

NOTES

and relevant. 'Perhaps the reason for emphasizing structural change is that more often it leads to change of, rather than merely change in society. Social structure makes up a sort of skeleton on which society and its operations are founded. When it changes, all else is apt to change as well' (Sztompka 1993, 6).

When there is change inside the structure of any societal system, the change happens in parts, not to the whole. Here, the structure as a whole remains the same, but the internal arrangements experience alterations. Changes in this case are only partial and restricted and it doesn't have any repercussion for other aspects. The process of Sanskritization is a change in Indian social structure (not change of the structure). The details about the process of Sanskritization will be discussed in Unit 3. However, for reference, let us discuss about it here briefly.

The term Sanskritization was coined by M.N. Srinivas. In his study on the Coorgs, Srinivas tried to describe the process of cultural mobility in the traditional Indian caste system. He holds the view that caste system in traditional India has never been so rigid and there is always scope for different caste members to alter or raise their status. He defines Sanskritization as the 'process by which a low caste or tribe or other group takes over the custom, rituals, beliefs, ideology and life style of a higher caste and in particular "twice-born" (*dwija*) caste' (Srinivas, 1966). In this context, Srinivas maintained that a low caste or tribe may give up meat-eating and other non-vegetarian food and adopt vegetarian diet, quit liquor, animal sacrifice, etc. to embrace the life-style of higher castes. While following this for a generation or two, they may claim higher rank in their local caste hierarchy and achieve upward mobility in their status. This process of mobility is inside the system of caste. It doesn't lead to any structural change. The Indian caste system as a whole is not changing; rather the different ladders of it are getting altered. With the process of Sanskritization, there is no end to the system of inequality in the caste system. There are only few individuals who may claim higher status or improve their traditional social position within that unequal structure. So it is a process of change in the structure, rather than change of the structure. As to Srinivas, Sanskritization leads to *positional* change not *structural* change.

On the other hand, changes may occur in the core aspect of a structure. In this case, fundamental changes are found in the societal structure where the post-change or new structure becomes different from the pre-change or old structure. Changes of the structure might lead to lack of equilibrium among different parts of the system and the strain might disturb the smooth running of the system. In this context, Ginsberg has illustrated about Europe. As he says, 'The domain economy was made impossible in Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by the rise of the towns. The urban population couldn't feed itself and had therefore to obtain the means of subsistence by purchase from the rural areas. This meant that the domains no longer restricted their production to meet their own needs. As production became remunerative, the idea of working for profit began to exercise people's mind. On the other hand, the landowners, restricted to customary revenues, found

it difficult to satisfy their growing needs. In this way the moral and economic foundations of the domainal system were shaken by the growth of cities and the change in the relationship between town and country.' (Ginsberg 1986, 140–141).

Similarly in India, colonialism brought two important structural changes in the society: industrialization and urbanization. Industrialization is the process of socio-economic change that transforms a society from agricultural to industrial one. This is a process where socio-economic development is closely associated with scientific and technological innovation. It refers to the beginning of machine production by the use of inanimate energy. The biggest transformation that is experienced following industrialization process is the change in occupation structure of people. People start migrating from agriculture to factories. Industrialization started with the industrial revolution in the United Kingdom in the 18th century which later spread to other parts of Europe and later the world over. Being a colony of the British, India witnessed sea change in its societal structure after the industrial revolution. Again, urbanization is a process where there is movement of people from rural or country areas to cities or urban areas. Industrialization in India led to many people in villages migrating to cities to work in factories. Therefore, industrialization and urbanization are always seen as associated facts. With industrialization and urbanization in India, the old Indian system of extended or joint families got disintegrated into nuclear households. Transition from joint to nuclear household, not only changed the size and type of residence but also the interpersonal relationships. With modern education and economic independence, the youths of modern times challenged the authority of traditional family and family head. Similarly, the role of women in society is greatly changed. Greater number of women are found working outside home and are economically independent. Due to industrialization, the earlier system of child marriages has seen a dramatic decline and now-a-days has become almost non-existent. The earlier system of Hindu marriage as a sacred bond is giving way to 'live-in' relationships. The arranged marriage system where the parents played important role in selecting partners is disappearing and instances of love-marriage is spreading fast where young boys and girls prefer choosing their own soul-mates. In fact, marriage as an institution is also getting changed and becoming irrelevant with the prevalence of 'gay' and 'lesbian' marriages. The recent verdict of the Honourable Delhi High court treating Section 337 of the Indian Penal Code as unconstitutional is relevant in this context. The Court ruled that treating consensual gay sex between adults as a crime is a violation of fundamental rights. Such changes following industrialization and urbanization in India are significant and are structural changes in the societal system. The changes of the whole structure of family and marriage in rural and urban areas have enormous impact in the daily life of people. Hence the structural change has always been an important area of research among sociologists.

NOTES

NOTES

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

9. When does a 'cultural lag' occur?
10. Define the term 'progress'.
11. From where the concept of 'social evolution' derives its roots?
12. What do you mean by demographic change?
13. How did Karl Marx signify the importance of economy as a factor of social change?

1.11 SUMMARY

- Social change refers to change in social relationships, social organizations, social patterns and values. It is change in the societal system as a whole. 'Change' refers to any alteration or transformation in any object, situation or phenomena over a certain period of time. Social change is a universal and continuous process.
- Social change is a universal and continuous process. Social change can be planned or unplanned. It is temporal and directional in nature. Social change is a value-neutral concept.
- Development refers to improvement in the quality of life of people and advancement in one's state or condition. It may refer to improvements in one's well-being, living-standards and socio-economic opportunities. You have learned about different forms of change and change in and of the social structure with different examples.
- Development means improvements in one's well-being, living-standards and socio-economic opportunities. Development is a revolutionary multi-dimensional, systematic and universal process. It is a value-loaded concept.

1.12 KEY TERMS

- **Social change:** Alteration in social structures or culture over time.
- **Social dynamics:** The study of social processes, especially social change.
- **Social statistics:** It is the use of statistical measurement systems to study human behaviour in a social environment.
- **Temporal:** Of, relating to, or limited by time: a temporal dimension; temporal and spatial boundaries.
- **Culture:** The set of shared attitudes, values, goals and practices that characterizes an institution, organization or group.
- **Development:** Systematic use of scientific and technical knowledge to meet specific objectives or requirements.

- **Transformation:** In an organizational context, a process of profound and radical change that orients an organization in a new direction and takes it to an entirely different level of effectiveness.
- **Structural change:** Deep-reaching change that alters the way authority, capital, information and responsibility flows in an organization.

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1.13 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Change and continuity are the inevitable facts of life. Not only people themselves undergo the process of change, but also the habitat they live in. That's why change is often called as the unchangeable or inescapable law of nature. Change is the only reality. Looking at the inevitability of change, the Greek Philosopher Heraclitus pointed out that a person cannot step into the same river twice since in between the first and the second occasion, both the water in the river and the person concerned get changed.
2. Sociology as a separate discipline emerged in the middle of the 19th century as an effort to explain the socio-cultural and economic changes that erupted in Europe following the industrialization and democratization processes. It will not be wrong to state that major classical sociologists were preoccupied with explaining change, more precisely articulating on the change that followed the rise of capitalism in the West.
3. 'Structure' indicated the internal build-up, shape or form of societal wholes, whereas 'function' signifies their operation or transformation.
4. 'Social change' indicates the changes that take place in human interactions or inter-relationships. Society is regarded as a 'web of social relationships' and in that sense social change refers to change in the system of social relationships.
5. Different scholars debate over if change is a revolutionary process or it happens gradually. However, they settle with the fact that change is both an evolutionary and a revolutionary process. Every change has an effect over different aspects of life and different components of societal system.
6. Change may occur with or without proper planning. People, government or any other agent may initiate change through plans or programmes and may determine the degree and direction of change.
7. Social change is temporal in the sense that it involves the factor of time. It denotes time-sequence. It can be temporary or permanent. Time is an important component in the process of change.
8. The concept social change is not value-laden or judgemental. It doesn't advocate any good or desirable; bad or undesirable occurrence. It is an objective term which is neither moral nor immoral. It is ethically neutral.

NOTES

9. A 'cultural' lag occurs when one of the two parts of culture which are correlated changes before or in greater degree than the other part does, thereby causing less adjustment between the two parts than existed previously.
10. Progress is a change in a desirable direction. It can also refer to change for the better. It involves value-judgment because it implies betterment or improvement. Progress involves change that leads to certain well-defined goals. It is also a type of social change.
11. The use of the word 'evolution' or 'social evolution' in sociology is borrowed from biology. Biology studies 'organic evolution' which denotes the evolution of all kinds of organisms. Social evolution on the other hand refers to the process of evolution of human society, human social relationships, societal values, norms and the way of life.
12. Demographic change is change in the patterns of fertility, mortality, age structure, migration, etc. High fertility or high mortality can have important implications in any society. The same can happen if the rates of such indicators are too slow.
13. Karl Marx pointed out the significance of economy as a factor in social change. He propounded that the economy which constitutes the means of production like labour, instruments, etc. and the relations of production is the infrastructure and all others like family, legal system, education, religion, polity, etc., constitute the superstructure.

1.14 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Define social change.
2. Give your opinion on whether 'change' is a revolutionary process or not.
3. What is cultural change?
4. What is the relation between social change and social progress?
5. How is social change responsible for social evolution?
6. Write a brief note on demographic change.
7. What do you mean by technological change?
8. How is 'development' 'directional' in nature?

Long-Answer Questions

1. What is change and what is the difference between change and social change.
2. Discuss the meaning and the nature of the process of social change.
3. Discuss with example different forms of social change.

4. What is development? Discuss its meaning and nature.
5. How can you define development and what are its indicators?
6. Discuss with suitable examples the difference between change in structure and structural change.
7. Critically evaluate different forms of social change.
8. Explain the difference between 'change in structure' and 'change of structure'.

NOTES

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NOTES

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UNIT 2 CHANGING CONCEPTIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

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Structure

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Unit Objectives
- 2.2 Development
- 2.3 Trajectories of Development and its Changing Conceptions
- 2.4 Economic Development
- 2.5 Economic Development and Economic Growth
- 2.6 Human Development
- 2.7 Social Development
- 2.8 Sustainable Development
- 2.9 Socio-Cultural Sustainability and Multiple Sustainabilities
- 2.10 Summary
- 2.11 Key Terms
- 2.12 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 2.13 Questions and Exercises
- 2.14 Further Reading

2.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, you will learn about the concept of development and its changing conceptions. The trajectory of development has also been analyzed. Following this you will study about different forms of development like economic development, human development and social development along with the notion of sustainable development. The issues of multiple sustainabilities and socio-cultural sustainability are also discussed in this unit.

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the meaning of the concept of development and its historical trajectory
- Explain the meaning of the concept of economic development
- Know the difference between economic development and economic growth
- Analyze the concept of human development
- Evaluate the meaning of social development
- Understand the concept of sustainable development
- Discuss the notions of multiple sustainabilities and socio-cultural sustainabilities

NOTES

2.2 DEVELOPMENT

In the first unit you got an idea about the concept of development. As you have learned, development is an improvement in the quality of life and advancement in man's state or condition. It may also refer to improvements in one's well-being, living-standards and socio-economic opportunities. The term is multifaceted one and is defined differently by different authors leading to confusion among the readers. However, a thorough research into the historical past of the concept of development reveals the fact that the very term draws its substance from economics. In classical economics, development was understood in terms of simple economic variables. Growth in the Gross National Product (GNP) and Gross Domestic Product (GDP), income and employment, growth of human labour force in a country and growth in science and technology were considered as important indicators of development. Such economic explanations were inadequate and were narrow in scope. They also didn't give emphasis to distribution and poverty situations. Besides, any such model of development was West-centric and had little concern for the third-world countries. Many such countries devised their alternative model of development looking at their historical priorities, need and socio-economic conditions. They rejected the view that GDP growth can percolate down and eradicate poverty and bring real transformations in peoples' lives.

2.3 TRAJECTORIES OF DEVELOPMENT AND ITS CHANGING CONCEPTIONS

As has been discussed by Edelman and Haugerud (2005, 5–10), there are three important historical phases of the notion of development which can be analyzed here. The first phase is traced from late 18th century, the second phase from the second half of the 20th century and the third one is said to have begun two decades later in the seventies of the last century itself. As of the first phase, Jorge Larrain (1989, 1) remarks that, 'notions of development can be traced back at least to the late 18th century rise of industrial capitalism, which for the first time allowed productive forces to make a spectacular advance, thus permitting people to imagine dramatic material progress'. Further, as Cowen and Shenton (1996, 5) put it, development in late 18th century and 19th century Europe was meant to construct order out of the social disorders of rapid urban migration, poverty and unemployment. So, the first phase of development thought was associated with the socio-economic changes that followed the rise of industrial capitalism in the late 18th century.

The second phase of development saw the emergence of a much narrower conception of the term in the 1950s. This narrow version of the idea of development emerged to deal with how the economies of the colonies of Britain, France, Portugal and several other European powers, constituting 28 per cent of the world's population, might be transformed and made more productive as decolonization

approached (Lays 1996, 5). This phase was preceded by a significant event in the history of world financial system. The 1944 conference at Bretton Woods in the USA led to the formation of the institutions like International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) that initiated the system of fixed currency exchange rates, limitations on capital movements from one country to another, and the institutionalizing of national economic planning to promote economic growth. As said by Edelman and Haugerud (2005), the notion of development here was influenced by John Maynard Keynes, the chief British delegate to the Bretton Woods Conference who endorsed the idea that public spending would lead to growth and be a source of employment generation. Such approach to the idea of development emphasized upon state sovereignty as different countries made serious attempts to improve the socio-economic conditions of their citizens. The supranational organizations like IMF, World Bank and the United Nations (UN) were established to assist the national governments in their development effort. So, development was understood as a strategy to reduce world poverty especially in post-Bretton Woods and post-World War II times. A new group of thinkers increasingly viewed that poverty alleviation was not an outcome of self-regulating process of economic growth or social change, but of concerted action by both rich and poor nations working in cooperation with new international aid agencies and financial institutions (Cooper and Packard 1997, 1).

The third phase of development as Edelman and Haugerud (2005) argue began in the 1970s with the breakdown of the controls of the Bretton Woods institutions in the movement of capital and subsequent weakening of the economic conditions of national governments that posed serious threat to continue endorsing national development. The factors like the 1971 termination of currency exchange rates fixed to a gold value through the US dollar and in the late 1970s and 1980s, a series of policy changes that were known as economic neoliberalism that meant the policies that handed over the market, rather than the state, the main role in resolving economic and other problems. These were instrumental in bringing out the third-phase of development. This phase is also widely known as 'globalization'. During the 1980s and 1990s, the World Bank and the IMF brought several new policies which were called as the Structural Adjustment Policies (SAP) for the poverty, ridden countries. Unlike what they advocated for in the beginning, these financial institutions now recommended for lesser role of the national governments in financial matters and called for drastic reduction in state expenditure on social services like health and education, introduction for user fees for availing such services, liberalization of trade in various forms, devaluation of national currencies, privatization of state-owned enterprises, etc. Later, in the mid-1990s, the World Bank again modified these SAPs. 'Continuing debt situation forced the Bank to develop social investment programs targeted at poor sectors hit hard by the adjustment policies as well as conditioned debt relief programs for a subset of nations it termed "heavily indebted poor countries" (HIPC), most of which were in Africa. The later shift reflected in part the beginning of a breakdown of the "Washington Consensus", the neoliberal orthodoxy that had held sway in the

NOTES

international financial institutions and in many developing-country governments' (Edelman and Haugerud 2005, 7). So the late 1980s development policy was in a nutshell, an approval for the market to allocate resources rather than the state.

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If we evaluate the developmental process that has been adopted in different forms in different phases of recent history by different national governments and supranational financial institutions, then its outcome will prove mixed. 'The positive indicators in this context include, an increase in world GNP from \$1.3 trillion in 1960 to nearly \$30 trillion by the late 1990s and during the same period a 50 per cent increase in the rate of school enrolment, a rise of 17 years in life expectancy in poor countries and a 50 per cent drop in child mortality worldwide' (Nolan 2002, 223, also in Edelman and Haugerud 2005). However, on the other hand as several reports suggest, at the end of the 20th century, over 840 million people were undernourished and nearly 1.3 billion lived in the equivalent of less than one dollar per day (FAO, 2003, 6, UNDP 1999, 22). Another estimation shows, between the year 1950 and 1990, as the population in the world doubled, so also the number of people living in abject poverty (Nolan, 2002, 223). The same Human Development Report suggests that global economic inequality increased noticeably between the years 1960 and 1990. In the year 1960, the wealthiest 20 per cent of the world's population received 30 times the income of the poorest 20 per cent; in 1997, the richest 20 percent received 74 times as much. Again towards the end of the late 20th century, the world's 200 wealthiest individuals had assets equal to more than the combined income of 41 per cent of the world's population; the assets of the three richest people were more than the combined GNP of all the least developed countries (1999, 36–38). This shows poverty is looming large across the world and inequality among people within national borders and outside is mounting despite several developmental initiatives taken by different organizations with the subsequent evolving of the very concept of development itself.

Following these three phases of the notion of development, there emerged a new debate that added some intellectual flavour to the ongoing discussions. One of such new debates and/or new notion of development is called as 'Post-development' or 'Alternative Development'. This approach tends to view that states or national governments are simply the agents of brutal or failed modernization rather than as vehicles of democratization (Edelman and Haugerud 2005, 50). In a reversal to the modernization theory that regarded traditional communities as obstacles to change, some scholars and activists celebrate community as a valuable source of local or indigenous knowledge. They find hope in the creative reconstitution of social and economic life on the margins, in disengagement from market logic and creation of a 'new common' and in redefinition of needs to suit limited means (Esteva 1992, 20–23). The post-development campaigners accord social movement and popular mobilization at grassroots level a central role to define collective needs and goals of people and in filling service provision gaps left by an uncaring, atrophied and elite dominated state apparatus (Edelman and Haugerud 2005, 51).

In contrast to this, there is 'another development'; yet again a different version of development notion. The advocates of this development ideology talk about development alternatives, instead of alternatives to development. 'They propose a range of proposals including localisation, delinking from the market, fair trade, participating budgeting, taxes on volatile capital investments, and a startling number of populist, nationalist and regional integration efforts to re-embed the economy in society' (Cavannagh et al. 2002; Hines 2000; Patomaki 2001; Sandbrook 2003, quoted in Edelman and Haugerud 2005, 51). The promoters of 'development alternatives' are the believers of social movements, NGOs and other civil society organizations and promote their participation in the greater interest of peoples' development.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What is meant by the term 'development'?
2. What is meant by the first, second and third phase of development?
3. Define the process of economic development.

2.4 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In the last section, you learned about the trajectories of development and its changing meaning and interpretation over the years. You are now in a position to understand and define the notion of development. As you proceed further, you will learn more about different forms of development. Economic development is one of the important forms in the broader conception of development debate.

'Economic development' is a term that has been frequently used by economists, social scientists, planners and political leaders for many decades. It can be understood as the increase in the standard of living of people in a country. As a society or country becomes economically developed, it passes from a simple and low-income economy to a modern, developed, high-income one. A country with economic development agenda tries to enhance the quality of life of its citizens. So economic development is a process by which a country improves the socio-economic and political well-being of its people. The processes like industrialization and modernization are seen as major features of economic development. Robert E. L. Faris (1988, 889) remarks, economic development in the broadest sense might be viewed as any growth in real income per capita, from whatever source. The meaning here is substantially narrower: the extensive application of inanimate power and other technologies to the production and distribution of economic goods. As he further observes, in the above sense, economic development is practically equivalent to industrialization if that term in turn is taken to include the application of rational productive techniques throughout the economy and not just in manufacturing. As to Faris (ibid, 890), economic development, then will mean the

rationalization of economic production and its proximate measure will be taken as an increase in real income per capita.

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2.5 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

Economic growth and economic development are two different concepts used in a disciplines like economic quite frequently. There exist some differences between these two concepts. Different scholars view that economic development is a matter of concern for underdeveloped countries and economic growth refers to the problems associated with the developed countries. Economic growth is an indicator that takes into account the increase in per capita income or increase in GNP of a country. It may include a country's production of goods and services over a year in a sustained manner. Economic growth connotes only an increase in productivity, i.e., quantitative output. It may or may not involve development.

The term 'economic development' on the other hand is far more comprehensive and broad in nature. Economic development in a broader sense refers to social and technological progress. It implies changes in a progressive manner in the social and economic structure of a nation. Scholars view that change in economic structure refers to the transformation of a country from an agricultural economy to largely an industrial one where industries, trade, etc., contribute a lot to the GNP of the country. Further, economic growth refers to increase in the output of the country in terms of goods and services, but development implies change in technological knowhow and institutional arrangements of production along with change in the distributive pattern of income. In comparison to development, growth is easy to accomplish. Through greater mobilization of resources and raising productivity, production of goods and services in a country can be raised. However, the process of development is more extensive and broad. Apart from a rise in the level of productivity, it also involves changes in the real composition of goods and services, removal of poverty, unemployment, inequality and establishing an all-encompassing society, a society that distributes the fruits of growth and development among all sections of the society. It is a fact that economic development is not possible without economic growth but growth can be achieved without development. As said above, growth is just increase in country's GNP but development is a multi-dimensional process. However, despite the difference, both these concepts go hand in hand and are very much related. Besides, a country's economic development is related to its human development that includes health, education, standard of life, etc.

India in post-independence times adhered to the path of socialism and policies for its economic development. These were formulated in accordance with the socialistic principles and planned governmental control which were initiated by country's first Prime Minister Pandit Nehru. However, in the last part of the 20th century several critical macro-economic situations broke out in the country due to

the longstanding controlled economic regime by the government and many more reasons. Following this in 1991, the Government of India came out with its structural adjustment policies and economic reforms bidding adieu to its earlier suppressive *license raj*. In fact in June 1991, India came close to defaulting on its international debt commitments, with balance of payments deficit running high, foreign exchange balance going precariously low (enough for only 13 days of normal imports) and fiscal deficit high which prompted major reforms in 1991 through liberalization (Basu 2006, 66).

So India opened up its economy and adapted to globalization in the early nineties of the 20th century. As the liberalization and globalization strategy for its economic development came through, several changes were initiated like scrapping of the industrial licensing regime, reduction in the number of areas reserved for the public sector, beginning of the privatization programme, reduction in tariff rates, etc. Following this, India's export, import and foreign trade increased substantially. Many Indian companies have started becoming respectable players in the international market. The liberalization of the domestic economy and the increasing integration of India with the global economy have helped step up the GDP growth and it is now the fastest growing economy in the world after China. Since the advent of economic liberalization and globalization in 1991, India has experienced a lot and its policies for economic development are evolving.

During the post-liberalization phase, India is performing fairly in international trade and also its domestic economic development is showing remarkable progress. India's export and import in the year 2007–08 was to the extent of ₹ 65, 5864 and ₹ 10,123 12 crores, respectively (Economic Survey 2008–09, A82–A88). As said above, the liberalization process has helped step up GDP growth rates. As shown in the Economic Survey of India (2008–09, A7), in the year 1991–92, the GDP growth was just 1.4 per cent, but in 1992–93 it reached at 5.4 per cent. Year 1996–97 witnessed a remarkable growth of 8.0 per cent. In 2003–04, the GDP growth of the country was 8.5 per cent while in 2006–07 it was 9.7 per cent. Although there has been a comparatively low growth rates in between, for example the year 1997–98 that recorded a 4.3 per cent growth, a global comparison shows that India is the fastest growing economy after China.

2.6 HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Human development is a model of development which goes beyond the mere analysis of national income or GNP while calculating a country's development indicators. This is a method that focuses on people. Human development talks about a situation where people can fruitfully develop their potential and maintain a productive and constructive life-style according to their own interests and needs. People are the real assets of a country. Development of a country should mean development of its people. Human development in this context, therefore, talks about the choices that people should have to lead healthy and productive lives

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NOTES

under improved human conditions. It is much broader than economic growth or GNP of a country, although economic growth is also an important factor for a country aspiring to be developed and plays a role in enlarging people's choices.

In earlier times, in economics, the term 'human development' was largely associated with the formation of human capital and its acquisition was achieved through various modes of activities that ranged from providing on-job training through health promotion, imparting formal education or adult education and even through migration. In other words, the concept of human development had been closely linked with the concept of economic growth (Pant 2006, 1). The World Development Report (WDR) in 1980, while acknowledging the improvement that had taken place in some of the countries, in terms of critical social indicators like education, literacy, life-expectancy, etc. adopted the view that investment in human development was necessary for poverty alleviation. It also identified four factors that were deemed important for implementing the human development programmes in any country, namely, political support, financial support, efficient administration and the effective demand by the people for goods and services (ibid, 1–2). Later, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in its first report on human development in 1991 attempted to address the issue and combined the three important aspects of development, i.e., economic growth, economic opportunities and people's participation. However, with the passage of time, the UNDP keeps adding on new dimensions and new indicators to the concept of human development, like development, sustainability, women empowerment, etc.

If a country invests in its people, it will lead to empowerment which ultimately develops human capabilities. The basic indicators for human development are long and healthy lives, education proper access to the resources one needs for a healthy life and access to various social services that are needed for a decent standard of living. Without these basic facilities, people may not access opportunities or may not avail their choices. According to the Human Development Report (1999, 13), the real objective of development is to increase people's development choices. Income is one aspect of these choices—and an extremely important one—but it is not the sum-total of human existence. Health, education, a good physical environment and freedom to name a few components of well being may be just as important. As the report suggests, growth in income and an expansion of economic opportunities are necessary preconditions of human development. However, the aim should be to make growth participatory, i.e., allowing for private initiative and broad-based people's involvement; distributive, i.e., benefiting all people; and sustainable since raising future production may demand current sacrifices. Further, widening and clarifying the concept of human development, the report (ibid, 13–15) suggests that there should be development *of* the people, *by* the people and *for* the people. Development *of* the people refers to the fact that every society must invest in the education, health, nutrition and social well-being of its people, so that they can play their full role in the country's economic, political and social life. With more emphasis these days placed on the market and technological

advancement, the development *of* the people will make an increasingly critical contribution to economic success. Development *by* the people refers to the fact that through appropriate structures of decision-making, people must participate fully in the planning and implementation of development strategies which should provide sufficient opportunities for income and employment growth, so that human capabilities are properly used and human creativity is given its fullest expression. Again, development *for* the people underlines that it must satisfy everyone's needs and provide opportunities for all. Only then development can be regarded as human-oriented. So the report very clearly mentions that development increases people's choices. However, while enhancing the choices of one individual or one section of society, it should not restrict the choices of another. Human development looks for the equity in human relationships. Besides, improving the lives of the present generation should not mortgage the choices for the future generation. This shows that human development advocates a sustainable way of development.

In the first unit, you have learned that the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) influenced by the scholars like Amartya Sen, created a Human Development Index (HDI) that combines the indicators like health, life expectancy, literacy, political participation and access to resources (UNDP 2001, 14). Noted developmental economist, Amartya Sen argues that development can be seen as a process of expanding real freedoms that people enjoy which contrasts with the narrow view of development that identifies it with growth or Gross National Product (GNP) or personal income or with industrialization or with technological advancement or with social modernization (Sen 2000, 3). As Sen argues, growth of GNP and personal income can be important means that can expand individual freedom. However, freedom depends also on other determinants like proper arrangements for schooling or education, proper health care system, civil and political rights, etc. '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 or repressive state.' (ibid). So it is clear from the above discussion that the concept of human development is a multi-dimensional and complex one and its meaning evolves from time to time. However, the motto of human development is to address the problems of people. It not only talks about development, but also it talks about development of the people.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

4. What was the ideological basis of India's planned economic development after the Independence?
5. How is 'human development' a broader concept than 'economic growth'?
6. Who gave the concept of social development for the first time?

2.7 SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

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In the last two sections, you have learned about the concept of development and human development. Here in this section, we will discuss about another related concept 'social development'. The concept of social development subsumes comprehensive social planning, economy, ecology and sustainable development. It is both a normative and an operational concept. It has been enriched by individualist, collectivist, statist and communitarian belief, ideas, themes and traditions (Singh 2001, 365). The concept of social development was articulated for the first time by J.F.X. Paiva (Paiva 1977). According to him, social development requires structural change in the society, socio-economic integration, institutional development and institutional renewal.

The 1995 edition of the *Encyclopedia of Social Work* describes the concept of social development in terms of its realistic focus and holistic, systematic and ecologically oriented approach for seeking advancement of individuals as well as societal institutions. Social development in this sense refers to a goal, a process, an action and interaction for better and greater society. It involves correction or renewal of existing institutions, creation of more responsive institutions and recognition of both macro and micro factors and their interaction in development. Its salient features are distributive justice, cooperation, people's participation, equity, recognition of inadequacy of economic growth without social justice or the disfunctionality or transferring, borrowing or imposing of modern technology. So in a broader sense, the concept of social development refers to well-being of individuals, groups, communities and masses of people in an eco-friendly environment (ibid, 366). When we talk about social development, social justice and political factors play important role in it. As to Jone and Pandey (1981) and Singh (2001), social development is a planned institutional change to bring about a better fit between human beings on one hand and social policy and programmes on the other. Such aspects as participation of citizens in their own development, income distribution and social integration were considered as key variables in it.

As mentioned by Singh (2001, 367), the term 'social development' was first used in a seminar of the Indian Council of Social Welfare in 1973 which explored the theme of social development and voluntary action. Social development was regarded as a pre-condition of development and was seen as realization of social and economic well-being of man in society ordered by the rule of social justice and equality of members. Social objectives were also referred to in this context together with the notion of social justice, reduction of income inequalities and concentration of economic power, development of backward areas, renewal of regional imbalances, improved level of living, expansion of employment, equitable distribution of benefits, welfare of disadvantaged sections of population and social economic integration. In this context, it can be mentioned here that looking at its people-centric approach, several human development reports have remarked that

human development is synonymous with social development while some other looking at the wider scope of the concept regard it as much broader than the notion of human development.

The Human Development Report, 1997 brought certain important issues related to human development into light and discussed components like 'income poor' and 'capability' poor. Income poor are different from capability poor. Capability poor are those who don't get the opportunities and that capability is measured through indicators like nutrition and health, percentage of child births unattended by trained medical personnel, literacy and gender equality. So the concept of social development includes all such parameters of development.

S.C. Dube (1988, 49) has given certain indicators of the concept of 'social development'. They are discussed below:

- (1) Social development is a shift in emphasis from the individual to larger collectivities, including the poor who constitute the majority.
- (2) It is a modification in the strategies of planning and implementation to take account of the interface between economic and cultural objectives.
- (3) The concept is a redefinition of social goals in terms of the satisfaction of human needs and improvements in the quality of life.
- (4) The formation of indicators to evaluate social progress and to assess emerging social trends.
- (5) The setting up of monitoring mechanisms to ensure that growth level is sustainable and at no point exceeds the outer limits.
- (6) The anticipation of growth-related and other problems and preparedness to handle them quickly and also effectively.
- (7) The idea of social development is understood as a creation of ethos in which it is possible to question and rethink the appropriateness and adequacy of existing social formations and to work towards their restructuring.

So it can be said that social development has, as Jena and Mohapatra (1993, 30-31) have described, three major aspects: normative, evaluative and operative. Normative aspect of social development includes proper assessment of contemporary social situation, finding out key problem areas, proper arrangement for quantitative as well as qualitative increase in distributive mechanisms, education, public health, public order, population control, etc. Evaluative aspect refers to individual's ability in determining what is right and hence pleasurable for society. The essential thing is that there should be a sense of joy and fulfillment in doing things for society and contributing towards its enrichment, even if this involves withholding self-gratification. Operative aspect on the other hand emphasizes upon operationalization of such transformations within the system. Such changes at social and individual level have to be properly integrated with the social system so as to make them self-sustaining.

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As mentioned before, the well-being of people was earlier measured by the level of economic progress achieved. With time passing on, different humanistic and people-centric approaches developed among the minds of planners and thinkers. They developed the understanding that one's economic prosperity would be meaningless unless he/she achieves human and social welfare. Economic progress and growth in a country's GDP/GNP would be futile, if its citizens die of hunger, suffer from chronic diseases, malnutrition, and face situations like unemployment, inequality, deprivation and social insecurity in life. Marginalization of any form, social or economic, is against the norm of true development.

For the social development of people in India, the successive governments at the centre have been formulating policies since Independence. For a wide-ranging social welfare mechanism, different programs have been initiated to eradicate poverty, unemployment, hunger, malnutrition and so. There are also policies to help the historically disadvantaged sections of society like Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs), Other Backward Classes (OBCs), handicapped, women and the Minorities to help them come out from subjugation and live in the mainstreams. Reservations for them in government services and educational institutions, and several policies to uplift their socio-economic status, have proved fruitful and they now occupy several important positions in various establishments, although more needs to be done in this direction. The people need to be aware against violence, subjugation, conflict and discrimination. There are still instances of caste discrimination, hunger deaths, farmer suicides, domestic violence and even high level of dowry deaths. Unfavourable sex ratio in the country shows increasing gap between males and females where the number of males exceeds those of females. Low socio-economic status of women, the burden of dowry, etc., have generated tendencies to prefer boy over girl child and eventually problems like female infanticide and foeticide have cropped up. The issue of child labour is again alarming one. Thousands of children are leaving schools and joining the ranks of domestic helps and even working in unorganized sectors. Unless such issues are addressed with adequate attention, real development of a country like India is difficult to achieve.

2.8 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Sustainable development refers to the way resources are used with objectives to meet human needs and preserve the environment and natural resources for the future generations. The term was used by the Brundtland Commission which defined sustainable development as development that 'meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (UN Report 1987; also see Smith and Rees 1998). However, the concept of 'Sustainable Development' has a very long historical precedence. In ancient Indian writings, 'nature' or 'environment' has been considered as the controller of all human activities, including economic development. They have accorded the status of the almighty God to all the components of environment such as air, water, land,

natural vegetation, animals, etc. In spite of the fact that there was no need for their conservation, the concept of their protection has been put forward in all the religions of India (Saxena 2006, 146). However, with the advent of modernity and the subsequent advancement in science and technology, man tried to explore each and every resource of mother earth without even thinking of sustainability and about the future generation. Most particularly, the period succeeding industrial revolution posed serious danger to the sustainability of the natural resources. The world population is growing rapidly but the resources available for it are scarce. As a result, man is trying to use the scientific and technological expertise for meeting the common needs. However, in certain cases, the use of such know-how in exploring natural resources and environment is so intensive that it becomes a threat to the overall sustainability of the environment. The use of natural resources is growing at a very faster rate which makes an alarming effect on their conservation. The degradation of the nature due to industrial and other type of pollutions has caused great concerns among environmentalists. The acceleration of industrial and other developmental activities for human use has eroded the environment so much that it has posed serious question on the very process of development itself. Such a concern has given rise to the notion of sustainable development. The logic is that development should not happen at the cost of the future generations. The developmental activities should run in such a way that it causes minimum damage to the environment so as to preserve the same for the generations to come.

The United Nations Conference of the Human Environment held at Stockholm in 1972 is usually identified as the watershed in the emergence of the concept of sustainable development, although it was only partly and belatedly concerned with the environmental and developmental problems of the emerging third world (Saxena 2006, 147). The most conspicuous result of the Stockholm Conference was probably the creation of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) which played an important role in the preparation of the 'World Conservation Strategy' published in 1980. This identified three objectives for conservation: first, the maintenance of essential ecological processes; second, the preservation of genetic diversity; and third, the sustainable development of species and ecosystems (ibid, 148).

Following several efforts by the world leaders and several international bodies, different countries, both developed and developing, are taking steps so that there will be minimum hazard to environment and natural resources can be preserved for the use of future generations. In this context, the Government of India is also taking serious efforts for the sustainable use of resources. The Government has devised policies to invest and make use of the renewable and clean energy.

A report by the UN Environment Program (UNEP) 'Global Trends in Sustainable Energy Investment 2010', suggests that India is eighth country in the world in terms of investment in sustainable energy. The Government is massively investing in wind energy, biomass, solar energy, etc. for better sustainability. The use of clean energy will reduce green house gas emissions. Under the National

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Solar Mission, the Government is trying to expand the base of solar power plants across the country. It has the target of generating 20,000 MW solar power by the year 2022.

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2.9 SOCIO-CULTURAL SUSTAINABILITY AND MULTIPLE SUSTAINABILITIES

Sustainability is a multi-dimensional concept and it does not exclusively focus on environmental issues. However, environmental sustainability is an important dimension of sustainable development. Besides environmental sustainability, there are multiple forms of sustainabilities like social and cultural. These play a cardinal role in the true development of a society. The United Nations World Summit, 2005 *Outcome Document* mentions that economic development, social development and environmental protection are three pillars of sustainable development (WHO 2005). There are firm arguments and opinions which demand especially keeping in mind the indigenous people world over that cultural development is an important factor of sustainable development. The Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (UNESCO 2001) mentions that 'cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature; and 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 context, cultural diversity is a very important aspect of sustainable development.

According to Hasna (2007):

Sustainability is a process which talks about the development of all aspects of human life that affects sustenance. It means resolving the conflict between the various competing goals and involves the simultaneous pursuit of economic prosperity, environmental quality and social equity with the resultant vector being technology. So it is a continually evolving process; the 'journey', i.e., the process of achieving sustainability is of course vitally important, but only as a means of getting to the destination, i.e., 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.

There are discussions on environmental sustainability which is very much related to the notion of sustainable development. In fact, when there are debates on sustainable development, many assume that it is all about environmental sustainability. Nonetheless, it is a process where natural environment is used with the idea of keeping the environment as pure and natural as possible, so that its degradation is restricted. We can call a situation unsustainable when natural resources are used up in a faster way. Sustainability of environment requires the fact that human activities should use up the resources at a rate at which they can be replenished through natural processes. It means that sustainability is the use of natural resources according to its carrying capacity. If natural environment is used beyond its carrying capacity and faster than it should be, then that will lead to

large-scale environmental degradation which might affect the human life in future. Environmental degradation on the global scale can destroy human life altogether. Unpredictable behaviour of the environment in recent years with volatile rain, storm and melting of Himalayan and other glaciers world over due to global warming has raised the issue of sustainability of environment to a very serious level.

Social sustainability refers to social, cultural, political and other aspects that concern the people other than the economic aspects. It addresses human life through the indices like inequality, health, literacy, cultural autonomy, personal freedom, security in life and happiness. Social sustainability is planned on a holistic frame of mind. Social sustainability is one aspect of sustainable development. It propounds the notion that people in the future generations should have the same or greater access to social resources as the present generation is having. The generations to come must have the capabilities to pursue their human development as the present generation. Any group of people or community has its social setting and social environment besides its physical environment. Therefore, their environmental sustainability much depends upon their social sustainability.

Cultural sustainability on the other hand denotes a process where the culture of a society is continuously created, recreated, maintained and renewed giving emphasis on interpersonal relationships, relationships with other cultures and with the nature. Further, socio-cultural sustainability refers to a process where stability of the social and cultural systems is maintained. Any kind of sustainability has its socio-cultural dimensions. Be it ecological or economic sustainability, there are several social issues which have lasting impacts on it. Social problems like crime, corruption, conflict, insurgency, war, terrorism, etc. demand resources and to address such problems, national governments spend funds which could have been otherwise used for human development and for basic human needs like food, health, education and so on. Such social problems threaten human well-being and happiness. Universal primary and adult education, empowerment of women, social justice, economic empowerment and social emancipation, etc., are some of the parameters for a sustainable social system.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

7. When was the term 'sustainable development' used for the first time?
8. Define the term 'sustainability'.
9. What does 'social sustainability' mean?

2.10 SUMMARY

- Development is a notion that refers to an improvement in the quality of life and advancement in man's state of condition. It may also refer to improvements in one's well-being, living-standards and socio-economic opportunities.

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- Development is a comprehensive concept involving different concepts like economic development, social development, human development and sustainable development. Economic development may be understood as the increase in the standard of living of people in a country.
- Human development talks about the choices that people should possess to lead healthy and productive lives under improved human conditions.
- Sustainable development refers to the way resources are used with objectives to meet human needs and preserve the environment and natural resources for the future generations.
- Sustainability is a process which talks about the development of all aspects of human life that affect sustenance.

2.11 KEY TERMS

- **Sustainable development (SD):** It is a pattern of resource 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.
- **Sustainability:** It is the capacity to endure. In ecology, the word describes how biological systems remain diverse and productive over time.
- **Gross National Product (GNP):** It is the total value of all final goods and services produced within a nation in a particular year, plus income earned by its citizens (including income of those located abroad), minus income of non-residents located in that country.
- **Gross Domestic Product (GDP):** The total market value of all final goods and services produced in a country in a given year, equal to total consumer, investment and government spending, plus the value of exports, minus the value of imports.
- **Economic growth:** A positive change in the level of production of goods and services by a country over a certain period of time.
- **Economic development:** Qualitative measure of progress in an economy. It refers to development and adoption of new technologies, transition from agriculture based to industry based economy and general improvement in living standards.

2.12 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Development is an improvement in the quality of life and advancement in man's state or condition. It may also refer to improvements in one's well-being, living-standards and socio-economic opportunities. The term is multi-faceted one and is defined differently by different authors leading to confusion among the readers.

2. The first phase of development thought was associated with the socio-economic changes that followed the rise of industrial capitalism in the late 18th century. The second phase of development saw the emergence of a much narrower conception of the term in the 1950s. The third phase of development as Edelman and Haugerud (2005) argue began in the 1970s with the breakdown of the controls of the Bretton Woods institutions in the movement of capital and subsequent weakening of the economic conditions of national governments that posed serious threat to continue endorsing national development.
3. Economic development is a process by which a country improves the socio-economic and political well-being of its people. The processes like industrialization and modernization are seen as major features of economic development.
4. India in post-independence times adhered to the path of socialism and policies for its economic development. These were formulated in accordance with socialistic principles and planned governmental control which were initiated by the country's first Prime Minister Pandit Nehru.
5. Human development in this context, therefore, talks about the choices that people should have, to lead healthy and productive lives under improved human conditions. It is much broader than economic growth or GNP of a country; although economic growth is also an important factor for a country aspiring to be developed and plays a role in enlarging people's choices.
6. The concept of social development was articulated for the first time by J.F.X. Paiva (Paiva 1977). According to him, social development requires structural change in the society, socio-economic integration, institutional development and institutional renewal.
7. The term was used by the Brundtland Commission which defined sustainable development as development that 'meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs'.
8. Sustainability is a process which talks about the development of all aspects of human life that affects sustenance. It means resolving the conflict between the various competing goals and involves the simultaneous pursuit of economic prosperity, environmental quality and social equity with the resultant vector being technology.
9. Social sustainability refers to social, cultural, political and other aspects that concern the people other than the economic aspects. It addresses human life through the indices like inequality, health, literacy, cultural autonomy, personal freedom, security in life and happiness.

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2.13 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What is the difference between growth and development?
2. What is the difference between economic growth and economic development?
3. Define Gross Domestic Product (GDP).
4. What do you mean by Gross National Product (GNP)?
5. Why has sustainable development acquired such significance of late?
6. Write a short note on the model of human development.

Long-Answer Questions

1. What is development and what are the changing conceptions of the notion of development?
2. 'Economic development is different from economic growth.' Throw light on the statement.
3. Discuss the concept of human development and its indicators.
4. Define the concept of social development and discuss its indicators.
5. Critically evaluate the concept of sustainable development.
6. Discuss the concepts of multiple sustainabilities and socio-cultural sustainabilities.

2.14 FURTHER READING

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