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BLOCK INTRODUCTION

We tend to face questions and concerns over the nature of development in third world countries. Development for whom and at what cost? Who benefits and who bears the cost of development? These are some of the issues fast becoming the centre of the development debate. The present block on 'Concepts of Development' of the course MSW – 004 is designed in the same direction with a focus on basic information and knowledge about various types of development.

The first unit is on 'Social and Human Development' which is at the centre stage of contemporary development theory and practice. The discussion in the unit covers growth and development, human development, development indicators, important issues of human development reports, and critiques of human development.

Unit 2 is on 'Sustainable Development'. As human development poses the question of human beings vis-à-vis economic growth, the concept of sustainable development attempts to pose the question of nature, environment and ecology vis-à-vis the growth – driven model of development by raising the issue of sustainability. This unit encompasses definition and meaning, development-environment debate, origin and evolution, dimensions of sustainable development, critiques of sustainable development, and globalization and sustainable development.

Unit 3 'Development and Progress: Economic and Social Dimensions' is designed to familiarize development models. It has discussed the meaning of change, progress, development, and modernization: theories of underdevelopment; models of development; and shifting development strategies. The unit ends with the idea that strategy of development is undergoing change with increasing stress on empowerment of vulnerable groups like women, indigenous communities, and poor people-not just economically alone but also politically and socially.

Unit 4 'Gender Perspectives on Development' brings out the fact that women's participation in the development process or women's relation with economic, social and environmental issues of development have been mostly ignored. The unit has also incorporated the issues pertaining to perspectives on women and development, impact of development on women, policy and planning for women in India, and status of women in critical areas.

The last unit on 'Population and Development' makes debate over the issue. It throws light on population problem, relationship between population and development, demographic transition theory and politics of population.

The discussions in the above mentioned five units pertaining to various issues or debates on development will help you to have a reasonable grasp on present concepts of development or development paradigm. As a social work student it is essential that one is familiar with various concepts and aspects pertaining to development.



UNIT 1 SOCIAL AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Structure

*Chinmoy Biswal**

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Growth and Development
- 1.3 Human Development
- 1.4 Development Indicators
- 1.5 Human Development Reports: Important Issues
- 1.6 Critiques of Human Development
- 1.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 1.8 Further Readings and References

1.0 OBJECTIVES

This Unit is designed to familiarize you with some key concepts and areas of development. After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- differentiate between growth and development;
- define social and human development;
- explain the development indicators; and
- discuss the main themes of Human Development Reports.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

We frequently come across the words ‘growth’ and ‘development’ while talking about society. Growth is a quantitative concept whereas development incorporates qualitative aspects. Some perceive development in terms of better roads, electricity, markets, buildings, vehicles etc. while some others understand it in terms of removal of poverty, unemployment, insecurity, illiteracy, ill health and so on. What constitutes development can be a matter of debate, and opinions may vary. Lately, there has been a realization that development does not just comprise of economic growth or physical infrastructure development, but it should also show in terms of improvements in people’s lives. So development has now come to be evaluated in terms of human wellbeing or human development. We all know the age-old proverb ‘health is wealth’. A person who is not healthy cannot have happiness and meaning in life even if he/she is rich. Similarly, nations cannot be said to be healthy and happy only because they are wealthy. It has to be visible in spheres other than economic prosperity.

In this unit, we will begin by looking at the concepts of growth and development and then discuss the dimensions of ‘human development’ which is at the center stage of contemporary development theory and practice. We will then examine a very important issue in development discourse- population and development- by scrutinizing their relationship. You will often review these concepts and work on them in your professional life.

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1.2 GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

What is the relationship?

Growth is a concept used in Economics to mean an increase in national income of a country and an increase in per capita income (PCI) which is nothing but the national income divided by the total population in the country. The measure of annual national income of a country is in terms of Gross National Product (GNP) which is the money value of the total goods and services produced by a country in a year. This GNP divided by total population gives the figure which is called the GNP per capita, or simply 'per capita income'. It is the average income of the population. Like all statistical averages, it suffers from certain drawbacks. It does not show the distribution of income in the country. Besides, it only measures money income and nothing else. So all the goods and services that do not come for market transactions, like the labour women do inside homes, are not counted in the GNP. Also, most importantly, it does not show up achievements that people value significantly, for example, better nutrition, health care, secure livelihoods, better working conditions, freedom from crime and violence, and participation in social, cultural and political activities. As we shall soon see, income may be important, but it is not the sum total of human life.

It is easy to assume that more the income of a country, more will be the development and people's well being. But it may not be so, just as being wealthy does not necessarily guarantee being healthy. According to Amartya Sen (1988), the relationship between GNP and conditions of living is complex. Table 1.1 gives the GNP per capita and average life expectancy at birth in 2014 for five different countries.

Table 1.1: Economic Prosperity and Life Expectancy, 2014

Country	GNP per capita	Life Expectancy at Birth
China	7380	75
Sri Lanka	3400	75
Brazil	11760	74
South Africa	6800	59
Mexico	9980	76
Oman	18150	76

Source: World Development Report, 2015.

The data reveal that although Oman has highest GNP per capita, but yet it's life expectancy similar to other low GNP per capita countries such as Brazil, Mexico, China and Sri Lanka. Similarly the South Africa has higher GNP per capita in comparison to Sri Lanka but its life expectancy lowest all the among the mentioned countries.

In the eleventh five year plan (2007-2012), for the first time of economic and social growth. The gender perspective incorporative in the plan were the outcome of expensive consultations with different stakeholders, including a sharing of feminist economists. The plan adopted participating approach to gender equity was based on the recognition that intervention in favour of women must be multi-pronged and they must: i) provide women with basic entitlements, ii) address their it based.

That means the countries highly 'developed' in terms of income may not be as developed in other social indicators. Hence, Amartya Sen (2004) states that

development cannot be measured only with economic growth. It is true that keeping other things constant, with an increase of GNP of a country, the condition of living of people improves, so does life expectancy. This may happen in the long run, but not necessarily in the short run. So, there exist other factors that affect the living conditions, and the concept of development cannot forgo these.

New view of development

After winning independence from colonial powers in the 1950s and 1960s, many of the countries (called Third World) chose the growth oriented approach of development through industrial and agricultural expansion, aided by technology transfer and financial assistance from the industrialised countries as well as international financial institutions. The growth-led developmental experience of industrialised countries served as the models of their future. The decade of 1960s was characterized by the predominance of “growth models” of development. We have discussed about one such model given by Rostow in Block 1 on Industrialisation. Such models proposed that increasing the growth of these economies through investments would lead to higher growth, the benefits would ‘trickle down’ to the masses and there would be economic development.

Many of these economies achieved growth. The per capita income of a number of countries had grown over this period and health and education levels had improved; yet in a number of countries which had experienced a rise in their GNP, the standard of living did not improve for a vast majority of the population. In fact, many millions joined the already hundreds of millions of people in absolute poverty (Webster, 1997). In many countries, sharp inequalities appeared with the rich minority growing richer and the poor majority becoming poorer. In other words, the “trickle down” had not occurred. This necessitated a reexamination of the concept of development. In this context, Seers (1969) asked three important questions regarding development: “What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? 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.”

Critics of growth-oriented approach argued that such a situation arose because sufficient attention was not paid to real human welfare. It was argued that a complete change of approach for third world development was needed. Economists like Streeten and Seers advocated for a programme that had its essential ingredient a redistribution of income and resources downwards. This led to the strategy of “redistribution with growth”, and later the “basic needs strategy” of development. The basic needs strategy was concerned with two things: (1) providing all human beings, particularly the poor and deprived in the third world countries, with material needs like food, clothing, shelter and fuel; and (2) alleviating absolute poverty as quickly as possible. It had elements of social justice.

Gradually, it was realized that development must focus beyond meeting the basic needs of people in poor countries. It should encompass all the opportunities needed to live a fuller human life. Also, human beings should not be seen as recipients of development benefits, but as the goals of development. And while discussing human well being, it is the poorest and the weakest sections that must be especially taken into consideration. With this, the preoccupation with growth is replaced by a holistic idea of human welfare or well-being as the central concern of development. Growth

is meaningful if it enhances human well being. This approach is known as the human development approach.

1.3 HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

The concept of ‘human development’ was formally launched in 1990 with the publication of *Human Development Report* by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). It was the result of years of debates and discussions between economists, social scientists, activists, development agencies etc. in which late economist Mahbub ul Haq played the lead role. The conception of human development has been influenced also by Nobel laureate economist Amartya Sen’s ideas of ‘capabilities’ and ‘freedom’. According to Sen, development is the expansion of freedom, well being and dignity on individuals in society.

However, the human development approach is not a new idea. In Haq’s own words, the rediscovery of human development is a tribute to early leaders of political and economic thought who propounded that social arrangements must be evaluated to the extent to which they promote ‘human good’, not wealth or income. The idea dates back to Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) who argued that “wealth is evidently not the good we are seeking, for it is merely useful and for the sake of something else”, and to Emanuel Kant who called upon to treat humanity as an end, never as means only (Haq, 2000).

Definition and meaning

Human development is concerned primarily with the reduction of human deprivation, the creation of human capability, and unleashing processes that enlarge peoples’ choices. The *Human Development Report* 1990 defines human development as a process of enlarging people’s choices. Although these choices are limitless and change over time, three essential choices for people at all stages of development are — to lead a long and healthy life, to acquire knowledge and to have access to resources needed for decent standard of living. But human development does not end there. “Additional choices highly valued by many people range from political, economic and social freedom to opportunities for being creative and productive and enjoying personal self-respect and guaranteed human rights” (Haq, 2000).

The Report explains that human development has two sides: the formation of capabilities - such as improved health, knowledge and skill — and the use people make of their acquired capabilities — for leisure, for productive purposes or for being active in cultural, social and political affairs. If the scales of human development do not finely balance between the two sides, considerable human frustration may result.

According to this concept of human development, income is clearly only one of the options that people would like to have, albeit an important one. But it is not the sum total of their lives. Development must, therefore, be more than just the expansion of income and wealth. Its focus must be people.

Main features

Haq (2000) has given the following main features of human development.

- 1) Development must put people at the center of its concerns.
- 2) The purpose of development is to enlarge all human choices, not just income.

- 3) The human development paradigm is concerned both with building up human capabilities (through investment in people) and with using those human capabilities fully (through an enabling framework for growth and employment).
- 4) Human development has four essential components: Equity, Sustainability, Productivity and Empowerment. It regards economic growth as essential but emphasizes on quality and distribution. It also analyses its links with human lives and questions its long-term sustainability.
- 5) The human development paradigm defines the ends of development and analyses sensible options for achieving them.

Strengths of human development

We have already discussed how human development scores over GNP approaches. But it also differs from other conventional approaches like human capital formation, human resource development, human welfare or basic needs (HDR, 1990). Human capital formation views human beings as a means rather than as ends, as instruments in furtherance of commodity production which is only one side of development because it overlooks human beings as recipients and goals of development. Human welfare approaches look at human beings more as beneficiaries of the development process than as active participants in it.

The “basic needs” approach, which was the precursor to human development, concentrates on providing basic need to all human beings for opportunities for a full life. But it does not focus on the issue of human choices. Human development goes beyond basic needs in many ways. It is concerned with all human beings, not just the poor and not just in poor countries, and not only basic needs (Streeten, 2000). It applies to all countries irrespective of their income levels. It sees human development as a participatory and dynamic concept as it focuses on building up human capabilities and the use people make of these capabilities.

The approach highlights two things: that well being is the purpose of development and that economic growth is to be treated only a means of it.

Check Your Progress I

Note: Use the space provided for your answer.

- 1) Examine the relationship between growth and development.

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- 2) What is human development? Discuss its components.

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1.4 DEVELOPMENT INDICATORS

The scope of human development being very broad, it was a challenge to devise a suitable indicator. This is because it would be desirable to include all the variables that expand human choices and freedoms, and so the variables would be so many. Again, human development being a dynamic concept, evolving through time and varying over space (choices of people would be culture specific too) there will be entry of a number of criteria. This would pose a problem of standardization as well as preciseness. Too many variables would make the picture complex and unmanageable.

So the new index needed to include only a limited number of variables, yet capture the essence of human development. It needed to be a composite index for all variables and cover both social and economic choices. This measure is called the Human Development Index (HDI). Later in 1995 and 1997, two other measures — gender development index (GDI) and Human Poverty Index (HPI) were constructed to focus on specific aspects.

Human Development Index (HDI)

The Human Development Index was evolved by focusing on three basic elements of human life: longevity, knowledge and decent living standards. For longevity, life expectancy at birth is the indicator; for knowledge, literacy figures are taken into account; and as a measure of decent living, purchasing power-adjusted real GNP per capita was chosen (HDR 1990).

So the first step is to construct a country's measure of deprivation for each of these basic variables. Minimum and maximum values are defined for the actual observed values of each of the three variables in all countries. The deprivation measure then places the country in the 0-1 range, where 0 is the minimum observed value and 1 the maximum. So, if the minimum observed life expectancy is 40 years and the maximum 80 years, and a country's life expectancy is 50 years, then its index for life expectancy is 0.25. The second step is to compile an average indicator by taking a simple average of the three indicators. The third step is to measure the HDI as 1 minus the average deprivation index obtained. The HDI value shows how a country is placed vis-à-vis other countries.

Because the relative nature of the maximum and minimum values for each year created difficulty in comparison of a country's performance from year to year (a country might improve its indicators and yet see a fall in its HDI ranking due to relative better performance by others), now a fixed-value system has been adopted. The maximum and minimum values are the ones observed over the previous three decades or expected over the next three decades, which allow comparison of country's performance over a period of 60 years.

Box 1.1

HDI versus GNP

- Besides income, the HDI measures education and health and is thus multidimensional, rather than one-dimensional.
- It draws attention of policy makers towards the ultimate objectives of development not just the means.

- It is more meaningful as a national average than GNP because there are much greater extremes in income distribution than in the distribution of life expectancy and literacy.
- It shows that the human development gaps between nations are more manageable than the ever widening income disparities. The average income of the South may be only 6 per cent of the North's— but its life expectancy is 80 per cent, its nutrition level 85 per cent and its adult literacy rate 66 per cent on the North's.
- The HDI can be disaggregated by gender, ethnic group or geographical region and in many other ways — to present relevant policy inputs as well as to forecast impending trouble. Indeed, one of the HDI's strength is that it can be disaggregated in ways that hold a mirror up to society.

Table 1.2 : Similar Incomes, Different HDIs, 1991-92

Country	GNP per capita	HDI value (US\$)	HDI rank	Life expectancy	Adult literacy (years)	Infant mortality rate(%) (per 1,000 live births)
GNP per capita around \$500						
Sri Lanka	500	0.665	90	71.2	89	24
Guinea	500	0.191	173	43.9	27	135
GNP per capita around \$1,000 to \$1,1100						
El Salvador	1,090	0.543	112	65.2	75	46
Congo	1,040	0.461	123	51.7	59	83
GNP per capita around \$2,5000 to \$2,6000						
Malaysia	2,520	0.794	57	70.4	80	14
Iraq	2,550	0.614	100	65.7	63	59

Source: HDR, 1994, p. 15

How is the HDI useful? Mahbub ul Haq enlists some points how the HDI captures many conditions of human life.

National Priorities: The comparison of HDI of various countries shows which countries are able to combine economic growth with social development and which are falling behind. This helps policy makers set national priorities and achieve them. Thus the HDI rankings serve as a reality check.

Potential Growth: Economic growth also depends on human capital formation, which in turn depends on investments on health and education. So the HDI can reveal the future potential of economic growth. If a country has invested in human infrastructure, which shows in its HDI, it can accelerate GNP too by choosing proper

economic policies.

Disparities: The disaggregation of HDI by gender, ethnic groups, class and geographical regions helps bring out disparities between various sections of society. It has enormous policy impact in serving as an early warning system to check it and prepare national development plans to create parity among different sections through special measures necessary.

Change over time: The annual HDI exercises keep track of the changes in a country's human development and also the overall change in human development in the world. For example, the majority of world population (73%) was in the low human development category in 1960, but only 35% were in that category in 1992. An interesting observation is that the developing countries more than doubled their average HDI between 1960 and 1992 while the developed countries, which already were on high levels, increased theirs by only 15%.

Human Poverty Index (HPI)

With the realization that poverty is a multi-dimensional problem, the usual practice of defining it in terms of income and consumption is gradually losing hold. In fact, in the 1970s the idea of 'social exclusion' came into prominence. Thus, those who were not income-poor yet were marginalized in society also drew attention (HDR, 1997). The Human Development Report of 1997 brings in a concept of Human Poverty Index (HPI) in order to collectively present varied aspects of deprivation in the quality of life so that we are able to gauge the spread of poverty in a community.

The HPI has three essential elements which are already a part of the HDI—longevity, knowledge and a decent standard of living. The first deprivation relates to survival—the vulnerability to death at a relatively early age—and is represented in the HPI by the per centage of people expected to die before age 40. The second aspect relates to knowledge—being excluded from the world of reading and communication—and is measured by the per centage of adults who are illiterate. The third dimension relates to a decent standard of living, in particular, overall economic provisioning. This is shown by a composite of three variables—the per centage of people with access to health services and to safe water, and the per centage of malnourished children under five.

However, human poverty has many other aspects which are difficult to measure. Some of these vital areas are lack of political freedom, lack of personal security, inability to participate in decision-making (Fukuda-Parr and Shiva Kumar, 2004).

Gender-Related Development Index (GDI)

Gender deprivation and inequality has long been the subject of discussion in development. One of the critiques of HDI was that it did not take into account the differential impact of development on men and women. To address this issue, a new measure was invented in 1995. The Human Development Report of 1995 states that "human development, if not engendered, is endangered".

For measuring GDI, inequalities between men and women are taken note of and then the overall achievement of men and women in three aspects of HDI—life expectancy, educational attainment, and adjusted real income are considered. On the basis of analysis of GDI values, many meaningful observations have been made such as gender equality is not dependent on the income level of a society. Since 1995, these measures form an integral component of the human development reports.

The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) focuses on participation — economic, political and professional. It finds out the extent to which women have been empowered or enfranchised to participate in various aspects of public life as compared to men (see box 1.2).

Box 1.2**The GDI and the GEM**

The Gender-Related Development Index (GDI) measures achievement in the same basic capabilities as the HDI does, but takes note of inequality in achievement between men and women. The methodology used imposes a penalty for inequality, such that the GDI falls when the achievement levels of both women and men in a country go down or when the disparity between their achievement increases. The greater the gender disparity in basic capabilities, the lower a country's GDI compared with its HDI. The GDI is simply the HDI discounted, or adjusted downwards, for gender inequality.

The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) examines whether women and men are able to actively participate in economic and political life and take part in decision-making. While the GDI focuses on expansion of capabilities, the GEM is concerned with the use of those capabilities to take advantage of the opportunities of life.

Source: HDR, 1995

Check Your Progress II

Note: Use the space provided for your answer.

- 1) Explain the indicator of human development.

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- 2) Find out India's rank in terms of GDI and GEM. Why do you think India fares such on these indices?

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1.5 HUMAN DEVELOPMENT REPORTS: IMPORTANT ISSUES

Human development is not a static concept but a dynamic one. Because its goal is to expand the capabilities and freedoms of people which cannot be limited, the human development concept is also ever expanding to account for those. Besides, newer

ways to assess human development achievements are coming up with time, for instance, the human poverty index and gender development index. These ideas emerge from deliberations among experts, people, and practitioners of development across the world and are incorporated in the Human Development Report (HDR) published by the UNDP every year. The theme deals with an issue which is in focus of development. The HDRs are immensely useful in giving insights into the state of human development — globally and nationally — and serve as a reality check for governments and as a guideline for action for development institutions and non-government organisations. Given below is a collection of the main themes of the reports from year 1990 till 2006. You will see many dimensions and issues of human development reflected in these Reports.

Concept and Measurement of Human Development (1990)

The main issue the Report addresses is the question of how economic growth translates — or fails to translate — into human development. The focus is on people and on how development enlarges their choices. The Report discusses the meaning and measurement of human development, proposing a new composite index. Its overall orientation is pragmatic.

Financing Human Development (1991)

The main conclusion of this Report is that lack of political commitment rather than financial resources is often the real cause of human development.

Global Dimensions of Human Development (1992)

The richest 20 per cent of the population now receives 150 times the income of the poorest 20 per cent. The Report suggests a two-pronged strategy to break away from this situation. First, making massive investments in their people and strengthening national technological capacity can enable some developing countries to acquire a strong competitive edge in international markets (witness the East Asian industrializing tigers). Second, there should be basic international reforms, including restructuring the Bretton Woods institutions and setting up a Development Security Council within the United Nations.

People's Participation (1993)

The Report examines how and to what extent people participate in the events and processes that shape their lives. It looks at three major means of peoples' participation: people-friendly markets, decentralised governance and community organisations, especially non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and suggests concrete policy measures to address the growing problems of increasing unemployment.

New Dimensions of Human Security (1994)

The report introduces a new concept of human security which equates security with people rather than territories, with development rather than arms. It examines both the national and the global concerns of human security.

Gender and Human Development (1995)

The report analyses the progress made in reducing gender disparities in the past few decades and highlights the wide and persistent gap between women's expanding capabilities and limited opportunities. Two new measures are introduced for ranking countries on a global scale by their performance in gender equality and there follows

an analysis of the under-valuation and non-recognition of the work of women. In conclusion, the report offers a five-point strategy for equalizing gender opportunities in the decade ahead.

Economic Growth and Human Development (1996)

The Report argues that economic growth, if not properly managed, can be jobless, voiceless, ruthless, rootless and futureless, and thus detrimental to human development. The quality of growth is therefore as important as its quantity for poverty reduction, human development and sustainability.

Human Development to Eradicate Poverty (1997)

Eradicating poverty everywhere is more than a moral imperative — it is a practical possibility. That is the most important message of the Human Development Report 1997. The world has the resources and the know-how to create a poverty-free world in less than a generation.

Consumption for Human Development (1998)

The high levels of consumption and production in the world today, the power and potential of technology and information present great opportunities. The report asks the question that after a century of vast material expansion, will leaders and people have the vision to seek and achieve more equitable and more human advance in the 21st century?

Globalization with a Human Face (1999)

Global markets, global technology, global ideas and global solidarity can enrich the lives of people everywhere. The challenge is to ensure that the benefits are shared equitably and that this increasing interdependence works for people not just for profits. This year's Report argues that globalization is not new, but that the present era of globalization, driven by competitive global markets, is outpacing the governance of markets and the repercussions on people.

Human Rights and Human Development (2000)

HDR 2000 looks at human rights as an intrinsic part of development and at development as a means to realizing human rights. It shows how human rights bring principles of accountability and social justice to the process of human development.

Making New Technologies Work for Human Development (2001)

Technology networks are transforming the traditional map of development, expanding people's horizons and creating the potential to realize within a decade progress that required generations in the past.

Deepening Democracy in a Fragmented World (2002)

This Report is first and foremost about the idea that politics is as important to successful development as economics. Sustained poverty reduction requires equitable growth—but it also requires that poor people have political power. And the best way to achieve that in a manner consistent with human development objectives is by building strong and deep forms of democratic governance at all levels of society.

Millennium Development Goals: A Compact among Nations to End Human Poverty (2003)

The range of human development in the world is vast and uneven, with astounding progress in some areas amidst stagnation and dismal decline in others. Balance and stability in the world will require the commitment of all nations, rich and poor, and a global development compact to extend the wealth of possibilities to all people.

Cultural Liberty in Today's Diverse World (2004)

Accommodating people's growing demands for their inclusion in society, for respect of their ethnicity, religion, and language, takes more than democracy and equitable growth. Also needed are multicultural policies that recognize differences, champion diversity and promote cultural freedoms, so that all people can choose to speak their language, practice their religion, and participate in shaping their culture so that all people can choose to be who they are.

International Cooperation at a Crossroads: Aid, Trade and Security in an Unequal World (2005)

This Report takes stock of human development including progress towards the MDGs. Looking beyond statistics it highlights the human costs of missed targets and broken promises. Extreme inequality between countries and within countries is identified as one of the main barriers to human development and as a powerful brake on accelerated progress towards the MDGs.

Beyond Scarcity: Power, Poverty And The Global Water Crisis (2006)

Water crisis is deepening around the world. More than 1 billion people lack clean water for drinking, and 2.6 billion people lack sanitation. Every day, nearly 5,000 children die and countless other people fall ill, unable to attend school or work, because of water-related disease. The 2006 Human Development Report documents these tragedies as well as the extreme disparities in access to what ought to be a basic human right. While utilities deliver cheap, government-subsidized water to wealthy suburbs and industries, poor neighbourhoods are left out. Impoverished families pay up to 10 times more for water than do rich households in the same city. The international community must act now, as clean water is the foundation for good health, education and better economic opportunities.

Fighting Climate Change: Human solidarity in a divided world (2007-08)

The report states that climate change is the defining human development challenge of the 21st Century. The poorest countries and the most vulnerable citizens will suffer the earliest and most damaging setbacks, even though they have contributed least to the problem. No country, however wealthy or powerful, will be immune to the impact of global warming. Climate change challenges all people to reflect upon how we manage the environment and to reflect on social justice and human rights across countries and generations. It challenges people across the globe to accept their responsibility to initiate deep cuts in greenhouse gas emissions.

Impact of Human Development Reports

Ever since its first publication in 1990, the Human Development Report has set the tone of development policy dialogue across the world and within nations. It has generated a lot of enthusiasm on the part of development agencies, NGOs, activists and also governments who have sincerely tried to orient their policies. The Report has influenced the global search for new development paradigms with focus on equitable distribution of growth and responding to people's aspirations. It has helped

launch many new policy proposals, for example, investing more in people than in arms in the poor nations. Most importantly, many developing countries have begun to formulate human development strategies and implement long term developmental plans.

1.6 CRITIQUES OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Although human development concept has been hailed as a paradigm shift in development thought, it is not without criticisms. Most criticisms pertain to the ambitious goals it sets in terms of broadening people's choices, yet confines itself to measuring three variables only, indicating that the concept has oversimplified its priorities. Proponents of human development have responded that these three variables capture the essential elements of human choices and capabilities in a substantial manner. Longevity reflects freedom from violence, diseases, ill health, and nutritional and health related deprivation; literacy shows access to resources of knowledge and participation while the income part reflects the command over resources for a decent living and realizing one's capabilities. Critics say the measure does not pay attention to elements such as empowerment, equity, sustainability and security, which are vital for making choices. Moreover, there is a view that economic and social indicators should not be combined into a single figure as HDI, but analyzed in tandem.

Critics also argue that it is difficult to determine what choices constitute human development. For instance, should increase in divorce rates be taken as a positive or a negative sign of human development? In the former case, it reflects the choices to rectify wrong decisions regarding marriage and come out of it. In the latter case it reflects greater amount of instability in the family and general social relationships among people.

A further criticism is that the human development concept has been designed primarily by economists and hence, the variables concentrate on the human aspect of development. It takes the attention away from the social aspects like socio-political institutions, social structures and social groups, which are not reflected in the variables chosen.

However, there is a broad agreement that the human development approach is a significant improvement in the way development is perceived and measured, although more needs to be done in future.

Check Your Progress III

Note: Use the space provided for your answer.

- 1) Is human development a better approach than earlier ones to study development? Discuss.

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1.7 LET US SUM UP

In this Unit, we discussed two different but related areas in development. We discussed the limitations of growth centric approach to development and the need to conceptualise development in broader terms of social well being of people. That is captured in the human development approach which puts human beings at the center of all development. Human development, we saw, believes in expanding people's choices. The Human Development Index (HDI), based on the knowledge level, longevity and real-value adjusted GNP per capita of people, measures the deprivation of people and ranks countries according to their scores.

1.8 FURTHER READINGS AND REFERENCES

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UNIT 2 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Structure

*Chinmoy Biswal**

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Concept and Meaning
- 2.3 Development-Environment Debate
- 2.4 Origin and Evolution
- 2.5 Dimensions of Sustainable Development
- 2.6 Critiques of Sustainable Development
- 2.7 Globalization and Sustainable Development
- 2.8 Let Us Sum Up
- 2.9 Further Readings and References

2.0 OBJECTIVES

This Unit will give you a broad perspective and a critical understanding of sustainable development. After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

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

2.1 INTRODUCTION

After the Industrial Revolution, industrialism has come to dominate all thoughts of development. The present mode of development is therefore heavily industrial based and growth-oriented. The concept of human development attempts to give the development paradigm a direction from economic growth towards human beings, yet industrialism remains dominant. We have already discussed the critiques of industrialisation by environmentalists and alternative development theorists. In the past few decades, a new concept — sustainable development — has emerged. Just as human development poses the question of human beings vis-à-vis economic growth, the concept of sustainable development attempts to pose the question of nature, environment and ecology vis-à-vis the growth-driven model of development

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

2.2 CONCEPT AND MEANING

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

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

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

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

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

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

Check Your Progress I

Note: Use the space provided for your answer.

- 1) Define sustainable development.

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2.3 DEVELOPMENT- ENVIRONMENT DEBATE

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

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

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

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

There was resentment against this development model from environmental movements. The impact of industrial mode of development on nature was devastating which threatened the survival of humankind. The deterioration of nature was two fold: strain on finite resources like coal, minerals, oil etc. and degradation of quality of environment air, water, river, land pollution. This was not

limited to advanced industrial countries only, because the industrialization model of development had been transferred to third world countries too. The exploitation of nature was on a global scale, so were the threats to nature.

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

Meanwhile, the growth-oriented development model was coming under increasing criticism for not sharing the economic growth with the poorer masses. Inequalities between ‘rich’ and poor nations were rising despite economic growth, as were disparities within their richer and poorer sections of population. This growth approach therefore began to be questioned on the grounds of ‘equity’ and ‘human welfare’. We have discussed this in **Unit 2**. These developments were crucial to the origin of the idea of sustainable development. As we will see, sustainable development contains all these elements. It sees development and environment dichotomy as false and believes that both can be addressed together.

2.4 ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION

The idea of sustainable development can be traced to earliest ecological thinking from ancient times. That Nature is the provider of all sustenance and it must be preserved is not a new thinking in itself. Much before the large scale resource depletion started under industrialisation, societies laid stress on permanence of bonds with nature which should not be unduly disturbed. Technological development being low, large scale tampering with nature was also not possible. However, there are evidences in history of many civilizations collapsing due to resource constraints (Rao, 2000). The biggest era of exploitation of nature began with Industrial Revolution which established the superiority of science over nature through advanced technology. The human-nature balance began to get disturbed due to expansion of industries and mining.

This period also saw the growth of several economic and environmental philosophers who noted the significance of natural resource limitations and their depletion, although with different perspectives. J.S. Mill (1806-73) advocated the concept of ‘Homo economicus’ which assumes that human beings are rational self-interested beings who try to maximize their wealth. He also noted that “unlimited increase of wealth and population could deprive the earth of its pleasantness”. Marx considered the problem of resource depletion and unsustainable development as a result of class structure and profit-driven capitalist enterprise. Pinchot (1910) argued that “the first great fact about conservation is that it stands for development” and conservationism is the “use of natural resources for the greatest good to the greatest number for the longest time” (Rao, 2000).

The first to warn about the limited nature of resources was Malthus, about whom we have discussed in Block 1. Although his pessimistic predictions have been empirically proven wrong, his basic idea about the earth’s limited capacity is still upheld. Then the neo-Malthusians expanded Malthus’s idea by postulating a

much broader notion of limits. Unlike Malthus who considered only the food production capacity of earth to be limited, according to neo-Malthusians, all resources – land, water, forests, air, minerals, oil etc. are limited. The pressure of population on these limited resources would lead to a collapse of the ‘carrying capacity’ of earth. The Club of Rome report in 1972 entitled *The Limits To Growth* was the first systematic challenge to the idea that ‘progress’ through economic growth can go on into the future endlessly. It was the first reality check on the finite nature of resources and the pessimistic future that lay ahead if the growth-oriented development was pursued at the same rate.

However, the essence of Malthusian and neo-Malthusian thinking lay on the notion of ‘over population’. So the cause and remedy of resource depletion would be through limiting population growth. Sustainable development, on the other hand, recognizes ‘development’ as a cause of pressure on earth. It questions the sustainability of resource-intensive styles of life and the growth-oriented development.

In 1962, Rachel Carson wrote a book *Silent Spring* on the public health hazards of pesticides, especially the DDT. It is considered as laying the foundation of modern era of environmental awareness and concern in the developed world. Examining every form of life on earth, she called for accommodation between humans and nature.

Stockholm Conference

Another important development in 1972, the same year the Club of Rome report appeared, was the United Nations Conference on Human Environment held at Stockholm, regarded as the key event in the emergence of global environmental concerns (Adams, 2005). Its initial focus was on the environmental problems of industrialization such as acid rain and pollution. Developing countries were dissatisfied with this agenda because their problems like poverty were not included. Moreover, they considered the developed countries as the biggest users of resources and also the biggest contributors to pollution. It was at Stockholm Conference that India’s then Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, made a landmark statement: “Poverty is the biggest polluter”. For developing countries, the priority was addressing poverty, not pollution.

The Stockholm Conference, however, succeeded in raising global concern over environmental degradation and admitted the need to address the problems of the third world. The most conspicuous result of the Conference was the creation of United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). Its report, *Only One Earth*, stated that solutions to global environmental problems need global level cooperation although the environmental concerns of developed countries (the North) and developing countries (the South) were far from uniform.

World Conservation Strategy

The UNEP played a catalytic role in the preparation of World Conservation Strategy, which was an effort by International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), now called the World Conservation Union, in cooperation with the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), the UNEP, Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the United Nation Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Together, they formed a unit called the Ecosystem Conservation Group. Their report *World Conservation Strategy*:

Living Resources Conservation for Sustainable Development used the concept of sustainable development for the first time.

Unlike the “Limits to Growth” theorists who had no policy prescription for what should be done to save the earth this document provided sustainable development as the answer. The recognition of meeting the needs of the present generation as well as preserving resources for future first appeared in this report. It defined ‘conservation’ as ‘the management of human uses of the biosphere so that it may yield the greatest sustainable benefit to the present generations while maintaining its potential to meet the needs and aspirations of future generations.’ It defined ‘development’ as the modification of the biosphere and the application of human, financial, living and non-living resource to satisfy human needs and improve the quality of human life. It said: “For development to be sustainable, it must take account of the social and ecological factors as well as economic ones: of the living and non-living resource base, and of the long-term as well as the short term advantages and disadvantages of alternative actions.”

“Our Common Future”

The UN set up a World Commission on Environment and Development in 1983 with Brundtland as the chairperson to reexamine the issues of development and environment and to evolve global policy formulations to meet the challenges. The Commission’s report *Our Common Future* adopted the definition of World Conservation Strategy and incorporated ideas that had emerged out of wider deliberations throughout the world. It gave the first official definition of the concept of sustainable development (refer to section 2.2). It also identified a number of ‘common challenges’ – population and human resources, food security, ecosystems, energy, industrial development and urbanization. It envisaged the future of the earth as common to all nations and therefore, sought to address the above mentioned challenges through shared efforts. We shall discuss the report in detail in the next section.

Rio Earth Summit, 1992

The concept of sustainable development attained center stage in global policy debate in the UN Conference for Environment and Development (Paul, 2007), held at Rio De Jenorio, Brazil, in June 1992. It is popularly known as the “Earth Summit”. The event was organized on a massive scale with more than 150 countries and over 1,400 NGOs taking part. A Sustainable Development Commission was formed with the purpose of furthering the work of creating sustainable development policies and procedures across the world. An “Earth Charter” containing a plan of action for the 21st century emerged from the Summit. It is known as “Agenda 21”. A ‘Climate Convention’ to control climate change due to pollution, and a ‘Bio-diversity Convention’ to promote bio-diversity conservation were also adopted. The Rio Declaration includes 27 principles to provide a framework for improving the environmental and economic conditions of the world.

The Kyoto Protocol

To operationalise the Rio Declaration, the UN Climate Convention met every year. In 1997 at Kyoto in Japan, it incorporated a protocol known as the “Kyoto Protocol”. It is the first enforceable international environmental treaty with 34 signatory countries, who have agreed to limit their green house gas (GHG) emissions within a specific period to control global warming.

After 10 years of Rio Earth Summit, the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) was held in Johannesburg, South Africa, in September 2002. The significance of Johannesburg Summit lies in its expanding the ambit of sustainable development to include forest, health, water, poverty and globalization, among others. The Summit highlighted the need to remove poverty, check the plunder of earth's resources and address the demands of developing countries in the era of free trade and globalization.

At present, there is much global concern over climate change and global warming due to increased carbon dioxide and other GHG emissions from automobiles and industries. An Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) has been established by World Meteorological Organization (WMO) and United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP), to examine the issue. The IPCC is the co-winner of Nobel Peace Prize for 2007 in recognition of its work.

Check Your Progress II

Note: Use the space provided for your answer.

- 1) Discuss the origin and development of sustainable development.

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- 2) How has the development-environment shaped the concept of sustainable development?

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2.5 DIMENSIONS OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The Brundtland Commission Report *Our Common Future* is the most important landmark in the concept of sustainable development. It has defined the term, spelt out the concerns and prescribed broad policies for actions for sustainable development. We discuss the report in some detail here. Refer also to box 2.1.

Sustainable development and Growth

Environmental degradation had led to questioning the growth approach of development. But the question of growth as it has been spelt out in *Our Common Future* has become a matter of debate between pro-growth and anti-growth economists. The concept of sustainable development has not abandoned the

approach to growth because it does not put any absolute limits to growth, but it clearly says that it puts limits imposed by the state of technology and social organization on environmental resources. Technology and social organization can be managed and improved for a new era of economic growth. In other words, the concept advocates the idea of 'sustainable growth' (Paul, 2007).

Environmental Protection

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

Focus on Equity

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

Future Orientation

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

A New View of Progress

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

Objectives of sustainable development

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

- 1) Reviving growth
- 2) Changing the quality of growth
- 3) Meeting essential needs for jobs, foods, energy, water and sanitation
- 4) Ensuring a sustainable level of population
- 5) Conserving and enhancing the resource base

- 6) Reorienting technology and managing risk
- 7) Merging environment and economics in decision making, and
- 8) Reorienting international economic relations
- 9) Making development participatory

The ninth objective has not been spelt out in *Our Common Future*. But most organizations and agencies promoting the concept of sustainable development subscribe to this additional operational goal (Lele, 2005).

Strategy of Sustainable Development

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

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

Box 2.1

Sustainable Development

Humanity has the ability to make development sustainable to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. The concept of sustainable development does imply limits — not absolute limits but limitations imposed by the present state of technology and social organization on environmental resources and by the ability of the biosphere to absorb the effects of human activities. But technology and social organization can be both managed and improved to make way for a new era of economic growth. The Commission believes that widespread poverty is no longer inevitable. Poverty is not only an evil in itself, but sustainable development requires meeting the basic needs of all and extending to all the opportunity to fulfill their

aspirations for a better life. A world in which poverty is endemic will always be prone to ecological and other catastrophes.

Meeting essential needs requires not only a new era of economic growth for nations in which the majority are poor, but an assurance that those poor get their fair share of the resources required to sustain that growth. Such equity would be aided by political systems that secure effective citizen participation in decision making and by greater democracy in international decision making.

Sustainable global development requires that those who are more affluent adopt life-styles within the planet's ecological means — in their use of energy, for example. Further, rapidly growing populations can increase the pressure on resources and slow any rise in living standards; thus sustainable development can only be pursued if population size and growth are in harmony with the changing productive potential of the ecosystem.

Yet in the end, sustainable development is not a fixed state of harmony, but rather a process of change in which the exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development, and institutional change are made consistent with future as well as present needs. We do not pretend that the process is easy or straightforward. Painful choices have to be made. Thus, in the final analysis, sustainable development must rest on political will.

Source: Our Common Future, p. 8

Check Your Progress III

Note: Use the space provided for your answer.

- 1) Discuss the dimensions of sustainable development. What strategies have been advocated to achieve them?

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2.6 CRITIQUES OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Although the concept of sustainable development has wide appeal because it succeeds in incorporating the environmental concerns of the developed 'North' and the developmental concerns of the developing 'South', the concept has also

been criticized by many scholars. Some say it is vague and imprecise while others think it is not useful. Still others see it as a political instrument used by the developed countries. We will discuss them in this section.

Contradiction and Ambivalence

The term ‘sustainable development’ is said to be an oxymoron, that is, a combination of two contradictory terms. Sustainability of environment implies doing away with tampering with nature, while sustainability of development means continuing with exploitation of nature. These are, therefore, two mutually exclusive concepts put together in a contradiction.

Environmentalists say that the term has created a terrain of semantic ambivalence (Sachs, 1997) which has shifted the locus of sustainability from nature to development. Sustainable development talks about the sustainability of development, not of ecology or environment. The focus has shifted towards development, away from nature. So in a way it has taken the shape of conservation of development, not of environment.

The idea of sustainability was initially used by foresters in 18th and 19th century Europe in connection with forest use. Enough trees would be planted in the forests to replace the annual harvest of timber for household and industrial use so that the forest resources are sustainable. A similar use of the term by environmentalists was in connection with fishery resources. But in the modern context, the word has no meaning when used in context of finite resources because they cannot ever be replenished and that is why their use can never be sustainable.

Imprecise Meaning

Critics say the idea of sustainability fails to convey a clear meaning to all. Sustainability has different connotations in different fields. For an economist, sustainability means achieving a critical take off into long-term continuous growth, investment and profits in a market economy. This means industrial societies are already sustainable, while backward agrarian societies are not (Tisdell, 1988 cf Worster). For doctors and public health professionals, it means a society which has good health indicators. This means the rise in life expectancy and fall in death rates demonstrate that the industrial society is far more sustainable than the earlier ones. Similarly, political scientists would understand sustainability in terms of the ability of institutions or ruling groups to generate public support to hold on the power.

This state of confusion is summed up by Anil Aggarwal (1992) as follows: “for a logging company, it can mean sustained projects; for an environmental economist, it can mean sustained stocks of natural forests; for a social ecologist it means sustained use of forest; and for an environmentalist it can mean a clean heritage for our children. But surely, confusion cannot be more productive than clarity.

This lack of precise meaning is brought out in the application of sustainable development with regard to developed and developing nations. Eduardo and Woodgate (1997) say that the difference in meaning is evident from allowing the developing nations to realize their potential for economic growth and generalized increase in their consumption. For the developed nations, it means continued realization of the growth potential as long as it is not at the cost of others. Figure 2.1 shows the diverse interpretations of the concept.

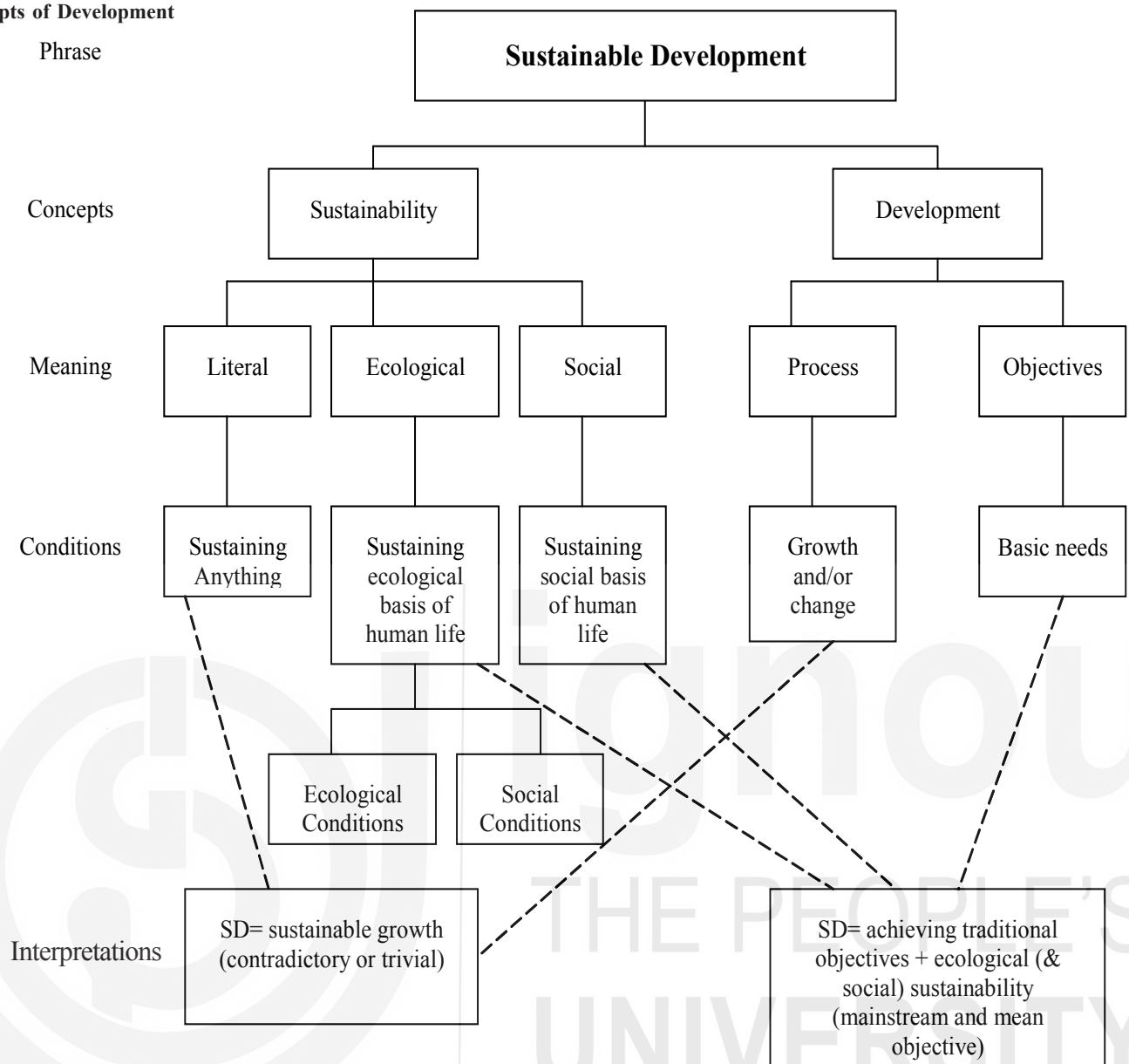


Fig 2.1: The semantics of sustainable development

(Source: Lele, 2005)

According to Sachs (1997), the concept recognizes 'needs' but it does not specify what needs are to be taken care of. The Brundtland Report does not specify if the needs are those of the global consumer class or of the enormous number of have nots. Also, survival needs like water, land and economic security have not been distinguished from the luxury needs of the rich.

Time Frame of Sustainability

According to Worster (1993), the most difficult problem to address is the time-frame defined for a sustainable society. Sustainability cannot exist forever. Historically, societies have evolved through responding to resource depletion and proliferation of needs. Anthropologist Marvin Harris has shown that few human societies have sustained their technology organization, economic patterns, and

institution even for a few centuries. Societies have run out of their resource base due to population pressure or environmental ignorance or excessive demands, and responded to them to devise a new culture based on a new type of resource use. If human beings had achieved sustainability at the outset of history, then society would not have progressed beyond the hunting and gathering stage.

‘Flawed Ideals’ in the concept

Worster’s critique of sustainable development is due to three basic flaws in the concept: (1) it is based on the utilitarian worldview of nature that natural world exists to serve the material demands of human society. According to him, the term ‘Our’ in the Brundtland Report makes this point clear by referring to all people exclusively and only raising the issue of equity in resource distribution the only moral issue. (2) The concept assumes that we can know the carrying capabilities of local ecosystems and explore resources safely up to that level, whereas it is impossible in practice. (3) The sustainability ideal does not question the traditional worldview of progressive materialism and its associated institutions like economic systems and industrialism.

Incomplete characterization of poverty

Our Common Future has raised the issue of poverty many times in the report. Lele says that sustainable development gives an incomplete characterization of poverty and environmental degradation by making it a two-way link (see fig.2.2). However, the link is a very complex one. Both poverty and environmental degradation have deep and complex causes which the Report has avoided in its discussion.

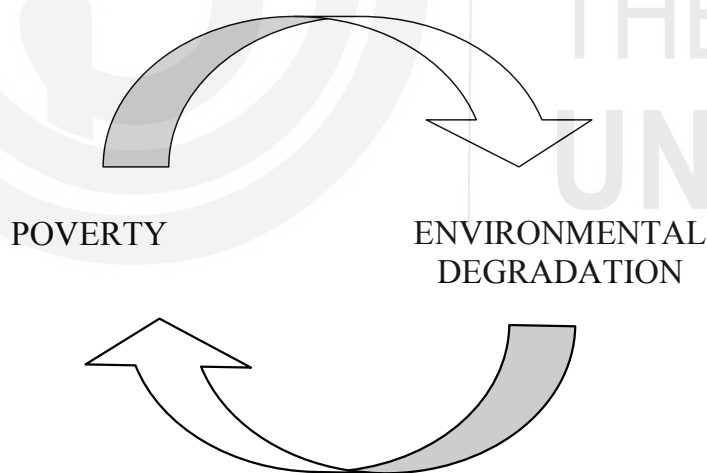


Fig 2.2: An incomplete characterization of poverty-environment relationship

Source: Lele, 2005

According to Nayar (1994), the cyclical relationship between poverty and environmental degradation is perceived in simplistic terms. Sustainable development has kept the basic factors which generate poverty outside this framework, and also does not consider the role of lopsided development which degrades human natural capital.

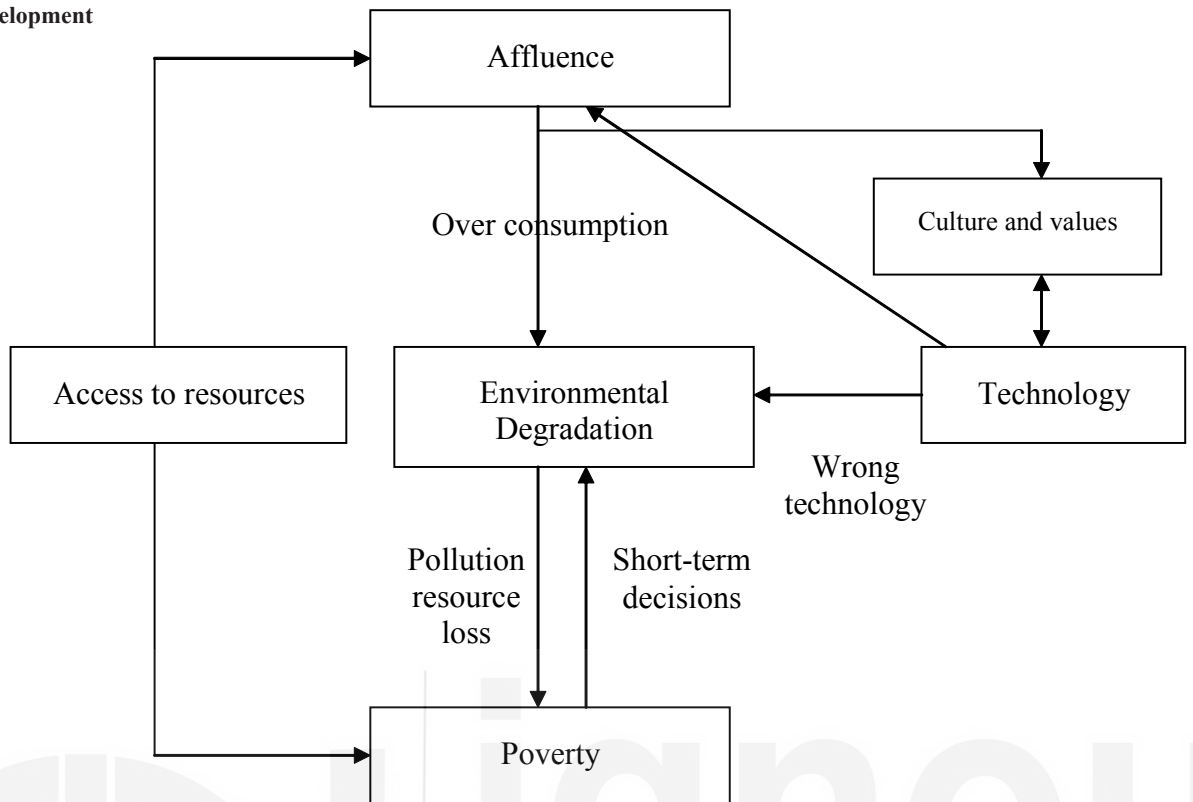


Fig. 2.3: A more realistic presentation of poverty-environment relationship

Source: Lele (2005)

No clear operationalisation

The concept of sustainable development has been criticized for not articulating a well-defined strategy by fixing targets, responsibility, monitoring and evaluation. Anil Agarwal (1992) critiques the concept because it does not clearly say who is going to ensure the rights of future generations and what kinds of needs it may have. He asks “are we talking only of the future generation of the rich or also of the poor” given that a large proportion of even the present generation cannot meet all its needs. In the absence of specific goals or even a consensus on the means to achieve them, sustainable development remains an attractive but unhelpful concept.

‘Politics of sustainable development’

Sustainable development is also criticized on grounds of being a political tool of developed nations who are trying to make up for environmental problems of their own creation by making it look like everybody’s problem. According to Nayar (1994), the concept of sustainable development emerged from those very nations who practice unsustainable resource use, and therefore the starting point for turning the present unsustainable practices to sustainable ones, even with respect to the third world, is problematic.

Nayar writes that there is a close connection between sustaining world capitalism and the sustainable development approach. Sustainable development is visualized as a solution for the nonviable capitalist enterprise by making available raw materials on a continuous basis so that the production system, the expanding market and the political system are not threatened. He argues that sustainable development is an outgrowth of political compulsion of the developed countries due to growth of

ecological movements. “The Not-In-My-Backyard or Nimby syndrome is mainly responsible for ecologically unsustainable development projects including hazardous industries shifting out of these countries to developing countries.” According to Nayar,

“The earlier concept of ethno-development that grew out of Stockholm Conference was better than the present sustainable development because it focused on self reliance. But it was discarded because it was anti-rich. The idea of sustainable development will become proper only if it starts with the affluence and the resulting unsustainability of the rich. A reorientation of growth models in the North would enable the poor countries to achieve at least a minimum level of development while influencing the path of development in the South itself. Rather than blaming victims of depleting common resource, the votaries of sustainable development should address themselves to the production and consumption patterns in the industrialized countries which is leading to destruction of natural resources in the world.”

Check Your Progress IV

Note: Use the space provided for your answer.

- 1) Discuss the criticisms of sustainable development.

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- 2) Examine the ‘politics of sustainable development’.

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2.7 GLOBALIZATION AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

You are familiar with the dimensions of globalization from Block 1. Sustainable development is also one of the ingredients of globalization thinking because resources and their depletion are thought to be global phenomena. The risk of unsustainable development is ultimately global because atmosphere, oceans, carbon cycles, hydrological cycles, global warming and climate change are not limited to national boundaries. How is the process of globalization going to affect the future of sustainable development? The flowing discussion is based on Wolfgang Sachs’ authoritative work (2005).

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

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

What, however, is downplayed in this argument is the fact that market rationalization may lower the use of particular resources, that is, the input per unit of output. But the total use of resources will grow if the volume of economic activity expands. The size of growth in production and consumption will be too big for the small gains made in efficiency. As the history of industrial society shows, efficiency gains have quite consistently been converted into new opportunities for expansion. From an ecological point of view, this is the Achilles heel of globalization.

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

Direct foreign investment and the expansion effect

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

Another symbol of globalization, the “Big Mac” has caused big lifestyle changes in many countries of Latin America and Asia between 1990 and 1996. The number of McDonald’s restaurant has multiplied manifold, and there has been a high rise in meat consumption. These trends imply that more water, cereals and grazing land for cattle, thereby receding forest cover by 10 to 30 per cent in these countries.

Deregulation and the competitive effect

Globalization is intended to release market regulations from the web of national norms and standards in order to bring them under international competition. Like all other regulated sectors, protection of environment is coming under pressure in many countries which are attaching higher value to attaining competitive strength than to protecting their environment or natural resources. In most countries, the process of economic globalization has blocked any real progress in national environmental policy.

The other dimension of deregulation is to introduce efficiency and lower prices. If it happens in environmentally significant sectors like Oil, coal etc, then their prices fall and demands shoot up. Also it will be less worth introducing conservation technologies which may have higher prices. Under price systems that do not reflect environmental costs, global competition will deepen the crisis of nature (Daly 1996, cf Sachs, 2005).

Currency crisis and the sell out effect

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

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

Vanishing distance and the transport effect

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

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

Colonization of Nature

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

Changing Geography of Stress

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

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

Check Your Progress V

Note: Use the space provided for your answer.

- 1) Discuss how globalization affects sustainable development.

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2.8 LET US SUM UP

In this Unit, we discussed the concept of sustainable in terms of its location in the development-environment debate. We looked at the Brundtland Commission Report which defined sustainable development comprehensively and spells out policy objectives to achieve it. We also traced the origin and development of the idea of sustainable development. We have examined sustainable development through some critical views. We also discussed the critiques regarding the politics of the concept. Lastly, we looked at how globalization would affect sustainable

development by a reworking of development-resource relationship, mainly to the detriment of nature.

2.9 FURTHER READINGS AND REFERENCES

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UNIT 3 DEVELOPMENT AND PROGRESS: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DIMENSIONS

Structure

*Tripti Bassi & Chinmoy Biswal**

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Concept and Meaning
- 3.3 Development as Growth, Change and Modernisation
- 3.4 Theories of Underdevelopment
- 3.5 Models of Development
- 3.6 Shifting Development Strategies
- 3.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 3.8 Further Readings and References

3.0 OBJECTIVES

This Unit is designed to familiarise you with the concepts of development and progress, their origin and present context. You will also read about some theories of underdevelopment and models of development. After reading this Unit, you are expected to be able to:

- distinguish the concepts change, progress and development;
- define Modernisation;
- evaluate the various models of development;
- elaborate the explanations for underdevelopment; and
- explain the recent shifts in development in recent times.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The term ‘development’ is not new to you. There seems to be an agreement in today’s world on the need to develop. Developed countries are admired because we think that they have achieved higher levels of civilization. Those who are not so need to develop and be like them. In other words, development is seen as desirable and unquestionable. However, the meaning of development may vary. Some may put more thrust on the physical side of development- industries, infrastructure, rails, roads, electricity, vehicles etc- giving less thrust on the social and human side.

Most people understand development in terms of material prosperity — higher income and wealth. When they say a state or a country is developed or more developed than others, they mean this particular state or country has higher per capita incomes, wealth, more vehicles, better roads, electricity, industries, markets, towns and more concrete buildings etc. than others. An ‘underdeveloped’ or ‘backward’ state is one which has none of these or very little of these. Needless

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to say, development is understood primarily as a feature of the economy. An underdeveloped economy is characterized by mass poverty, unemployment, low per capita income, and low levels of technology, low savings and low capital. Extended to social dimensions, underdeveloped societies exhibit large and growing population, acute poverty, bad housing, high mortality, illiteracy, low productivity in agriculture, low urbanisation, diseases and low technological development (Gore, 2003). Without doubt, these notions of development and underdevelopment or backwardness have come to us from the Western models of development. There is an assumption that development is an ongoing social process in a linear direction in which some (developed) societies are ahead of others (underdeveloped or developing) and have reached a state of perfection. The developing societies must also follow their path so as to be developed.

Recently questions have been raised over the nature of development in Third World countries, as also in India: development for whom and at what cost; who benefits and who bears the cost of development? These are issues at the core of development debate. Many see the prevalent models of development as anti-people, anti-nature and anti-human, while others propose alternative models. Yet others ask why and how are some people, some countries or some places 'developed' while others remain 'under developed'? As social work professionals, you will have to engage with these issues in your professional career when many of you will choose to work in the so called 'development sector'. It is therefore essential that you familiarise yourself with some concepts and theories of development.

3.2 CONCEPT AND MEANING

Although the terms 'progress' and 'development' are sometimes used synonymously, as concepts they have different meanings and historical origin. There are some other related concepts too: evolution, growth and change. All these concepts owe their origin to emergence of social philosophies in the post-Enlightenment period in Europe. During the 18th and 19th centuries, European societies were undergoing massive political and economic changes, sometimes sudden and violent. There was considerable interest among social philosophers to understand these changes in society and also examine if there is a desirable end towards which societies were advancing. The most prominent idea was the idea of Progress which was the product of the age of Enlightenment (see box 3.1).

Box 3.1 Enlightenment

Enlightenment was an intellectual movement in eighteenth century Europe, particularly in France, Britain and Germany. It was a movement for freedom of human being from the tyranny of Middle ages in which the Monarch, nobility and the Church which were powerful institutions. Enlightenment advocated the primacy of reason as the source of authority and humanism as the basic philosophy. It also marked a confidence in the capability of human beings to exert influence over Nature through science and control it to meet human needs. It established rationality, science, the forward march of knowledge, reasoning and human ability as supreme. The Enlightenment thinkers believed that systematic thinking might be applied to all areas of human activity and human society can be led away from tradition and superstitions into a path of Progress, based on reason and rationality.

Progress

It suggests a growth in knowledge reinforcement and an overall standard of living. Social progress is the growth of social life in respect of those qualities to which human beings attach, or can rationally attach, value (Hobhouse, 1911). Therefore, progress connotes a change in a desired direction. It is understood as a forward march in a positive direction, an improvement over present. It combines a dynamic concept of change with a value-judgment (each stage is better than the earlier one) and the idea of irreversibility. Earlier, prior to Renaissance and Enlightenment, human society was thought to have declined from an initial state of perfection. The idea of some Golden Age in the past symbolized this thought. The present age was thought to be inferior to that of the past. There was another view which considered the change in societies as reflecting the periods of progress and decadence. The idea of Progress during Enlightenment changed these ideas in establishing progress as an onward march of humanity in better direction. The term is close to the Sanskrit word *pragati* (meaning, a forward movement).

Evolution

It is a concept drawn from biology and applied to the realm of society. Darwin's idea of evolution of species influenced many social thinkers who thought that societies are also like organisms which take birth and evolve in response to their external environments. They grow from simple to complex in structure in successive stages. Complex societies like the industrial Europe of 18th or 19th century are much more evolved than simple societies of tribal people in Africa, Asia or Australia, and also more evolved than the agrarian societies of Asia at that time. Evolution is characterized by increasing differentiation and complexity in structure and function such as the growth in social, economic and political institutions. It is derived from the Latin word *evolvere* which means to grow, to unravel or to unfold. It incorporates a slow growth process which is primarily internal. Here, there is a transition from an uncertain variable homogeneity to a certain constant heterogeneity. The idea of social evolution continues to influence the notion of development. Evolution is also a value loaded concept because higher the levels of evolution a society has attained, it is a proof of it having survived and adapted better to the environment. So better and more advanced it is considered. Since higher complexity of structure and heterogeneity is mark of evolutionary progress, advanced societies are inherently better developed to deal with the environment. But there is no inherent direction or plan according to which the society evolves. It does so randomly in response to forces and conditions and the necessity of survival.

Development

As a concept it emerged after the Second World War when former colonies won independence from colonial powers and took up policies and plans to come up to the level of their former colonizers—the advanced industrialised countries. In the strict sense, like evolution development also suggests the image of a living organism which develops or fulfils itself according to a plan, enacting a pattern build into its genetic structure (Agazzi, 1988). It is different from evolution in that there is a definite plan in it which it has to achieve. In that sense it is not random or haphazard. It can also be said to be a particular case of the idea of progress, that is, progress which not content at proceeding at random but seeks to fulfill a plan, a pattern or a design. Goals and objectives are intrinsic to the definition of development.

According to Bottomore (1986), the concept of ‘development’ has been used recently in two broad ways: first, to differentiate two broad categories of society—the prosperous industrial societies on one side and the predominantly rural, agricultural and economically poor societies on the other, and secondly, to describe the process of industrialisation or modernization. It treats societies as passing through three stages: traditional society, transitional society and modern society. This idea of development concentrates particularly upon economic growth.

Change

It refers to the general process of change in society—in the social institutions, composition, social processes etc. — due to a variety of factors such as due to introduction of new technology or system of production, new inventions and discoveries, contact with other social groups and communities and so on. It is used in common parlance to refer to a variety of phenomena. Sociologists use the term to describe variations or modification of any aspect of social process, social patterns, social interactions or social organization. Kingsley Davis (1949) refers to it as such alterations that occur in social organizations, that is, structure and functions of society. Social change is a complex process which alters the social set-up in some form or the other.

The most important reason for using the concept of social change is that it is value-neutral. While talking about ‘change’, social scientists examine the causes, nature and consequences of the change without being judgmental about it. They do not say if it is good or bad, desirable or undesirable. Its value-neutrality makes it a preferred concept to analyse societies.

Table 2.1

Concept	Nature	Example
Social evolution	Value loaded in terms of direction (linear) and structure (from simple to complex)	Various evolutionary views about society (e.g. from savage to barbarism to civilization)
Social Progress	Value loaded in terms of proceeding in a particular direction which is desired by society	Advancement in technology is considered as an index of progress
Social Development	Value loaded in terms of proceeding in a specific direction which is desired by the society and is planned	Modern education (literacy) is considered as an index of development
Social Change	Value neutral as it can be in any direction, and represents only alteration without attaching any value to it.	Family undergoes change in terms of structure and function
Growth	Value loaded in terms of increase in size; essentially quantitative	Increase in GDP of a country is taken as an index of growth

Some Thinkers' Views

To gain an idea how thinkers have conceptualized evolution, progress or development of society, let us look at a few instances. August Comte analysed the change and progress of human society in a linear evolutionary framework called the 'law of three stages'. Societies pass through theological, metaphysical and scientific (positivist) stage. In the first, all phenomena are explained in terms of supernatural forces. In the second stage, phenomena are explained in terms of natural forces but not in scientific terms. In the third and final stage, human mind attains capacity to reason through science and scientific explanations prevail (cf Aron, 1965). A contemporary of Comte, Herbert Spencer said society is like an organism that grows from simple to complex structures, from a state of simple homogeneity to a complex heterogeneity, in an evolutionary process. Societies pass from simple to compound to doubly compound to trebly compound stages, each stage witnessing further development of social and political institutions. Anthropologist L .H. Morgan stated that human societies pass through three historical stages: savagery, barbarism and civilization. Following him, Marx propounded that all societies passed through the successive stages of primitive communism, slavery, feudalism and capitalism each marked by a higher stage of development in the forces of production than the preceding one (cf Bottomore, 1986).

Check Your Progress I

Note: Use the space provided for your answer.

- 1) What is Progress? How does Development differ from it?

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- 2) How has the idea of evolution influenced the concepts of Progress and Development? Discuss.

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3.3 DEVELOPMENT AS GROWTH, CHANGE AND MODERNISATION

As stated earlier, development has come to acquire a meaning to classify different societies in the scales of prosperity understood in terms of industrialisation, urbanisation and modernisation. It has also come to stay as a process of change that is inevitable because it is desirable. There are dissenting opinions on the models of development or the ways to bring about development, but today no

one dares say that development is undesirable. The discourse is how to minimize the costs to ecology and people who get affected by development projects, and how to share the fruits of development justly. We discuss here the three interlinked ways in which development is perceived as: growth, change and modernisation.

Growth

Development discourse became prominent in the decade following the Second World War when colonies started gaining independence. The thrust was on increasing the national incomes of these countries and achieve rapid economic growth. It was perceived that economic development was the primary need of an underdeveloped society. The benefits of economic development through growth would trickle down to all masses and lead to social development like education, health, housing etc.

Growth is an economic concept. It refers to increasing wealth in the economy, measured in terms of increase in the volumes of goods and services produced. Its indices are Gross National Product, per capita income, per capita consumption of goods and services etc. Growth can happen through expansion and rise in productivity in agriculture, industry and service sector activities. However, in the prevailing paradigm of development, it is the industrial model of development that is taken to be the ideal way to achieve growth. This is a result of Third World countries trying to replicate the development experience of first world countries through industries and high technology.

Change

As we saw, change is a value-neutral term. As Change, development is referred to the process of transformation of the society in every sphere—economic, political, social and cultural. For example, shift from primary activities to secondary and tertiary activities, migration of people from rural to urban, adoption of democratic political system in place of monarchy and guaranteeing rights of citizens as per rule of law, change from joint to nuclear families, adoption of literacy etc. Many of these changes are related to the process of modernisation.

Modernisation

Modernisation simply means ‘to modernise’. It is the opposite of traditionalisation. It refers to the transformation of a traditional society into a modern society. Many feel that development is essentially a modernisation project. Modernisation was at the heart of the development debate in the decades of 1950s and 1960s. But what is ‘modernity’? When did the process of modernisation begin? How does modernisation take place? To understand these, we have to discuss the concept of modernity and features of modern society.

The salient characteristics of modernity are (Lerner, 1972):

- 1) A degree of self-enduring growth in the economy such that production and consumption grow consistently.
- 2) People’s participation in the polity or at a minimum, their democratic representation in defining and selecting policy alternatives
- 3) Secular-rational norms in culture
- 4) Increase in mobility in society, that is personal freedom of physical, social and psychic movement

- 5) A personality transformation that equips the individual to function effectively in a social order that operates according to the above characteristics .

The distinction between a 'traditional' and a 'modern' society is as follows:

- 1) Traditions predominate, as does 'traditionalism'. It means people are oriented towards the past and are not able to adapt to change. A modern society may have traditions but people are not slaves to them. Instead, they challenge any value that comes in the way of progress. So, they are not bound by 'traditionalism'.
- 2) In traditional societies, kinship is the organizing principle of life. Kinship controls all relationships—economic (e.g. land and labour), political (clan rule, caste bodies), legal (property). Status is ascribed. One's birth determines one's status and occupation. In contrast, modern societies are achievement oriented; they reward hard work and talent, not someone's ascriptive status. Kinship exists as bonding between individuals, but its importance is far less. Economy, polity and legal spheres are oriented on secular principles. Individual has much greater freedom to pursue his interests.
- 3) Traditional societies are superstitious, and fatalistic where as modern societies are forward-looking, innovative and entrepreneurial. They have rational, scientific outlook.

At its core lie several overlapping assumptions: (1) "traditional" and "modern" societies are separated by a sharp dichotomy; (2) economic, political, and social changes are integrated and interdependent; (3) development tends to proceed toward the modern state along a common, linear path; and (4) the progress of developing societies can be dramatically accelerated through contact with developed ones. According to this theory, the Western, industrial, capitalist democracies, and the USA in particular, lie at the highest point of their historical scale and less modern societies are to be measured according to their distance from that point. Rostow's model of growth that you have studied was a part of this modernisation theory.

Modernisation theory has its roots in the evolutionary views of development of societies. According to Lerner (1972), it is the current term for an old process of social change whereby less developed societies acquire the characteristics common to more developed societies. The earlier names for this process during colonization era were Westernization or Europeanization. But after the rise of USA in the post World War-II scenario, these concepts were restructured and generalized under the new term – modernisation.

The theoretical origins of modernisation theory can be traced to the works of Emile Durkheim and Max Weber. In his work *The Division of Labour in Society* (1893), Durkheim explores the path a society follows in its march from a simple traditional society to a complex modern society. It occurs through increase in population and the resultant increase in division labour. As a result the social cohesion is transformed from being based on mechanical solidarity in which each group is a segment of the larger society, to that based on organic solidarity in which individuals are interdependent on each other to cater to society's needs. New institutions in the sphere of religion, economy, politics and education come up. The modern society is formed by increasing complexity and integration. Weber in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1905) identified

rationalization of values and norms as the distinguishing feature of modern societies based on industrial capitalism from the traditional agrarian societies.

Combining these views, the modernisation theorists propounded that underdeveloped societies are caught in the stranglehold of traditionalism which is an impediment to development. Development happened when traditional, primitive values were taken over by modern ones.

The modernisation theory has been criticized on several grounds. First, the use of such abstract and vague terms as 'traditional' and 'modern' does not reflect the great variety among the societies. Second, the theory offers little explanation of the process how a society develops. Third, tradition and modern values more often exist simultaneously in a society. People do not discard traditional ways of living with the arrival of modernity. So the concepts of tradition and modernity may not be exclusive of each other. Fourthly, to regard the values and features of Western societies which are a product of specific historical processes such as the industrial revolution as modern and that of the agrarian societies of Asia and Africa as traditional speaks of a value-judgment. Lastly, the modernisation theory treats lack of development in the Third World as the result of traditional behaviour and socio-economic systems that create obstacles to modernisation. It entirely ignores the impact of colonialism and imperialism on the Third World countries. Hence, it is an oversimplified model of development which lacks an adequate historical input and a structural perspective. However, the theory contributes in focusing on the roles of values and attitudes in affecting people's behavior and their response to social change.

Check Your Progress II

Note: Use the space provided for your answer.

- 1) According to modernisation theory, how does a modern society differ from the traditional?

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- 2) How does modernisation theory address the question of development? Discuss..

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3.4 THEORIES OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT

In the decade of 1970s, the central place in the development debate was occupied by *underdevelopment* theories. These were developed mostly by Latin American theorists who drew on the ideas from the analysis of the economic system of

capitalism as developed by Karl Marx. These theories try to locate the causes of underdevelopment in Third World countries in systemic colonial exploitation and integration in a world economic system. They also provide a structural perspective into development and underdevelopment.

Colonialism and neo-Colonialism

Colonial expansion which began in the 16th century was at its peak between 1850 and 1900. Powerful European countries of the day — England, France, Spain, Portugal, Dutch, Russia — went on to establish colonies in Africa, Asia and Latin America after political conquest. These colonies which won freedom around the mid 20th century are today designated as the Third World. They were subjected to systematic exploitation by their colonial masters, not just politically but also economically. The consequences of colonial rule on these countries are reflected in their continued underdevelopment. The main economic features of colonialism was organisation of production in a ‘colonial mode’ in which the colonies served as the suppliers of raw materials to and the consumers of finished goods from their ruler countries. The Industrial Revolution in England was fuelled by the cotton, capital and coal of India, but also by the vast markets it provided for sale of British textiles. You are already familiar with the ruin of Indian cotton textile and cottage industries due to British economic policies. Commercialization of agriculture, private property relations in land, new taxation systems that created landlordism and concentration of land in a few hands etc. were some of the processes that brought poverty for a large mass of population.

Even after gaining political independence in the mid-20th century, the Third World countries remained subject to what has been called ‘neo-colonialism’. It is a form of socio-economic domination from outside which does not have to rely on direct political control. According to Nkrumah, a former President of Ghana in the 1960s, “the essence of neo-colonialism is that the state which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its internal policy is directed from the outside.”

Frank’s Theory of Dependency

Dependency theories came up in the 1960s as an explanation to the situation in Latin American countries. Its advocates argued that the poverty and underdevelopment in countries like Argentina, Peru, Chile and Brazil is due to economic and political influence of developed countries. It perceives a ‘world system’ of linked economies, in which the development of advanced countries (center) implied a simultaneous underdevelopment of the Third World countries (periphery) whose resources were exploited.

The most prominent dependency theorist is Andre Gunder Frank who argued that the poverty of the Third World reflected its ‘dependency’. He says the poor Third World nations are linked as ‘satellites’ to the ‘metropolis’ of the world economic system in a chain of dependency which runs from local rural areas to rich merchants in their own countries and then to the metropolitan country. The wealth and surplus of the satellite countries are transferred to the metropolis causing deprivation for the masses.

Lipton’s Theory of Urban Bias

Michael Lipton’s ‘urban bias’ theory tries to explain uneven development inside Third World countries. While accepting the general underdevelopment theories and the history of imperialism and colonialism in perpetuating Third World

underdevelopment, Lipton believes that the main reason for persistent underdevelopment is the existence of parasitical and corrupt urban elites.

According to this theory, all the thrust of development in Third World countries is on urban areas and urban industries. Agriculture is generally neglected and whatever available resources for agriculture go to the richer farmers who obtain cheap loans and subsidized inputs. The rural poor are neglected even as development resources are spent for the comfort of the elites. It is the result of the power of the 'urban class' over the 'rural class'. Lipton's theory has been criticized because there is no evidence of a homogenous united 'urban class' as distinct from a similarly homogenous rural class. Socio-economic relations are much more complex and overlapping and cut across rural and urban divides.

3.5 MODELS OF DEVELOPMENT

We have already discussed the meaning of development and the two major streams in development debate — modernisation theory and underdevelopment theories. Now, if the essential goal of each society is to develop, what are the ways it can happen? In other words, what are the models of development that the underdeveloped countries can follow? Broadly there are three models adopted by different countries; capitalist (First World), socialist (Second World) and mixed (Third World) model. In addition there is the notion of alternative development. These models are not just economic. Their adoption has to do with the political ideology of the State.

The dominant model of economic development was the capitalist model which relies on heavy industrialisation, trade and commerce and growth. However, it faced a big challenge from the socialist model after the Russian revolution of 1917 and adoption of communism as the political ideology by the former USSR. It also relied on industrial growth and higher production but under state control which also stressed on employment and distribution of resources among the population. When the colonies gained freedom, they were attracted towards this model but due to their limited resources and need for faster growth, many of them adopted a mixed model in which state enterprises and private enterprises coexisted. All of these models however give primacy to industrial development as the way to achieve social development. The fourth one—alternative development—gives primacy to protecting the interests of Nature and common people, lays stress on people-centric development with limited resources and overall development.

Capitalist model

The capitalist model works on the principle of private ownership of capital and means of production. It advocates minimal or no state control over the Market in price determination and resource allocation. Economic activities are guided by the market forces of demand and supply in an environment of competition which leads to efficiency in production and distribution of goods. It works to give incentive to innovation, skill, talent, and higher productivity of labour but the overall guiding force of production and distribution is profit. It also gives great importance to international trade and commerce as a means of increasing the wealth of a nation. The capitalist model believes in 'growth'—centric development whereby increasing national income (GNP) and per capita income is taken as a measure of higher development. This model of development is practiced most notably by the West, USA and Japan, who are the developed block of nations. It is also called the market model.

Socialist model

The socialist model also advocates industrial development and growth. But it is based on State ownership of means of production, and non-existence of private capital. The economy is regulated and resources are allocated between different sectors of economy on the basis of a centralized planning. It also differs from the capitalist model in emphasizing more on the distribution of resources than on economic growth. It also stresses on social sectors like health, education and employment for overall development of people. The socialist model of development had been adopted by the countries in the former communist block, also referred to as the second world. Most notable among them were the former USSR and East European countries, Cuba, China and Vietnam among others. After the disintegration of the USSR, and adoption of market socialism by China, there has come a change in this model to adopt strategies for higher economic growth.

Mixed model

Also called the Third World model of development, this model is reconciliation between the capitalist and the socialist models. It was adopted by the newly independent nations in the decades of 1950s and 1960s. The rationale was that newly independent colonies did not have the technology or the necessary capital to start development on their own. They had to rely on the West to give them aid. Also, capital in these countries lay mostly in private hands. On the other hand, the rapid social development of USSR and East European countries during that time attracted these countries towards centralized planning and state-led industrialisation which can ensure balanced development. Moreover, the massive poverty of people required State-led support and distribution mechanisms which private sector will not provide. So they adopted a mix of socialistic planning as well as capitalistic growth, seen in the coexistence of public sector and private sector in the economy. India has also adopted this mixed economy model.

The Third World model remained caught in the trap of lack of technology and capital which was often borrowed from the Western countries. This created a dependency on either the First World or the Second World. Gradually there has been a trend of shifting towards the capitalist model. This process has accelerated after the imposition of structural adjustment programme (SAP) and liberalization under the direction of international financial institutions. You have already read about this in the previous Block. For Alternative model, refer to the Unit on sustainable development and human development.

Check Your Progress III

Note: Use the space provided for your answer.

- 1) Elucidate the contribution of underdevelopment theories to the development debate.

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- 2) What kind of a model of development may suit a developing country?
Give a reasoned account.

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3.6 SHIFTING DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

Development is a dynamic process. So are the strategies to achieve development. In the beginning of 1950s (called the development decade), the approach was to achieve higher growth rate so as to increase the national income. This growth-centered approach necessitated rapid industrialisation, infrastructure building, modernisation of agriculture through scientific and technological intervention, and mass literacy campaigns. The belief was on the “trickle down” theory of development: that growth will lead to development in economy which will then impact other sectors. The benefits of growth will trickle down to the masses and there will be removal of poverty and ‘backwardness’. Soon it was realized that the trickle down was not happening. So in 1970s, there was a demand for “growth with redistribution” so that the fruits of development are shared among the entire population, not usurped by a section of privileged classes. Later there came the “basic needs strategy” to pay immediate attention to absolute poverty of food, clothes and shelter among vast masses of people in developing countries. Towards the 1980s, the goals of development shifted towards human beings and a new “human development” approach emerged.

Lately, the strategy of development is undergoing change with increasing stress on empowerment of vulnerable groups like women, indigenous communities and poor people. This is to be achieved by enhancing the role of the State in welfare activities and increasing its responsibilities in protecting the interests of the vulnerable and marginalised sections. At the same time, civil society organisations are coming up with the idea of ‘participatory development’ in which people become stakeholders and active participants in their development by taking part in decision making regarding the goals and means of their development and their implementation.

3.7 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, we have looked at the concepts of evolution, progress, growth, change and development. We discussed Development as a modernisation process that came into prominence in the 1950s. The underdeveloped theories provide a critique of the modernisation theory by questioning the structural and historical nature of underdevelopment. We particularly discussed the dependency theory, urban bias theory and colonialism. We also studied the capitalist, socialist and Third World models of development and examined their differences and similarities. Lastly, we discussed the changing strategies of development with the progress of time to address emerging issues.

3.8 FURTHER READINGS AND REFERENCES

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UNIT 4 GENDER PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT

Structure

*Tripti Bassi**

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Concepts and Meaning
- 4.3 Perspectives on Women and Development
- 4.4 Impact of Development on Women
- 4.5 Policies and Planning for Women in India
- 4.6 Status of Women in Critical Areas
- 4.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 4.8 Further Readings and References

4.0 OBJECTIVES

This Unit aims at providing you with a comprehensive understanding of the linkages between gender and development. After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- explain concepts like gender, patriarchy, and feminism;
- analyze perspectives on women and development;
- discuss the impact of India's development paradigm on women;
- identify the policy and planning measures for women; and
- examine the status of women in the critical areas.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Women comprise half of the world's population and contribute in multiple ways to society. As homemakers they run the household, as farmers they cultivate crops, as workers they produce goods and as professionals they serve in various positions. Considering all this, the status of women should be high corresponding with their hard work and contribution. Yet they remain invisible, unsung, unheard, unwanted and subjugated. One of the major goals of development should be to bring change in their status. To enable them to improve their positions, development initiatives have been taken from time to time. Initially, the focus was on women getting education and good health so that they could play their roles of mothers and wives better. Gradually, development planning is focusing on women's needs and priorities so that they are empowered. We will discuss these in detail in this Unit. We will start with studying some concepts and their meaning which will be useful in our discussion.

4.2 CONCEPTS AND MEANING

Sex and Gender

'Sex' is the biological distinction between men and women, that is, the classification as male and female. The term 'gender', on the other hand, refers to the social

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construction of differences between men and women. These are determined by social expectations. Thereby, certain tasks are categorized as masculine and feminine. When one says girls should be feminine, one expects them to be meek, caring, quiet, obedient, polite and shy. Likewise boys are encouraged to play masculine roles. If girls show divergent qualities, they are said to be transgressing their limits. This is how society enforces gender codes (Refer to Box 4.1).

Box 4.1

Sex, Gender and Society

Gender however is a matter of culture: it refers to the social classification into 'masculine' and 'feminine'. Sex is a word that refers to the biological differences between male and female: the visible differences in genitalia, the related differences in procreative function (Ann Oakley 1972).

Scholars say that sex determines gender because gender varies across cultures. Gender is culturally relative. It even undergoes change over time. Along with presenting a binary distinction, gender also connotes a hierarchy. Gender relations are relations of power- men constitute a class which dominates women and keeps them subordinated. It is not that women are innately inferior to men. Overall, the concept of gender differentiates the sexual differences based on biology from those assigned by culture to men and women to play their respective roles in a society.

Gender and Development

Gender relations have an impact on other domains of women's lives. Development, as we have discussed in the earlier units, should be centered on human beings by making them its ends. The challenge is how to conceptualize gender when focusing on development objectives. Ann Whitehead (1978) expresses this as: "No study of women and development can start from the viewpoint that the problem is women, but rather men and women, and more specifically the *relations* between them" (cf Ostergaard, 1992). Development planning has been conventionally 'gender blind' or gender neutral by not taking into account gender inequality and its impact on development outcomes. A 'gender approach', on the other hand, focuses on the outline of gender relations and its links with the society. Here we examine the connection between gender and economic relations, for instance within a household the impact of change in economic relations on gender relations, links between gender and changes in relations of production, and how reproduction of labour influences gender relations. Ultimately, the purpose is to involve women as participants in the development process.

Patriarchy

Patriarchy means male domination. It is an institution of men dominating women, and keeping them subordinated in power relationships. This could show up in the form of harassment, violence and insult in the family, at the workplace or anywhere in the society. In all spheres of life, men claim superior status to women.

Patriarchy literally refers to the rule of the father or the 'patriarch'. Earlier, it suggested a male-dominated family where the household of the patriarch included women, junior men, children, slaves and domestic servants. Everyone was under the authority of the dominant male. In South Asia, it is termed as *pitrasatta* in Hindi, *pitratontro* in Bengali and *pidarshahi* in Urdu (Bhasin, 2005).

Feminism is defined as “an awareness of patriarchal control, exploitation and oppression at the material and ideological levels of women’s labour, fertility and sexuality, in the family, at the workplace and in society in general, and the conscious action by women and men to transform the present situation”. It gets shaped by local specific issues. So it may mean different things. Feminism is an ongoing struggle for women’s rights. The Beijing Conference in 1995 describes feminism as “looking at the world through women’s eyes”. So, anybody (man or woman) who is conscious of the existence of gender inequalities, male domination and patriarchy, and acts against it, is a feminist (Bhasin and Said Khan, 2005).

4.3 PERSPECTIVES ON WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT

According to Ghosh (2000), mainstream development theories have focused on development from the perspective of men. Women’s relations with economic, social, and environmental issues of development have been mostly ignored, especially in the developing countries. The women’s movement in 1970’s and United Nations Decade for Women (1976-85) in which concepts of feminism, women, and development got acknowledgment, led to the inclusion of women in the development programmes, to certain degrees. In the women and development policies, there has been a shift from welfare to issues like equity, anti-poverty, income generation, and empowerment. Each one of these frameworks looks at women’s role in development differently. We will discuss these perspectives on women and development here:

Women in Development (WID)

The ‘Women In Development’ (WID) phrase was first put to use by the Women’s Committee of the Society for International Development in Washington D.C. Ester Boserup in her book *Woman’s Role in Economic Development* (1970) offered a theoretical base to this approach. She disputed the argument that gains from development projects would automatically “trickle down” to women and other disadvantaged groups in Third World nations. Economic and social development brought a change in the traditional division of labour between men and women. In the subsistence economies women contributed significantly to family production. As agriculture modernized, there was migration to towns, and new gender pattern started emerging. Women began losing their productive functions because with specialized production of goods and services, women’s work was replaced by economic activities happening outside the home, to which they had little access. Modernization favoured men more than women in every sphere. For instance, when agriculture was modernized with new technologies, mostly men undertook training in those technologies and started displacing women from their traditional economic roles. Industrialization created jobs for women in urban areas, but they were treated as surplus labour, to be recruited mostly in low-grade and low paying jobs. The disbanding of communal land and introduction of land reforms also brought significant changes. The earlier practice of joint cultivation by men and women changed and land, becoming a private property, was transferred in the name of men. So even where modern agriculture was introduced with credit and loan facilities, men could apply for loans as owners of land, while women were reduced to the status of unpaid family labourers. Boserup was the first to

show that modernization and technology have differential impacts on men and women. Using a gender perspective, she has shown how economic development alters women's work, their fertility, and their roles in family and society (Ghosh, 2000).

The position of women deteriorated during colonization, especially between 1870s and 1950s. The colonial state continued to encourage the education of boys which had far reaching consequences in ultimately withholding women from joining the economic sphere. When these countries became independent, concern was raised for women's education and also their inclusion in paid work. As you have read in earlier units, this was a period when newly independent countries adopted the western notions of development, which were grounded in patriarchy. The notion of integrating women into development was closely linked to the modernization and human capital theories which were dominant in 1950s-70s. The International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City in 1975 called for extending the existing development programmes to women with the slogan 'Equality, Development and Peace'. This approach is known as "Women in Development" (WID).

The WID approach questioned the invisibility of gender issues from development at both theoretical and practical levels. The focus of WID is on equalizing the opportunities for women in education and employment. It believed that provisions of health and education would be available to women eventually and these need not be considered separately. This meant that women's concerns were being *added on* in a welfare approach with focus on income generation, craft training, and child care. It was assumed that with income generation, women's conditions would improve. No thought was however given as to who was controlling that income. The productive role of women did matter much more than their reproductive role. 'Production' is about producing goods and services that carry economic value, while 'reproduction', besides producing children, encompasses daily chores of the household like cooking, cleaning, care of children and the elderly — activities which have no economic value when carried out within the family. The WID approach suggests that planners should acknowledge women's work as food producers in rural households and for urban markets when male members shift to the agro-export or cash-crop production.

Women, Environment and Development (WED)

The shift from integration to transformation of the development model led to the Women, Environment and alternative Development (WED) framework which focused on alternatives more than remedies. In contrast to WID, this approach believed that economic development had been Eurocentric, hierarchical and patriarchal, besides being destructive to nature. The economic theories that guide development are founded on women's exploitation and their social and economic marginalization. With regard to developmentalism, WED believes that the main concern is not simply to add women into the existing development programmes, but to evolve a new development paradigm (McMichael, 1996).

The western development paradigm based on rational economic theories assumes universal applicability. Its rationality disregards the specific histories and culture and removes practical knowledge from its purview. Colonialism and application of development projects in the third world countries have resulted in the indigenous traditions of European and non-European worlds getting diminished, giving way to

the predominance of market rationality. For instance, crafts have become mechanized, indigenous multiple-cropping patterns have given way to specialized monoculture with use of chemical fertilizers, and traditional health practices have been taken over by western medical sciences. Also, this development pays little regard to the care of nature, and women's role in nurturing and preserving it. Therefore, the WED approach calls for developing an alternative knowledge system based on practical knowledge and rooted in cultural traditions.

Box 4.2

Difference between WID Feminism and WED Feminism

The difference in the two perspectives is not just in emphasis. It involves how we look at the world, including what we take account of. WID feminism tends to accept the developmentalism framework and look for ways within development programmes to improve the position of women. For example, demanding new jobs for women in paid workforce since women's unpaid labour was devalued and hardly considered as an activity leading to livelihoods. The movement from WID to WED follows a conceptual shift from a universalist (rational) toward a diverse (expressive) understanding of the world. It is also a move from a linear (for example, a causes b, where independent forces act on one another) to a holistic understanding of development processes, where all forces are inter-related. In consequence, WED feminists question the separation in western thought between nature and culture, where nature is viewed as separate from and acted on by culture rather than each shaping the other. In the WED view, stewardship of nature is understood as integral to the renewal of culture rather than being constructed as a programme per se.

Source: McMichael, 1996

WED feminists emphasize that no universal development paradigm can be applied in all societies because development is a relative process and not a universal one. Moreover, women's roles in sustaining cultural and ecological relations are complex and place-specific and incapable of being reduced to universal formulas. If the concern is to emancipate women in the third world, then their specific conditions should be the basis of this approach.

Women and Development (WAD)

Around the mid 1970's, neo-Marxist feminists and dependency theorists shifted their attention from WID to reflect on the relationship between women and development. This gave rise to the Women And Development (WAD) framework, which paid attention to class dimension. According to this framework, women's unequal status is related to existing global and class inequalities. It acknowledged women's work in family and economy as adding value to society, but only paid work was considered. Like WID, WAD attended to productive sphere and left out the reproductive sphere, and with it women's double work burden. It sought income generation and equity policies for women. Development programmes were initiated to equip women with various skills and women's work in the public domain was given recognition. Women's work in the household, child care and that of elderly was disregarded in economic terms due to prevalence of western prejudice and inappropriate comprehension of it. Thus, a distinction was made between the public and private sphere. Use of class as a category puts oppressed

women with oppressed men without any consideration of patriarchy and the way it operates (Ghosh, 2000).

Gender and Development (GAD)

The gender and development approach emerged in the 1980s as an alternative to the WID approach. It links the relations of production to the relations of reproduction considering all dimensions of women's lives. It analyses the nature of women's contribution within the household as well as outside including non-commodity production. In this manner, the GAD approach rejects the dichotomy between public and private spheres, ensuring that family maintenance and household work that women do would get adequate attention in development. Moreover, this approach emphasizes on the role of the state in advancing women's emancipation.

The GAD approach sees women as agents of change rather than as passive beneficiaries of development. It lays importance on women organizing themselves in order to articulate their concerns. Although it recognizes that class solidarity and class distinctions are both significant, it focuses on the ideology of patriarchy which functions within and across classes for the subjugation of women. The GAD perspective, therefore, evaluates social structures and institutions (Rathgeber, 1989). The GAD approach addresses practical gender needs, such as those related to provisions of safe water, food, health facilities etc. and also strategic gender needs that women themselves recognize, for instance, changes in the gender division of labour, assertion of legal rights etc. These exist due to low status of women in society.

Table 4.1: Contrast between WID and GAD

	WID	GAD
The approach	An approach that views the absence of women in development plans and policies as the problem	An approach to development that focuses on global and gender inequalities
The focus	Women	Socially constructed relations between women and men, with special focus on the subordination of women
The problem	The exclusion of women (half of productive resources) from the development process.	Unequal power relations (rich vs. poor; women vs. men), which prevents equitable development and women's full participation
The goal	More efficient, effective development that includes women	Equitable, sustainable development, with women and men as decision-makers

	WID	GAD
The solution	Integrate women into the existing development process	Empower the disadvantaged and women and transform unequal relations
The strategies	Focus on women's projects, on women's components of projects, and on integrated projects	Reconceptualize the development process, taking gender and global inequalities into account
	Increase women's productivity and income	Identify and address practical needs, as determined by women and men, to improve their condition; at the same time, address women's strategic interests
	Increase women's ability to look after the household	Address strategic interests of the poor through people-centered development

Source: Moffat (1991) cited in Parpart (2000)

Empowerment Examined

In Development terminology, we often use the term 'empowerment'. Jo Rowlands (1999) discusses empowerment and provides an analytical meaning to it, especially in relation to development. Empowerment connotes 'power to' rather than 'power over'. Liz Kelly defines empowerment as that which "is achieved by increasing one's ability to resist and challenge over power". According to Mbwewe, it is "a process whereby women become able to organize themselves to increase their own self-reliance, to assert their independent right, to make choices and to control resources which will assist in challenging and eliminating their own subordination" (cf Jo Rowlands, 1999).

Terms such as empowerment and development should not be used as synonyms. It is assumed that power comes naturally as a result of economic independence. This often does not happen, because there is complex interaction of factors like gender, culture, caste or class. Economic relations by themselves do not enable women to become analytical regarding their situations. Overall, Rowlands suggests a precise use of the concept of empowerment that would help to focus thought, planning, and action in development.

Check Your Progress I

Note: Use the space provided for your answer.

- 1) Discuss the theoretical perspectives on women and development. Which one of these would you prefer? Give reasons.

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4.4 IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT ON WOMEN

In this section, we will discuss the impact of the development policy on women in India as has been presented by Krishnaraj (1996). We will analyze gender and class together to determine the way gender relations affect economic relations and in turn get affected by them. We illustrate the relationship between development policies and gender relations. The implications of the New Economic Policy (NEP) on women shall also be examined.

When India got independence there was acute poverty. Alongside, agricultural production was stagnant and industrial sector was small with little growth. Till then the Indian economy had served the interests of the colonial power. There was need for increasing the capital formation for which the Mahalanobis model was adopted and the focus kept on creating capital goods. This development model was criticized because of its inability to create employment and regulate public distribution system efficiently. Moreover, its poverty alleviation programmes had little outreach. It was gender-blind and biased. It included only those works by women which were paid for. Hard work that women did in rural areas adding to the resources of the household was not considered. Thus, development priorities were skewed. Gender bias in the household as well as in the social system constrained women's right to own property, access credit/technology, education, and skill training. The inferior status of women ensured that advantages from development in the fields of education, health, income, and employment did not reach them like it did to men. Moreover, the sexual division of labour by which women took charge of family and child care did not let them participate in outside activities be it social, economic or political. More importance was assigned to males and sons leading to discrimination against women and girl child in nutrition, health and education. The family planning programme treated women as reproductive beings and approached them to undertake contraception and birth control.

Gender and Class

Usually, gender analysis does not take 'class' into account. Krishnaraj (1996) suggests that if gender as a category is used to analyze relations of production (economic activity) and relations of reproduction, then class can be comprehended better. The relations of production are power relations whereby there is a hierarchy

between those who possess means of production and those who provide their labour on certain conditions. The relations of reproduction also consist of power relations between genders. The dominant gender controls the body and labour of the other. Thus, women's sexuality, reproduction and labour are socially controlled. Caste and class direct how sexuality needs to be defined within the caste/class, also between class and caste. Power relations between genders ought to be changed to address gender inequality. Further, capitalist development emphasizes growth without redressing prevailing inequalities. These divisions grow all the more under a market economy. There are challenges with respect to gender relations because women belong to many classes and hence, lack common interests. Only in the case of poor women, class and gender interests match which is why they share the same platform in asserting their rights. In the case of educated, middle class women although employment opportunities have grown, yet they figure somewhere on the continuum in their roles as traditional homemakers and as modern workers. They may get paid help to reduce their burden of household work. However, they have to confirm to their foremost function of family maintenance and be a custodian of culture. Marriage and family norms remain fixed for them.

Gender Relations and Development

Development policies at times reinforce gender relations. It is assumed that market economy means the same for men and women. But, segments of women are being taken into workforce to such a limit that it causes feminization of labour. Export industries recruit women under various contract arrangements. Women are preferred since they are generally 'quiet', 'meek', 'cheap', and 'vulnerable' in a gender-segregated labour market. Meanwhile, when men from villages migrate to towns in search of work women are left to themselves managing everything. To illustrate, the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) has said that the majority of farmers in India are women. Women either work on family farm or in traditional cottage industries while men move away. But, women's contribution in the subsistence economy is not recognized. Gender relations play a role in women's involvement in the development process.

Impact of New Economic Policy on Women

India adopted the New Economic Policy in 1991 with its essential tenets of liberalization, privatization and globalization (Refer to Block 1, Unit-4). The World Bank Report on Gender and Poverty (1991) suggests some improvements to enhance women's ability to access credit, skill, technology etc. in the context of liberalization. However, the report makes no mention of gender based division of labour or power relations in the market or household. It takes note of the fact that female agricultural employment has grown at a faster rate and suggests that women should enter the market economy. It says that the cause of slow induction of women into economy was due to prohibitory labour regulation policies that constrained enterprises in the organized sector. Disagreeing with this, Krishnaraj states that women are taken into the economy on discriminatory conditions. Market is gender-neutral only in theory while in practice, it exploits the minorities and women. Women enter labour market facing degradation, feminization, informalisation, and casualisation.

Markets are driven by profit-orientation causing commoditization of women and men. Under globalization, multinational corporations compete with each other,

and encourage consumerism. Women are commoditized and commodities are sexualized. They show emancipated women in the market context as individualistic and successful, but with the right proportion of glamour.

Check Your Progress II

Note: Use the space provided for your answer.

- 1) Discuss the impact of the New Economic Policy on women in India.

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4.5 POLICIES AND PLANNING FOR WOMEN IN INDIA

Our Constitution has eliminated gender discrimination by incorporating the right to equality. Various legislations and policies have been made for the empowerment of women. Refer to Box 4.3.

Box 4.3

Policy Commitments For Women

Constitutional Provisions

The commitment to gender equality is well entrenched at the highest policy making level — the Constitution of India. A few important provisions for women are:

- Article 14-Equal Rights and Opportunities in Political, Economic and Social spheres.
- Article 15-Prohibits discrimination on grounds of sex.
- Article 15(3) – Enables affirmative discrimination in favour of women.
- Article 39 – Equal means of livelihood and equal pay for equal work.
- Article 42-Just and Humane conditions of work and maternity relief.
- Article 51(A) (e) – Fundamental Duty to renounce practices, derogatory to dignity of women.

These provisions are effected and supplemented by legal frameworks. A few laws and legislation are:

Women specific Legislations

- Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956. The Maternity Benefit Act, 1961, The Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961.
- Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1986, The Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act, 1987, Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005.

Economic

Factories Act, 1948, Minimum Wages Act, 1948, Equal Remuneration Act, 1976, The Employees State Insurance Act, 1948, The Plantation Labour Act, 1951, The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976.

Protection

Relevant provisions of Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973; Special provisions under IPC, The Legal Practitioners (Women) Act, 1923.

The Pre-Natal Diagnostic Technique (Regulation and Prevention of Misuse) Act, 1994.

Social

Family Courts Act, 1984, The Indian Succession Act, 1925, The Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act, 1971, The Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929, The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, The Hindu Succession Act, 1956 (& amended in 2005), The Indian Divorce Act, 1969.

Source: Yojana, October 2006: 7

India's planned development process was geared to make India a welfare state, as stated in the Directive Principles of State Policy in the Constitution. At the same time, both men and women had to have equal share in this process as visualized in the plans. The Planning Commission's 'Plans and Prospects for Social Welfare in India 1951-1961' states that social welfare services are to be extended to special requirements of persons and groups who because of some disability – social, economic, physical or mental – are deprived of facilities provided by the community. Women were believed to be disabled by social customs and social values. Thus, social services were meant to relocate them. The Commission listed three main areas through which women's development could take place — (a) education, (b) social welfare, and (c) health (CSWI, 1974).

Mira Seth (2001) discusses the implications of policy planning for women in India. The **First Five Year Plan** (1951-56) did not specifically mention women's participation in development. In the chapter on Social Welfare, it says that women's position, role and duties are essential for the well-being of the community. The planners also gave importance to social legislations. They suggested that it would be a step forward in the social and economic development of women particularly in the fields of health, education and vocational training. States were to begin comprehensive programmes on women and child welfare in social service departments. The Plan identified malnutrition as the cause of high infant and maternal mortality. To address this, the Plan decided to begin (a) school feeding schemes for children and creation of nutrition sections in the state public health departments; (b) maternity and child health centers, and (c) family planning (CSWI, 1974). In the field of education, the planners emphasized the need to increase girls' enrolment in schools. Urban areas with girl guides had to mobilize enrolment. The purpose of education was to make girls capable enough to manage their households efficiently in later lives. At the higher education level, vocational education was to be provided so that women could get employed. On health, the focus was on maternal and child health care services for women. Women were to be trained as doctors, midwives/dais to ensure adequate childbirth services. There

was no recommendation with respect to the small and village industries sector, handicrafts, handlooms, or agriculture, although these sectors have large population of working women. This is because women were not considered as an economically productive human resource then. The planners recommended that a Social Welfare Board be set up at the centre and in the states. As a consequence of this Plan, there were social legislations introduced protecting Hindu women's rights in marriage and inheritance.

The **Second Five Year Plan** (1956-61) highlighted the importance of women workers. They were less organized and often faced social prejudices. Women workers were paid low wages because of the prejudice that they are not able to do heavy work. Therefore, the Plan said that women should be safeguarded against any work causing injury, be given maternity benefit and crèche for children. It emphasized the principle of 'equal pay for equal work', and also to provide opportunities for women to get trained and compete for better jobs, and to create part-time employment (CSWI, 1974). This plan discussed the working of the Central Social Welfare Board and its benefits. With regard to education, it emphasized that parents ought to be made aware, education should become more connected to the needs of girls, and women teachers should be recruited. In the case of health, there was discussion on maternal and child health. The focus was on improving pediatric care for children. In the industrial sector, it was decided to establish public sector undertakings. However there was no concern on making women a part of this venture. Though agriculture continued to employ high percentage of women, there was no attention paid to extending credit facilities to them through cooperatives or banks.

The major concern of the **Third Five Year Plan** (1961-66) with respect to women's development was on extension of girls' education. In the case of social welfare, rural welfare services along with short-term courses of education for adult women were given attention. On health, the focus was on providing services for maternal and child care, health education, nutrition and family planning.

The **Fourth Five Year Plan** (1969-74) emphasized on women's education with regard to social welfare. The voluntary sector was given a greater responsibility. It was asked to help spread mass education, and motivate people to have fewer children. The government limited itself to providing institutional services for destitute women and women taken out of prostitution. Family was a vital institution, women's welfare was given a thought. The expenditure on family planning was increased. Much concern was given to immunization of pre-school children, and supplementary diet for children and pregnant/nursing women (CSWI, 1974).

The **Fifth Five Year Plan** (1974-79) did not indicate any new strategies or policy statements for women. The **Sixth Five Year Plan** (1980-85) saw a drastic change, in that there was a chapter on 'Women and Development' for the first time. It presented the overall position of women and at last reaffirmed that women were much below men in nearly all the spheres despite various legal and constitutional safeguards. The low sex ratio and life expectancy of women in comparison to men were cited to indicate their low position. Women's development was to be achieved through education, employment and health. Moreover, it was realized that women would be at better status if economically independent. So district cells were to be set up to encourage self-employment. Alongside, the legislations passed in support of women's rights were to be reviewed to see if they were being adequately implemented. In the field of education, there was

emphasis on increasing girls' enrolment at the elementary level, and education for women in backward regions. On health, the provision of maternal and child health care services were to be improved along with women's nutrition. With regard to labour welfare, the Plan suggested provision of basic facilities at workplace, improved living conditions, maternity benefits, education, and crèche amenities. Contract labour was to be restricted and the condition of construction workers was to be improved since many women were employed there. In the chapter on Agriculture and Industry, however there was no discussion on any new schemes to be initiated for women's employment.

The **Seventh Five Year Plan** (1985-90) analyzed the success of the Sixth Plan with regard to women. It emphasized the need to integrate Health with Family Welfare and to improve primary health care for women. Low enrolment of girls in primary education was taken note of. It suggested vocational training and education for women so that they could be incorporated in skilled and unskilled employment. New strategies were to be evolved to reduce the burden of household work. Any gaps in the present legislation were to be eliminated. The planners realized that women had not got much benefit from the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP). Due to men migrating to urban areas, the female-headed households had increased, yet only 7 per cent women were getting benefits from this scheme. The Plan recommended that the Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas programme (DWRCA) be enhanced, which was started in 1982 on a pilot basis in fifty districts of the country. The Plan also decided that husband and wife together would be given titles in development schemes by which assets are transferred, land distributed etc. *Krishi Vigyan Kendras* were to be set up and women be made participant in it (Seth, 2001). This Plan emphasized that women be made aware of their rights. It also suggested that integrated development projects should begin for women with spotlight on health, education, nutrition, technology application, science and employment creation. These initiatives were introduced for the first time.

The **Eighth Five Year Plan** (1992-97) consists of a chapter on 'women and development'. In social welfare, women are mentioned along with children, the disabled and the aged. The plan assessed the advantages accruing to women from the previous plan. It appreciated the success of the IRDP, TRYSEM, Jawahar Rozgar Yojana and DWCRA programmes of Ministry of Rural Development, and women's involvement in dairy cooperative and other programmes of Agriculture Ministry. Women became self-employed in large numbers in small-scale, *khadi* and village industries. Seats for women in industrial training institutions were increased. The former plan had also witnessed an increase in girls' enrolment in the age group of 6-11 years as well as in higher education courses. The Department of Women and Child Development began to work on a Plan of Action for women for 1989-2000. *Shram Shakti* Commission was established to evaluate the status of women in the informal sector and list suggestions for improvement of their position.

With regard to women's employment, the Plan stated that women should work as equal and be a part of the development process in place of just being a beneficiary. Women's function in family and society were seen holistically and women were not treated only as mother or homemaker. Various ministries were directed to set aside resources for women. Integrated projects for development of women were to be set in motion. Awareness generation was to be focused upon and women's

groups were to function to change societal ways. Women's employment gained attention in the plan document. They were to be provided skill-training and also employment in rural areas. Nutrition and health programmes for women were stressed upon. In education, emphasis was on realizing universal enrolment and universal retention. Scientific education, recruitment of women teachers and non-formal schooling was to be ensured for women. The role of voluntary sector increased in this realm of development.

The **Ninth Five Year Plan (1997-2002)** for the first time mentions that women need to be empowered so as to act as agents of social change and development. A National Policy for Empowerment was to be framed in this regard. The Plan reflects on the need to reserve seats for women in Parliament and the State Legislative Assemblies. The Plan also suggests 30 per cent reservation for women in public sector. Reproductive health has got special attention. To ensure gender equality in education, the Plan speaks in support of promoting free education for girls till college level alongside opportunities for vocational training. In order to encourage women's role in industrial development of the country, the Plan recommends setting up of a 'Development Bank for Women Entrepreneurs' to help them in small-sector industries. In the field of agriculture, women were to get help through rural development employment schemes. Lastly, women as part of the plan should have 30 per cent funds allocated for development initiatives. This is referred to as 'Women's Component Plan' and is an important strategy to be put in use by both central and state governments for development of women.

The highlight of the **Tenth Five Year Plan (2002-2007)** is **gender budgeting**—“The Tenth plan will continue the process of directing the government's budget to establish its gender differential impact and to translate gender commitments into budgetary commitments” (*Yojana*, 2006). The objective is to put into operation those programmes that have been envisioned for women, by means of budgetary allocations.

In the **Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-2012)** for the first time, women were recognized not just as equal citizens but as agent of economic and social. The gender perspective incorporated in the plan was the outcome of extensive consultations with different stakeholders, including a group of feminist economists. The plan adopted participatory approach to gender and they must : i) provide women with basic entitlements, ii) address the reality of globalization and its impact on women by prioritizing economic empowerment, iii) ensure an environment free from all forms of violence against women (VAW) - physical, economic, social, psychological etc., iv) ensure the participation and adequate representation of women at the highest policy levels, particularly in parliament and state assemblies, and v) strengthen existing institutional mechanism and create new ones for gender mainstreaming and effective policy implementation.

The **Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012-2017)** is committed to ending gender based inequities, discrimination, violence against girls and women including improvement in the adverse and steeply declining child sex ratio. The 12th Plan will endeavour to provide nurturing, protective and safe environment for women to facilitate their entry into public spaces. Similarly, it identified varied key strategies for women's agency to bring out the crucial challenges posed by the traditional determinants of women's agency and empowerment such as asset ownership, skill development, financial inclusion along with new and emerging challenges posed by urbanization, climate change, energy insecurity, the role of the media and so on. Specific

initiatives for empowering women and engendering development in the twelfth plan have been outlined.

According to Krishnaraj (1996) there have been a number of shifts in the official policy of development. These were both in examining the problem of women's low status and recommending solutions for it. In the period 1960-70, women's role as house wives and mothers got primacy. During 1970-80, women became producers and providers. In the 1990's, they were emerging as actors in the market. Further after year 2000, the comprehensive gender perspective have been adopted for safety and security of women and effort made towards gender equity and women's empowerment. The solutions suggested had shifted from welfare to anti-poverty to efficiency, gender equity to women's empowerment as the Plan documents examined above suggest.

Check Your Progress III

Note: Use the space provided for your answer.

- 1) Discuss in brief the salient features of each Plan in the context of women's development.

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4.6 STATUS OF WOMEN IN CRITICAL AREAS

In this section, we examine the critical areas of education, politics, economy, health, media, criminal violence, and girl child to ascertain the position of women in India.

Women and Education

Education is the birth right of every individual. Since women have been deprived for long, they show abysmally low status in this sphere. According to Census 2001, the overall literacy rate is 45.38 per cent of which male literacy is 75.38 per cent and female literacy 54.16 percent. That means around three-fourth of male population is literate while only about half of the female population is literate in India. In 2004-05, the percentage of girl's enrolment to total enrolment is 46.7 percent at the primary level (classes I-V), 44.4 per cent at the upper primary level (classes VI-VIII), 41.5 per cent at the secondary/higher secondary level (classes IX-XII) and 38.9 per cent at the higher education level (Degree and above level) (GOI, 2007). This data on enrolment suggests gender inequality in education.

Women and Politics

Politics is perceived as a male domain and women are considered incapable of participating in it. When India became independent, universal adult franchise was adopted. The turnout of women voters has increased from the first Lok Sabha election in 1952 to the latest 14th Lok Sabha elections. The number of women candidates has increased, but it is not much above five percent of the overall male candidates. Moreover, the percentage of women members in the Lok Sabha has

never gone above 10 per cent of the total strength of the House till now (Sinha, 2000). In this despondent situation, there is some hope. The 73rd and 74th Amendment Acts 1993 ensure one-third representation of women in rural and urban local governance systems (panchayats and municipalities by Article 243 D). However, Women's Reservation Bill that proposes one-third reservation for women in Parliament and State legislatures is still pending.

Women and Economy

We can see that the economic status of women shows the phase of development of society. Societal attitudes govern women's work. The work participation rate or the percentage of working population (male and female) in the total population shows how women are grossly under represented in the economy as main workers. The 2001 Census figures on Work Participation Rate show overall 30.5 per cent workforce, of which only 14.7 per cent are women workers compared to 47.8 per cent men. Most of the women workers are still in the unorganized sectors. Here wages are low, work infinite and labour rights hardly exist (Seth, 2001).

Women and Health

Women's health is a crucial area because it enables her to effectively contribute to the development process. According to the National Family Health Survey (NFHS) 1998-99, 51.8 per cent women are anemic, the Maternal Mortality Rate is 540. These indicators show that women lack adequate nutrition and health facilities. Moreover, only 51.6 per cent women participate in the decisions related to their health. Very few have access to health care services as they rarely go unaccompanied, especially in rural areas.

Women and Media

The mass media impacts the status of women. Media like press, radio, television, youth magazines and films are included in this. The way media projects women and assigns them roles affects their position in society. Women are depicted as infirm, indecisive, and dependent. Such representation reinforces gender stereotypes about women. If it portrays women in socially conforming roles then that strengthens traditional forces and rules out possibilities of women entering different sectors as equal partners. What is required is gender sensitization of media agencies and their cooperation in creating a gender-just society.

Criminal Violence

When we speak of violence against women, it is in the form of sexual harassment, rape, dowry harassment, domestic violence, kidnapping and abduction, torture and molestation. Overemphasis on female chastity causes women to abstain from reporting sexual crimes. These crimes against women are on an increase (Seth 2001). Domestic violence is endemic. The NFHS- III interviewed 1.25 lakh women in 28 states during 2005-06 and has come out with some startling findings. Around 40 per cent married women undergo abuse at home; slapping is the most common act of violence by husband; and 54 per cent women and 51 per cent men approve wife-beating by husband (see Times of India, 12/10/07). Such a situation exists because our society is still patriarchal. Men subjugate and exploit women who are vulnerable due to low levels of social and economic empowerment.

Girl Child

Girl children are a deprived lot in our society. Basic provisions of nutrition, education and well-being are not available to most of them. They also face abuse from an early age due to the patriarchal set-up of our society. When they are born they face the stigma of being unwanted. Male child is everywhere preferred. The sex ratio (female per 1,000 males) for 0-6 years is 927. This is much lower than the overall sex ratio of 933 females per 1000 males (Census of India, 2001). Female infanticide exists whereby girls are drowned, poisoned or smothered. This confirms discrimination against girl child. Likewise, female foeticide is disturbingly prevalent. Though there is prohibition on prenatal diagnostic test, to stop such practices (see box 4.3), such practices do exist. Women themselves are a part of these practices acting as instruments of patriarchy. It can be resisted through consistent measures at empowering women so that they are able to question such practices.

Check Your Progress IV

Note: Use the space provided for your answer.

- 1) Discuss the status of women in India in critical areas.

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- 2) Collect newspaper articles on these issues. Suggest how women's development can be achieved in various spheres.

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4.7 LET US SUM UP

In this Unit, we have discussed gender in relation to development. We examined the theoretical approaches on women and development. In the Indian context, we discussed the experience of women through the development approach by the country. The impact of new economic policy on women was also examined. We looked at various legislations aimed at empowering women. The status of women with respect to education, health, politics, economy, media, and criminal violence was also analyzed. The development process should take women as active participants, rather than as mere recipients, so as to become truly emancipatory.

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THE PEOPLE'S
UNIVERSITY

UNIT 5 POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Structure

*Chinmoy Biswal**

- 5.0 Objectives
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 The 'Population Problem'
- 5.3 Modern Rise of Population
- 5.4 Population and Development Relationship
- 5.5 Demographic Transition Theory
- 5.6 Politics of Population
- 5.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 5.8 Further Readings and References

5.0 OBJECTIVES

This Unit is designed to familiarize you with the debates over population and development. After reading this Unit, you should be able to:

- examine the population problem;
- discuss the Malthusian and Neo-Malthusian philosophies;
- explain Demographic Transition Theory;
- discuss the link between population and development; and
- examine the politics of population.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

If you ask a high school student what is the biggest problem India is facing, she will most probably answer 'population'. An under-graduate Economics student, if asked what is the biggest obstacle in India's path of development, will most likely answer: the population problem. Many people perceive the problems of poverty and unemployment as due to high rate of population growth. You may also have read so in your school/college books.

However, this is a simplistic explanation. Just as lack of development is not due only to 'traditionalism' but due to historical-structural factors too, similarly population growth cannot be said to be the causal factor. The relationship between population and development and vice versa is far complex, varying from time to time and from society to society. Moreover, population size is a relative concept. A resourceful country has no problem with high population while a country with less resource will find it difficult to support even a modest size of population. It is this population-resource relationship that is important. Further, the population-resource relationship is not only in terms of per capita availability, but more importantly in terms of per capita consumption.

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5.2 THE 'POPULATION PROBLEM'

Throughout human history, population was regarded as a resource, not a problem. In fact, any prospects of population decline were alarming. A society's prosperity was measured from its rise in population and misery from population decline. Death rates and infant mortality rates were high and life expectancy was very low. Insecurities of life induced people to have more children. Moreover, the mode of production was agrarian. It needed adequate labour power of men and women. In its earlier phases, forests had to be cleared to reclaim agricultural land. Technology being primitive, the only way to increase output was by cultivating more and more land which needed extra hands. Thus families and communities gave importance to fertility and celebrate the rise in size of their population. Moreover, numerous warfare, epidemics, natural disasters etc. used to take heavy toll from time to time. So the concern was how to grow in numbers, quite contrary to the concern of our present times. In ancient India, people would pray to gods to bestow them with *dhana*, *jana*, *gopa* and *lakshmi* (wealth, people, cattle and prosperity). Some of these ideas persist strongly even to this day, posing great challenge to population control initiatives.

The notion of 'over population' appeared in public discourse in the wake of Industrial Revolution in England when there was massive rural to urban migration of people. As a result of evictions from agricultural land, rural paupers flocked the towns in search of work and soon the cities and towns swelled with large number of labourers most of whom were destitute and could not find work. The Poor Law which used to provide assistance to these destitute came under severe criticism for the burden it put on state exchequer (Rao, 1994). It is then that poor people began to be seen as a burden on national resources. There were debates regarding the cause of poverty and destitution and efforts were made to evolve a public policy to deal with the poor. The concept of 'overpopulation' emerged in this context. During such a period, Malthus wrote a famous piece formulating a causal link between population growth and poverty. We will discuss his theory and its criticisms in the subsequent sections.

5.3 MODERN RISE OF POPULATION

The history of growth of human population on earth has been very gradual. At the end of Ice Age, the human population lay scattered all over the earth and derived their subsistence from hunting, gathering and fishing. The size of population was very small, approximately between 100, 000 and 1,000,000 (Bhende and Kanitkar, 2006). When humans changed to a settled farm-life by producing their own food through farming, cultivation and domestication of animals, the demography also underwent change. The rise of a city-centered society associated with the improvements in cultivation led to population growth. There also emerged densely populated areas in different parts of the world. The course of population growth during this period was marked by a gradual growth for a short period followed by a sudden decline due to epidemic or famines or calamities.

At the beginning of the Common Era, the world population was around 256 million which rose to about 400 million by 1300 CE. During the 350 years that followed, i.e., by 1650 CE, there was a rise of only hundred million. However, from the middle of seventeenth century till middle of nineteenth, the world population

nearly doubled, rising from about 500 million to 1000 million. By 1930, i.e., within 80 years, it further doubled to 2000 million, and now stands at 6000 million. This fast growth of population is often referred to as the ‘modern rise’ in population. This has been due to a plethora of factors — rapid advancements in medical technology and control over epidemic diseases, technological development and growth in agricultural production, disappearance of frequent famines, industrial revolution and increased well being of people, improved access to nutrition, good housing and clean water etc. Thomas McKeown (1976) has propounded that the rise of population was due primarily to the decline of mortality and the most important reason for the decline was an improvement in economic and social conditions., among which conditions, the most significant was improved diet. While Europe’s population witnesses high growth in the 18th and 19th centuries, the third world population (Asia, Africa and Latin America) are growing at a faster rate for the past some decades. India’s population is on a rise after 1921.

5.4 POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT RELATIONSHIP

The issue of population and development is basically about examining how patterns of population affect the development of a society, and how socio-economic development leads to changes in the population composition and structure. Traditionally the relationship has been posed as one between population and poverty, trying to establish a causal link. It is also one of the most debated areas in development studies because of sharp divisions in looking at what is called ‘overpopulation’.

While many industrialised countries would say that the third world countries have high growth rates of population and therefore they are overpopulating the earth, the third world countries point out that it is a myth propagated by the first world to divert attention from the high rate of resource consumption by their population. Also, citing population as the hurdle in the path of development shifts the attention from structural and institutional factors and oversimplifies the problem of underdevelopment. There are theories explaining that poor countries are poor because they have high population which causes unemployment and puts a big strain on their resources and incomes. Others view population as a resource that can be productively employed in a labour-intensive production system. In this section, we shall briefly look at these debates.

Malthusian View

The earliest scholar to propose a link between population growth and its effect on development was Rev. Thomas Robert Malthus, an English clergyman. He sought to identify the cause and consequence of population, and an devise action to control it. In his famous work *An Essay on the Principles of Population as It Affects the Further Improvement of Society* (1798), Malthus gave two major propositions: “The power of population is indefinitely greater than the power in the earth to produce subsistence for man. Population, when unchecked, increases in a geometric ratio. Subsistence increases only in an arithmetic ratio. A slight acquaintance with numbers will show the immensity of the first power in comparison to the second”.

This means, population grows in the series of 2, 4, 8, 16 and so on, while food production rises only as 1,2,3,4... Hence, sooner or later population will outgrow food production and the total food supply will be insufficient to feed the rising numbers. Malthus thought population doubled itself every 25 years. Poverty (and underdevelopment) and misery are thus results of high rate of population growth. He also identified the poorer sections responsible for the high population growth.

Malthus proposed two types of 'checks' to control this problem: positive checks and negative checks. Positive checks are vagaries of nature like famine, pestilence and epidemics which clear out 'excess' population for the sake of survival of society. These 'positive checks' are imposed by nature on poor classes, who breed more. Negative checks are a kind of 'preventive' measures, such as coercive moral restraint on cohabitation of poor people, celibacy and delayed marriages to prevent rapid fertility, and also vices. Malthus was strongly opposed to any kind of organised relief or charity to be provided to the poor on the reasoning that if the living standard of poor increased, it would act as an incentive to breed more and their population would further increase.

Critiques of Malthus

Malthus' thesis about the exponential nature of population growth has not been questioned but his formulation on the limiting nature of food production has come under criticism. Also, the association between the two have been shown to be irrelevant. Contrary to Malthus' belief, it has been proved that an increase in standard of living leads to desire for smaller families and a fall in birth rates.

The most important empirical criticism has come from Ester Boserup (1976) and most recently from Amartya Sen (1994). Boserup suggested that the very problem of population being faced with the prospect food scarcity would spur them to apply technical knowledge faster. In other words, an increase in population density is a stimulus to technical progress in agriculture. For example, the first major technical innovations in European food production, such as short fallowing and planting of root crops with high calorific content per acre etc. occurred in the most densely populated countries. In the nineteenth century, Alison (1840) and Frederick Engels had argued that scientific knowledge could grow faster than the rate of population and so the fertility of land can be raised.

Malthus has been proven wrong from empirical evidences too. According to Sen (1994), between the time of Malthus and now, world population has grown about six times, but food production has more than kept up with population growth without much sign of strain. It is the countries with rapidly growing population (for instance, China and India) that are producing more food in average than the developed countries which have low population growth. A decadal analysis shows that the trend of food output per head has not become a downward one. For example, food production per head in 1990-92 was more than 4 per cent higher than about a decade ago (1979-81), and for more than a decade and a half ago (1974-76), it was 6 per cent higher. Similar increases can be found in the preceding decades as well.

Table 5.1: Population Growths in Different Regions of the World, 1980-1990

Regions	Population (millions)		Decadal Growth	
	1980	1990	Total (million)	Annual %
World	4428	5351	923	1.7
Middle East and North Africa	173	244	71	3.2
Sub-Saharan Africa	351	489	138	3.1
South Asia	903	1152	249	2.2
of which: India	684	850	166	2.1
Latin America	358	455	97	2.0
East Asia and Pacific	1399	1667	268	1.6
of which: China	988	1134	146	1.5

Source: World Developed Report, 1993 cited in Sen (1994)

Table 5.2: Indices of Food Production per Head by Regions

Regions	1974-6	1979-81	1985-87	1990-92
World	97.4	100.0	103.8	104.1
Europe	94.7	100.0	106.4	103.5
North America	90.1	100.0	99.1	99.2
of which: USA	89.8	100.0	97.9	97.2
Other developed	107.5	100.0	98.3	91.6
Africa	104.9	100.0	95.8	94.2
Latin America	94.0	100.0	100.5	103.1
Asia	94.7	100.0	111.9	120.8
of which: India	96.5	100.0	109.2	122.4
China	90.1	100.0	122.7	136.4

Source: Sen (1994)

Sen observes that while 90 per cent of increase in population is taking place in the poorer countries in the world — about two-thirds of it in Asia, this is exactly the region where the increase in food production per head is occurring. The upward global trend of per capita food output is not only the result of high performance of rich countries only. For example, table 5.2 shows that in the decade mentioned food output per head in Europe rose more slowly than in the world, and the figure for the US recorded nearly a three per cent decline. In contrast, in Asia where

two-thirds of the absolute increase in population in the developing world took place, food output per head rose by more than 20 per cent. Significantly, there was a growth of more than 22 per cent in India and 36 percent in China.

However, despite its dismissal, the contribution of Malthus theory is in giving rise to the notion of 'optimum population', that is, an ideal population size which a country can maintain under its resource constraints and technological development. Malthus' broad formulations about population-resource relationship were carried forward by neo-Malthusians and also form the core idea behind the concept of sustainable development.

Marxian View

The view of Marx and Engels on the relationship between population and development was a radical critique of the Malthusian approach. In their model, poverty is the cause of population growth, and both poverty and population growth are outcomes of the capitalist mode of production. Every mode of production has its own law of population which has nothing to do with food supply. As the mode of production changes, the factors which decide the growth of population also undergo change.

According to Marx (1887), the changes in rural England and the 'overpopulation' resulted from the landowners' quest for more and more profit from land by employing agricultural machinery and using labour as efficiently and cheaply as possible. Thus, the earlier tenant farmers were evicted from their land and became hired agricultural labourers. These landless labourers who were unemployed would be viewed by Malthus as the overpopulation due to population growth. But in Marxian view, such a situation of 'overpopulation' would not occur in the earlier economic systems of feudalism or in the future system of socialism. Marx and Engels call it 'relative surplus population' because it is relative to a particular mode of production.

Similarly when manufacturing enterprises grew, the same profit-making strategies necessitated doing away with small workshops using family labour, and instead building large factories, mechanising some jobs and hiring labour as and when they needed them. This created a vast reserve army of surplus population. In the long-run, industrial capitalism would tend to substitute capital for labour by adopting latest technology, which meant that labourers get continually thrown out of work and join the already large pool of 'reserve army' of unemployed. Thus, Marx proposed that poverty results from a failure of labour demand, rather than from an excessive increase in labour supply. In a capitalist system, the owners of capital would try to accumulate more and more capital and profits while the labour class only owns its labour. So it will try to accumulate more labour by rapidly reproducing itself.

The contribution of Marxian theory is that it understands the problem of 'over population' and 'underdevelopment' not in terms of growth in population but in the misdistribution of resource ownership. This idea is the basis of looking at population as a resource for development when fully and productively employed.

Neo-Malthusian View

In the late 19th and 20th centuries, a new term 'neo-Malthusian' was applied to a group of people who were inspired by Malthus but differed in some aspects. The

term was coined in 1877 by Dr. Samuel Van Houten, a member of the Malthusian League.

Neo-Malthusians are not conceptually or methodologically different from Malthusians. They differ only in three aspects. One, while Malthusians were concerned about the population growth among the poor population in their own countries, the neo-Malthusians look at the entire world as a whole and identify the poor in the developing countries as breeding more. Two, they perceive not only food (land) as limited, but all resources as finite. Three, they advocate checking population growth through technological means like birth control whereas Malthus was strictly opposed to this idea. He had only stressed on moral restraint — voluntary celibacy and abstinence.

Neo-Malthusian thinking has been dominant in formulation of population control policies and programmes in the third world countries. Essentially the neo-Malthusians view the poor countries with high birth rate as responsible for their own poverty and underdevelopment. Moreover, they are consuming the world's finite resources due to their high number which is a danger for survival of humankind. Since population growth is the major factor in their underdevelopment, checking population growth would lead to their development, according to neo-Malthusians.

In 1972, a group of neo-Malthusians under the name of “The Club of Rome”, working on a project on ‘The Predicament of Mankind’, published a book *The Limits to Growth*. It predicted gloom for humankind until a ‘state of global equilibrium’ was reached through deliberate control of population within a very short span of time through contraceptive technologies and population control programmes. It held the population growth in third world countries responsible for global problems such as world hunger and environmental degradation.

The Club of Rome report was criticised for paying absolutely no attention to the pattern of resource consumption in the first world and the third world (Nayar, 1990). That resources are finite is a truism but their claim that the fastest growing population (in the third world countries) is consuming most of it is not supported by evidence. The Human Development Report of 1999 states that the overall consumption of the richest fifth of the world's population is sixteen times that of the poorest fifth. According to Susan George (1976), the developed, industrialized countries consume a lot more food than the three continents of so called Third World Nations. The average yearly addition to the diet of people from these countries is equivalent or even more than the average yearly consumption of people in most developing countries. Such data and comparisons led to criticism of the misplacing of facts and actual trends by neo-Malthusians.

5.5 DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION THEORY

The demographic transition theory is an empirical theory based on actual population transition experiences of industrialised countries through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is considered as an important model which establishes a relation between economic (industrial) development and population changes. It is built on the classical economics model which treats population as endogenous to development. Population becomes the key indicator of development of the economy in that low population growth rate shows a higher level of development after industrialisation has begun. Although this theory has been proposed as early as 1929 by Thompson, it was only in 1945 that Frank W. Notestein put it a mature

form by explaining the changes in fertility and mortality. The demographic transition theory proposes five stages in the population transition corresponding to levels of economic development through industrialisation.

Stage 1: The first stage is called the 'high stationery' stage characterized by very high birth rate and very high death rate. Life expectancy is low. The population size is small and almost stationery. Society is characterized by low levels of economic development and industrialisation is yet to begin. Pre-industrial Europe was in this stage.

Stage 2: The next is 'early expanding' stage when death rate falls drastically due to economic development and better nutrition and health care due to increase in incomes of people who are gainfully employed. But the birth rate continues to be high as before because the fertility behaviour of people takes a long time to change owing to institutional factors. As a result, there is an expansion of the overall population. This stage has been called the 'population explosion'.

Stage 3: The third stage is called 'late expanding' stage. Birth rate starts falling but death rate is falling much more rapidly. So the growth rate of population falls but the overall population is rising due to an already higher base. This is the phase of industrial transition and urbanisation.

Stage 4: In the fourth or 'low stationery stage'. The birth rate falls further to catch up with the death rate (which has attained a low level) and the population growth rate remains just at the replacement level. This comes when the country is highly developed industrially and economically.

Stage 5: When there is a further fall in the birth rate, it mortality rate exceeds birth rate. So it is a stage of declining population.

Coale and Hoover (1959) made a study of the changes in fertility and mortality typically associated with economic development. The agrarian peasant economy is characterized by high mortality and birth rates. Death rates are high because of poor diet, inadequate sanitation and health provision. The birth rates are high and area functional response to high mortality. Since the chances of child survival are low as also low is life expectancy, the idea of prolific fertility is ingrained in the social systems, customs and beliefs in these societies. These are reinforced by the economic advantage of having large families who collectively engage in production activities. When such a society modernizes and becomes industrialised, and undergoes urbanisation, the economic condition of the population also improves. Now people have better access to food, healthcare and sanitation. As a result, death rates start falling. Gradually, with the shift from primary to secondary and tertiary sectors, the family structure also changes. There is nuclearisation of family. Small family becoming a norm, birth rate begins to fall. This decline in birth rate takes a long time to come about because fertility changes have to adapt to the existing pro-natal beliefs and value systems. This delay results in a massive increase in the size of the population. However, after a point, any further decline in the death rate is difficult to achieve and the falling birth rate catches up with the low death rate. Then the population stabilizes with very minor fluctuations (cf Bhende and Kanitkar, 2006).

However, the links between development and demographic change are not automatic. Many countries have experienced fall in death rates even before their industries and agriculture underwent transformation. In some countries, family size

diminished even before industrialisation began (Bengtsson and Gunnarsson, 1997). The demographic transition theory, though widely accepted as valid, is considered to be of limited value when applied universally. Critics point out that the theory was based on the experience of advanced industrialised countries in Western Europe. But the sequence of stages described in the theory was not the same for all countries. Coale (1965) has shown that in Spain and Eastern Europe, fertility started declining even when mortality was high. Predominantly rural populations such as France, Sweden, Finland and Bulgaria experienced decline in birth rates similarly as industrialised and highly urbanized countries like England. So the theory is only a broad generalisation. The theory is also criticized for failing to give any theoretical explanation. However, despite these limitations, the theory of demographic transition provides a framework for linking the phenomenon of population change with development transition. It carries a novel perspective that treats population as a dependent variable, and socio-economic as the independent variable (Rao, 1994).

5.6 POLITICS OF POPULATION

From the above discussion, it can be seen that population-development relationship is not simple but complex. The insistence on population control by development agencies including the United Nations and adoption of coercive methods by some governments has caused considerable resistance and protests. While voluntary decision by couples to limit their families is not put to question, population control measures called Family Planning or Planned Parenthood etc. are subject to criticism on several grounds. One, the view that underdevelopment in third world countries is due to overpopulation is untenable because there are historic, structural and political economic factors for this underdevelopment. It has been pointed out that their underdevelopment is due to the plunder of their resources by the developed countries during colonialism, and thereafter in an exploitative global economic order. Two, the notion of overpopulation distorts the picture of actual resource consumption by the developed countries whose per capita consumption of all resources — food, water, fuel, electricity, etc. — are several times that of the developing countries. So in terms of population-resource ratio, the developed countries have been shown to be much more overpopulated than the developing countries (refer also to unit 2 on Sustainable Development).

Moreover, the neo-Malthusian thinking on population and development does not take into account the absolute deprivation, class and other inequalities that prevent the poor people from enjoying the resources of development. It does not, for example, take into account how resources are distributed among sections of population and whether equity is a factor in development and underdevelopment.

The reversal of relationship between population and development may help in understanding the reasons behind high population growth among poorer sections and poorer countries. The underdeveloped countries being predominantly agrarian, their poorer sections are either small and marginal peasants or agricultural labourers. Mamdani (1972) in his study in Punjab has stressed that the need for labour in rural areas had increased the demand for children. Peasant families perceive their children as not additional mouths to feed but as additional hands that can contribute to family labour and earning. In deed that is one reason for large scale prevalence of child labour in many developing countries. So it is poverty that leads to desire for bigger family size and consequent high rate of population growth in developing

countries. The answer to this phenomenon is not population control but raising the living standards of people through development which can act as the best contraceptive. As Cassen (1999) writes “parents do eventually move away from an instrumental view of children to regarding them as subject, individuals whose needs are to be considered without any reference to the economic returns to parents. People’s desires to limit their families stem in part from a wish to good returns and that depends on social and economic development.” Before that parents need to be sure that their children would survive. Indeed, high infant mortality rates prompts parents to have more children so that some of them survive to adult lives.

Although demographers in the 1950s and 1960s almost universally accepted the contention that a high rate of population growth strongly inhibits economic development, and adversely affects the environment, by the early 1980s, social scientists had begun to exhibit considerable scepticism regarding this uncritical linkage (Desai, 1998). We have already stated how Sen debunks Malthusian pessimism of falling food output with increasing population. Kelly (1988) has shown that historically the relationship between growth in per capita GNP and population growth rate has been very weak, at least through the 1970s and 1980s (cf Desai, 1998).

Concerns about population growth cannot be dismissed as groundless as it puts strain on environment and problems for improving the living standard and economic wellbeing of the people (Dreze and Sen, 2006). But population control with the long term goal of development has met with limited success. While it is desirable that a country with high population should seek to limit its number, in the absence of structural and institutional changes that bring equities in resource distribution and adequate human development, it may lead to undesirable consequences like fall in the number of girl children due to foeticide or male-child selective births. Sen (1994) cites Kerala as a model to exhibit how demographic changes have come about by intervention not only in family planning but by a variety of measures touching the socio-economic aspects of the lives of people. Kerala has the lowest population growth rate in India. It is not a rich state but is a state which has high literacy, especially female literacy, low maternal mortality rates, high life expectancy, easy access to healthcare facilities and medical help. It has also benefited from considerable focus on health and education by the state.

Check Your Progress

Note: Use the space provided for your answer.

- 1) How does Malthus propose a link between population and development? What are the criticisms?

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- 2) Explain the Demographic Transition Theory. What are its merits and limitations?

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- 3) Discuss the intricate relationship between population and development.

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5.7 LET US SUM UP

In this Unit, we looked at the origin of population problem in the historical social change in European societies during Industrial Revolution. Although Malthus' views on population growth and limited resources are widely cited, they are without empirical evidences. Similar is the case with the neo-Malthusian arguments. Instead, the relationship between population and development is complex and the causality is more often than not reverse. The demographic transition theory provides a framework to look at the development-population growth relationship, based on the experience of advanced Industrialised countries. We also discussed the politics of population control in imposing coercive measures with limited success. Instead, with better distribution of resources, security of employment and earnings and provision of welfare services, families tend to limit their sizes.

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