstered with an 'efficiency argument' that highlighted the fact that 'women's issues have development policy implications’’ (Buvinic 1983:23). This recognition changed the focus of development polices from welfare to economic efficiency and pressurised the United Nations to take cognizance of women's concerns into the development process, as 'productive citizens'. The declaration of 1975-85 by United Nations as the United Nations Decade for Women was important. The impact of this was seen in terms of research funding and dissemination, media coverage and pressure on countries to generate gender-specific data and status of women reports (Agarwal 1994:3). This gendered critique of its developmental model made the Indian state structure its programmes in the eighties within the new perspective called 'Women in Development' (WID). It recognised the adverse impact of inappropriate economic development programmes and its data gathering efforts which did not recognise women's work and treated them as mothers. The polices of the state were critiqued by Indian feminists arguing that they focussed merely on women's issues' and not on gendered relations of power and inequality. Krishnaraj and Banerjee argued that women's contribution to the economy remains 'hidden' because their work, especially in agriculture remains un-enumerated. Women's work is categorised within 'unproductive work' for which payment is not made. This unpaid work includes activities inside and outside homes and in agriculture which are not classified under conventional categories of work. To a great extent women's work remains uncounted and un-reflected in the census. This lacuna has an adverse impact on government development polices for women.



10.7 LET US SUM UP

- Development is characterised by both positive and negative aspects.
- Development is posed with several challenges in contemporary times.
- Some of the prominent challenges to development are-poverty, gender inquality, etc.
- Development in order to be truely effective, must take into concideration the adverce aspects and its impacts on the larger society.



10.8 FURTHER READING

Agarwal, B. (1985) 'Women, Poverty and Agricultural Growth in India', The Journal of Peasant Studies, Vol. 13, No 4, pp 165-220.

_____ (1989) 'Rural Women, Poverty and natural resources: Sustenance, Sustainability and Struggle for Change', Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 24, No 3, WS 46-WS112.

_____ (1994) 'Gender and Command Over Property: A Critical Gap In Economic Analysis and Policy in South Asia', World Development, Vol. 22, No 10, pp 1455-1478.

_____ (1995) A field of One's Own: Gender and Land rights in South Asia, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Agnihotri, I. and Mazumdar, V. (2005) 'Changing Terms of Political Discourse: Women's Movement in India 1970s -1990s' in Khullar, M. (ed.) (2005):



10.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Development is a process of improving the quality of all human lives with three equally important aspects.

Ans to Q No 2: Absolute Poverty, Relative Poverty.

Ans to Q No 3: Social capital refers to the links, values and understanding among people that help them to live and work together.



10.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

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

1. What is development planning?
2. Which are the factors that lead to poverty due to globalisation?
3. What are the positive and negative effects of globalising process on developing countries?

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

1. Why is it important to take gender concerns into development process? Discuss.
2. Why is it important to make planning gender sensitive?
3. Does the Indian state address the development concerns of the marginalised? Examine.

** ** **

UNIT 11: DEVELOPMENT AND DISPLACEMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 Learning Objectives

11.2 Introduction

11.3 Adverse effects of Development

11.4 Meaning and types of displacement

11.4.1 Disaster- Induced Displacement

11.4.2 Development- Induced Displacement

11.5. Displacement and Marginalisation

11.6 Let Us Sum Up

11.7 Further Reading

11.8 Answer to Check your Progress

11.9 Model questions

11.1LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- understand the adverse effects of development.
- know the meaning of displacement.
- understand the types of displacement
- analyse the risks brought by displacement to human life

11.2 INTRODUCTION

This unit emphasises on understanding some adverse effects of development. Development is a concept which has been defined in various ways. Traditionally development is defined as an economic process associated with industrialisation, urbanisation, improved facilities of transportation etc. To achieve development people do various activities which bring benefits at large but often cause disruption to society (mostly to the socially vulnerable groups) and to natural environment. With the passing of time by adding non-economic parameters development agencies try to reform or do less harm to people as well as to nature.

11.3 ADVERSE EFFECTS OF DEVELOPMENT

As mentioned above, there have been attempts to check the limitations of the development process. However, the adverse effects of development are so intense that it has already damaged the balance of both social and natural systems to a large extent.

The following account discusses some of the adverse effects of development:

- **Pollution:** There is no doubt development and economic growth provide an improved quality of life to many people. But at the same time development has some downsides which also affect much people. Pollution, one of the negative environmental consequences of development, threatens the balance of the whole bio-diversity. In many countries the rate of degradation of natural resources, i.e. land, water and air is considerably very high.The WWF states if greenhouse gas emission continues, temperature will rise more than 4 degrees Celsius within next few years. In a study it was found that since Industrial Revolution, mercury levels in upper ocean have been tripled due to various development oriented human activities like burning of fossil fuels, mining etc. Scientists reveal that due to pollution, 16% of species, or one in six, face extinction. Pollution decreases life expectancy of humans also. In China an average of 5.5 years of life expectancy becomes less due to air pollution. The Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences in 2014 opined that pollution in Beijing is near level, that is no more liveable for humans.

In India also, the current scenario regarding pollution is terrible, where 13 of 20 most polluted cities are situated. In Delhi, the capital of India, 40 people die per day from respiratory illness. In India 60% of electricity is being generated from burning coal. The coal-fired power plants of India contribute in growing air pollution.

Dumping of industrial harmful wastes is one of the major causes of pollution of Ganga, one of the most polluted rivers in the world.So all kind of pollutions like water pollution, soil pollution, air pollution, noise pollution have been growing up day by day due to various activities of human such as pollution from vehicle, fossil fuel emission from power plants, industrial dump wastes, radiations etc. and surprisingly are these activities are basically development oriented activities.

- **Deforestation:** Deforestation refers to clearing the tree cover; land that is permanently converted from forest to non-forest uses. While clearing trees there is no intention of replacing the trees or re-establishing tree covered areas.In the beginning of 20th century about 7.0 billion hectares of forests were present. By 1950 forest covers were reduced, and the present trend may further reduce forests to only 2.35 billion hectares in 2000 A.D. A UNED study describes that in every year about 7.3 million hectares of rich tropical forests and about 14 hectares of closed forest are lost.

Definitely a question comes here, what are the causes that lead to these kinds of destruction of nature. Unfortunately, the answer is development. Deforestation happens basically for infrastructural development, logging, human settlement, industrialisation, agricultural expansion etc. The effects of deforestation are climate change, loss of species, soil erosion, increasing poor health, threat to indigenous native tribes etc.

- **Appearance of Slums:** Slums are basically systemic dysfunction of development process. Development links with various processes including urbanisation. In the mainstream development process not all areas of a country are equally covered up. Due to the transformation of agriculture sector to industrial sector, high rate of population growth,scarcities of opportunities of livelihood in the villages and small towns; people migrate from the rural areas to the cities hoping for a better future. But in cities due to rapid growth of urban areas, poverty,

politics,unequal income, colonialism and segregation (e.g. Dharavi of Mumbai) etc. they have to live without the basic amenities of life. They form a slum where they have to live in an inhuman environment facing social exclusion. The consequences of slums are illiteracy, poverty, health issues as well as high rate of mortality, crime, environmental degradations, social exclusion, high growth of population etc.

- **Displacement:** There are various paths to achieve development. It is believed that expansion is essential for development. The expansion may be in various forms like urbanisation,industrialisation, various infrastructural development(e.g. roads), production of electricity through big dams etc. So, often for the purpose of expansion, development agencies displace people or deforest the forest covered areas. Besides the developmental expansions, sometimes natural and man-made disasters also displace people from their land. So, displacement is a phenomenon with various forms and it is an outcome of multiple sets of factors. Displacement has various adverse effects. However, generally displacement is justified by calling it an inevitable process to achieve development where a few have to sacrifice for larger benefit of society.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1. Give two examples of adverse effects of development.

11.4 MEANING AND TYPES OF DISPLACEMENT

In ferms of its its causes, displacement can be defined in two ways:

First, displacement is a process involves physical eviction of people from their locality, environment or occupational activity to make an alternative use of land.

Second, because of natural disaster or man-made disaster, people are displaced from their habitation, locality, and occupation. Displacement has economic, political, social, cultural and psychological impact.

Displacement can be of two types:

i. Disaster- Induced Displacement

ii. Development- Induced Displacement



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q2. What is the meaning of displacement?

Q3 What are the types of displacement?

11.4.1 Disaster-Induced Displacement

When disaster displaces people, it is known as disaster-induced displacement.The United Nations has defined a disaster as "a serious disruption of the functioning of a society, causing widespread human, material, or environmental losses which exceed the ability of the affected society to cope using its own resources." This definition makes it clear that not every fire, earthquake, drought, epidemic, or industrial accident is a disaster. When the losses exceed a society's ability to cope and external aid is required, then only it can be regarded as a disaster.

Most classifications of disaster identify two main types: natural and human-made.

Natural disasters may be classified into three sub-categories. They are:–

- **Sudden impact:** Floods, earthquakes, tidal waves, tropical storms, volcanic eruptions, and landslides are the sudden impact natural

disasters which cause deaths, food shortages, infrastructural damage, and sudden migration of large populations to another place.

- **Slow-onset:** Droughts, famine, environmental degradation, deforestation, pest infestation, and desertification are the slow-onset natural disasters which cause displacement in a wide range as a result of adverse weather conditions combined with poor land use.

- **Epidemic diseases:** Severe outbreak of epidemic diseases causes major disasters which threaten people especially in overcrowded and unhygienic areas. It is also one of the natural disasters which causes displacement.

Human-made disasters include two sub-categories. They are:

- Industrial/technological disasters and

- Complex emergencies

Industrial/technological disasters: After World War II technological expansions took place and at the same time technological disasters too. The features of technological disasters basically are uncontrolled events involving fires, explosions or release of toxic substances that result in death, injury of large number of people, damage of property and degradation of environment in large scale. The suffered people flee from their own habitation because of the adverse effect of technological disasters. Industrial/ technological disasters result from either human errors like poor planning, neglect of safety procedures, failure in controlling technology, etc. or malfunction of technology. Sometimes sudden on site disasters like earthquakes, floods, tsunami, and human-made factors such as armed conflict etc. also cause secondary disasters such as fires, industrial explosions etc. which further cause human displacements.

Complex Emergencies; Complex emergencies have multiple factors including war, internal conflict, failure of disaster management mechanism

etc. which are usually human-made. Complex emergencies are marked by large-scale displacement, food insecurity, human rights violations, and elevated mortality.

So, disasters are one of the major causes of displacement. Both natural disaster and human-made disasters affect human life. Norwegian Refugee Council(2015) reported on disaster-induced displacement by saying that - "In every second, one person is displaced by disaster". Disasters like desertification, soil erosion, drought,deforestation and other environmental problems associated with population pressure and profound poverty give birth to a new phenomenon: 'environmental refugees'. These are displaced people who can no longer gain their secured livelihood because of the above mentioned environmental problems.In 1995 there were 25 million of environmental refugees which became double in number by 2010.As a result of environmental degradation these people have to leave their traditional habitation, temporarily or permanently that endangered their existence and seriously degraded their quality of life.

Human- made disasters like war, terrorist activities produce conflict-induced displacement. Conflict induced displacement is a severe humanitarian crisis which have long term negative impacts on human and social capital, economic growth, poverty reduction efforts and environmental sustainability. In 2008,15.2 million people became refugees outside their country because of violence, conflict, fear of persecution. 26 million people were internally displaced by armed conflict and violence, and human rights violation.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q4. What is Disaster-Induced Displacement?

Q5. How disaster-induced displacement can be classified?

11.4.2 Development-Induced Displacement

Development induced displacement is the forcing of individuals, families or communities out of their habitation, land to gain economic development.Every year development projects such as water supply (dams, reservoirs, irrigation); urban infrastructure; transportation (roads, highways, canals); energy (mining, power plants, oil exploration and extraction, pipelines); agricultural expansion; parks and forest reserves; and population redistribution schemes displace ten millions of people globally.

Development- induced displacement is a widespread, growing, and always a crisis -prone phenomenon. Although displacement has been considered as an inevitable part of development programmes but it causes socio-economic and cultural disruption for the affected population. It breaks down social continuity, living pattern, social networks, dismantles existing mode of production, brings crisis to their cultural identity and increases health problems.

Development agencies including government claim that development induced displacement brings prosperities, and beneficiaries of development are numerous. But the costs of development are being borne disproportionately by the socially, politically, economically most vulnerable and marginalized groups of society. In India from 1951 to 1990, 2 percent of total population had been displaced for development projects, and among those displaced people, 40 percent was tribal people who constitute only 8 percent of total population. The indigenous groups suffer mostly because of specific and strong cultural connection they have with the land and environment in which they live. The forced displacement is generally rationalised with principle of 'greater good for the larger numbers'. This is one of the major concerns for social justice and human rights. In India, in four decades more than 25 million people have been displaced due to development projects and 75% of these displaced people are not rehabilitated yet. Basically, evidences prove that to make comfort for larger population some people have to live vulnerable lives.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q6. What is development induced displacement?

11.5 DISPLACEMENT AND MARGINALISATION

Although population displacement has been a prerequisite of growing economies especially in developing countries, it affects the livelihood of the households which are involuntarily displaced to take off the development projects. Studies on the social impact of development projects suggest that indigenous people and ethnic minorities are disproportionately affected as they come from politically marginalised and disadvantaged strata of society, which often end up neglected and impoverished.

In India, as already mentioned above, 40-50 percent of total displacee comprises of tribal people who constitute only 8% of total population. It is not only India but world-wide that the victims of forced displacements are basically the vulnerable group of the society. For example, a dam project on the Kaligandaki River displaced indigenous group in Nepal who have lost their land and livelihood and have reportedly been inadequately compensated. In Philippines, the construction of the San Roque Dam threatened the livelihood of an estimated 35,000 indigenous Ibaloi people. In Barma, in Karen and Tavoyans indigenous people were displaced by large infrastructure projects and subject to forced labour and abuses by the military.

In the process of development the most vulnerable households are mainly affected by destructing the patterns of social organisation and mutual help networks. Thus they lose both natural and man-made physical capital as well as human and social capital. Loss of economic power leads to economic marginalisation which results in a "downward mobility" path. Loss

of economic, social, human capital increases vulnerability of displaees and it is accompanied by social and psychological marginalization.

Displacement deprives people of many things, some of which are fundamental to their lives, including homes, productive assets, and livelihoods, familiar environments to which skills and practices have been attuned, community networks, and a sense of local belonging. There are multiple facets of marginalisation. For example: the displacees in their new relocated areas are considered as strangers and they are not given the opportunities and entitlement of publicly owned resources. In Post-displacement settlement psychological marginalisation and its consequences are overlooked. Cultural and behavioural impairments, anxiety and decline in self-esteem are the obvious results of psychological marginalisation of the displacees.

Prior to actual displacements economic deprivation and marginalisation begin as most of their economic activities are discontinued before the development projects starts. Significant partial loss of farming lands, resettlement of people having high productive fertile lands to inferior soils make people more marginalised. Sometimes displacees are offered temporary job which are unsustainable as income sources.

Mostly in developing countries, development-induced displacement often comes hand in hand with rampant corruption, the use or threat of violence to evict people from their homes, undemocratic imposition of projects, and systemic failure to uphold obligations to fairly compensate the affected people. The existence of a growing body of international policies and standards on rights-respecting approaches to displacement and resettlement, are not able to stop excessive degree of displacement and it continues to happen. The resettlement and rehabilitation schemes are underfunded or never implemented, and millions of people are left with their lives destroyed and no adequate shelter or livelihood, i.e. displaced people are marginalised.

These are some inter-linked risks of displacement which are directly linked with marginalisation. These are: landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, food insecurity, increased mortality, loss of access to common property, social disarticulation, etc.

Landlessness: Displacement from land removes the main foundation upon which people's productive systems, commercial activities, and livelihoods are constructed. This mainly affects or disrupts both human, natural, social and economic capital. Landlessness results in impoverishment. There are lots of examples of impoverishment due to landlessness around the world. One of them is the displaced Kisan tribe of Orissa, India. They live on agriculture but after requisition of land, compensation could not restore their land basis. They became landless, jobless and risks and losses of the tribes have been increasing. This is the form of de-capitalization and pauperization of displaced people, as they lose both human-made and natural capital.

Joblessness: In both rural and urban displacement, the risk of becoming jobless is very high. Previously employed persons may lose their wage employment in three ways, mentioned below:

1. Workers of urban areas may lose their job in industry and service.
2. Landless workers may lose their access to work on land owned by some other people, or those who do their own cultivation may lose their own land and become jobless.
3. Small business persons or self-employed people, like producer-craftsman, shopkeepers etc. lose their place of business and customers, and become jobless.

After displacement, creating new job is very difficult and it needs substantial investments. Unemployment or underemployment endures long after resettlement has been completed. Sometimes the small shopkeepers, artisan etc. do not get any compensation. For example, in Madagascar

Tana Plain project these small business persons lost their business place, their customers, but they were not entitled to compensation.

Displacement increases unemployment as well as it brings a shift from primary to tertiary occupation. A survey on five tribal villages of Orissa found an increase in unemployment from 9 percent to 43.6 percent and a large shift from primary to tertiary occupation.

Resettlement after displacement sometimes decreases productive time of indigenous people. Field studies on people displaced by Churchill-Nelson Hydro Project, Canada, found a significant increase in non-productive time in the community after they were resettled in a different location.

Homelessness: While for some, loss of shelter may be temporary; but, for some, homelessness or worsening in their housing standards remains a long-lasting condition. Loss of a family's own home, loss of a community's cultural space or common space tends to result in status deprivation and sometimes alienation.

Homelessness has various dimensions. If the compensation for requisition is paid according to market value rather than replacement value the displaced peoples' risk of worsening housing quality increases. When government forcefully resettles people through compulsory villagization scheme, then the displaced families lose natural and man- made capital assets and have to live with a feeling of landlessness.

There are various examples of displaced people who have to live in worsening housing condition compared to that before displacement. Even after 10- 15 years of displacement, 59% of total displaced population of Kukadi Krishna irrigation sub projects in Maharastra, India, many people were found living in temporary/semi -permanent houses.

Food Insecurity: It is a result of inadequate resettlement. During relocation of displaced people, availability of crop and income of primary occupation both drop down. To rebuild regular food production capacity in resettled

area may take a long period of time or it may not rebuild for ever. So, food insecurity becomes a lingering problem for the resettlers. Horowwitz and Salem-Murdock in the context of Manantali Dam and water regime management in Senegal, described this risk of displacement as 'development-induced food insecurity.'

Increased Morbidity and Mortality: Serious decline in health level is the intense risk of displacement.Displacement-induced social stress and psychological trauma, non-availability of medical facilities, outbreak of relocation related illnesses, unsafe water supply and improvised sewage systems etc. cause serious decline in health level especially to the weakest segments of the demographic spectrum-infants, children, and the elderly.

Loss of shelter, impoverishment due to displacement directly associate with the displaced peoples' experience of higher level of exposure and vulnerability to illness and disease than they experienced prior to displacement. For example, the prevalence of schistosomiasis became 75 percent among adult lake side dwellers and close to 100% among children within a few years after impoundment in Akosombo area in Ghana. Before impoundment it was mere 1.8 percent.

According to the research done by Ferrao, Borup and assoc. (1982) the increased morbidity and mortality rates among the more vulnerable groups is an effect of losing their prior homes.

Sometimes mortality rates also increases because of accidents associated with new reservoirs or epidemic outbreaks around new bodies of water. In Indonesia more than hundred people drowned at Saguling Dam Lake at first 14 months of resettlement due to lack of proper information and precautionary measures.

Loss of Access to Common Property: For those landless and assetless people, loss of access to the common property result in significant deterioration in income and livelihood levels.Kibread analyses the linkage between assetless common property resource, poverty, and impoverishment

risks. He further states that the loss of common property leads to long term consequences on their livelihood and social standing which increases the vulnerability of the displacees. For example Sequeira (1994) shows that in semi-arid areas of India between 69 to 80 percent of poor households' grazing needs are supplied by land of common property regime. Based on a study on seven development projects of Orissa, India, it has been found that no compensation was paid for common properties by any projects. When the newly settled population try to access the common property resource of the host area's population, sometimes it became the matter of conflict between two groups.

Social Disarticulation: Forced displacement always affects at many levels such as dismantling of production system, disorganisation of long-established residential communities and settlements, disorganisation of associations: formal as well as informal, sudden scattering of members of self-organized services, etc. Because of displacement, kinship groups and family systems are often scattered and life-sustaining informal social networks which provide mutual help become non-functional. Local labour markets are disrupted and the base of trade linkages between producers and customer are interrupted.

Displacement does not simply lead to financial loss. The sociological study of Behura and Nayak (1993) finds that among the displacees there are various kinds of social disarticulation such as lower cohesion of family structure, growing alienation and anomie, the weakening of control on interpersonal behaviour, loosening of intimate bonds etc. In this context Baboo (1992) rightly remarks " The people may physically persist, but the community was-is no more".

So, from this discussion it is clear that to achieve development for the larger section of the society, the human rights of socially vulnerable groups are always subjected to violate. In the name of development the human right violation or deprivation from human rights by state or by developing agencies marginalises a section of the people.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q7. What are the risks intrinsic with development induced displacement?

Q8. Basically which group of society has to bear the pain of displacement most?



11.6 LETS SUM UP

- Development does not have a positive dimension only.
- Development has some adverse effects on the society, like pollution, deforestation, emergence of slums, displacements etc.
- Displacement involves physical eviction from a dwelling and expropriation of productive land and other assets to make possible an alternative use.
- Displacement is basically of two types: Disaster- Induced Displacement and Development- Induced Displacement
- Disaster- induced displacement is of two types: natural and human-made.
- Development-induced displacement has also both kinds of dimensions; positive as well as negative.
- The risks intrinsic with development induced displacements are landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, food Insecurity, loss of access to common property, social disintegration etc.

- To achieve national interest or to do favour to the larger group, the socially vulnerable groups always have to bear the pain of development-induced displacement.

11.7FURTHER READING

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Cernea M.M., "Risks,Safeguards and Reconstruction: A Model for Populaton Displacement and Resettlement"(in) CerneaM.M.,McDowell Ch.(eds.), Risk and Reconstruction : Experiences of refugees and Resettlers, The worl Bank, Washington D.C., 2000. PP.11-55.

Fernandes, W (1991), "Power and powerlessness: Development projects and Displaced Tribals, Social Action Vol. 41, No

11.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Pollution, displacement.

Ans to Q No 2: Displacement is a multi-factor process in which individuals or communities are displaced from their locality, environment, their livelihood etc.

Ans to Q No 3: Disaster- Induced Displacement and Development- Induced Displacement

Ans to Q No 4: Displacement which occurs due to natural disaster or manmade disaster is called disaster induced development.

Ans to Q No 5: Disaster induced development can be classified in two ways: Human made disaster and natural disaster.

Ans to Q No 6: Displacement that occurs due to development programmes is called development induced displacement.

Ans to Q No 7: The risks intrinsic with development induced displacements are landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food Insecurity, loss of access to common property, social disintegration etc.

Ans to Q No 8: The socially vulnerable groups mostly bear the pain of displacement.



11.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

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

Q 1: What are the three categories of natural disastens?

Q 2: What is meant by 'Social disarticulation'?

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

Q 1: Development does not always bring positive effect to society. Discuss.

Q 2: How does development cause displacement?

Q 3: Displacement leads to marginalisation, especially to socially vulnerable groups. Discuss.

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UNIT 12: DEVELOPMENT AND PROTEST MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives

12.2 Introduction

12.3. Understanding Development vis-a -vis Protest

12.4 Historicising the protest movement against development projects in India

12.5 Development and Protest Movement (Loss of land)

12.6. Development and Protest Movement (Environmental Destruction)

12.7. Development and Protest Movement (Loss of Livelihood)

12.8 Let Us Sum Up

12.9 Further Reading

12.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

12.11 Model Questions

12.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- understand the various responses that development evokes
- explain the origin of protest movement against development projects
- analyze development and protest movement [loss of land].
- examine development and protest movement [environmental destruction].
- explain development and protest movement [loss of livelihood].

12.2 INTRODUCTION

This unit examines the major debates and critiques of development in the backdrop of globalisation, and highlights how the processes of development has evoked various challenges. The protest mapped out in this unit will include the following:

[I] Those who have lost their land to the developmental scheme.

[ii] Collective protest by environmentalists and the affected population.

[iii] Marginalised citizens who are unable to secure their livelihoods.

12.3 UNDERSTANDING OF DEVELOPMENT Vis-a Vis PROTEST

There have been several times in history when people have come together in large numbers to protest against an injustice or support a cause, and created history. Development is the concept that includes the progressive enhancement in the quality of human life in provisions of food, clothing and shelter and the setting for a healthy living with increasing permanence of life and happiness.

However, the LPG paradigm of development in India reveals the signs and effects of widening inequalities between the 'haves' and 'have-nots' and the increasing deficiency of the poor and marginalised sectors of the population.

In this state of affairs of development, if mines and mineral-based businesses are allowed to flourish in the mineral rich tribal areas of the country and continue to displace the indigenous people who live in these regions in order to enrich the affluent privileged, the inequalities and poverty in these regions will be aggravated further. If land and other natural resources like water and forests that belong to the state or the local communities are acquired for industrial use or lost to development projects like river dams, the people who depend upon such resources become the direct and immediate victims of these projects.

In populous countries like India, development based on high technology that minimises the employment of human labour but for the holistic development of the country it is necessary to ensure food security for poor and half-starved people of the country. These needs can be fulfilled by pursuing a sustainable development model that ensures 'growth with equity'

and provides employment for all. What needs to be understood is that development has become co-terminous with globalization.

The term 'new social movement' refers to those movements which have come up since mid-1960s. The new social movements look into various collective actions, their identity, and on their relations for culture ideology and politics. They differ from the old idea of social movement in the following ways:- (a) they are concerned with non-material phenomena; (b) they work for quality of life, rather for merely life; (c) they are cooperative and non-conflictive; (d) they are followers-oriented rather than leader oriented; (e) they are decentralized, rather than centralized ones.

The new social movements include the women's movement, the ecology movement, and various peace movements among others. Thinkers have related these movements with post materialism hypothesis as put forth by Ronald Inglehart. Important contributors in the field include sociologists such as Alian Touraine, Claus Offe and Habermas. Many of the movements tend to emphasize social change in lifestyle and culture, rather than pushing specific changes in public policy or for economy change. Some theorists argue that the key actors in these movements are the members of "new middle class" or "service sector professionals", such as academics. They are informal, loosely organized network of 'supporters' rather than members. Paul Byrne described new social movements as 'relatively disorganized'.

12.4 HISTORICISING THE PROTEST MOVEMENT AGAINST DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN INDIA

Protest indicates demonstration or expression of disapproval / dissent/ discontent on some issues. In a democracy, the expectation is that the Government's decisions reflect the majority's will. However, in view of the division of ideology or political party system, there is probability of disagreement on the Government's decision.

Aberle described four types of social movements based upon two characteristics:

a. Who is the movement attempting to change for?

b. How much change is being advocated?

Social movements can be aimed at change on an individual level or change on a broader, group or even societal level (e.g., anti-globalization). Social movements can also advocate for minor changes or radical changes.

In the context of India, the Indian constitution clearly states - in Article 19 (1) (a) that it guarantees the right to express dissent. Article 19(1)(b) says that all citizens shall have the right to assemble peaceably and without arms. Infact an important component of democracy is the right to protest and having the Government to listen to the people's grievances. "To treat all protest as a nuisance, a violation of public order, the most common attitude of the administration and the Courts, is to misunderstand democracy fundamentally." The question is when the state plans meticulously every minute detail of the construction of the project, why can't the same concern and foresight be extended towards the displacement misery it would cause and the costs and methods of rehabilitation?

The resistance to development projects is not new. By the mid-19th century itself, communities had mobilized to oppose colonial policies of resource extraction, like the Epidemic Commission of 1864, followed by the Canal Commissions of 1885 and 1888. The spirited protests of Raja Digambar Mitter and L. Ghosh prior to 1890 were noteworthy. Be it the Drainage Committee of 1907 or the Flood committee of 1928, report after report lays down clear evidence of the devastating impact of projects on population. From 1947, Kapil Bhattacharaya warned repeatedly how the proposed dams, roads and bridges would impoverish both nature and society. Nobody listened, because they said there was not sufficient evidence. There were protests against the Forest Act of 1876. Most of these protests were from tribal areas which were most affected. The beginnings of the anti-dam movement can be traced back to the issues raised by the affected farmers of the Mulshi dam, 1921-24. The environmental and social

costs of constructing large dams were raised by prominent social reformers like Senapati Bapat and Vinayak Bhuskute. The voices of contentious engineers like Kapil Bhattacharya, who pointed out the mistakes in Damodar Valley Corporation, inspired leaders like Ram Manohar Lohia to take up the struggle. Ram Manohar Lohia, in the late 1950s and 1960s organised one of the earliest post-independence protests against developmental displacement. It was one of the most remarkable struggles for justice for 3 lakh people who were to be displaced by the Rihand Dam (U.P.). A day before submergence, 100 political activists and community leaders were picked up and imprisoned. There was no effort to rehabilitate those displaced and the fate of over 70% is not known while the remaining have faced the repeated trauma of multiple displacement.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1. Define protest.

12.5 DEVELOPMENT AND PROTEST MOVEMENT [LOSS OF LAND]

As the resource demands of globalisation increase, land has emerged as a key reason of conflict between the land holder and the various development agencies including the State. The establishment of heavy industries, building of dams and introduction of development tactics in tribal and rural zones has necessitated dislocation of local population. These lands were purchased from the public, and in many instances farmers at cheap rates.

Further the State passes on the land rights to the private companies for the development of projects. After the era of rapid industrialisation, post - independence several states wanted to follow this route and thus usher in development. This has resulted in peasant families being displaced from

their traditional territories. Moreover, contact with outsiders has been equally detrimental and at times devastating especially in tribal areas.

Destruction of forests as a consequence of felling of trees for industrial purposes has endangered the small communities of hunters and food-gathers primarily in tribal zone. In early post-colonial India, land was seen as the source for equitable development. In 1961 the land reforms law came into being. It was expected to improve agricultural efficiency, broaden the distribution of benefits, and thereby move towards larger societal equality. But one by one, various legislations for land reforms are being diluted to enable changes in the land position.

The introduction of macroeconomic reforms in 1991 was a serious challenge to the state level development plans and programmes. The introduction of market driven economic reforms in India was perhaps due to the fiscal crisis that India faced. Though the reform saved the blushes for the country ,it also devastated many local agro based communities.

This support was not of significant benefit to the marginalized sector of the population. Recent industrialisation efforts in India, particularly in some states, have created widespread social and political tensions.

Most of this is attributed to land-grab events for building industrial or economic parks which have been marred with resistance often transgress into violent riots with casualties. In India, 65 per cent of people are dependent on land. Since the last decade, state governments as well as Government of India have been taking over enthusiasm to thrust the plan of Special Economy Zones as the instrument of rapid industrialisation and development.

There is no doubt that the principal source of livelihood of farmers is land and if the land is acquired they lose the source of livelihood. Despite the fast pace of sanction and establishment of these zones, and their noticeable achievement, the development of SEZs has faced extensive resistance from those whose land is in the process of being acquired.

The reasons behind such resistances are that there is no suitable Land Use Policy in India, excluding a few states, for example Kerala. In Kerala this legislation was brought in very recently, when the large tracts of paddy fields were renewed to residential and commercial complexes. The Land Acquisition Act, 1894, a nearly 120-year-old law enacted during British rule sketch the 'purposes' for which land may be purchased, the 'procedure' for possession, and the payment of 'compensation' for such acquisition.

The heart of the trouble his in the fact that the foundation of these industrial projects in general requires the forced acquirement of land and the expulsion of its previous users. This is possible for Indian states under the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 for "public purposes". The invocation of "public purpose" for what are essentially private commercial business enterprises has been repeatedly questioned. A growing number of studies have focused on the welfare effect of optimum compensation in the context of industrialisation-led displacement.

Ghatak and Ghosh (2011) suggest a revision of the Land Acquisition Bill enacted in 1894, which binds compensation based on the market value of land at the time of acquisition. Since the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 was a very old law as imposed in India since the time of British rule and was replaced by Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013. Many critics feel that this Act was also a toothless tiger and not able to solve the problems of rural and tribal peoples because of its certain limitations. This has led to, the following -

[a] Increase in unemployment

[b] Neglect of Agricultural Sector

[c] Mass migration from rural areas

[d] Problem of Land, Air and Water Pollution.

Some of the notable protest movements pertaining to land are

1. Movement against Land Acquisition Bill, 2015
2. Anna protests against Land Acquisition Bill, 2015
3. Protest against Yamuna Expressway
4. Prakritik Suraksha Sampada Parishad Protest
5. Pratirodh Sangram Samiti
6. Bisthapan Birodhi Manch
7. Land Grabbing in Singur and Peoples' Resistance
8. Krishjami Raksha Committee
9. Karanpura Bachao Sangharsh Samiti

12.6. DEVELOPMENT AND PROTEST MOVEMENT [ENVIRONMENTAL DESTRUCTION]

Environment Movement is a term which is also used to include the conservation and green movements. It is a diverse, scientific, social and political movement which addresses the concern of environment. In general terms, the environmentalists advocate the sustainable movement of natural resources. The movement major focus is on ecology, health and human rights. Its basis is very broad, including private citizens, professionals, statesmen, intellectual and the like. Among its advocates, we may mention Thoreau and Marsh between 1830 and 1960. During 1960s and 1970s, mention may be made about Rachel Carson Paul R. Ehrlich and the like.

The scope of the Environment Movement is broad and it includes environment conservation, and biology, as well as preservation of landscape, flora and fauna for a variety of purposea and uses. The Conservation Movement seeks to protect natural areas for sustainable consumption, as well as traditional and spiritual use.

Environmental Health Movement dates at least to progressive era, and focuses on urban standards such as clean water, efficient sewage handling, and stable population growth. Environmental health could also deal with nutritive medicine, aging, preventive medicine and other concerns specific to human well-being. Environmental health is also seen as an indicator for the state of the natural environment, or an early warning system for what may happen to humans. Environmental justice is a movement that began in the United States of America in 1980s and seeks to end environmental racism and prevent low income minority communities from an unbalanced exposure to highways, garbage dumps and factories. The environment justice movement seeks to link "social" and "ecological" environmental concerns, while at the same time preventing the de facto classism, and racism. Deep ecology is often concerned to be a spiritual spinoff of the ecology movement.

Bright Green environmentalism is currently a popular sub-movement, which emphasizes the idea that through technology, good design and more thoughtful use of energy and resources, people can live responsible, sustainable life while enjoying prosperity.

In the Indian context, the Silent Valley Project was perhaps the first instance where the development versus environment debate gained prominence. In the late 1970s the Kuntipuzha River in Kerala's Palaghat district flowing through a valley was considered an ideal place for constructing a dam. The envisaged benefits were an irrigational potential of 10,000 hectares, generation of 240 megawatts of power in addition to job creation. On the other hand, construction of the dam would lead to destruction of one of the world’s richest biological heritages. The Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad which was instrumental in the silent valley movement led a peaceful agitation and is still vigilant .The success of the Silent Valley Movement is considered a golden chapter in the history of the conservation movement



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 2: Where did the Environmental Justice Movement begin?

12.7. DEVELOPMENT AND PROTEST MOVEMENT [LOSS OF LIVELIHOOD]

It would be interesting to study how the processes of development have challenged the way marginalised citizens secure their livelihoods. Modernization in contemporary global scenario is becoming synonymous with Globalisation. Globalisation needs to be viewed as a phenomenon that seeks to incorporate citizens into the global level, unequally. Thus it becomes crucial to understand that the transformation of the 'conceptualisation of development and welfarism', within globalisation, has given an 'ideological legitimacy', to the market thereby challenging the notion that 'state provides to secure livelihoods for the poor (John 2005). In this context it becomes imperative to understand how and by what processes the idea and policies of globalisation have challenged securing of livelihoods of the marginalised. Sassen argues that it is important to recognise that globalisation involves two critical dynamics. One involves the formation of explicitly global institutions and processes, such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO), global financial markets, the new cosmopolitanism, the practices and organisational forms through which such dynamics operate. The second set of dynamics involves processes that take place deep inside territories...constructed in national terms...although localised in national...these are part of globalisation as they involve transboundary networks' (sesson, 2007). Thus as Giddens (1999: 12) argues that 'it is wrong to think of globalisation as just concerning the big systems like the world financial order. Globalisation isn't about what is 'out there', remote and fare away from the individual. It is an 'in here' phenomenon too, influencing intimate and personal aspects of our lives'. Thus in this context

one could see that the macro policies affect and impact the everyday lives of the people and they are caught in the larger social, economic and political developments. One such aspect refers to 'sustainable livelihoods'. In the Indian context, Kanan et al., (2000): state that one needs greater public investment in research and development for improving supply of food grains and for ensuring sustainability of an efficient system of agriculture. It is extremely important to address the decrease in public investment in agriculture as a result of deflationary macro-economic policies in the era of globalisation. Further the growing degradation of land and water sources may require higher inputs and huge costs to maintain food production, thereby posing a threat to food security. Thus Kannan et al., (2000), argue that one needs a strong research and development programme to develop technologies that would enhance productivity of dryland agriculture, which would go a long way in securing food security within the country.



12.8 LET US SUM UP

- The process of development places citizens around the world unequally.
- People are rendered vulnerable to the open market fluctuations with little fall back positions and are exposed to seek the marginal and insecure livelihoods.
- The analysis of development and protest movement [loss of land, environmental destruction, and loss of livelihood], emphasises how challenging it is for the marginalised poor to secure their livelihoods.
- Particularly, securing and maintaining sustainable livelihoods within a highly competitive economy geared towards maximising greater profits is a challenging task.



12.9 FURTHER READING

Aberle, David F. 1966. *The Peyote Religion among the Navaho.* Chicago: Aldine.

Agarwal, B. (1996) *A field of one's own: Gender and land Rights in South Asia, Cambridge:* Cambridge University press.

12.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Protest indicates demonstration or expression of disapproval/ dissent / discontent on some issues.

Ans to Q No 2: United States of America

12.11 MODEL QUESTIONS

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

Q1: What is meant by environment movement?

Q2.: Define new social movements.

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

Q1: Discuss the reasons for the change in role of the state, from welfare to sustaining economic growth.

Q2: Describe how the livelihoods of the marginalised are affected by the changing state policies.

Q3: Discuss the importance of environmental movements in securing livelihood for the marginalized in India.

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UNIT 13: DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE IN NORTH EAST INDIA

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Learning Objectives

13.2 Introduction

13.3 Understanding development discourse in North East India

- 13.3.1North eastern council
- 13.3.2 The Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region (DoNER)
- 13.3.3Look East policy
- 13.3.4 Act East policy
- 13.3.5 Public response

13.4 Let Us Sum Up

13.5 Further Reading

13.6 Answers to Check your Progress

13.7 Model Questions

13.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- understand North East India as a region and its significance
- understand development discourse in North East India
- know the North Eastern Council
- know the DONER
- know the Look East policy
- know the Act East policy
- understand public response to the developmental discourse in North East India.

13.2 INTRODUCTION

This unit intends to highlight the context and discourse of development in North East India. North east India is the easternmost region of India representing both a geographic and political administrative division of the

country. The region earlier comprised the states of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, and Tripura, popularly known as the 'Seven Sisters.' In the year 2002 the State of Sikkim also came under the umbrella of this region owing to its proximity to the area and somewhat similar type of developmental and other problems. They are known as eight siblings and referred to as 'eight sisters' or 'seven sisters and one brother'. These states cover an area of 2, 63,179 sq. km, approximately eight per cent of the country's total geographical area and house around 3.76 per cent of the total population of the country. Around 98 per cent of the boundary of these states has international borders. This whole region command special importance in India, not only because of their location but also because of their cultural and historical uniqueness.

The variety of ethnic groups, languages and religions reflect the multi-cultural character of the states. States like, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland are predominantly inhabited by tribal people with a certain degree of diversity among the tribes. States like, Assam, Manipur, Tripura and Sikkim are inhabited by people of various religious denominations like, Hindus, Christians and Muslims and a combination of local tribes and communities. The people of Assam and Tripura mainly live in valleys, whereas most people in Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Manipur, Mizoram and Nagaland live in hilly areas.

For rest of the world and even India, the Northeast conjures up the idea of a region, which is more or less unitary - culturally, 'racially' and linguistically. This idea of a unitary Northeast is now, of course, being gradually replaced by a more realistic notion of its variety of cultures, languages histories and traditions of governance. The North East India is not a homogenous set of similar cultures, traditions, religions, food habits, literature, dresses, style and languages, it is indeed the most diverse part of India. North east India, inhabited by people of diverse races, religions, cultures, languages and dialects has many specific features which distinguish it from rest of India.

North east India is essentially the creation of the British. In the early 19th century, both the Ahom and the Manipur kingdoms fell to a Burmese invasion. The ensuing First Anglo-Burmese War resulted in the entire region coming under British control. After Indian Independence from British Rule in 1947, the Northeastern region of British India consisted of Assam and the princely states of Manipur and Tripura. However, immediately after independence fissiparous forces led to the dismemberment of greater Assam resulting in the formation of seven North- Eastern states. Subsequently, Nagaland in 1963, Meghalaya in 1972, Arunachal Pradesh in 1975 (capital changed to Itanagar) (formed on 20 February 1987) and Mizoram in 1987 were formed out of the large territory of Assam. Manipur and Tripura remained as Union Territories of India between 1956 until 1972, when they attained full-fledged statehood. Sikkim was integrated as the eighth North Eastern Council state in 2002.

Geographically, this region is almost isolated from the rest of India. The North East region of India occupies strategic geopolitical situation due to its international boundaries with Bangladesh, Bhutan, China, Myanmar and Nepal. The NE region is thus the meeting point of South Asia, South East Asia and East Asia.

13.3 UNDERSTANDING DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE IN NORTH EAST INDIA

The Northeast India has remained at the stage of relative backwardness for a long time where inter-state and intra-state differences in the economic development within the region are also quite glaring. The region suffered from lack of infrastructure in various sectors like communication, technical expertise, etc. The region has remained isolated from the rest of the country because of its location and terrain and has failed to secure equal benefits in the process of development. This has resulted into social-political disturbances and unrest for a few years. While the region has a lower level of industrial and economic development, it has abundant forest and water resources. Petroleum and tea are two significant resources harnessed in

the region. At the same time, agriculture, horticulture and handloom continue to be the main activities of these states.

The concept of north-east India as a homogenous entity and the regional reorganization of this multi-ethnic setting have done colossal damage in social, political and economic parameters.

In evolution of the policy for the region, the policy makers should have paid greater attention to the fact that the region has immense geo-political diversity as well as strategic significance.

Having their common borders and cultural proximity to countries like China, Bangladesh, Bhutan and Myanmar these small units of north east region have perennial problems of insurgency and integration with the main land. Insurgency flourishes when the people have a feeling of separate identity on the basis of ethnicity, culture or history. This is compounded by a sense of neglect, exploitation and discrimination, and immensely aggravated by bad governance, corruption and economic backwardness. All these factors exist in the North East. The key to the situation, clearly, is to provide good, corruption-free governance, and economic development. It is rightly said that when people in Delhi think of the Northeast, they think of the distance, and that translates itself into a mental gap. When the people of the Northeast think of Delhi, they think in terms of different levels of development, and this translates into an emotional gap. People hope that these gaps can be bridged, and that, with changes in attitudes, the Northeast will take the high road to peace and prosperity. Apart from some common issues the north eastern states also have some specific problems. Apart from other factors natural calamities like flood is one of the major obstacles in the development process, which costs the region dearly every year.

Since Independence the approach of the Indian State towards the North eastern region has been changing. Apart from other approaches, from the 1980s the Indian state also adopted 'Development Paradigm' which suggested that if the Government can build schools, bridges, internet

centers, IITs and refineries, the people will be happy. It was thought that if development is ensured, they will forget about problems of identity, problems of assertion, secessionism etc. But, these approaches have not seen much success till now. Two main reasons behind the failure of different approaches are lack of political willingness and corruption. The Government of India is also planning to make various ambitious developmental projects looking at the rich resources of the region. However it is important to take opinions of civil society organizations and common people while taking any such steps. For better understanding of the development discourse in the north eastern region it is imperative to know the vision, functions and operations of the NEC, DONER, Look East/Act East policies of the Government of India.

13.3.1 North Eastern Council (NEC)

The Northeast India has remained at the stage of relative backwardness for a long time where inter-state and intra-state differences in the economic development within the region are also quite visible. The region suffered from lack of infrastructure in various sectors of communication, technical expertise, etc. Over the years, all these have multiplied to create a severe adverse economic imbalance in the region. Thus, regional cooperation for removal of the basic constraints and development of the region called for an awareness of regional nature and concerted efforts and the cooperation on the part of the political units of the NE region.

This idea of regional cooperation in economic development of the region crystallized in the form of the North Eastern Council Act 1971 enacted by the Parliament. The NEC was finally inaugurated by the then Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi on 7 November 1972. Set up as an advisory body with the main objective of 'ensuring balanced and economic development of the northeastern part of India, the Council is also expected to formulate for generalizing these objectives. All such schemes formulated by the Council are in addition to the schemes already formulated by the states themselves as well as central sector schemes. The North Eastern Council is essentially a coordinating body for infrastructural growth of the region. Similarly

proposals relating to the development of power generation and of agriculture,veterinary and animal husbandry services in the region have also been considered by the council. The major activities sponsored and financed by the North Eastern Council are assessment of resource potential, industrial surveys, and preparation of data bases for development planning and development of infrastructure, especially construction of roads, bridges and power generation; planning improvement and development of agriculture and promotion of industries etc.

The council consists of the following:

(1) The Governors,

(2) The chief ministers of the seven states, and

(3) The President may also nominate a union minister to be a member of the council if he/she deems it necessary.

The President nominates two of the members of the council to act as chairman and Vice-chairman respectively. In addition, all states have a minister to represent it on the council.

In the pre-NEC era, the lack of fund in the states was the major hurdle in taking up big projects for the infrastructure development activities. Therefore the states mainly concentrated in those projects which yielded quick results. As a result no big projects came up in the infrastructure sector during the first four Five Year Plans. Thus, the region failed to keep pace with the development at par with the rest of the country. But with NEC the development process of the region has been gradually changing in the positive direction.

13.3.2 The Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region (DoNER):

The Central Ministry of Development of the Northeastern Region was created in 2001 but only in May 2004 it was granted the status of a full-

fledged ministry. Ministry of DoNER is the only ministry of India that deals with a particular region in India's Union ministries. It caters to the needs of the eight north eastern states of India. DoNER was created for the purpose of facilitating the relations and the work between the Central Ministries and Departments and the State Governments of the North eastern region mainly with regard to economic development. This includes the improvement, the functionality of the infrastructure, and the provision of an investment friendly environment. In general, DoNER takes care of issues which range from the planning and execution to the monitoring of development schemes and projects in the North Eastern Region. The Ministry of DONER, in its official website, points out that it is responsible for the matters relating to the planning, execution and monitoring of development schemes and projects in the North Eastern Region. It's vision is to accelerate the pace of socioeconomic development of the region so that it may enjoy growth parity with the rest of the country.

Furthermore, DoNER coordinates with and hands some tasks over to other Central Ministries and Agencies. Additionally, it remains in constant touch with the North Eastern State Governments in order to detect areas, which need further attention and follow up with other Central Ministries or Agencies. The evolution of a full-fledged Central Ministry specifically on the development of the Northeast of India is good, as it shows greater political attention.

According to the Allocation of Business Rules 1961, some of the subjects that have been allotted to the Ministry of DoNER are given below.

1. Matters related to the developmental schemes and projects of the NER including those in the sectors of power, irrigation, roads and communications

2. Road works financed in whole or in part by the Central Government in the NER.

3. Planning of roads and inland waterways transport in the NER.

4. Hill Area Development Programme and Border Areas Development Programme in the NER.

5. North Eastern Council etc.

The Minister of DoNER is assisted by Union Secretary and other Joint Secretaries. DoNER has its nodal officers in all the 8 North Eastern States of India. It also has its nodal officers in all the ministries of Union of India. The Minister of DoNER is the ex officio Chairman of North eastern council.

Many intellectuals of this region consider DoNER as one of the weakest Central Ministries of the Indian Government. They think that the Ministers are usually neither specialists on the NER nor are they from the Northeast themselves. They, therefore, suggest that the money would best be given to the North Eastern Council, to endow it with more powers and to make it more functional in that sense.

Though DoNER and NEC are organizationally different, both have the same person, who is both the DoNER Minister and ex officio Chairman of NEC, to lead.

The Ministry of DoNER, in its website, explains that the nature of the associate organizations of the Ministry of DoNER is complex. NEC is listed as one of the associate organisations of the Ministry of DoNER. There is a view of the need to clarify the unnecessary overlapping of responsibilities between NEC and DoNER Secretaries, as such overlapping leads to not only confusion among the departments but also delays in effective implementation of policies and programmes sanctioned for the faster economic development of the region.

13.3.3 Look east policy

The disintegration of Soviet Union, the end of cold war, the intensification of the process of globalization, liberalization and privatization led to the fundamental changes in the global political and economic architecture. The

demise of communist economies of Soviet and other east European countries led to the final victory of capitalist path of development anchored on the ideology of neo-liberalism. Politically, the US remained as the only super power of the world, though the emergence of certain other countries such as China, Germany and Japan was also visible. Some of the new problems such as US hegemony and weakening of the UN mandate also emerged. The new global economic and political conditions had deep impact on the domestic and foreign policies of global actors. The inter-state relations were drastically restructured. India was no exception to it. In the domestic front, India initiated massive programme of economic liberalization, with the twin objectives of achieving rapid economic growth and close integration with the global economy. In the external front too, it brought about major changes in the content as well as direction of her foreign policy.

The Look East policy has emerged as an important foreign policy initiative of India in the post-Cold War period. India's financial crisis of 1991 coincided with the collapse of the Soviet Union which was India's valued economic and strategic partner. Both these developments compelled India to take a fresh look at its foreign policy.

The look east policy was launched in 1991 by the then Narasimha Rao Government with the aim of developing political contacts, increasing economic integration and forging security cooperation with countries of South-east Asia. The policy marked a shift in India's perspective of the world, where the strategic and economic importance of South-east Asia to India's national interests is being recognized.

The economic potentials of this policy emphasize a link to the economic interests of the North-eastern region of India as a whole. In recent years, the development of this region is being factored into the overall strategy of national development, as well as in the conduct of India's relations with other countries. India's Look East policy correctly identified Northeast India as the gateway to the East and it was one major initiative undertaken by the government of India.

Under the Look East policy, four broad objectives had been pursued in the several years since its initiation. The major priority areas of the Look East policy are-

1) Regional Integration: The main objective of the Look East policy is economic integration with East and Southeast Asia.

2) Reform and Liberalization: Though the Look East policy is a by-product of India's economic reform and liberalization in 1991, the policy seeks further reforms to liberalize trade and investment in order to forge deeper economic integration with East and Southeast Asian countries.

3) Rapid Economic Growth: In the aftermath of India's liberalization, look east policy provided a development alternative as well, in synchronization with the globalization and the resurgence of Asia as an economic powerhouse. India is also encouraging East Asian investment in the transport, communications and power sectors to keep pace with its expanding economy.

4) Development of the North-eastern Region: The Look East policy is also a means of reducing India's internal development disparity. The North-eastern states lag behind in economic development and this gap has widened since independence. The sense of neglect has resulted in various forms of unrest in the region. With the launch of the Look East policy, India sees the region as a gateway to the East, thereby attempting to link the North-eastern region with Southeast Asia through a network of pipelines, road, rail and air connectivity.

The impact of look east policy has been favorable to India. East Asia accounts for a significant part of the rise in India's foreign trade. India's trade with East Asia had been less than 10 percent of India's international trade in the early 1990s. Now it stands at more than 25 percent. The Look East policy marked the beginning of a vibrant relationship on the economic, political and strategic fronts. In the recent time the Look East Policy has

been changed into Act East Policy while emphasizing on a proactive role of India in this region.

Agile players like China exploited India's weakness in the timely implementation of projects or lack of coordination among various agencies/ departments. ASEAN (Association of Sourt East Asian Nations) diplomats were often heard complaining that India must begin to Act East. It is this need gap that the present government seeks to fulfill. However, it would be the action at the level of implementation which shall determine the success or failure of this policy.

13.3.4 Act East Policy

As a follow-up to India's Look East Policy introduced in the early 1990s, Prime Minister Narendra Modi has made "Act East" a launch pad for his government's focused engagement with East Asia. As has been mentioned above, the lack of promptness in implementation has marred the prospect of India's closeness with its eastern neighbors to a certain extent. Keeping this factor in mind India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi used the ASEAN summit in Myanmar's capital Naypyidaw to unveil India's new Act East policy. The term Act East was first popularized by U.S secretary of state Hilary Clinton in a speech during her visit to India in July 2011, where she encouraged New Delhi "Not just to look east, but to engage east and act east".

Earlier, the Look East Policy concentrated on the ASEAN and Japan, but it was realized later that India's outreach to the East could not be confined to ASEAN and Japan, or only in the economic sphere. Consequently, the Modi government decided to put more emphasis on improving India's relations with ASEAN and the other East Asian countries by enlarging the core interests of the region to include the immediate requirements of national and regional security. The Act East policy marks a deliberate attempt to signal a more action oriented policy towards ASEAN specifically and East Asia more generally. Thus the Act East policy highlights India's military,

political and economic interests along with those of regional partners in the East. Mounting tensions in the Asia-Pacific region due to China's hegemonic and aggressive assertions have prompted India to coordinate with super and major powers and also other regional members. India must continue forging closer economic integration and greater connectivity with Southeast Asia, as that would provide ASEAN states the means to reduce their over-dependence on China. Thus all these developments have prompted India to revitalize its role in the East as a promoter of economies and also as an effective provider of security.

The present government highlighted specific recommendations to advance ASEAN - India economic relations over the next few years, including establishing a Special Purpose Vehicle for project financing, building information highways and inviting ASEAN countries to participate in India's ongoing economic transformation.

At a time when manufacturing facilities are shifting to lower-cost economies, both India and the CLMV (Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam) countries enjoy an advantage. With 'Make in India' emerging as a key campaign for manufacturing, developing new global value chains in partnership with the four least-developed economies of ASEAN would bring benefits to both sides. While trade and investment must be greatly increased, it is also important for India to develop infrastructure projects for transport connectivity. India has also strategically focused on human capacity development and small projects with high impact to address poverty alleviation. There is certainly scope to increase bilateral trade, including exports, as India's share of the total trade of these countries has remained stagnant.

Since Look East Policy of India and its outreach to the East have witnessed a significant transformation that does not depend solely on one or two countries or even ASEAN. Thus the Act East Policy has a very strong and effective agenda that can ensure peace and progress in the entire

East and also the whole world in the true spirit of vasudhaiv kutumbkam - "the world is one family".

13.3.5 Public response

The development discourse in the north eastern region has witnessed a kind of mixed public response .While some of the intellectuals support state projected developmental projects and schemes , on the other hand several civil society organizations are vehemently opposing state sponsored developmental projects. For example, the Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti has expressed itself very vocally against the Subansiri river dam project. Intellectuals like Sanjoy Hazarika opine that the Government of India's current policy towards the NER pays relatively more emphasis on dialogue and also focuses on taking the opinions of the people into consideration. This is different from the previous approaches which were mostly characterized by coercive and hardlined measures. Most of the intellectuals and civil society organizations feel that the region has been discriminated in every phase of developmental process. The voice of civil society, the voice of intellectual organizations, and the voice of the Northeast do not get heard. It is important to create a climate of opinion in this region about the issues and problems of the region.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1: What do you understand by North East India?

Q2: When was Nagaland created as a separate state?

Q3: What are the nations that share International boundaries with North eastern region?

Q4: Under which act NEC was created?

Q5: What was the main aim behind the launch of Look East Policy?



13.4 LET US SUM UP

- North east India is the easternmost region of India representing both a geographic and political administrative division of the country.
- The region comprises of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura and Sikkim .
- North East India is inhabited by people of diverse races, religions, cultures, languages and dialects with specific features which distinguish it from the rest of India.
- The North East region of India enjoys strategic geopolitical position due to its international boundaries with Bangladesh, Bhutan, China, Myanmar and Nepal. The NE region is thus the meeting point of South Asia, South East Asia and East Asia.
- The Central Ministry of Development of the Northeastern Region was created in 2001 but only in May 2004 it was granted with the status of a full-fledged ministry.
- The Ministry of DoNER, in its official website, points out that it is responsible for the matters relating to the planning, execution and monitoring of development schemes and projects in the North Eastern Region. Its vision is to accelerate the pace of socioeconomic development of the region so that it may enjoy growth parity with the rest of the country.
- This idea of regional cooperation in economic development of the region was crystallized in the form of the North Eastern Council which came into being in 1972.
- The North Eastern Council is essentially a coordinating body for infrastructural growth of the region.

- The Council identified certain priority sectors such as power, transport and communication and health. Over the years, other sectors such as agriculture and allied, manpower development, industry, science and technology, etc., have also become part of NEC's development efforts.
- The Look East Policy has emerged as an important foreign policy initiative of India in the post-Cold War period.
- The Look East Policy was launched in 1991 by the then Narasimha Rao Government with the aim of developing political contacts, increasing economic integration and forging security cooperation with the countries of South-east Asia.
- The economic potentials of this policy emphasize a link to the economic interests of the North-eastern region of India as a whole.
- As a follow-up to India's Look East Policy, Prime Minister Narendra Modi initiated the Act East policy for his government's focused engagement with the East Asia.
- The Act East Policy marks a deliberate attempt to signal a more action oriented policy towards ASEAN specifically, and East Asia more generally.
- The development discourse in the north eastern region has been witnessing a kind of mixed public response.



13.5 FURTHER READING

1) Bhaumik, Subir; 2009; *"Troubled Periphery: Crisis of India's north east";* SAGE Publications India Pvt Ltd .

2) Datta, P. S; 1992; *"India's Northeast: A Study in Transition";* Vikash Publication House Pvt Ltd, New Delhi.

3) Haokip, Thongkholal; 2015; *"India's Look East Policy and the Northeast",* SAGE Publications India Pvt Ltd .

4) Yogi, A .K; 1992; *"Development of the Northeast Region-Problems and Prospects";* Spectrum Publication, Guwahati.

13.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: North east India is the easternmost region of India representing both a geographic and political administrative division of the country.

Ans to Q No 2: Nagaland was created in the year 1963.

Ans to Q No 3: Bangladesh, Bhutan, China, Myanmar and Nepal.

Ans to Q No 4: North Eastern Council Act 1971.

Ans to Q No 5: The Look East Policy was launched with the aim of developing political contacts, increasing economic integration and forging security cooperation with countries of South-east Asia.

13.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

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

Q1: What was the motive behind the creation of North Eastern Council?

Q2: Mention three subjects that have been allotted to DoNER?

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

Q1: Define North East as a region.

Q2: Elucidate the development discourse of North east India?

** ** **



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

Centre for Internal Quality Assurance (CIQA)
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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?

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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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