

SOCIOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT

STUDY MATERIAL

B.A. SOCIOLOGY

VI SEMESTER

**ELECTIVE COURSE
(2011 ADMISSION)**



UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT

SCHOOL OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

THENJIPALAM, CALICUT UNIVERSITY P.O., MALAPPURAM, KERALA - 673 635

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MODULE I

CONCEPT OF DEVELOPMENT

Growth

Growth refers to a positive change in size, often over a period of time. Growth can occur as a stage of maturation or a process toward fullness or fulfillment. Growth is a natural and continuous process which indicates a change of features or characteristics.

Change

The term social change is used to indicate the changes that take place in human interactions and interrelations. Society is a web of social relationships and hence social change means change in the system of social relationships. These are understood in terms of social processes and social interactions and social organization. Auguste Comte the father of Sociology has posed two problems- the question of social statics and the question of social dynamics, what is and how it changes. The sociologists not only outline the structure of the society but also seek to know its causes also. According to Morris Ginsberg social change is a change in the social structure.

Evolution

Evolution is the change in the inherited characteristics of biological populations over successive generations. It is a process of integration and differentiation. It is a series of changes which bring about some modifications in the system. Social evolution describes how cultures and societies change over time. Social evolution can be explained as the process by which structural reorganization is affected through time, eventually producing a form or structure which is qualitatively different from the ancestral form.

Progress

Progress is a movement towards an objective thought to be desirable by the general group for the visible future. According to Mac Iver, progress implies not merely direction, but direction towards some final goal, some destination determined ideally not simply by objective consideration at work.

Development

It refers to a process which is planned and desired by the society. Planning is an essential component of development. Development is value based. It has several dimensions like social, economic, cultural etc. It implies the way in which a planned change is brought into effect.

Social Development

James Midgley conceives social development as a "process of planned social change designed to promote the well-being of the population as a whole in conjunction with a dynamic process of economic development" The goal of social development in the context of modern welfare is to produce a social well-being that makes people capable of acting and making their own decisions in the broadest sense. Although social development aims to promote the social and economic well-being of societies or social groups, such units are always composed of individual actors. From a reflexive perspective, social development is conceived as development of the individual human being and is therefore associated with self-development. It stands for making specific individuals capable of acting, who then, with the help of participation, serve as motors to drive forward the economic and social well-being of the community as a whole.

One of the crudest measures of Social Development is Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita, determined by the value of all goods and services produced within a region over a given time period, averaged per person. Several of the indicators of Social development are used to measure progress towards the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) - a set of targets agreed upon by United Nations member states as crucial for global human progress. There are targets for reducing extreme poverty, hunger, disease, and environmental impacts. Population, Standard of living, Water and sanitation, Health Care, Education, Employment etc are some of the indicators of social development. Social development includes economic development, human development etc.

Economic development

It is a broad term that generally refers to the sustained, concerted effort of policymakers and community to promote the standard of living and economic health in a specific area. Such effort can involve multiple areas including development of human capital, critical infrastructure, regional competitiveness, environmental sustainability, social inclusion, health, safety, literacy, and other initiatives. It should be noted that economic development differs from economic growth. Whereas economic development is a policy intervention endeavor with aims of economic and social well-being of people, economic growth is a phenomenon of market productivity and rise in GDP. Consequently, as economist Amartya Sen points out: "economic growth is one aspect of the process of economic development. Economic development was concerned in the expansion of people's entitlements and their corresponding capabilities, morbidity, nourishment, literacy, education, and other socio-economic indicators.

Economic growth and human development has a two-way relationship. Moreover, the first chain consists of economic growth benefiting human development with GNP. Specifically, GNP increases human development by expenditure from families, government and organizations such as NGOs. With the rise in economic growth, families and individuals will likely increase expenditures with heightened incomes, which in turn leads to growth in human development.

Further, with the increased consumption, health and education grow, also contributing to economic growth. In addition to increasing private incomes, economic growth also generates additional resources that can be used to improve social services (such as healthcare, safe drinking water, etc.). By generating additional resources for social services, unequal income distribution will be mitigated as such social services are distributed equally across each community, thereby benefiting each individual, thus increasing living standards for the public.

Concisely, the relationship between human development and economic development can be explained in three ways. First, increase in average income leads to improvement in health and nutrition (known as Capability Expansion through Economic Growth). Second, it is believed that social outcomes can only be improved by reducing income poverty (known as Capability Expansion through Poverty Reduction). Lastly, social outcomes can also be improved with essential services such as education, healthcare, and clean drinking water (known as Capability Expansion through Social Services).

Economic development typically involves improvements in a variety of indicators such as literacy rates, life expectancy, and poverty rates. GDP does not take into account other aspects such as leisure time, environmental quality, freedom, or social justice; alternative measures of economic well-being have been proposed (more). Essentially, a country's economic development is related to its human development, which encompasses, among other things, health and education. These factors are, however, closely related to economic growth so that development and growth often go together.

In its broadest sense, policies of economic development encompass three major areas:

- Governments undertaking to meet broad economic objectives such as price stability, high employment, and sustainable growth. Such efforts include monetary and fiscal policies, regulation of financial institutions, trade, and tax policies.
- Programs that provide infrastructure and services such as highways, parks, affordable housing, crime prevention, and K–12 education.
- Job creation and retention through specific efforts in business finance, marketing, neighborhood development, workforce development, small business development, business retention and expansion, technology transfer, and real estate development. This third category is a primary focus of economic development professionals.

Economic development is the development of economic wealth of countries or regions for the well-being of their inhabitants. This is the short definition of Economic Development.

Economic Growth & development are two different terms used in economics. Generally speaking economic development refers to the problems of underdeveloped countries and economic growth to those of developed countries. By Economic Growth we simply mean increase in per capita income or increase in GNP. In recent literature, the term economic growth refers to sustained increase in a country's output of goods and services, or more precisely product per capita. Output is generally measured in terms of GNP.

The term economic development is far more comprehensive. It implies progressive changes in the socio-economic structure of a country. Viewed in this way economic development involves a steady decline in agricultural shares in GNP and continuous increase in shares of industries, trade banking construction and services. Further whereas economic growth merely refers to rise in output; development implies change in technological and institutional organization of production as well as in distributive pattern of income.

Hence, compared to the objective of development, economic growth is easily realized. By a larger mobilization of resources and raising their productivity, output level can be raised. The process of development is far more extensive. Apart from a rise in output, it involves changes in composition of output, shift in the allocation of productive resources, and elimination or reduction of poverty, inequalities and unemployment.

In the words of Amartya Sen "Development requires the removal of major sources of unfreedom poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or over activity of repressive states."

Economic development is not possible without growth but growth is possible without development because growth is just increase in GNP. It does not have any other parameters to it. Development can be conceived as a Multi-Dimensional process or phenomena. If there is increase in GNP more than the increase in per capita income then we can say that development is possible. When given conditions of population improve then we can say that this is also an indicator of economic development.

Human Development

Human development is a development model that is about much more than the rise or fall of national incomes. It is about creating an environment in which people can develop their full potential and lead productive, creative lives in accordance with their needs and interests, thus bringing the focus back onto people. People are the real wealth of nations. Development is thus about expanding the choices people have, to lead lives that they value and improving the human condition so that people will get the chance to lead full lives. And it is thus about much more than economic growth, which is only a means —if a very important one —of enlarging people's choices. Fundamental to enlarging these choices is building human capabilities —the range of things that people can do or be in life. Human development disperses the concentration of the distribution of goods and services that underprivileged people need and centers its ideas on human decisions. By investing in people, we enable growth and empower people thus developing human capabilities. The most basic capabilities for human development are to lead long and healthy lives, to be knowledgeable, to have access to the resources and social services, needed for a decent standard of living and to be able to participate in the life of the community. Without these, many choices are simply not available, and many opportunities in life remain inaccessible.

There are four basic pillars of human development: equity, sustainability, production and empowerment. Equity is the idea of fairness for every person; we each have the right to an education and health care. Secondly, sustainability is the view that we all have the right to earn a living that can sustain us and have access to a more even distribution of goods amongst populations. In addition, production is used to show how the government needs more efficient social programs for its people. Lastly, empowerment is an effect of general well-being. This way of looking at development, often forgotten in the immediate concern with accumulating commodities and financial wealth, is not new. Philosophers, economists and political leaders have long emphasized human well-being as the purpose, the end, of development. As Aristotle said in ancient Greece, "Wealth is evidently not the good we are seeking, for it is merely useful for the sake of something else." Developed countries are seen as those who have a continuous progress in the indexes of life. The countries that have seemed to excel are viewed as having better policies than those who have remained stagnant.

The Human Development Report (HDR) is released by the United Nations and contains the Human Development Index. There is not only a global Human Development Report but there are regional and national reports as well that specifically show certain areas. Within global HDR there are four main indexes: Human Development Index, Gender-related Development Index, Gender Empowerment Measure and the Human Poverty Index. The Regional, National and subnational (for portions of countries) HDRs take various approaches, according to the strategic thinking of the individual authorship groups which craft the individual reports.

The Human Development Index is a way for people and nations to see the policy flaws of regions and countries. Although the releasing of this information is believed to encourage countries to alter their policies, there is no evidence demonstrating changes nor is there any motivation for countries to do so. The **Human Development Index (HDI)** is the normalized measure of life expectancy, literacy, education, standard of living, and GDP per capita for countries worldwide. It is an improved standard means of measuring well-being, especially child welfare and thus human development. Although this index makes an effort to simplify human development, it is much more complex than any index or set of indicators.

The 2007 report showed a small increase in world HDI in comparison with the previous year's report. This rise was fueled by a general improvement in the developing world, especially of the least developed countries group. This marked improvement at the bottom was offset with a decrease in HDI of high income countries.

The **Human Development Index (HDI)** is a composite statistic used to rank countries by level of "human development" and separate "very high human development", "high human development", "medium human development", and "low human development" countries. The Human Development Index (HDI) is a comparative measure of life expectancy, literacy, education and standards of living for countries worldwide. It is a standard means of measuring well-being, especially child welfare. It is used to distinguish whether the country is a developed, a developing or an under-developed country, and also to measure the impact of economic policies on quality of life. There are also HDI for states, cities, villages, etc. by local organizations or companies.

The origins of the HDI are found in the annual Human Development Reports of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). These were devised and launched by Pakistani economist Mahbub ul Haq in 1990 and had the explicit purpose “to shift the focus of development economics from national income accounting to people centered policies”. To produce the Human Development Reports, Mahbub ul Haq brought together a group of well-known development economists including: Paul Streeten, Frances Stewart, Gustav Ranis, Keith Griffin, Sudhir Anand and Meghnad Desai. But it was Nobel laureate Amartya Sen’s work on capabilities and functionings that provided the underlying conceptual framework. Haq was sure that a simple composite measure of human development was needed in order to convince the public, academics, and policy-makers that they can and should evaluate development not only by economic advances but also improvements in human well-being. Sen initially opposed this idea, but he went on to help Haq develop the Human Development Index (HDI). Sen was worried that it was difficult to capture the full complexity of human capabilities in a single index but Haq persuaded him that only a single number would shift the attention of policy-makers from concentration on economic to human well-being.

Published on 4 November 2010 (and updated on 10 June 2011), starting with the 2010 Human Development Report the HDI combines three dimensions:

- A long and healthy life: Life expectancy at birth
- Access to knowledge: Mean years of schooling and Expected years of schooling
- A decent standard of living: GNI per capita (PPP US\$)

The HDI combined three dimensions up until its 2009 report:

- Life expectancy at birth, as an index of population health and longevity
- Knowledge and education, as measured by the adult literacy rate (with two-thirds weighting) and the combined primary, secondary, and tertiary gross enrollment ratio (with one-third weighting).
- Standard of living, as indicated by the natural logarithm of gross domestic product per capita at purchasing power parity.

In its 2010 Human Development Report the UNDP began using a new method of calculating the HDI. The following three indices are used:

1. Life Expectancy Index (LI)
2. Education Index (EI)
 - 2.1 Mean Years of Schooling Index (MYSI)
 - 2.2 Expected Years of Schooling Index (EYSI)
3. Income Index (II)

Finally, the HDI is the geometric mean of the previous three normalized indices

The Human Development Index has been criticised on a number of grounds, including failure to include any ecological considerations, focusing exclusively on national performance and ranking (although many national Human Development Reports, looking at subnational performance, have been published by UNDP and others—so this last claim is untrue), not paying much attention to development from a global perspective and based on grounds of measurement error of the underlying statistics and formula changes by the UNDP which can lead to severe misclassifications of countries in the categories of being a 'low', 'medium', 'high' or 'very high' human development country. Other authors claimed that the Human Development Reports "have lost touch with their original vision and the index fails to capture the essence of the world it seeks to portray". The index has also been criticized as "redundant" and a "reinvention of the wheel", measuring aspects of development that have already been exhaustively studied. The index has further been criticised for having an inappropriate treatment of income, lacking year-to-year comparability, and assessing development differently in different groups of countries. In order to reflect the gaps in the Human Development Index, the United Nations came out with the Human Poverty Index (HPI) in 1997. The HPI measures the deficiencies in the three indexes of the human development index: long and healthy life, knowledge and a decent standard of living. The HPI is meant to provide a broader view of human development and is adapted to developed countries to reveal social exclusion.

United Nations Millennium Development Goals

In September 2000, the United Nations came up with the eight millennium development goals. The eight millennium development goals are: - eradicate extreme poverty and hunger - achieve universal primary education - promote gender equality and empower women - reduce child mortality - improve maternal health - combat HIV/AIDS and other diseases - ensure environmental sustainability - develop a global partnership for development The United Nations made a commitment to accomplish these goals by 2015 and thus make an attempt to promote human development

Sustainable Development

Sustainable development (SD) is a pattern of resources use, that aims to meet human needs while preserving the environment so that these needs can be met not only in the present, but also for generations to come (sometimes taught as **ELF**-Environment, Local people, Future). The term was used by the Brundtland Commission which coined what has become the most often-quoted definition of sustainable development as development that "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."

Sustainable development ties together concern for the carrying capacity of natural systems with the social challenges facing humanity. As early as the 1970s "sustainability" was employed to describe an economy "in equilibrium with basic ecological support systems." Ecologists have pointed to *The Limits to Growth*, and presented the alternative of a "steady state economy" in order to address environmental concerns.

The field of sustainable development can be conceptually broken into three constituent parts: environmental sustainability, economic sustainability and sociopolitical sustainability.

In 1987, the United Nations released the Brundtland Report, which included what is now one of the most widely recognised definitions:

"Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of 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."

The United Nations 2005 World Summit Outcome Document refers to the "interdependent and mutually reinforcing pillars" of sustainable development as economic development, social development, and environmental protection.

Indigenous peoples have argued, through various international forums such as the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and the Convention on Biological Diversity, that there are *four* pillars of sustainable development, the fourth being cultural. *The Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* (UNESCO, 2001) further elaborates the concept by stating that "...cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature"; it becomes "one of the roots of development understood not simply in terms of economic growth, but also as a means to achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence". In this vision, cultural diversity is the fourth policy area of sustainable development.

Economic Sustainability: Agenda 21 clearly identified information, integration, and participation as key building blocks to help countries achieve development that recognises these interdependent pillars. It emphasises that in sustainable development everyone is a user and provider of information. It stresses the need to change from old sector-centred ways of doing business to new approaches that involve cross-sectoral co-ordination and the integration of environmental and social concerns into all development processes. Furthermore, Agenda 21 emphasises that broad public participation in decision making is a fundamental prerequisite for achieving sustainable development.

According to Hasna Vancock, sustainability is a process which tells of a development of all aspects of human life affecting sustenance. It means resolving the conflict between the various competing goals, and involves the simultaneous pursuit of economic prosperity, environmental quality and social equity famously known as three dimensions (triple bottom line) with the resultant vector being technology, hence it is a continually evolving process; the 'journey' (the process of achieving sustainability) is of course vitally important, but only as a means of getting to the destination (the desired future state). However, the 'destination' of sustainability is not a fixed place in the normal sense that we understand destination. Instead, it is a set of wishful characteristics of a future system.

The United Nations Division for Sustainable Development lists the following areas as coming within the scope of sustainable development

Sustainable development is an diverse concept, as a wide array of views fall under its umbrella. The concept has included notions of weak sustainability, strong sustainability and deep ecology. Different conceptions also reveal a strong tension between ecocentrism and anthropocentrism. Many definitions and images (Visualizing Sustainability) of sustainable development coexist. Broadly defined, the sustainable development mantra enjoins current generations to take a systems approach to growth and development and to manage natural, produced, and social capital for the welfare of their own and future generations.

During the last ten years, different organizations have tried to measure and monitor the proximity to what they consider sustainability by implementing what has been called sustainability metrics and indices.

Sustainable development is said to set limits on the developing world. While current first world countries polluted significantly during their development, the same countries encourage third world countries to reduce pollution, which sometimes impedes growth. Some consider that the implementation of sustainable development would mean a reversion to pre-modern lifestyles.

Environmental sustainability is the process of making sure current processes of interaction with the environment are pursued with the idea of keeping the environment as pristine as naturally possible based on ideal-seeking behavior.

An "unsustainable situation" occurs when natural capital (the sum total of nature's resources) is used up faster than it can be replenished. Sustainability requires that human activity only uses nature's resources at a rate at which they can be replenished naturally. Inherently the concept of sustainable development is intertwined with the concept of carrying capacity. Theoretically, the long-term result of environmental degradation is the inability to sustain human life. Such degradation on a global scale could imply extinction for humanity.

The Venn diagram of sustainable development shown above has many versions, but was first used by economist Edward Barbier (1987). However, Pearce, Barbier and Markandya criticized the Venn approach due to the intractability of operationalizing separate indices of economic, environmental, and social sustainability and somehow combining them. They also noted that the Venn approach was inconsistent with the Brundtland Commission Report, which emphasized the interlinkages between economic development, environmental degradation, and population pressure instead of three objectives. Economists have since focused on viewing the economy and the environment as a single interlinked system with a unified valuation methodology.

Intergenerational equity can be incorporated into this approach, as has become common in economic valuations of climate change economics. Ruling out discrimination against future generations and allowing for the possibility of renewable alternatives to petro-chemicals and other non-renewable resources, efficient policies are compatible with increasing human welfare, eventually reaching a golden-rule steady state. Thus the three pillars of sustainable development are interlinkages, intergenerational equity, and dynamic efficiency. Arrow et al. (2004) and other economists (e.g. Asheim, 1999^[26] and Pezzey, 1989^[27] and 1997)^[28] have advocated a form of the weak criterion for sustainable development – the requirement that the wealth of a society, including human-capital, knowledge-capital and natural-capital (as well as produced capital) not decline over time. Others, including Barbier continue to contend that strong sustainability – non-depletion of essential forms of natural capital – may be appropriate.

Three types of capital in sustainable development

The sustainable development debate is based on the assumption that societies need to manage three types of capital (economic, social, and natural), which may be non-substitutable and whose consumption might be irreversible. Daly for example, points to the fact that natural capital can not necessarily be substituted by economic capital. While it is possible that we can find ways to replace some natural resources, it is much more unlikely that they will ever be able to replace eco-system services, such as the protection provided by the ozone layer, or the climate stabilizing function of the Amazonian forest. In fact natural capital, social capital and economic capital are often complementarities. A further obstacle to substitutability lies also in the multi-functionality of many natural resources. Forests, for example, not only provide the raw material for paper (which can be substituted quite easily), but they also maintain biodiversity, regulate water flow, and absorb CO₂.

Another problem of natural and social capital deterioration lies in their partial irreversibility. The loss in biodiversity, for example, is often definite. The same can be true for cultural diversity. For example with globalisation advancing quickly the number of indigenous languages is dropping at alarming rates. Moreover, the depletion of natural and social capital may have non-linear consequences. Consumption of natural and social capital may have no observable impact until a certain threshold is reached. A lake can, for example, absorb nutrients for a long time while actually increasing its productivity. However, once a certain level of algae is reached lack of oxygen causes the lake's ecosystem to break down suddenly.

In its famous report *Our Common Future* of 1987, the World Commission on Environment and Development, the so-called Brundtland Commission, understood ‘sustainable development’ (‘SD’) as ‘development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs’. Since that time, SD has proven particularly vexing for the international environmental law community. Although its meaning and scope are still far from clear, SD, at least since the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, has left significant traces in a broad number of international instruments, both of a legal and non-legal nature. The notion of ‘sustainable development’ and a variety of sub-notions that are derived from it, such as ‘sustainable use’, ‘sustainable utilization’, ‘maximum sustainable yield’, or ‘sustainable management’, have been included in almost all important post-Rio instruments. This diversification of SD has resulted in confusion rather than clarity as regards its meaning and regulatory effect. The concept has developed at the international, regional, and national level into a crucial political principle that governs virtually every sphere of activity aimed at embracing and balancing ecology and economy, conservation, and utilization.

MODULE II

THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT

Modernisation Theory

Modernisation theory is used to explain the process of modernization within societies. Modernisation refers to a transition from a traditional to a modern society. The theory attempts to identify the social variables that contribute to social progress and development of societies, and seeks to explain the process of social evolution. Modernisation theory not only stresses the process of change but also the responses to that change. It also looks at internal dynamics while referring to social and cultural structures and the adaptation of new technologies. According to theories of modernization, each society can develop from traditionalism to modernity, and that those that make this transition follow similar paths. More modern states are wealthier and more powerful, and their citizens freer, with a higher standard of living. Developments, such as new data technology or the need to update traditional methods make modernization necessary or preferable.

Historians link modernization to the processes of urbanization and industrialisation, as well as to the spread of education. In sociological critical theory, modernization is linked to an overarching process of rationalisation. When modernization increases within a society, the individual becomes that much more important, eventually replacing the family or community as the fundamental unit of society.

Modernisation theory became the foundation stone of this evolutionary prescription for development. The theory is not homogeneous—numerous proponents disagreed on several key features. But in broad outline, the theory focused on deficiencies in the poorer countries and speculated about ways to overcome these deficiencies. It viewed traditional society as a series of negatives: stagnant and unchanging, not innovative, not profit-making, not progressing, not growing.

It argued that about 500 years ago, most people in the world were poor or living in traditional social arrangements. Scientific innovation existed in many parts of the world but for a variety of reasons, science and entrepreneurship grew in Western Europe. The engine of this economic growth was capitalism. Innovation and technological growth became self-sustaining in Western Europe because they were embedded in the capitalist system. Entrepreneurs were in competition: profits were pursued by lowering costs and increasing revenues and re-investing in order to make more profits. This ceaseless accumulation and expansion spurred growth. Some modernisation theorists emphasised the political modernisation that accompanied this economic advance: feudal lords and autocratic monarchies were challenged and representative forms of government were established over hundreds of years. This meant individual freedoms, political parties, elections, rule of law: in short, western-style liberal democracy.

The Third World did not undergo these economic or political transformations: it was 'left behind'. So the task of the Third World is to transform itself from tradition to modernity. That is, to follow the footsteps of the West. In fact, because the path is now charted, these countries can avoid the mistakes made by the West.

One of the most influential modernisation theorists has been W W Rostow of the US . His 1960 book 'The Stages of Economic Growth' outlined five stages of development. The first stage is known as the Traditional Society which is associated with the country that has not yet developed but the majority of the people are engaged in subsistence agriculture and more investments are channeled in services or activities such as military and religion. This stage of development is concerned with societies that have a pre scientific understanding of gadgets. The people believe that things such as goods come into being by divine forces rather than the intervention of man or ingenuity. It does not mean that the economy's production level of such a society is static but is increased due to the surplus cultivation of the land in order to increase agriculture production. The traditional society consists of some technological innovations but only exists in ad hoc basis that is for a particular purpose. The manufacturing sector and industries in traditional society had always been limited by the inadequate scientific knowledge and backward frame of the minds which resulted into low labour productivity. There is also massive concentration of political power in the hands of land owners and the social structure is feudalistic in nature.

The second stage of development or economic growth is called the pre condition for takeoff whose economy undergoes a process of change for building up of conditions for growth and takes off. Rostow asserts that the changes in this stage the society and the economy are fundamental in nature in the socio political structure and production technique. It is characterized by the massive development of mining industries, increase in capital use in agriculture, necessity of external funding and some growth in savings and investments. It also consists of certain dimensions that are associated with this transition from traditional society through the conditions to the take off phase. It is the stage in which agriculture is commercialized and mechanized to bring about technological advancement and growth in entrepreneurship activities. The agricultural activities play an important role in the process of transition or development.

The third stage is called the take off stage of development which is sometimes called the economic take off. It is characterized by dynamic economic growth which is due to sharp stimulus of economic, political or technological in nature. The main focus of this stage is the aspect of self sustained growth. It is also referred to be an interval when the resistance to steady growth have been removed. It is important to understand that this stage occurs whenever the sector led growth becomes common and society is driven more by economic processes than traditions. The growth or economic progress becomes a normal trend or situation in these societies because those factors that were affecting or limiting growth are removed. There is an increase in industrialization, further growth in savings and investments and there is a decline in the number of employees in agriculture and there is an increase in entrepreneurship. Once take off has taken place a country will take as long as fifty to one hundred years to reach maturity as was the case with the industrial revolution.

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

The fifth and final stage is called the age of high mass consumption were the leading sectors in the society shift towards durable consumers goods and services. The consumers focus on durable goods and hardly remember the subsistence activities of other stages. This stage is concerned with the high output levels, mass consumption of consumer durables and increase in employment in the service sectors. It is characterized by an increase in per capita income, changes in the structure of the working force including those working in the offices or factories and an increase in the desire to benefit from the consumption fruits of a mature economy. In this age of high mass consumption the society is able to choose between concentrating on military and security issues, on equality and welfare issues or developing luxuries for its upper class. It is important to understand that each country in this state of position chooses its own balance between these goals. There is a desire to develop an egalitarian society and that the country in this stage seeks to determine its uniqueness and the factors that are affecting it are political, geographical and cultural structures and also values present in its society.

It is therefore true to say that education has an important and direct relationship to addressing of each of the five stages of modernization theory or economic development in any given society or country. This means that education plays an important role in the five stages of economic growth propounded by Walt Rostow in order to bring about desired development. For example in the Traditional society education is vital as it helps people to acquire better ways and methods of farming in order to enhance agricultural activities. This is possible because traditional society is associated with massive subsistence farming activities. Through education the people who live in a traditional society are able to acquire different methods of irrigation and measures that can be taken in order to sustain the life of human beings and life of crops or vegetation and also to be able to have the knowledge of family planning in order to regulate the size of population. They are able to understand the value of their mindset, rights and their role in development.

In the second stage of pre conditions education helps people to be aware of the political aspects of society and that there are other ways of investments such as industry and manufacturing rather than farming life which is associated with traditional society. Education is vital in this stage as it helps people to acquire the knowledge about the importance of engaging in international market in order to enhance the investment levels. It also inculcates new values and attitudes in the people and also to allow them learn how to manage their resources.

Education also plays an important role in the take off stage in the sense that it enables people in the society to be able to have proper access to science and technology as well as the acquisition of values which predispose a population to change. This is because science and technology are the dynamic values of the education and it is achieved through learning that takes place in various schools of a particular society. It also helps people to acquire the knowledge of entrepreneurship and production in order to increase the workforce in the society.

It is also important in the maturity stage of development because it helps to extend the knowledge and skills of technology to other sectors of society and this is usually achieved through workshops, seminars and lecture methods. Farmers can be called for a workshop in order to educate and extend the new knowledge of technology and how to sustain the economy or production of output levels.

It also plays an important role in the sense that it enables people to be aware of their rights and opportunities in the society. For example people are able to know that they are equal and are supposed to be treated fairly and equally regardless of sex or status in the society. It also helps the society to prioritize their goals or objectives into those that need urgent attention in order to satisfy the desires of the people. It enables skills and resource sustainability in the people.

Dependency Theory: Sameer Ameen

Dependency theorists criticise the modernisation school. The earliest formulation of dependency theory came up alongside modernisation theory. The ideas of dependency were also developed, by other Latin American social scientists such as Celso Furtado, Theotonio Dos Santos and F H Cardoso; by Samir Amin of Senegal, by Andre Gunder Frank of Germany and by Paul Baran and Immanuel Wallerstein of the US.

Dependency theory argues that the origins of persistent global poverty cannot be understood without reference to the entire international economic system. Underdevelopment is not a condition: it is an active process of impoverishment linked to development. That is, some parts of the world are underdeveloped because others are developed. They are not separate processes but two aspects of the same process.

In other words, economic growth in advanced countries created Third World poverty in its wake: not simply that the Third World is poor in comparison with the industrialised world; rather that it is poor because development of the industrial system in Western Europe and North America changed and impoverished many societies of Asia, Africa and Latin America, through colonialism, imperialism and extractive terms of trade.

Dependency argues that before the era of modern economic growth, the world's major regions were not densely connected to each other. When capitalism began to spread, the ceaseless search for profit began through the production of agricultural goods in colonies or other lands, and Western Europe's ability to drive unequal bargains. This fundamentally changed the social structures of the Third World.

The term dependency comes from this link: Some say the exploitation of various regions for their raw materials and labour impoverished them and made them depend on the West. Others point out that in fact it is the other way around: that the West has been dependent on the Third World through history in order to be able to grow and prosper.

So, poverty in the Third World is not 'traditional' or accidental. It is a necessary companion to the richness of the developed world. The expansion of the industrial world deformed the rest of the world.

The Third World gave much more than it got. The exchange may have created some new wealth in the Third World, some infrastructure maybe, but it also created an international system of inequality. Members of dependency see this process as continuing. For example, transnational corporations bargain from a position of strength, distort the local economy, create vast income gaps, impose their own priorities, and damage the environment. Or the World Bank and IMF pursue policies that indirectly favour rich countries.

World System Theory: Immanuel Wallerstein

Immanuel Wallerstein develops a theoretical framework to understand the historical changes involved in the rise of the modern world. The modern world system, essentially capitalist in nature, followed the crisis of the feudal system and helps explain the rise of Western Europe to world supremacy between 1450 and 1670. According to Wallerstein, his theory makes possible a comprehensive understanding of the external and internal manifestations of the modernization process during this period and makes possible analytically sound comparisons between different parts of the world.

Wallerstein argued that Europe moved towards the establishment of a capitalist world economy in order to ensure continued economic growth. However, this entailed the expansion of the geographical size of the world in question, the development of different modes of labor control and the creation of relatively strong state machineries in the states of Western Europe. By the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the world economic system emerged. This was the first time that an economic system encompassed much of the world with links that superseded national or other political boundaries. The new world economy differed from earlier empire systems because it was not a single political unit. Empires depended upon a system of government which, through commercial monopolies combined with the use of force, directed the flow of economic goods from the periphery to the center. Empires maintained specific political boundaries, within which they maintained control through an extensive bureaucracy and a standing army. Only the techniques of modern capitalism enabled the modern world economy, unlike earlier attempts, to extend beyond the political boundaries of any one empire.

The new capitalist world system was based on an international division of labor that determined relationships between different regions as well as the types of labor conditions within each region. In this model, the type of political system was also directly related to each region's placement within the world economy. As a basis for comparison, Wallerstein proposes four different categories, core, semiperiphery, periphery, and external, into which all regions of the world can be placed. The categories describe each region's relative position within the world economy as well as certain internal political and economic characteristics.

The core regions benefited the most from the capitalist world economy. For the period under discussion, much of northwestern Europe developed as the first core region. Politically, the states within this part of Europe developed strong central governments, extensive bureaucracies, and large mercenary armies. This permitted the local bourgeoisie to obtain control over international commerce and extract capital surpluses from this trade for their own benefit. As the rural population expanded, the small but increasing number of landless wage earners provided labor for farms and manufacturing activities. The switch from feudal obligations to money rents in the aftermath of the feudal crisis encouraged the rise of independent or yeoman farmers but squeezed out many other peasants off the land. These impoverished peasants often moved to the cities, providing cheap labor essential for the growth in urban manufacturing. Agricultural productivity increased with the growing predominance of the commercially-oriented independent farmer, the rise of pastoralism, and improved farm technology.

On the other end of the scale lay the peripheral zones. These areas lacked strong central governments or were controlled by other states, exported raw materials to the core, and relied on coercive labor practices. The core expropriated much of the capital surplus generated by the periphery through unequal trade relations. Two areas, Eastern Europe (especially Poland) and Latin America, exhibited characteristics of peripheral regions. In Poland, kings lost power to the nobility as the region became a prime exporter of wheat to the rest of Europe. To gain sufficient cheap and easily controlled labor, landlords forced rural workers into a "second serfdom" on their commercial estates. In Latin America, the Spanish and Portuguese conquests destroyed indigenous authority structures and replaced them with weak bureaucracies under the control of these European states. Powerful local landlords of Hispanic origin became aristocratic capitalist farmers. Enslavement of the native populations, the importation of African slaves, and the coercive labor practices such as the *encomienda* and forced mine labor made possible the export of cheap raw materials to Europe. Labor systems in both peripheral areas differed from earlier forms in medieval Europe in that they were established to produce goods for a capitalist world economy and not merely for internal consumption. Furthermore, the aristocracy both in Eastern Europe and Latin America grew wealthy from their relationship with the world economy and could draw on the strength of a central core region to maintain control.

Between the two extremes lie the semi-peripheries. These areas represented either core regions in decline or peripheries attempting to improve their relative position in the world economic system. They often also served as buffers between the core and the peripheries. As such, semi-peripheries exhibited tensions between the central government and a strong local landed class. Good examples of declining cores that became semi-peripheries during the period under study are Portugal and Spain. Other semi-peripheries at this time were Italy, southern Germany, and southern France. Economically, these regions retained limited but declining access to international banking and the production of high-cost high-quality manufactured goods. Unlike the core, however, they failed to predominate in international trade and thus did not benefit to the same extent as the core. With a weak capitalist rural economy, landlords in semiperipheries resorted to sharecropping. This lessened the risk of crop failure for landowners, and made it possible at the same time to enjoy profits from the land as well as the prestige that went with landownership. According to Wallerstein, the semi-peripheries were exploited by the core but, as in the case of the American empires of Spain and Portugal, often were exploiters of peripheries themselves. Spain, for example, imported silver and gold from its American colonies, obtained largely through coercive labor practices, but most of this species went to paying for manufactured goods from core countries such as England and France rather than encouraging the formation of a domestic manufacturing sector.

The external areas maintained their own economic systems and, for the most part, managed to remain outside the modern world economy. Russia fits this case well. Unlike Poland, Russia's wheat served primarily to supply its internal market. It traded with Asia as well as Europe; internal commerce remained more important than trade with outside regions. Also, the considerable power of the Russian state helped regulate the economy and limited foreign commercial influence.

The development of the modern world economy lasted centuries, during which time different regions changed their relative position within this system. Wallerstein divides the history of the capitalist world system into four stages,

Through this theory, Wallerstein attempts to explain why modernization had such wide-ranging and different effects on the world. He shows how political and economic conditions after the breakdown of feudalism transformed northwestern Europe into the predominant commercial and political power. The geographic expansion of the capitalist world economy altered political systems and labor conditions wherever it was able to penetrate. Although the functioning of the world economy appears to create increasingly larger disparities between the various types of economies, the relationship between the core and its periphery and semi-periphery remains relative, not constant. Technological advantages, for example, could result in an expansion of the world economy overall, and precipitate changes in some peripheral or semi-peripheral areas. However, Wallerstein asserts that an analysis of the history of the capitalist world system shows that it has brought about a skewed development in which economic and social disparities between sections of the world economy have increased rather than provided prosperity for all.

MODULE III

DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCES IN KERALA

People's Planning Programme in Kerala

Despite the widespread popularity of the idea of decentralisation in the country, not many Indian states have given adequate attention to decentralised governance. In 1996, Kerala has put forth a prominent exception with the launch of the People's Plan Campaign (PPC) that offered a pro-active methodology for decentralised planning with direct participation by citizens. The driving idea behind PPC was that the local bodies plan for themselves, identify the felt needs of the people, analyse the development problems, assess the local resources, make feasible development schemes, and prioritise and integrate them into a local Five Year Plan document.

A variety of participatory institutional systems and practices were developed to attain these objectives. These include macro level institutions like district and block level expert committees for plan appraisal and approval; micro level participatory institutions like Task Forces for plan formulation and Beneficiary Committees for plan implementation. Neighbourhood groups and Self Help Groups were also promoted as part of the People's Planning Campaign. The constitutional entity of gram sabha was innovatively employed as a tool for mass mobilization in the democratic process during the PPC period in Kerala.

The PPC for the Ninth Five Year Plan represented an initiative that made use of the legacy of collective social intervention and the strength of mass movements to meet the erstwhile crisis of development. It was the single largest experiment in local democracy and local community empowerment at the time of its launch. It directly impacted nearly 31 million people in the state of Kerala. Several landmark mass programmes have come out of the PPC. These include the country's largest women-centric poverty alleviation programme, Kudumbasree, the EMS Housing Scheme and the Kerala Food Security Programme.

The different stages of peoples planning are need identification, situation analysis, strategy setting, projectisation, plan finalisation, plan vetting and plan approval.

In the first phase, Gram Sabhas(village constituencies) were convened and people at the local level were mobilised to assess felt needs.

In the second phase,development seminars were held in every village panchayat, followed by formation of 'task forces' for the preparation of development projects. 12,000 task forces were formed that worked out to around 12 task forces per village panchayat. Close to 120,000 people participated in these task forces.

In the third phase, development projects were prepared according to a format suggested by the Kerala State Planning Board, giving details such as the nature of activities envisaged and financial and organisational aspects. Despite such quantitative achievements, a review by the

state planning board showed that ‘the task forces’ did not function as effectively as was expected. The main weakness was that adequate number of experts could not be attracted to the task forces. The participation of officials was also far from satisfactory. The training given to the task force members was also inadequate. An interim review of the projects prepared revealed numerous weaknesses, particularly with respect to technical details and financial analysis. Accordingly, a number of rectification measures like project clinics, reorientation conferences, etc. were organised. All these created unforeseen delays in the final plan preparation’

The fourth phase was to prepare five year plans for the panchayats based on their development projects. This was no easy task since it involved prioritising projects, assessing resources and institutional capacity, weaving the plan into the development strategy of the state, coordinating it with other village panchayats within the block (intermediary tier) and district level developmental framework and spelling out mechanisms for supervision and monitoring.

The fifth and final phase was meant for the preparation of annual plans for block and district panchayats by integrating the lower level plans and, presumably, to developing their own plans that would be complementary to the village panchayat plans. Due to the delays and inadequacies in the preparation of village panchayat plans, this exercise could not be undertaken. To quote the Kerala State Planning Board, the lead agency: ‘As a result, there were many instances of duplication of planning activities and also critical gaps between the various tiers’.[5] Even when projects and plans were available, it was realised that most of them had to be examined closely for their ‘technical soundness and viability.’ This led to another phase leading to the formation of expert committees and project appraisal teams to scrutinise and approve the projects and plans.

A critical evaluation of people’s planning programme

The concept of hegemony was experimented in the people’s planning. Every organisation or institution - be it organisations of white collar employees, workers, cooperatives, students, women or even cultural bodies - was hegemonised with the movement. But hierarchical organisations such as employees associations, trade unions, students organisations and the cooperative bodies could not be enthused to support and strengthen the decentralisation process. Many organisations, especially the associations of government employees, are openly antagonistic and even opposed several attempts to deploy departmental staff to various tiers of panchayat raj.

A committee set up to recommend measures for the implementation and institutionalisation of the decentralisation process, chaired by the former Vice chairman of the West Bengal State Planning Board, S.B. Sen, had submitted a four volume report(popularly known as Sen Committee Report) that included detailed recommendations including deployment

of departmental staff. However, resistance from the associations of government employees was such that so far no substantive steps have been taken by the government. While powerful sections in every political party oppose the decentralisation process, because of the enactment of the Panchayat Raj Bill, they are all formally committed. But there is no such compulsion for the bureaucracy, especially its powerful organised tiers at the middle and lower levels.

The people's planning faced with fundamental constraints in institutional capacity building. What has been followed was called 'a big bang approach' by deciding devolution of 33% of plan funds and embarking on a 'campaigning' mode to shake up the system. It was just like putting the cart before the horse or reversal of the normal sequence of events. Panchayats could not cope with the administrative or organisational challenges of spending so much money (nearly one to one-and-a-half crore of rupees per panchayat per annum). The absence of sound administrative support created a critical vacuum and often led to conflicts between an 'inexperienced' political executive and an 'experienced' administrative executive. Technical support was near absent and hence the voluntary experts were inducted in the form of 'Key Resource Persons' for facilitation and 'expert committees' for vetting of plans. The powerful and large rent-seeking departments in government, particularly in public utilities such as irrigation, public works, water supply and electricity distribution, did not give up their considerable powers.

Evaluation

There were some gains. For the first time, village panchayats have been freed from the clutches of the Public Works Department in matters relating to the design and implementation of construction works. So too in the case of minor, really minor, irrigation and small drinking water projects. Overall, given such dismal failures to restructure and redeploy the bureaucratic system, a demand has arisen for the establishment of a Development Administrative Service along the lines of the Indian Administrative Service. The one-third representation of women in elected panchayats would never have become a reality without constitutional backing. Women in leadership positions in the panchayats have often felt the heat from men and some have been forced to abdicate, even though many women representatives are related by family and kinship to men in politics. More important, their political visibility remains low in this 'socially and politically progressive' state of Kerala. Nevertheless, the educated, unemployed and unrecognised women, especially the younger ones, are waiting for an opportunity.