MSO 203: SOCIOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT

BLOCK II

Vision

To grow to be a leading centre for human resource development through distance, open and universal learning system.

Mission

To provide quality higher education at door step through barrierless, flexible and open learning mode in conformity with national priority and societal need.

Objective

- **To offer degree, diploma, certificate level programme of study through distance learning in various emerging subjects across the disciplines.**

- **To offer job oriented and vocational programmes in flexible terms in the line of the national and regional level demand of manpower.**

- **To offer various programmes under lifelong learning contributing to the local and regional level requirements and as per the need of the society at large.**

- **To undertake various research and academic activities for furtherance of distance education in the region.**

- **To contribute to conserve and promote cultural heritage, literature, traditional knowledge and environment conducting short programmes, workshops, seminars and research in interdisciplinary field.**

MSO 203: SOCIOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT

CENTRE FOR OPEN AND DISTANCE LEARNING

TEZPUR UNIVERSITY (A CENTRAL UNIVRESITY)

TEZPUR, ASSAM-784028

INDIA

MSO-203: SOCIOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT

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BLOCK II

TABLE OF CONTENT

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BLOCK INTRODUCTION

This Block comprises of Modules **III** and **IV** of MSO 203: Sociology of Development. **Module III** deals with the critique of development and it consists of three units. **Unit 7** explores the theories of alternative development. On the other hand, **Unit 8** is devoted to post-development theories. **Unit 9** discusses the grassroots level movements in development.

Module IV is about contemporary issues in development. This module is divided into five units. **Unit 10** deals with the politics of development, focusing on knowledge and power in development. Another contemporary issue in development, i.e., globalisation is covered in **Unit 11. Unit 12**, on the other hand, focuses on poverty and politics of development. **Unit 13** discusses NGO and civil society while **Unit 14** discusses gender and development.

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MODULE III: DEVELOPMENT AND ITS CRITIQUE

UNIT 7: THEORIES OF ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Introduction

7.2 Objectives

7.3 Theories of Alternative Development: Meaning

7.4 Origin of the Alternative Development Approach

7.5 Alternative Development as a Critique of Mainstream Development

7.6 Alternative Development and Its Critique

7.7 Summing Up

7.8 Questions

7.9 Recommended Readings and References

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In the units of Module II, you got familiarised with the theories of development and underdevelopment. In this unit, you will be introduced to the concept of alternative development as a critique of development. You will learn the theories that emerged as alternatives to mainstream theories of development, and hence, these theories are termed as alternative theories of development. Let us begin by understanding what alternative theories are and how these theories emerged as a critique to the mainstream approach on development.

7.2 OBJECTIVES

By the end of the unit, you will be able to:

- Explain alternative theories of development;
- Describe the origin of alternative development approach;
- Analyse alternative theories of development as a critique to mainstream approach on development.

7.3 THEORIES OF ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT: MEANING

By the term 'alternative development', you must have already understood that it is an approach which is an alternative to the mainstream approach on development. Now the question arises as to why do we need an alternative approach on development. It is to be noted that traditional development theories basically centred on economic growth, distribution and so on. However, there came a shift in the development discourse and it was realised that development should occur at all levels and not merely confine to the economic aspect. Mere economic growth does not translate into development in all aspects. This shift in the discourse of development saw the rise of an alternative approach on development to do away with the weaknesses of the dominant model of development.

Theories of alternative development emerged as a critique of the mainstream developmental approach in the 1960s and 1970s. It is difficult to name one body of development theory as a solid or concrete theory of alternative development rather it is a combination of various theories which offer alternatives to the top-down approach of development. Many of the theories of alternative development are concerned with the local or endogenous model of development. It also emphasizes on peoples capability and participation in the development process. There are various names given to alternative development, these are another development, participatory development, human development, social development, grassroots development, etc. The practitioner of this development approach focuses on people-centred development and it takes up the participatory method to adopt endogenous development. This approach calls for the basic need approach where the local community will decide for themselves. It is often identified with the participatory approach to development and NGOs. The alternative referred to is alternative in relation to the state and the market, but not necessarily in relation to the general discourse of

developmentalism. It would be difficult to maintain that alternative development has evolved as a theory, although Hettne among others tries to make such a case, arguing that it represents a counterpoint to mainstream development. It is based on the ideology of Gandhi, Maoism and Buddhist economics. Their premise is a radical questioning of development (Pieterse, 2010: 86).

7.4 ORIGIN OF THE ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

It is widely believed that the report of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation in 1975 which raised issues like 'what now? Another development', development should be 'geared to the satisfaction of needs', 'endogenous and self-reliant' and 'in harmony with the environment', paved the way for an alternative practice of development. Over the years alternative development has been reinforced by various strands of thinking such as anti-capitalism, green thinking, feminism, eco-feminism, democratization, new social movements, Buddhist economics, cultural critiques, and post-structuralist analysis of development discourse. 'Alternative' generally refers to three spheres – agents, methods and objectives or values of development. Alternative development is the development *from below* and 'below' refers both to the community and to NGOs. In several respects, alternative development revisits Community Development of the 1950s and 60s (Pieterse, 2010: 85).

Jan Nederveen Pieterse (2010) reviews various trends in development thinking and posits that alternative development and human development thinking originated outside the West. He demonstrates that alternative development thinking came around 1970s after dependency theory emerged as a critique to modernization theory. Friedman (1992) proposes the idea of human flourishing through community development. Along with alternative development, a variant of this approach, human development emerged in the 1980s which suggests development as

enhancement of capability. Human development and capability approach proposed by Amartya Sen, Mahbub Ul Haq, Martha Nussbaum could be seen as an alternative form of development. They argue that development should be seen as a form of freedom. People should realize the freedom through participation in public discussion, political decision-making, cultural expression, etc. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has also followed their arguments and suggests that the enlargements of people's choices are the core of any kind of productive development. Alternative development theories are based on ideas like democratic participation, legitimacy, transparency, justice and equity for all and especially for the marginalized sections of the society. People in this approach must ensure the rule of law through accountability and transparency. The decision-making process must ensure the participation of people in a decentralized democratic manner. Denis Goulet calls for the development which works for the human fulfilment and human enrichment. He calls for the development ethics which should be based on a just approach where a human being should be given priority rather than the things. A just development should preserve societal well-being by minimizing human sufferings.

Alternative development approach aimed towards empowering the agency of a citizen, promoting grassroots level participation in both planning and implementation of developmental programmes. It is not only aimed at people's improved health, education and livelihood, it also promotes for more political, social and cultural participation. It fights for ecological and environmental sustainability by challenging and resisting the exploitative model of capitalist development. It also challenges the modern Western scientific knowledge used in development policy-making.

John Borg Hettne calls for the development where he argues for self-reliance, a basic need, human dignity, sustainability and people-centric

development. If one looks at both the alternative and mainstream development carefully, these days there is hardly any difference because the issue of sustainability and participation is also advocated by the mainstream development people. Pieterse (2010: 84) explains "alternative development has been concerned with introducing alternative practices and redefining the goals of development. This has been successful in the sense that key elements of both have been adopted in mainstream development. Even if not consistently practised, it is now generally accepted that development efforts are more successful if the community participates".

Local development re-emerged in the form of alternative development. Endogenous development emerged in reaction to the globalisation. In developing countries, there emerged state-led development in the form of modernization or dependency, market-led in the form of neoliberalism, society and community-driven in the form of alternative development. The approach of alternative development arose against the idea of social engineering put forward by mainstream development approach. It promotes grassroots level small scale 'small is beautiful' model. Based on the concept of endogenous development, alternative development model raises many questions and also faces many questions from the advocates and critics alike. If one looks at the whole dynamics of this approach, one could mark the changing position and perceptions of alternative development over the period.

Alternative development approach also flourished in various parts of the world by challenging the existing hegemonic and exploitative nature of mainstream capitalist development model. Alternative development scholars and practitioners see development as pluralistic and dynamic. They criticize the Western development model as supportive of things rather than human beings. Alternative development model suggests development initiatives should come from within the communities in an

organic and natural manner. They argue against the power relation which is there between the Western and non-Western countries. Alternative development thinkers raise questions such as 'what kind of development?' and 'whose development?'.
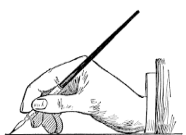
Pieterse (2010) explains that alternative development appealed to many people because it matched general doubts about the role of the state. Neoliberals and human rights group both are critical and sceptical about the role of the state. Ideologues may be safe while following the alternative discourse because it gives an impression of progressiveness. Without being branded an overly radical and without endorsing a clear ideology, one can safely endorse this path. This approach pleads for participatory and sustainable development along with physical and mental well-being. Another important issue which is vaguely and sometimes powerfully raised by the alternative development theories is the issue of power and knowledge in development practice. The social location of power and its distribution is very crucial in any kind of development practice. Gunnar Myrdal has discussed these issues broadly in his works. Rajni Kothari, who is considered to be a pioneer of alternative development thinking, expresses his scepticism about the market and capitalism. The way mainstream development and capitalism co-opting the alternative development into their fold, the day will come that the world will be left without any alternative. His scepticism developed because of the changing nature of human beings and their mentality to accept capitalism without evaluating it critically.

Questions are also raised by various critics on the elements that constitute an alternative definition of development. Pieterse (2010) writes that it has to have a different and distinctive methodology, epistemology and policy agenda. Alternative development tries to combine a just development with the emancipation of human beings. It looks at the development approach from the grassroots level and opposes the top-

down approach. It adopts the methodology which is based on participation of all. Robert Chamber popularized these methods through Participatory Action Research, Rapid Rural Appraisal. The basic element of alternative development is local knowledge. Their epistemology is based on traditional and local knowledge. Of late, the idea of indigenous knowledge was popularized among the practitioners of alternative development which criticized modern science. They promoted the alternative development model through age-old traditional and indigenous knowledge. These include animal husbandry, farming and agriculture, preservation of seeds and food, etc. Indigenous knowledge emphasizes on endogenous development. It looks for a local solution to a local problem. But modern scientists raise the question of how global problems like climate change and the problem arising because of it could be solved through the alternative model of development.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What is alternative development?

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2. What is human development approach?

7.5 ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT AS A CRITIQUE OF MAINSTREAM DEVELOPMENT

The 'Grow More Food Revolution' emerged in India in the form of the Green Revolution. To have more food production, it was suggested to

implement modern technology along with the use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides. Though it gave good production for a few years, the side effects and externality were more disastrous and damaging. It made the land barren and infertile. It gave rise to an unprecedented level of carcinogenic diseases among the people of northern India.

All over the world, there are protests and resistance against mainstream development. There are various grassroots level organisations in different parts of India too which are engaged with local development continuously challenging the mainstream developmental approach. We have seen the devastating results of urbanisation and industrialisation. Long before the alternative development model emerged in the development trajectory, M.K. Gandhi had suggested for rural development through self-rule or 'Gram Swaraj'. India adopted Green Revolution by ignoring Gandhi's model of development. It gave rise to increasing farmer distress, a rising level of loan and poverty, large scale migration to urban places which negated the vision of Gandhi where he envisioned of village republic. Without considering the local weather and ecology, genetically modified crops were introduced which could not give the desired results. In this process, the local variants of seeds vanished and farmers had to rely on the MNCs for their needs in agriculture. Once the fertilizers and pesticides are used in the farmland, the natural productivity of the farm comes down. Chemical fertilizers along with the hybrid seeds need more water than the usual crops. It creates a very difficult situation for the farmers in the water scarcity region. The greed of capitalism has overpowered the Gandhian model of development and many of the innocent, simple farmers of the countryside are falling prey to the market agenda.

But recently, many grassroots level organization along with the activists and practitioners have adopted the age-old traditional model of organic farming. They have started using organic manures and are trying to revive the dying practice in various regions of India. Many farmers'

organizations and village communities also have shown positive results. There is a strong lobby of market which influences the policy-makers and agricultural scientists to believe that the output of organic farming is very less in comparison to the chemical farming. They argue that in a huge country like India, organic farming is not feasible. Alternative development approach is working well in the agricultural sector and it is also trying to preserve the ecology and environment. It tries to preserve the traditional agricultural practices by applying indigenous knowledge. It is better than chemical farming and more sustainable. It argues for the conservation of energy and natural resources. The participatory project tends to be more successful as it takes people into its consideration and it does not follow the top-down model, unlike the mainstream development approach.

If we take the example of Hiware Bazar in India, we will be able to understand how participatory development has brought significant change in the life of the villagers.

Stop and Read:

Hiware Bazar, a village in Ahmednagar district of Maharashtra was pushed to a state of extreme poverty for years owing to the ails of drought. However, in less than a decade the village was successful in proving as one of the most prosperous villages of India through integrated water management approach and public participation. The funds from the government schemes could be effectively utilised in the village to make watershed development programme a success only because of the active participation of the people, NGOs, Panchayat along with the State Government. The untiring participation of the local community soon converted the drought-ridden poor village into a prosperous one with major developments in various fields like agriculture, water

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management, dairy farming, sanitation as well as improvement in livelihood leading to reverse migration of the people who had once left the village owing to dire poverty. Hiware Bazar indeed serves as an apt example of alternative development approach that looks at the development from the grassroots level with the participation of all.

7.6 ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT AND ITS CRITIQUE

Pieterse (2010) comments that alternative development approach neglects the role of the state and ignores the local-global nexus. Alternative development approaches have failed to develop a clear perspective on micro-macro relations, an alternative macro approach, and a coherent theoretical position, although it is often claimed that there is an alternative development paradigm (ibid.: 84).

It downplays the role of modern technologies in the improvement of health services, agriculture and education. It romanticises the traditional social structure and process without questioning them. It promotes localisation without giving any proper method to combat globalisation.

It would be difficult to claim that alternative development represents a paradigm break in development, for it lacks sufficient theoretical cohesion. Alternative development reflects certain normative orientations, follows disparate theoretical strands, is in flux, not fully developed, and its status remains unclear (ibid.: 89).

7.7 SUMMING UP

Pieterse (2010) writes that "It is now widely accepted that development is not simply a matter of GDP growth, and human development is a more appropriate goal and a measure of development. This also means that

alternative development approaches have become less distinct from conventional development discourse and practice since alternatives have been absorbed in mainstream development". He says that alternative development is overloaded with aspirations which are beyond its scope. Articulations of all modes of an alternative approach are not very strong and may not be called a paradigm or alternative model. This creates a kind of scepticism among the grassroots level citizens.

Alternative theories of development recognize that modern development is a construction of a special form of knowledge which creates specific types of power to hegemonize the vernacular communities. Alternative thinking is also a kind of challenge to this developmental hegemony. Various thinkers have perceived and explained alternative development differently. But the main agenda of alternative development is to offer a robust critique of mainstream development.

One has to question the role of NGOs in the development and as part of the alternative development movement. If we think that alternative development questions globalisation then International Non-governmental Organisations (INGOs) are part of the globalisation process. Now the question arises as to how they can be part of the alternative movement in questioning globalisation. If we look at the role of culture in development then it could be considered that local culture should act as a catalyst in the development process. The local culture can resist capitalism and consumerism.

7.8 QUESTIONS

1. What are the regressive elements of Alternative Development Approach?
2. What are the progressive elements of Alternative Development Approach?

3. Can we call alternative development as theories or a theory? Explain.

4. Write an essay on alternative development model in India.

5. Do you think alternative development model is tenable? Explain.

7.9 RECOMMENDED READINGS AND REFERENCES

Friedman, J. (1992). *Empowerment: The politics of Alternative Development*. Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.

Peet, R. and Hartwick, E. (2015). *Theories of Development: Contentions, Arguments, Alternatives.* The Guilford Press, London and New York.

Pieterse, J.N. (2010). *Development Theory: Deconstructions/ Reconstructions.* Sage, London and New York.

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UNIT 8: POST-DEVELOPMENT THEORIES

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Introduction

8.2 Objectives

8.3 Post-Development Thinking

8.4 Post-Development Theory

8.5 Post-Development Theory and Its Critique

8.6 Summing Up

8.7 Questions

8.8 Recommended Readings and References

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In the trajectory of development discourse, the Post-Development approach emerged and became popular in the 1980s and 1990s. This approach adheres to a strong critique of mainstream development and sometimes it is referred to as anti-development. Mostly the process of development followed the Western model of development and is based on the modernization approach. Post-Development approach alleges to mainstream development as Eurocentric or Western-centric. In the beginning, we need to clarify that it is difficult to term the post-development approach as the post-development theory. There is no unified theory or postulation which could be termed as theory rather it is an ideological position which tries to dismantle the claim of developmentalism. In the field of economic sense, developmentalism refers to the growth and progress of society through capitalist economic development.

8.2 OBJECTIVES

By the end of the unit, you will be able to:

- Explain Post-Development theory;

- Analyse the critique to Post-Development theory.

8.3 POST-DEVELOPMENT THINKING
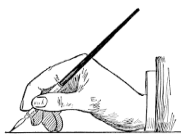
Post-Development thinking is considered to be the most radical position in which it opposes the approach of mainstream development in any form. Though there are contemporary thinkers like Arturo Escobar, Wolfgang Sachs, James Ferguson, Gustavo Esteva, Majid Rahnema, Ashis Nandy who vehemently argued against the idea of development, this position of anti-development could be traced back to M. K. Gandhi in India. We can draw the same kind of ideology from Gandhi's work. His thesis, his book *Hind Swaraj*, largely takes the anti-development approach.

Ivan Illich along with other post-colonial scholars have termed this development ideology as Eurocentric and Western-centric. In the colonial discourse, they term the other parts especially the southern parts of the world as barbaric, uncivilized and backward. In a collection of articles, titled the development dictionary edited by Wolfgang Sachs, they blame the American President Harry Truman. They argue that a new kind of development thinking started when Harry Truman delivered his speech on 20th January 1949 and said we need to deal with the world in a democratic manner. There is no place for imperialism which works for profit on the basis of exploitation. It was decided to take up developmental programmes in a democratic manner. In this context, post-developmentalists argue that Truman created a world of underdevelopment by pointing out to the Southern world. It is a kind of Whiteman's burden to help the other underdeveloped countries. Post-developmentalists look at this approach as western centric and points out that there is a clear message behind this approach. It is a form of imperialism where the Western countries will try to interfere in the political and economic affairs of the so-called Third World countries. For

the critics of development, it is a new tool to establish hegemony over the non-Western world.

8.4 POST-DEVELOPMENT THEORY

As we infer from the introductory section that it is difficult to term something as a development theory, rather it is easier to look at it as a kind of position or ideology. One of the leading post-developmental thinkers, Wolfgang Sachs articulates, "it will not be possible to reconceptualize equity without recovering the diversity of prosperity. Linking the desire for equity to economic growth has been the conceptual cornerstone of the development age. Delinking the desire for equity from economic growth and relinking it to the community and culture-based notions of well-being will be the cornerstone of the post-development age" (Sachs, 2010: xii). In a way it is argued that post-development thinking emphasizes the local and indigenous processes based on

equality and non-exploitative relations unlike capitalism and market-driven development and growth. Sachs again explains that "post-development initiatives trace on two themes. The first one is a transition from economies based on fossil-fuel resources to economies based on biodiversity is paramount. For this reason, decentralization and diversity will be the guiding principles for solar economies. Second, post-development initiatives attempt to push back the predominance of the economic world-view. They oppose the secular trend to functionalize work, education and the land in order to boost economic efficiency, insisting on the right to act according to values of culture, democracy and justice" (Sachs, 2010: xiii).

Pieterse points out towards the question raised by the post-developmental theorists. "Everything that development used to represent appears to be in question, in crisis. There are various views of what this crisis means. One is that since development is in crisis, let's close the shop and think of something entirely different – 'beyond development'. This is the position associated with post-development thinking" (Pieterse, 2010: 1). He goes on to define that "post-development thinking also puts forth an anti-development position. This is still more radical for it applies not merely to the means (the state is accused of authoritarian engineering) but also to the goals (economic growth is repudiated) and the results (which are deemed a failure or disaster for the majority of the population)" (Pieterse, 2010: 7).

As mentioned earlier, Arturo Escobar has also contributed to the post-developmental body of knowledge substantially. His book titled *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* became very popular among the critics of the mainstream developmental approach. His chapter in the *Development Dictionary on Planning* argues that planning has been one of the totalizing universals. It tries to create a universal image of various diverse societies. After the modern intervention and European thinking, Western planners believed

and tried to execute the plan to bring in desired social change. They made human society an object to intervene and bring in planned change. But it gave a negative result in the Third World countries. He writes that "And while communities in the Third World may find that there is a need for some sort of organized or directed social change – in part to reverse the damage caused by development – this undoubtedly will not take the form of 'designing life' or social engineering" (Escobar, 2010: 158-159). Various scholars have pointed out that different social and political movements have challenged the position of modern social engineering. Local communities try to define their own social categories and give new understandings to the meaning of various knowledge.

In this process, the developing countries are challenging the new developmental model and entering into a post-development, post-economic era. Escobar articulates that "in the process, the plurality of meanings and practices that make up human history will again be made apparent while planning itself will fade away from concern" (Escobar, 2010: 158-159).

Pieterse articulates that discourse analysis may be taken as a method or tool to examine and analyse the modern developmental process. He says development involves a medley of motifs and thus, the 'linguistic turn' applied to development studies to critically evaluate it. "A different application is to argue that since development is discourse, it is, therefore, fictional, untrue, bogus, and deceptive. It is a form of western modernism and scientific distortion that sets illusory goals of material achievement and in its pursuit wreaks havoc upon" (Pieterse, 2010: 14). In this process, he says that discourse analysis turns into anti- or post-development thinking. If you look at the various ideological positions put forward by post-development approach then it may be treated more as an ideology and political position than a methodology or theory. This critical approach takes on the authoritarian state and international financial institutions like the World Bank and the IMF. Most of the post-

developmental thinkers agree on some of the tasks that discourse analysis takes up. These are 'unmasking' development as 'myth' or 'fairy tale', development as 'only a story', only a narrative, only a grand narrative" (Pieterse, 2010: 15). The post-developmental approach is also critical of the modern state, market and science. They blame all these three institutions and posit that these institutions have a great power of universalizing. Many feminist thinkers and Southern thinkers have criticized the European enlightenment and scientific revolution.

In the majority of his works, Escobar has used the Foucauldian framework of deconstruction to analyse the development discourse. Foucault and Derrida have been the greatest influence on post-development theory. Escobar uses Foucault's power, knowledge and discourse analysis to demonstrate Western hegemony and its disciplinary knowledge production. He argues that in the process of institutionalisation of development, where organisations like the IMF, the World Bank and the UN along with grassroots level community development committees and NGOs are involved and they form the "development apparatus". Escobar argues that development has been conceived as a technological and administrative process. It ignores the cultural and social aspects of community life (Escobar, 1995).

Thus, it could be observed that post-development takes up stand in favour of 'anti-development' or 'beyond development'. It is a radical reaction to the dilemmas of development. Perplexity, extreme dissatisfaction, disillusion with alternative development, are keynotes of this perspective. Development is rejected by the post-developmentalists not merely on account of its results but because of its intentions, its worldview and mindset. Post-developmentalists argue that the time has come to recognize development itself as the malignant myth which has failed miserably. In the post-development approach, the method of criticism is combined with a Foucauldian methodology and theoretical framework of discourse analysis which is largely inspired by post-

structuralism. Post-development is not alone in looking at the shadow of development; all critical approaches to development deal with its dark side. Post-development focuses on the underlying premises and motives of development, and what sets it apart from other critical approaches is its rejection of development (Pieterse, 2010: 110-111).

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS
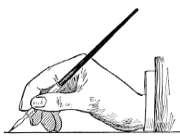
1. What according to Sachs are the two themes of post-development initiatives ?

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2. Who wrote *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*?

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3**.** Fill up the gaps:

a. Foucault and _____ have been the greatest influence on post-development theory.

b. The post-developmental approach is also critical of the modern state, _____ and science.

8.5 POST-DEVELOPMENT THEORY AND ITS CRITIQUE

In recent times, the post-development theory has received more criticisms than any other approach. This criticism has come from various corners. It has been alleged that the methodologies adopted by post-development theory is not sound and they do not provide substantial evidence to support their conclusion. Post-development theories are based on emotion rather than on robust argumentation. It does not have

a systematic method and it is based on some sort of partisanship approach. This theory has been criticised for focusing too much on this social outlook and their usage of reductionism. This approach ignores the improvements in terms of health and education in the Third World which have been brought by modern development.

Another major point is that post-development theory homogenizes development. Critics point out that all forms of development are not the same, some developments have brought positive changes and post-developmentalists reject all sorts of development. They have failed to recognize constructive development. They are accused of demonizing Western cultures and romanticizing the non-Western world. They are also criticised for not providing any substantial alternative to development. Other critics held that the deconstruction approach was chosen by post-developmentalists in analysing development which only offers fragmentation and deconstruction, but no construction or alternatives. It looks like a romantic story of a utopian world. Some strong critics of this approach feel that the alternatives presented by the post-development approach do not have a detailed method. And therefore, this is difficult to be realized.

Post-development theorists are alleged that they are politically and morally irresponsible for not considering poor people's aspiration to have access to good health services and good education. This approach is not looking at the regressive practice of communities and romanticizing them all. It is argued that post-development always praises grassroots and local movements. They may not be always thinking and working for the poor and the marginalized.

Pieterse argues that post-development thinking is fundamentally un-even and dichotomic. Without the anti-development pathos, the post-development perspective loses its foundation. He quotes Anisur Rahman who says 'development' to be a very powerful means of expressing the concept of social progress as the flowering of people's creativity. Some

of the claims of post-development are simply misleading and misrepresent the history of development. Dichotomic thinking, pro- and anti-development, underrates the dialectics and the complexity of motives and motions in modernity and development. Post-development's take on real existing development is quite narrow without providing any case studies from Africa, Latin America or Asia. Thus, critical theory and its negation of the negation, though pessimistic in outlook, has served as a point of reference and inspiration, for instance to the social movements of the 1960s. But the imaginary of power that inspires post-development leaves little room for forward politics. The quasi-revolutionary posturing in post-development reflects both hunger for a new era and a nostalgia politics of romanticism, a glorification of the local, grassroots, a community with conservative overtones. Post-development is caught in a rhetorical gridlock. Using discourse analysis as an ideological platform invites political impasse and quietism. In the end, post-development offers no politics besides the self-organizing capacity of the poor, which lets the development responsibility of states and international institutions off the hook. Post-development is based on a paradox. Though it is clearly part of the broad critical stream in development, it shows no regard for the progressive potential and dialectics of modernity - for democratization, soft power technologies, reflexivity. The problem is not the critiques, which one can easily enough sympathize with and which are not specific to post-development, but the companion rhetoric (Pieterse, 2010: 118-123).

Most of the time the post-developmental theories have been criticised for not providing any solution to the problem they raise. After globalization, global problems should be solved at the global level, critics doubt if a global problem will be solved locally as advocated by the post-developmentalists. Jan Nederveen Pieterse alleges that post-development having a kind affinity for neoliberalism. Both approaches reject state intervention and agree on state failure. They advocate for civil society to take up social responsibilities.

8.6 SUMMING UP

In this unit, we have learnt that for post-development theorists, development as a concept, idea and practice is very deeply problematic. They argue that the failure of development is inevitable and we should also be scared of the success of the development. As the success of development may bring many disasters as a consequence. Development is promised which is based on the very unstable ground. The post-development ideologues envision a society with equity, participation, without the interference of science, the West and the modernity. Local indigenous and traditional knowledge is given importance in post-developmental thinking. It promotes the local grassroots level democracy, participation and resistance to all alien politics. Post-development theory takes ideas from vernacular societies, the informal and unorganized sectors. It promotes a lifestyle with frugality and gives importance to ecology and the environment. They argue against the market economy and value human essence. They are against the idea where everything becomes a commodity in the capitalist society.

8.7 QUESTIONS

1. What is post-development thinking?
2. Critically examine post-development theory.
3. Discuss Escobar's critique of development.

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UNIT 9: GRASSROOTS LEVEL MOVEMENTS IN DEVELOPMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous units, we have learnt the meaning, practice and perspectives of development. But in the grand narratives of development, the grassroots narrative remains invisible or unspoken. In this unit, we will discuss the grassroots level initiative and grassroots level movements especially in the sphere of development. The history, origin and use of the word grassroots is not very clear. But it became very popular in the 1960s. It has generally two kinds of usage. One is in the development field and another in the field of movement. Mostly it is seen that the grassroots level movement is targeted against the mainstream development where the need and interests of the local population are not taken into consideration.

9.2 OBJECTIVES

By the end of the unit, you will be able to:

- Explain what is meant by grassroots movements;
- Analyse the changes in the nature of grassroots movements over time;
- Discuss the working of grassroots movements;
- Analyse the challenges from grassroots.

9.3 GRASSROOTS MOVEMENTS: MEANING

A grassroots movement is generally understood in the local terms. It is based in a local region or located in specific communities on the basis of some social, political, cultural or economic issues. Grassroots level movements use collective mobilization and action from the local level to address various problem and issues. Later the impact local and regional level, move towards the national or international level.

Grassroots movements are based on the bottom-up approach against the top-down decision making approached of centralized governance. In India, the PRIs may be considered as a form of grassroots organization. Grassroots organization and movements are based on the individual and collective commitments, responsibilities to a particular cause. It encourages the members of the community to take up responsibility and contribute to the development of society. Various kinds of grassroots level movements differ in their nature and characteristics. They employ a different strategy to mobilize manpower and funds to run the movement and organization. Grassroots movements and politics are different from the movement of any particular political party. Grassroots movement and organizations are inclusive in nature and the fight for the common good and their thinking is progressive.

In common parlance, grassroots activities are combined with participatory democracy. These two concepts are not the same.

Participatory democracy is a form of governance where citizens generally work with the government whereas grassroots movements are based on some issues which are concerned to the local communities.

Usually, the grassroots movements mobilize to build strength at the local level. They use various strategies to empower the local communities. Grassroots organization work according to the goal and aim. Sometimes they generate resources in kind and sometimes in cash. They also work to raise awareness and consciousness for community development in the field of health, sanitation, and livelihood. They focus more on the participatory approach and try to involve all sections of the society in their activities. Various grassroots level organization these days use social media for all kinds of political and social activism and mobilization. Leaders and activists take the help of Instagram, Facebook, Twitter and other apps to organize events and keep the members informed about their plan of action.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What is grassroots movement?

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2. What is the difference between grassroots movement and participatory democracy?

9.4 TRANSNATIONAL GRASSROOTS MOVEMENTS

Transnational grassroots movements manifest an important force for democratizing global society's structure, agendas and strategies. Thereby, four propositions can be put forward in regard to the implications of transnational grassroots movements for discussions about global civil society.

Firstly, due to globalisation and the emergence of a 'global' citizen, the understanding of 'grassroots' has changed which led to change in the characterization of 'grassroots movements'. Earlier, the concept of 'grassroots' referred to the basic building blocks of society. It was usually applied to rural, village-level communities rather than to urban ones. But today, 'grassroots' means one thing in a national or local context, and quite another in the context of global activism. This change in the meaning of grassroots as well as grassroots movements, in turn, creates conceptual and analytical problems in attempts to understand grassroots movements at the transnational level. Thus, grassroots and non-grassroots should be differentiated in terms of the degree of vulnerability to global policy and economic shifts. In other words, grassroots can be a relative rather than static term, but should always refer to those who are most severely affected in terms of the material condition of their daily lives.

Secondly, the broadening of the term grassroots and grassroots movements have disguised the very real differences in power, resources, visibility, access, structure, ideology, and strategies between movements of directly affected peoples and those of their spokespeople. These imbalances have a direct bearing on who can effectively access advocacy opportunities or participation spaces for civil society at the international public policy level.

Thirdly, there is a need to advance and sharpen theory and analysis of social movements. Definitions and theories of social movements should be rebuilt to address not only transnational movements but of cross-

border grassroots movements. The term 'movement' has become so up-to-date and loosely used in current discourse as to become almost devoid of meaning. So, before addressing the question of grassroots movements and their role in public policy, there is a need to revisit definition of movements and be clear about what is and is not a movement.

Fourthly, grassroots movements are emerging as global movements and forming structures to sustain their movements. They are challenging the rights of non-grassroots organizations to lead and represent them, especially in the public policy arena at both national and international levels. There are a growing number of grassroots, direct-stakeholder, as well as identity-based associations that have emerged as global entities - home-based workers, child workers, self-employed women, small and marginal farmers, slum dwellers, grassroots women, indigenous people, Dalits. These movements are inventing new kinds of partnerships with state and private sector actors to sharpen their engagement with public policy processes at both national and transnational levels.

Transnational grassroots movements are an emerging force in the global arena. They are breaking the stereotype that grassroots movements are locally or domestically focused, or concerned only with building local alliances that strengthen their membership and agenda. They demonstrate the capacity to have visions, agendas, and identities that are transnational and even global in every sense (Batliwala, 2002).

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. How has globalisation brought in changes in the understanding of grassroots movements?

9.5 GRASSROOTS ORGANISATIONS

Paul Ekins, in his book, *A New World Order Grassroots Movements for Global Change*, analyses different grassroots organizations and some of them are discussed in this unit in the following manner:

CEFEMINA - In 1981, CEFEMINA (the Feminist Centre for Information and Action) was founded in Costa Rica. It is a private non-profit organization dedicated to public service. Their work is oriented towards improving the overall well-being of women, beginning with the problems of daily life. CEFEMINA is active in different areas including - housing, healthy living, women's protection, women and justice, women and environment and also the publication of a magazine *Mujer*. They are also coordinating a major project with International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) on 'Women and Sustainable Development in Central America' which seeks to link a number of women's groups in all countries of Central America, focusing on a wide range of issues including health and environment. It is mainly with these groups that the programme work.

Survival International, a worldwide movement to support tribal peoples, was founded in 1969. It stands for their right to decide their own future and helps them protect their lands, environment and way of life. Survival has laid great emphasis on giving people the space to speak and be heard internationally. As a result, indigenous peoples are increasingly articulating message for themselves and speaking out in their own defence.

Working Women's Forum (WWF) was started in India with 800 members in 1978 by Ms Jaya Arunachalam. WWF was founded as a

grassroots union of poor women workers in the informal sector. WWF first acted as an intermediary between its members and a government loan scheme, administered through the nationalized banks, but later to set up its own Working Women's Cooperative Societies (WWCS) to issue its own credit. Only working poor women who almost invariably suffer from the combined oppression of marginal work status, class, caste, gender, physical weakness and isolation can become members of WWF. It is an amazing success for such women to have organized themselves in large numbers effectively to combat this oppression and materially improve their quality of life.

Grameen Bank (Bangladesh) - The Grameen Bank was started in 1976 by Muhammad Yunus, an economics professor at Chittagong University, who wanted to prove, contrary to conventional banking wisdom, that the poor were an eminently bankable social group and that consequently the almost universal demand of banks for collateral, which the poor couldn't provide, was both unjust and bad banking. Grameen specifically targets the landless poor and especially the women among these: about 90 per cent of its borrowers are female.

Green Belt Movement (Kenya) - The Green Belt Movement is an environmental organization founded by Professor Wangari Maathai in Kenya. Its first trees were planted on 5 June 1977 (World Environment Day). Through the planting of Green Belts, the Movement seeks to achieve many different objectives including: avoiding desertification; promoting the ideas and creating public awareness of environment and development; providing fuelwood for energy; promoting variety of trees for human and animal use; encouraging soil conservation and land rehabilitation; creating jobs in the rural areas especially for the handicapped and rural poor; creating self-employment opportunities for young people in agriculture; giving women the positive image appropriate to their leading role in development processes; promoting sound nutrition based on traditional foodstuffs; carrying out research in

conjunction with academic institutions; developing replicable methodology for rural development.

José Lutzenberger - José Lutzenberger is a Brazilian environmentalist, agronomist and engineer who worked for the chemical company BASF, but left in 1972 to start a vigorous and successful campaign against the over-use of agro-chemicals. In the ten years after 1978, the use of such chemicals in his home state of Rio Grande del Sul had fallen by more than 70 per cent, which largely reflects his tireless work with local farmers and their associations on 'regenerative agriculture'. In 1987 Lutzenberger founded a group called Gaia, which focused on global issues, and a year later he won the Right Livelihood Award in recognition of his work (Ekins, Paul 2005).

Stop and Read

BASF is a German chemical company. It is the largest chemical producer in the world. BASF stands for *Badische Anilin und Soda Fabrik* (German) which means Baden Aniline and Soda Factory.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What is CEFEMINA?

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2. Who started the Grameen Bank and when?

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3. What is Green Belt Movement?

9.6 PROBLEMATIC DEVELOPMENT AND CHALLENGES FROM THE GRASSROOTS

Micro Finance and the Poverty Alleviation Programme:

Most development intervention of people at the grassroots is poverty alleviation focused. Microfinance, which generally refers to the provision of financial and non-financial services to the poor on a sustainable basis, has since been recognized as the main vehicle for poverty alleviation at the grassroots. This recognition has received global attention as echoed by the UN General Assembly. Evidence shows the overwhelming role of microfinance in poverty alleviation, improvement in the standard of living of the poor, financial inclusion and the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. The primary objective is to improve the quality of life for the poor and disadvantaged. Regardless of the red flag and cautions raised about the efficacy of microfinance, it has been proven to be an effective tool in poverty reduction with potentials for raising the standard of living of the poor and the vulnerable. Since poverty reduction is rooted in grassroots development, the positive impact of microfinance cannot be opposed. In 1994, the Inter-American Foundation developed the Grassroots Development Framework (GDF) to evaluate the impact of its own projects. The Framework looked at three broad areas in impact assessment namely: direct benefits, strengthening organizations and broader impact. It considers both tangible and intangible results from these areas which are defined to be individual families, organizations and society respectively.

The Projection of Grassroots Movements into Political Society:

In a political society where there is competition for control over public power and the state apparatus, it is not clear how grassroots movements can enter and adapt to this society regardless of the obvious need to reconstitute it. Though grassroots organizations multiply and change during democratic transition, the rules of representation are often unknown, and vary according to locality and region. However, grassroots movements cannot escape the pressures of biased politics in a more open political society where parties compete for their support to increase their bargaining power. Political parties seek to secure power through representation, while the grassroots movements continue to press for material benefits through direct participation which often results in conflict between movements and parties, and internal division at the grassroots. The absence of formal representation in the state at the time of the democratic transitions have in turn led to a declining in grassroots movements. The significant political and institutional continuities meant that the grassroots movements had no realistic hope of defining the political agenda. Without recourse to the language of rights, their objectives lost focus, and their political energy began to dissipate.

The grassroots movements also declined in terms of economics. The transitions took place in conditions of economic crisis, and the adverse effect on the grassroots was reinforced by the austerity programmes promoted by the International Monetary Fund and foreign banks. The neoliberal solution for the economic problem corresponded to a conception of civil society as a market economy of disintegrating individuals, and not as a social arena of collective interests.

Despite the decline in the grassroots movements, in the case of Latin American countries, the rise of NGOs have led to the most significant development in grassroots political activity. They were initially funded by international agencies or foreign governments but soon began to seek

funding for advisory or managerial work. It was the funding by foundations, foreign aid programmes and international NGOs in the United States and Europe that led to the rapid growth of Latin American NGOs. Some NGOs are now large and independent while others are smaller and specialized, possibly dependent on the funding of just one or two international agencies. Research done by the Inter-American Foundation shows that international donors have focused largely on three programmatic areas: the environment, children at risk and micro enterprises.

The process of institutionalizing grassroots movements is not new, but it accelerates. Tensions between leaders and base, elite and mass, and professionals and volunteers, tend to be resolved through more organisation and consequently less mobilization. And as the grassroots become more organized and more visible in the form of NGOs, the question of financial survival becomes primary. The NGOs grew and in many cases responded to a new international funding context from wealthy countries, which included the rapid growth of transnational linkages among grassroots movements and NGOs. However, the relationship between grassroots organisations and the state in the new democracies is characterized by both clientelism and clientization. This means that they will gradually influence and shape social policy. Regardless of the constraints, the role of the grassroots organization is still important to be supported and expanded by international funding agencies (Foweraker, 2001).

9.7 SIGNALS FROM THE GRASSROOTS

The way the elites (i.e. planners, development automaniacs and politicians) are presenting their case gives the ignorant public a misleading impression of how the world's impoverished are living their deprivations. Not only are they presented as incapable of doing anything intelligent by themselves, but also as preventing the modern benefactors

from helping them. Nonetheless, over the past few decades, promising signals have been received from the grassroots indicating remarkable vitality in many areas. Interesting and original grassroots movements are now emerging not only in Asia and Latin America but also in Africa. However, these movements vary greatly in their size as well as in their approaches. They are generally localised and rather small in number, yet their size is growing in importance. Some of the significances and messages of these grassroots movements are - indigenous responses, surfing over the threats, vernacular universes.

Indigenous responses - Most of the present grassroots movements represent people's rejection of the past development discourse and its practices that had manipulated and bullied the 'target populations'. The victims now want their poverty or riches to be defined by themselves, and to deal with that, free from unwanted pressures. Most grassroots movements are now aware of the dangers of sectarian ideologies. The lessons of the past prompt them, more than ever, to rely on their own creative wisdom and cultures in responding to their reality.

Surfing over the threats - Many grassroots movements rejected the old-established notions of power; this indicates their growing distance towards established ideologies. These movements have not only learned much from their own experiences, but from all the other revolutions. As the pattern of grassroots movements leads them to understand better the dynamics of violence and power, they seem to discover continuously new and more artful ways of looking at the world and themselves. In order to preserve their culture from the passing waves of modernity, the new grassroots are adding the art of surfing over and inside the waves to refine their traditional and vernacular ways.

Vernacular universes - Grassroots movements also differ from the elites in their approach to the macro-dimensions of change as in the case of power. They usually resent the man-made macro-world to which they are asked to conform to. They feel that they find refuge in their own

vernacular or religious universes which give them hope and strength. For the communities at the grassroots level, what really matters is the living 'nose' of the people directly concerned for what is appropriate and sensible to do (Rahnema, 2010).

9.8 GRASSROOTS INNOVATION MOVEMENT

Throughout the history of social movements for both environmentalism and development, the values of social justice and environmentally sustainable developments persisted as an undercurrent. Investments have been made in sectors as diverse as water and sanitation, housing and habitats, food and agriculture, energy, health, education, communications, etc. Grassroots innovation policy shift focus on the emerging techno-economic frontier, typically based in information technology, biotechnology and nanotechnology, nurturing partnerships between firms and science and technology institutes to boost competitiveness and economic growth. In contrast, there is increasing attention around questions of local development, local actors and different forms of knowledge, including community-based and indigenous knowledge, in the process of innovation. Grassroots innovation is hard work; participation requires patience and stamina, and practical dilemmas challenge cherished values, as do structural disadvantages presented by prevailing political economies and institutions.

The global consultation process of the World Commission on Environment and Development in the mid-1980s brought together some of the issues at stake in sustainable developments, and reported a definition in 1987:

"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;
- the idea of limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organization on the environment's ability to meet present and future needs. (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987: 43)

There is much to debate in this definition. Any application of these principles has to deal with questions of development purposes, directions of innovation and issues of social justice. The pathways to sustainable developments need to be plural.

In studying grassroots innovation movements, it is interesting to know how groups and networks address questions of development, how they seek to express their values in their innovation activities and what shapes the pathways they build through that activity. It is a matter for analysis to understand how grassroots innovation movements provide a source of reflexivity in society.

Frameworks and programmes are developed, commitments are made and funds are released for grassroots innovation, as evident most recently in the Sustainable Development Goals launched in September 2015. However, grassroots pathways will inevitably have their own drawbacks and shortcomings, but they nevertheless open up debate and ideas about innovation for sustainable developments. Under this view, grassroots innovation arises from the ingenuity and capability within local communities, or even of individual informal inventors which shows that it is a purely indigenous phenomenon.

Research project on grassroots innovation was undertaken through a project called "Grassroots Innovation: Historical and Comparative Perspectives" from 2012 to 2015 which aimed to contribute to the understanding, debate and appreciation of grassroots innovation movements. The following questions were asked for each case study movements: Why did this grassroots innovation movement emerge?

How did activists mobilize support and activities in grassroots innovation? What dilemmas confronted the movement when constructing alternative pathways, and how did it negotiate those dilemmas?

The movements studied by this research were:

- The movement for socially useful production (the UK, 1976 - 1986) - emerged in the context of economic decline and loss of manufacturing jobs in industrial communities in the UK.

- The Appropriate Technology Movement (South America, the 1970s and 1980s) - becomes a worldwide grassroots innovation movement that sought to redefine technology as a tool for development.

- The People's Science Movement (India, the 1960s to present) - emerged from various popular science movements which encompass a range of grassroots networks, organizations and associations.

- Hackerspaces, FabLabs and Makerspaces (international, 2000s to present) - involved a range of participants, from academics to activists, unions, government representatives, funding agencies and, especially, NGOs and community groups.

- The Social Technology Network (Brazil, the 2000s to 2012) - involved a range of participants, from academics to activists, unions, government representatives, funding agencies and, especially, NGOs and community groups.

- The Honey Bee Network (India, the 1990s to present) - emerged in India among a group of scientists, farmers, academics and others interested in documenting and disseminating traditional knowledge and local innovation in local languages.

A second step is related to the exploration of the commercial potential of products and processes identified during the investigation. In all cases, movements whose networks were dedicated to promoting grassroots innovation generally were selected, rather than movements doing innovative things as part of mobilizations in particular sectors or on specific topics. Another choice was choosing diverse cases, in terms of the approaches adopted. Different cases were selected in order to recognize the particularities involved: how grassroots innovation looks different for these varied movements, and the development challenges they confront. Making the most of grassroots innovation requires concerted political pressure on those with power over conventional innovation agendas. The aim is transformative innovation, simultaneously restructuring the conditions, supports and forms of innovation in societies (Smith et.al, 2017).

9.9 SUMMING UP

- Grassroots level movements use collective mobilisation and action from the local level to address various problem and issues.
- Due to globalisation, the understanding of 'grassroots' has changed which led to change in the characterization of 'grassroots movements'.
- Transnational grassroots movements are an emerging force in the global arena.
- Most development intervention of people at the grassroots is poverty alleviation focused.
- Grassroots movements gradually influence and shape social policy.
- Some of the significances of these grassroots movements are - indigenous responses, surfing over the threats, and vernacular universes.

9.10 QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by grassroots level movement? Discuss it with suitable examples.

2. Define the role of grassroots level movements in the process of development.

3. Analyse the changing meaning of grassroots level movements in the context of globalisation.

4. Critically evaluate the pros and cons of grassroots level movements.

9.11 RECOMMENDED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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MODULE IV: CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN DEVELOPMENT

UNIT 10: POLITICS OF DEVELOPMENT: KNOWLEDGE AND POWER IN DEVELOPMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Introduction

10.2 Objectives

10.3 Knowledge and Power in Sociology

10.4 Knowledge and Power in Development

10.5 Development, Practices and Visibility

10.6 Summing Up

10.7 Questions

10.8 Recommended Readings and References

10.1 INTRODUCTION

In Module IV, which comprises of five units in total, we are going to learn about the contemporary issues in development. This module begins with Unit 10 which is about politics of development which focuses on knowledge and power in development. In sociology, the concept of power and knowledge has been dealt comprehensively in various sub-disciplines. There is, however, a specific sub-discipline designated to contemplate and develop a perspective on knowledge and its production. This is popularly known as sociology of knowledge. We will, therefore, begin the unit with the concept of knowledge and power in sociology.

10.2 OBJECTIVES

By the end of the unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the concept of knowledge and power in sociology;
- Discuss the significance of knowledge and power in the concept of development;
- Analyse how knowledge and power draw a similarity between social control and development hegemony.

10.3 KNOWLEDGE AND POWER IN SOCIOLOGY

The sub-discipline, sociology of knowledge, emerged around the beginning of the twentieth century. Emile Durkheim is considered to be the founding father of this discipline but much of its growth is attributed to Max Scheler and Karl Mannheim. This branch of sociology tries to understand the social context in which the ideas and knowledge are generated. It also looks at the socio-cultural dimension of human knowledge and how it is shaped through the socialization process. Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann tried to bring in the sub-discipline of the sociology of knowledge through their work on *The Social Construction of Reality*. It compels us to think that knowledge is also socially constructed and it may not have the objective or rational base as many a time claimed by science and its allied disciplines.

Though it is difficult to term Michel Foucault as a sociologist, his contributions to the domain of power and knowledge are enormous. Most of the contemporary sociologists and anthropologists who work in the area of development studies are influenced by him. Most of the post-developmentalists who are a strong critique of the development knowledge which comes as power, use Foucault's conception of power and knowledge. In his work *Madness and Civilization*, Foucault problematizes the perception of madness which comes from the so-called reason or scientific knowledge. Again, in his book titled *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, Foucault argues that the medical gaze practised in presence of medical professionals in the medical training centres is a form of power. It is difficult to question the experts as they are the producers of knowledge and hence, they bear power.

The relationship between knowledge and power has been extensively discussed by Foucault in his work *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*, Foucault tries to show that knowledge is a form of power, it can

be used against someone against her/his will. If we go by his argument then it may be said that knowledge is socially produced and constructed within a context. He also emphasizes that discourse is created by the knowledge which guides people in their everyday life. It forms a specific mode of governance to control the people.

Here we can draw a similarity between social control and development hegemony. The Western notion and knowledge of development also control the people of the underdeveloped world. Social control is done through various kinds of social institutions like school, colleges, family, religious organization and so on. The ideas and knowledge of the ruling class are reinforced through various kinds of social institutions. Foucault also develops the concept of governmentality through which he argues that power is used to govern people in an invisible manner. People's conduct is regulated through non-coercive technique without using sovereign power. Governmentality is not the disciplinarian form of power, rather it is a kind of willing participation of the subject in the governance affairs.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS
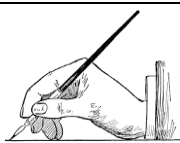
1. What does sociology of knowledge deal with?

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2. Who wrote *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*?

10.4 KNOWLEDGE AND POWER IN DEVELOPMENT

For the purpose of discussion in comprehending how power and knowledge function in reinforcing hierarchy, it is pertinent to discuss in the context of post-development scenario. Post-development theories and theorists maintain dissatisfaction with the concept and the functioning of 'development' and calls for alternatives that help individuals realise and enhance their capacity in realising their goals. However, the idea of moving beyond 'development' is often seen as radical and unrealistic by the critiques of post-development theorists in contrast to the ideation of 'development' in the imaginary of progress that has fulfilled the political goals and economic pursuits of the North (Andreasson, 2010).

Development which is basically understood as the ideas and practices that engineered structural change discursively in the Third World countries, establishing the belief that some areas are 'developed' and that others are not so developed, needs to be abandoned (Matthews, 2004). Intervention in the form of development policies that have occurred preceding World War II including feasibility studies, expert teams, World Bank policies, etc. have aggravated problematization of poverty (Escobar,1995). Post-development theory is a postmodern critique of modernity. Foucault has been a fundamental influence in post-development theory. The following section discusses the theoretical underpinnings of post-development theory using Foucauldian concepts.

The inception of development as a process was embedded in a linear mode of thinking about the world, a particular form of knowledge which is not necessarily the social reality but a construct that hinders all other forms of alternatives to this particular mode of thinking or belief. In other words, this closure is power (Kippler, 2010). This development strategy brings into orbit the Third World countries and devalues their vernacular ways of being as they come in contact with the Western idea of

development. Escobar has undertaken Foucault's concept of knowledge and power to dismantle the development discourse of the West and critically analyse the disciplinary mechanisms that have been extended to the Third World and production of discourses in the West is a means of effective control over these mechanisms (Munck, 1999). The creation of the term 'underdevelopment' was contingent on the 'othering' of countries in stark contrast to the developed West. In order to discipline this 'othering', development discourse provided the perspective in establishing what the norm is and what deviance is (Munck, 1999). This discourse was institutionalised across international organisations from the IMF, World Bank to national planning agencies to local government to community organisations and NGOs which constituted the apparatus in the production of knowledge which subsequently employed varying means of power (Kippler, 2010). This professionalisation of knowledge, its production and dissemination lead to intricate changes in the relations among these institutions and practices. This systemisation dictates the objects, concepts and theories that need to be subsumed within this discourse (Escobar,1995). Consequently, poverty, insufficient technology and capital, exponential population growth, inadequate public policies and agricultural practices were brought within the ambit of the 'gaze' of the experts. It endlessly reinforces the boundary between the reformers and those that are in dire need of reformation relying on the premise that the Third World is inferior, behind in relation to the accomplished West, the standards to which Third World countries need to aspire (Escobar,1995).

The idea of progress is regarded as the plank on which the paradigm of development rides. However, many post-development thinkers have used the Foucauldian concept of 'genealogy' to criticise the idea of development. Foucault's concept of power can unearth historically specific patterns of the norm - systems of social practices that reproduced a distinctive set of relations, i.e. subjects and objects. Genealogy is a kind of historiography that can unearth the emergence and disappearance of

such systems of practice and their functions (Kippler, 2010). Shanin (1997) explains the genealogy of power precedes the modern idea of progress. The Enlightenment project in the 16th and 17th centuries was based on the premise of science and reason that would surge societal advancement. At the crux of this 'advancement' is the natural inclination of societies to mobilise from a society of poverty, barbarism, despotism and ignorance to civilisation, democracy and rationality. This requires social planning that is evident in the objective patterns of history. The most concrete representation of the ideology of progress has been the modern state as it is the legitimate structure with authority to exercise rationality and mobilise people so as to achieve societal advancement (Shanin,1997).

From the above discussion, we can draw the conclusion that the idea of progress is not contained within the inception of modern states alone, but have been a characteristic of societies since the Enlightenment period. What we need to comprehend is 'progress' that was embedded in science and reason created an 'other' who can be uplifted from their shackles of suffering at the behest of the 'developed'. This binary provided the space where knowledge of the latter and their intervention was seen as a pre-requisite for the former to strive for 'progress'. Further this 'other' also needs to be contained within the ambit of social planning. This hegemony of planning silences the interests, aspirations and needs of the poor countries. This is discussed in an elaborate manner in the following discussion.

The fundamental problem that comes to be associated with underdevelopment is poverty. When poverty is extreme or chronic, it leads to hunger. The obvious panacea to this problem would be ensuring supply of food materials to the needy on a sustained basis. Worldwide hunger have been a symbolic complication since prehistoric times and food riots in Latin America in the 1980s and early 1990s, has been a strong social and political force. Henceforth, hunger is seen as a taboo to

civilizations causing misfortunes. This scenario changed after World War II when hunger came to be analysed through the lens of scientific knowledge. Attempt to understand the obscurity of hunger through scientific knowledge began through an array of scientists- nutritionists, health experts, agriculturalists, and planners studying every single aspect of hunger. Nutrition in terms of calorie intake, insufficient consumption of food, lack of nutrition, education and sanitation and insufficient agricultural production was taken into account. This also included reforms in land, rural development, and comprehensive national food and nutrition planning and the Green Revolution (Escobar, 1995).

Experts were called to act on behalf of the hungry and malnourished people of the Third World. In media too, magazines covers had glaring images of the 'malnourished body' of African people. Advertisements asking to adopt a Latin American child for a few dollars a month was nothing but a blunt display of the power of the developed countries over the Third World. Such scientific representations were extreme when 'overpopulation' began to be equated with hunger; this human life becomes a grotesque image of helpless and formless (black) people for Western science and media countable and contained by expert knowledge of nutritionists and demographers. What we notice here is the language which in order to alleviate hunger, crystallises into a new form of social order that serves as symbolic violence on the malnourished and hungry masses (Escobar,1995).

These interventionist programmes are pronounced more problematic when rather than targeting its goal of alleviating impediments to development, contribute further to aggravate the same. As for instance, Susan George (1986) in her study, "More Food, More Hunger" captured this paradoxical situation. Many countries that were self-sufficient in food production prior to World War II, became exporters of food grains to developed countries simultaneously also turning into net importers of cheap grains during the development phase. This was directly

proportional to the augmentation of hunger as the production of agricultural products that was supposed to feed its own masses shrunk while making way for the production of cash crops for the world market as they competed with giant merchants of food grains. People of the Third World especially the cities, became dependent on food products that their countries did not produce (George, 1986).

We can comprehend from the above discussion how power is played out to create subjects and how knowledge that is produced within the apparatus of expert knowledge is used to justify that power. Intervention programmes by the so-called 'developed countries' was opportune as it provided them reign over the regulation of the economic and daily lives of the people in the Third World.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS
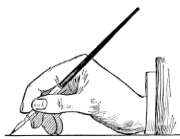
1. How do the post-development thinkers use the Foucauldian concept of 'genealogy' to criticise the idea of development?

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2. How do the intervention programmes aimed at development by the developed countries act as an apparatus to control the lives of the people of the Third World?

10.5 DEVELOPMENT, PRACTICES AND VISIBILITY

This section deals with how the discursive ideology of development gets dispersed through the field of practices. As discussed above, the apparatus that produces knowledge constitutes planners, nutritionists, demographers which can be clubbed as the lending agencies working through the national government and identifying beneficiaries - poor peasants, hungry masses and marginal urban dwellers. Earmarked for the attainment of development goals, this apparatus formalises certain patterns of relations, the division of labour and cultural forms. The daily practices of these institutions are not only rational or neutral. They produce a hierarchy of power, which emanates from these practices within the institutions which may otherwise remain invisible as they are overtly considered to be rational. Arturo Escobar initiates institutional ethnography to unveil and understand these rational practices. His focus was concentrated on the Integrated Rural Development strategy in the early 1970s which was implemented in Colombia from mid-1970s to early 1990s with the cooperation of the World Bank and other international agencies (Escobar, 1995).

The construction of the peasantry class was at the heart of the discourses of hunger and rural development schemes as a persistent client category which needs to be eradicated as the order of things. Peasants as 'small farmers', 'landless farmers', 'malnourished', 'lactating mothers' were created and distributed socially in relations that cater to the modern capitalist relations. Escobar's focus was in the anthropological analysis of this apparatus that was doing the 'developing'. The peasant as a category in the Third World was a social construct in the following line of analysis. The relation between the client (peasants) and patrons (experts) are created on the basis of bureaucratic texts and mechanisms within it prior to their interaction. The apparatus through its schemata and structuring procedures present the suffering and helplessness of the peasants without any interaction as 'facts'. However, these routine

practices are invisible exterior to the apparatus for the operation to be successful (Escobar,1995).

Canadian feminist sociologist, Dorothy Smith has pioneered studying institutions from this perspective (Smith, 1984). She maintained that institutions have a tendency to describe reality within categories which are provided by their internal schemata. As a result, 'facts' are known and analysed in terms of these categories which hinders what the institution knows and describes. This practice of analysing social reality with the help of readymade categories creates an entity that is objective, external and independent of the peasant. Since decisions are taken by centralised institutions that are headed by people belonging to the ruling party, we expect exertion of power over such social constructs that need emancipation. Our knowledge is thus, ideological in the sense that this social institution preserves conceptions and means of a description of the world rather than the way they rule; rather than who is being ruled (Smith, 1974). Instead of being an institution of rational knowledge it rather emulsifies itself in objectifying knowledge so as to create social consciousness that is a function of these institutions or apparatus and obstructs the possibility of the individuals to understand their problems (Escobar,1995).

Another characteristic of the institutions is labelling. In the sense, the categories they use to define the masses like 'landless peasants', 'marginal peasants', and 'lactating mothers' are essential for the functioning of the institutions dealing with the problems of the Third World. However, labels are not neutral. They carry debased relations of power within which they think and act accordingly. Talking of the rationale of the label, Geof Wood, maintains that labelling provides the parameters for thought and action, which render environments stable and which establishes spheres of competence and responsibility. This way labels create a social structure. So what is problematised by Wood is not

what labels are created but *which* labels are created and *whose* labels are preferred to introduce a policy and within what effects? (Wood,1985)

The process of labelling determines the distribution of resources such that people have to adjust accordingly to be malleable with the programmes of the institutions. As a result, in the name of development or progress, the whole identity of the people are reduced to traits like who has access to land, who can or cannot read and write and they are reduced to individual 'cases'. Escobar opines that the functioning of institutions in creating 'categories' goes unnoticed. They systematically reduce rural poverty into a number of 'cases' that do not correlate to the structural determinants of the problem, the shared experiences of the people. Such explanations are concluded away from the poor and the characteristics that are internal to them (access to education, land) are objectified and made isolated which is then put to technological fixes. This kind of professional monopoly makes abstraction away from social reality or practice exemplifies the interests of the ruling classes.

Henceforth, it is crucial to unveil the documenting practices of these institutions and organisations, wherein cases like hunger, local situations are subsumed under expert knowledge of agricultural economists, nutritionists, planners, demographers while excluding the real-life experiences of the peasants from where their suffering emerges. These accounts need to be comprehended to understand the intensity of the struggle and oppression of the peasants and their view of looking at problems and life; rather than just clubbing them away in boxes of categories. Hunger, thus, through its discourse of development is targeted, made visible by grandiose programmes that through their very appearance provide an illusion of progress and change (Escobar, 1995).

10.6 SUMMING UP

➢ According to Foucault, knowledge is a form of power and it is socially constructed.

- Development as a process was embedded in a linear mode of thinking about the world which is a particular form of knowledge.
- This knowledge is socially constructed and is not necessarily the social reality.
- Development discourse of the West is criticised for devaluing the vernacular knowledge systems of the Third World.
- Interventions programmes by the developed countries serve as a mechanism to exercise control and power over the people in the Third World.
- This power is justified by knowledge produced under the label of 'expert knowledge' or 'scientific knowledge'.

10.7 QUESTIONS

1. Explain the role of power and knowledge in development discourse.
2. Discuss the relationship between modern knowledge, rationality and development.
3. Explain Foucault's notion of power and knowledge and its role in dictating development.
4. Write an essay on local knowledge as a challenge to Western knowledge and construction of development.

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UNIT 11: CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN DEVELOPMENT: GLOBALISATION

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, we will cover another important contemporary issue in development, i.e. globalisation. You must be already familiar with the meaning of globalisation and its implications and significance in contemporary times. In the context of development, an important question that arises is, does globalisation promote development in the real sense of the term? It is also important to explore whether globalisation has actually helped in the development of the Third World or whether it has led to their marginalisation in the international markets. This unit will first explain the meaning of globalisation and then it will proceed to look at various aspects linked to globalisation in the sphere of development.

11.2 OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain globalisation and the factors responsible for it;
- Analyse its entry in development discourse;
- Assess the positive and negative outcomes of globalisation.

11.3 DEFINING GLOBALISATION

The term globalisation is mostly used to describe a variety of economic, cultural, social, and political changes that have occurred and shaped the world over the past fifty years partly due to the revolution in information technology and the declining of national and geopolitical boundaries. It has led to the enormous expansion in the transnational movement of goods, services, and capital. The increasing uniformity in consumer tastes, the expansion of corporate power, sharp increases in wealth and poverty and the prevalence of liberal democratic ideas are all attributed to globalisation. It is certainly one of the most contested topics in the social sciences, possibly because it is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon. Due to this, it has been accorded multiple definitions and a wide range of powers and effects are ascribed to it (Guttal, 2007).

Therefore, there is no one single definition of globalisation. However, despite the diversity in defining globalisation, the majority agree that the basic premises on which globalisation depends are the increasing interconnectedness of different parts of the world. Moreover, the interconnections have intensified to such an extent that the physical distance between nations is less of a barrier for exchanging and movements of ideas, goods, people and money (Dicken, 2003). There are different metaphors that are often used to describe globalisation. For instance, the idea of a 'shrinking world', while others refer to 'time-space compression' (Allen, 1995).

According to Pieterse (2009), globalisation can be understood by seeing it as a prism on which important disputes are based on matters of the collective human condition. It involves the questions of capitalism, development, ecology, gender, culture, identity, inequality, etc. It is argued that such questions are the outcomes of the process of globalisation. Moreover, globalisation is such a process that transcends the boundaries of government, trade, media, general and academic interests. At the political level, it surpasses the ideological dimensions and also engages social movements and politics at all levels. "It involves a paradigm shift from the era of the nation-state and international politics to politics of planetary scope" (Pieterse, 2009: 7).

It is widely held and argued that globalisation must be understood as something more intense than what is called internationalisation (Hettne, 2009). Internationalisation implies, according to Hettne, merely an increase in the contacts between nation-states. Globalisation, on the other hand, is a process through which there is a growth in the transnational arena. In this growing transnational arena, the nation-states have limited control. There are other actors in this arena who are asserting themselves, other than the nation-states. Globalisation also brings together and intertwines other aspects of society such as politics, culture, beliefs, etc. An example which shows that it is globalisation that we are experiencing rather than simply internationalisation is its impact on local society as well as the incorporation of local society itself into globalisation, termed as glocalization. Glocalization is the process of infusion of the local characteristics with the global ones.

1. What do you mean by globalisation?

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2. How is globalisation different from internationalisation?

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3. What is glocalization?

11.4 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR GLOBALISATION

There are innumerable factors that have contributed to the rise of globalisation. A few of these will be discussed below as argued by Sutton (2009):

- ➢ **Development of information and communication technology** - Sutton argues that the intensity of global communications has increased due to the advances in the technology and the world's telecommunication infrastructure. For instance, cable technology has become efficient, less expensive and has expanded dramatically. This has led to the expansion of international communications. The development of mobile phones also accelerated the process of globalisation. Moreover, the internet has been growing at a rapid speed and is emerging as an important communication tool.

➤ **Economic factors** - Globalisation has intensified also because of the greater integration of the world economy. As against the earlier times, the global economy is not dominated by agricultural or industrial activities only. It is now increasingly dominated by activity that is weightless and intangible (Quah, 1999). This **weightless economy's** base is in information, such as computer software, media, and internet-based services. Moreover, in order to be competitive in this age of globalisation, business corporations have restructured themselves to be more flexible and less hierarchical in nature. Another economic factor that boosts the globalisation process is the **transnational corporations**. These corporations make up the two-thirds of all world trade, play a major role in the promulgation of new technology around the globe and are the prominent actors in the international financial markets. Yet another economic factor is the **electronic economy**. Banks, corporations etc. are able to transfer money internationally with the click of a mouse. This, however, has great risks too because since the global economy has increasingly integrated, there is a possibility that a financial collapse in one part of the world might have consequences for the other distant economies.

➤ **Political factors** - In addition to the above factors, there were few changes in the political scenario of the world that intensified globalisation. The first among them was the **collapse of the Soviet-style communism**. This meant a collapse in the centrally planned characteristic of communist regimes where the communist political authority controlled the economies, ideological and cultural aspects. Another political factor that boosted globalisation was the advent of **international and regional mechanisms of government** such as the UN or European Union that brought the nation-states closer and together in a common political forum. Along with these, the third political

factor that has hastened globalisation was the development of **International Governmental Organisations (IGOs) and International Non-Governmental Organisations (INGOs)**. IGO is a body formed by participating governments, that oversees activities that are transnational in scope. INGOs are autonomous organisations that work alongside government bodies in making policies and addressing international issues.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What are IGOs and INGOs?

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2. What is the base of 'weightless economy'?

11.5 ENTRY OF THE CONCEPT OF GLOBALISATION IN DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE

Globalisation has entered into the development discourse of many governments. This is either because it is regarded as an opportunity to promote growth and alleviate poverty or because globalisation is viewed as an unavoidable reality within which nations must either be a part of it or will lose out in the search for development (Kelly, 2000). However, it is imperative to apprehend that globalisation cannot be regarded as a causal factor in development (Dicken, 2004). This is because there are certain processes within the broader concept of globalisation that can

have specific time-space contexts. Moreover, it is important to understand that the same process of globalisation can have a very different influence on diverse groups of people and in different places. As Willis (2005) argues "the potential benefits of time-space compression are not available equally to all, and for some groups, growing interactions with people and places from the other side of the world are not necessarily desirable".

11.5.1 Emergence of a New Development Discourse

The 1970s was a decade of crisis and rethinking that paved the way for a shift to a new development discourse centred on the concept of globalization in 1980. Globalism became the new paradigm that replaced the idea of development with the major focus on structural adjustment. The 1990s was a phase of numerous problems associated with market-led globalisation and thus, the policy of development became a fundamental part of the nation-building project (Hettne, 2009). The objective of the development policy was to achieve an integrated and consolidated nation-state but with certain degrees of legitimacy. However, in many developing countries, the move towards internal solidarity was, argues Hettne, discontinued and therefore, neither the investment nor the welfare fund could be maintained. As a result, these countries became increasingly militarised. The little surplus that was there was increasingly spent on security of the political elite. This marked the breakdown of the state and civil society and thus, led to disorder in society. Willis (2005) stated that this was the point where the optimistic phase of the discourse ended. The discontent multiplied that eventually led to an uproar of anti-globalism. Thus, a new world order was demanded.

11.6 THE PROMISES OF GLOBALISATION

One of the positive outcomes of the growing interdependency between nations is based upon the assumption that one global market economy

would promote affluence. Moreover, it was also perceived that since state sovereignty has reduced, it would lead to the global recognition of the interests of mankind (Lane, 2004). This would involve peace, human rights and cultural integrity. Thus, these are identified as the promises of Globalisation.

1. **Affluence and Economic Development -** Economically, globalisation entails the possibility of greater output and in turn resulting in the affluence of the population of the world. It is argued that the major factor due to which globalisation leads to higher rates of economic growth is economies of scale (Lane, 2004). Since the production is organised globally and there is an abundance of domestic economies for purposes of imports and exports, the companies can produce products in large quantities that tend to reduce the unit cost. In addition, companies have the opportunity for increased international division of labour that increases their profits. They may choose to produce different parts of a product at various sites wherever the cost of production is low and later assemble them at one place; thus gaining from economies of scale. But, as argued by Lane, in order to maintain such a system of global production to work, it is important to have certain institutions that would keep a check in the tariffs and other obstacles to trade and would ensure the validity of contracts. This can be fulfilled by the act of governance. This is required because the global market economy does not take into account national borders in terms of both the financial and real economy. Due to technological advancements, the production and financial systems of the nations have become fully incorporated into the world economy and thus operates continuously throughout day and night with greater speed. The global economic system which is responsible for the flow of enormous amounts of money at high speed definitely is in need of the institutionalisation of governance (Lane, 2004).

The **crime economy,** according to Lane (2004), poses a serious threat to the functioning of the global market economy and also makes it difficult to devise and implement rules. Without proper implementation of

economic rules, a global market economy will surrender to these dangers. The rules can be implemented by governments. But at the same time, this requires global cooperation and coordination among the nation-states on the similar rules that would enhance equal opportunities for everyone. **Global terrorism** has emerged as a real threat after the events of 11 September 2001 in the US. Ethnic and religious groups can make use of the most advanced technology provided by globalisation, for meeting their demands and as a result causing immense damage to civilians. If the global crime economy is not controlled, says Lane, it would make the operations of ordinary and honest business impossible. Moreover, the global crime economy is nourished by the sales of drugs and arms that make it a real threat to global peace. Terrorism is a form of crime that may occur due to globalisation due to the availability of high tech weapons that are used by religious and ethnic groups in conflicts and strikes against the innocent people in the mega-cities of the world. The emergence of Al Qaida is an example that terrorism is a global phenomenon (Lane, 2004).

2. **Peace, Human Rights and Cultural Integrity -** Politically, globalisation is linked with two things, the respect for human rights on the one hand and the establishment of eternal peace on the other (Lane, 2004). It is argued that the pursuit of peace emanates from respect for fellow human beings and their right to have their lives protected. Therefore, it can be said that peace and human rights are two sides of the same coin. Eternal peace may also result, according to Lane (2004), from a realisation that war between nations would not solve the problem and since that global interdependence is so large, any war between any countries would be destructive and turbulent. Thus, both human rights and peace can only be promoted through global governance,

Culturally, globalisation is far more difficult to control (Lane, 2004). For some, it means the hegemony of Western civilisation, whereas to others it is merely an increased cultural communication between the major

civilisations of the world. But it can be hoped that more frequent interaction between the cultures of the world would lead to a better understanding of different cultures as well as respect for cultural differences. If the cultural differences are not being instrumental in causing violent clashes, increased cultural interaction may advance understanding, respect and thus, also peace between civilisations. From a political or cultural perspective, globalisation is often accused of threatening non-Western ideal. It is perceived that since the economic aspects of globalisation are strongly interrelated with politics and culture, accepting a global market economy would lead to the dissolution of national or religious identity. It is true that globalisation poses a threat to the nation states, but at the same time, there are instances where globalisation has reinforced ethnic consciousness among ethnic and indigenous groups in a search for their identity and eventually claimed group rights.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. How does globalisation lead to higher rates of economic growth?

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2. Do you think that globalisation poses a threat to non-Western culture?

11.7 THE DANGERS OF GLOBALISATION

The globalisation debate not only comprises of the promises of affluence and human rights. It also pays equal attention to the fact that globalisation carries **disadvantages**.

The **negative outcomes of globalisation** are the energy-environment problem as well as the social justice problem in the global market economy (Lane, 2004).

1. **An Energy and Environment Disaster -** The global environment has become a topic of discussion since there are alarming reports about the condition of the globe. Lane (2004) argues that the relevant themes include:
   - dramatic climate change;
   - global warming;
   - depletion of non-renewable resources (oil);
   - extinction of endangered species; and
   - environmental degradation (pollution of air and fresh water, ozone layer hole).

The environmental costs of global free trade, according to Ehrenfeld (2003), are water, air and soil pollution, exhaustion of non-renewable and renewable resources and global climatic change. These are the after-effects of globalisation involving industrial activity, production agriculture and fossil fuel energy. It is high time to regulate the environmental side effects of globalisation. Air, water and soil pollution have increased markedly as global trade has increased. For example, in Taiwan, exports have soared as a result of global trade; forests have been cleared for industrial development and tree farms, soil and water have been polluted by pesticides and fertiliser, and a huge number of factories dump their wastes into air and waterways (Bello and Rosenfeld, 1990).

Every nation in the world wants to protect the domestic environment but the question that arises is who will protect the global environment when pollution is international? (Lane, 2004). Also, there are differences in opinions regarding the severity of the problems of the global environment. Added to this, the dependency upon oil and gas as the main sources of energy has risen to such a level that it poses the major threat to both the global economy and the earth's ecosystem. There is also a rise in the phenomenon of global warming due to the burning of fossil fuels that result in both pollution and the emission of greenhouse gases.

2. **Global Inequalities and Massive Poverty -** The reaction towards globalisation in the form of protests against the global meetings of various kinds (WTO, G8, and G20) has brought increasing attention to the distributional aspects of globalisation (Lane, 2004). Globalisation is resisted because it results in unequal distribution of the common benefits from a global market economy. Some nations tend to extract more benefits from the globalised economy as compared to other nations. Moreover, groups within various countries who either gets nothing or who receives only a small portion of the benefits may organise themselves and make resistance on a global scale (Lane, 2004).

Globalisation results in global inequality in many different forms. They include according to Ehrenfeld (2003):

(i) An increasing gap between rich and poor, both between individuals and nations.

(ii) The growing power of multinational corporations and the global interconnections of financial markets causes regional instability from resource extinctions and rapid geographic shifts of production and financial assets.

(iii) Social unrest leading to an increase in prison populations.

(iv) The dissolution of families and communities.

(v) The weakening of democracies.

(vi)   The privatisation and as a consequence deterioration of health care, education and other social services.

(vii)   The reduction in foreign assistance from the wealthy nations.

(viii)   A sharp increase in the numbers of environmental and economic refugees.

(ix)   An increase in regional wars and international terrorism.

(x)   The loss of many of the world's languages.

(xi)   Loss of knowledge and essential skills.

(xii)   Instability of complex and interlinked socio-economic systems.

Globalisation can be seen to be the principal, although not the only underlying force in all of these adverse changes.

However, Colin Hines (2000) challenges many of the arguments made regarding possible benefits of globalisation processes. He argues that 'green globalisation' is an impossible task to achieve because of the environmental damage which results from transporting goods and people around the world.

Hines proposes to focus at the local scale which could involve the national level but in the majority to the sub-national levels. He says that if this is done, the policies would focus on being people-centred rather than profit-centred and environmental damage would reduce and the quality of life would improve.

The spread of globalisation has been so strong that its effects are being felt in the smallest and most remote human communities and natural areas in both developed and undeveloped countries (Ehrenfeld, 2003). But it would be unwise to accept the assumption that globalisation as an economic system would be everlasting. However, the profound environmental consequences generated by it are likely to be extremely long-lasting. Thus, although immense power tends to create an impression of permanence, posits Ehrenfeld (2003), but a concurrence of

frightening factors is now acting to curb and modify the process of globalisation and perhaps to end it altogether.

11.8 SUMMING UP

- ➢ Globalisation depends are the increasing interconnectedness of different parts of the world.
- ➢ There are several factors that have contributed to the rise of globalisation – economic, political, development of information and communication technology.
- ➢ Globalisation has entered into the development discourse of many governments because it is regarded as an opportunity to promote growth and alleviate poverty.
- ➢ It is considered an unavoidable reality within which nations must either be a part of it or will lose out in the search for development.
- ➢ Globalism has become the new paradigm replacing the idea of development with the major focus on structural adjustment.
- ➢ Globalisation has resulted in both positive and negative outcomes.

11.9 QUESTIONS

1. Define globalisation. What are the factors responsible for globalisation?
2. What impact does globalisation have on development discourse?
3. Analyse the positive and negative outcomes of globalisation.
4. Globalisation has changed the process of development into a more chaotic and unequal system. Comment.

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UNIT 12: CONTEMPORARY ISSUE: POVERTY AND POLITICS OF DEVELOPMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Introduction

12.2 Objectives

12.3 Types of Poverty

12.4 Poor and Poverty

12.5 Poverty: A Social Construct

12.6 Summing Up

12.7 Questions

12.8 Recommended Readings and References

12.1 INTRODUCTION

Poverty is one of the most debated concepts in the field of social sciences. Especially in the field of sociology of development, the concept of poverty has been discussed widely from various perspectives. Poverty could be analysed and understood from various dimensions such as social, political, economic, cultural, religious, etc. There are certain questions that arise when we talk about poverty. These are, what is poverty? What are the causes and consequences of poverty? How can it be measured? In this unit, we are going to take into consideration all these questions while discussing the concept of poverty in the sphere of development.

12.2 OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Analyse the different ways in which poverty is defined;
- Analyse poverty as a social construct;

- Examine the concept of global poverty as a construct of the developed West to measure economic development of the Third World.

12.3 TYPES OF POVERTY

Poverty has been defined variously by different thinkers. Michael Haralambos (2010) defines poverty basically in three terms:

Absolute Poverty: In this definition of poverty, a benchmark or standard is defined to measure it. It may differ from society to society but a level is defined in terms of basic human needs. It is calculated in terms of resources that are needed to maintain health and physical efficiency. It takes into account some of the basic things such as quality of life, food, shelter and clothing. It defines poverty in terms of a standard measured generally in economic terms. Some people also include culture as a basic need in terms of basic cultural needs. This approach has been widely criticised as it tries to universalise the approach of basic need. This is also known as the **subsistence** concept of poverty. Webster (1990) writes that this concept is based on an estimate of the level of income necessary for buying food sufficient to satisfy the average nutritional needs of each adult and child within a family**.** The cost of this food is seen as the basic cost of subsistence, which, when added to an allowance for basic clothing, fuel (for heating) and rent, produces an income figure below which families can be said to be in poverty**.** This approach is used in most of the developed and underdeveloped countries to define poverty and formulate social welfare policy. They scientifically try to measure the nutritional levels required and necessary to keep the body physically healthy. For example, in the rural area 2400 kilocalorie and in the urban area 2100 kilocalorie is decided by the government of India which was thought necessary to keep a person healthy to function properly. On this basis in India, the BPL is also calculated.

Andrew Webster (1990) points out that most governments seem firmly committed to an approach of this sort. However, on closer inspection, a number of problems emerge:

(i) the estimates of nutritional needs are typically only averages and do not take into account the composition of households, the age of family members, their jobs and non-work activities;

(ii) poor people have to meet the increasing price of food-stuffs whose extra cost does not necessarily mean an increase in nutritional value, indeed in many cases much of the food in advanced societies is losing its food value;

(iii) estimates of what clothing is needed can be challenged since they are often based on what the poorest family spends on clothing;

(iv) the family budget and pattern of expenditure deemed to be adequate relies on a degree of rigorous accounting and disciplined personal behaviour which in its virtue and self-discipline borders on saintliness; and finally,

(v) the estimates are rarely revised to reflect changing customs and needs that develop in the wider society, and, as we saw in the British example, usually fail to keep pace with inflation (Webster, 1990: 18-19).

The above criticisms may be taken as a challenge to the simplistic assumption that the basic needs of an individual or family can be determined merely through an assessment of the biological and physiological demands of the human body for food, warmth and shelter. It may be argued that the definition of 'needs' must be more broadly defined in terms of what things are socially expected (ibid).

Relative Poverty: It is based on a particular time and space. Researchers abandoned absolute poverty terms and adopted the definition of relative poverty. It is measured in terms of the judgement of a particular society what is considered to be a reasonable and acceptable standard of living

according to the conventions of the day. As the conventions change time to time and space to space, the definition of poverty also changes. So any definition should incorporate the changing needs, demands and necessity of the time, as put forward by one of the famous thinkers on issues of poverty, Peter Townsend. Again, this approach is also problematic as there is nothing called standard and acceptable in any society. There are various kinds of categories that exist in society such as ethnicity, class, gender, caste, age, religion and region. So to define poverty in relative terms will also vary with these categories. There are also changes according to the time in a particular society (Haralambos, 2010).

Subjective poverty: It is another concept which is based on an individual or group's subjective understanding and feeling of poverty. It is more closely associated with the concept of relative poverty as those who are defined as poor see themselves as poor in terms of standard of the day. A wealthy or rich person who is no more able to maintain his standard according to the present status may feel he is poor but in the absolute or relative term, s/he may not be poor. On the other hand, community, group or individuals who are judged as poor in the majority terms, may not consider themselves as poor (ibid).

Convivial poverty: This form of poverty is often discussed by post-developmentalist or people who belong to the anti-development approach. People who believe in spirituality also discuss the idea of convivial poverty. Majid Rahnema (2010) extensively mentions about the convivial poverty. We need to look at people's ethical, cultural and spiritual approach to poverty. It is argued that the materialistic interpretation of poverty has various kinds of problems. The greed of having more has no limit. This planet will not be able to cater to the demand of billions of people. But convivial poverty, also referred to as voluntary or moral poverty, believes in the livelihood based on age-old moral principles of simplicity, frugality, sufficiency and respect for every human being and all forms of life. In the present growing crisis, Rahnema

feels that convivial poverty could perhaps serve as both a means and an end to pauperizing economism. The time has come to redefine poverty in a different manner and regenerate the age-old tradition of voluntary poverty. This may help the individual to liberate from the materialistic confinement and work as a major instrument for reducing all other forms of brutalising poverty.

In this context, Rahnema (2010) brings in the idea of spiritual dimension. He gives examples of most contemporary grassroots movements in various parts of the world which have a strong spiritual dimension. Apart from India, in various other parts of the world, movements are going on against capitalism, materialistic greed and natural exploitation. To name a few such movements, the Gandhian Sarvodaya, Manavodaya and Swadhyaya could be mentioned here which are informed by the spiritual dimension. These movements give priority to inner transformation, moral purity, self-discovery, self-knowledge, or the notion of God in its many different interpretations. There are various other movements inspired by Islam, Christianity which emphasise on the linkage between outer and the inner conditions of freedom. Higher forms of convivial poverty may then appear as the last hope for creating different societies based on the joys of 'more being', rather than the obsession of 'more having'.

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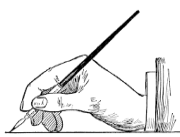
1. What do you mean by absolute poverty?

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2. What is the difference between relative poverty and subjective poverty?

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3. What is convivial poverty?

12.4 POOR AND POVERTY

Jeffrey Sachs's book (2005), *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time* was much in the assault from various corners because of his formulation on poverty reductions. It seems that he subscribes to Rostow's version of modernisation theory. He argues that some countries have failed to achieve economic growth because of factors like governance failure and lack of innovation. He advised the UN and developed a plan for Millennium Development Goals. He appealed to the government, civil society and UN to work together on the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger. Sachs argues that if we end extreme poverty, it will help the poor to get their foot on the ladder of development. He goes on to explain that the poorest of the poor basically lack in six major kinds of capital, these are:

-   human capital in the form of health, nutrition, and skills to be economically productive;

-   business capital, in the form of machinery and transport, to increase productivity;

-   infrastructure that forms critical inputs into business productivity;

-   natural capital that provides the environmental services needed by human society;

- public institutional capital that underpins peaceful and prosperous division of labour;

- knowledge capital that raises productivity and promotes physical and natural capital.

Sachs suggests that to break the poverty trap, we need to go for the donor-based investments so that a country can raise the level of capital per person and in this process, the economy will be sufficiently productive to meet basic needs. Sachs has been criticised in terms of economic and ethical terms. As it was seen, with foreign assistance, it is difficult to end poverty. His formulation has been criticised on the basis of a simplistic explanation of poverty. His thinking is based on Rostovian modernisation theory and he sees poverty simply, naively, and optimistically as the mere lack of sufficient modernisation and ignores the exploitation element both in the level of class and region (Peet and Hartwick, 2009: 156-158).

Jean-Pierre Olivier De Sardan (2005) writes that the poor, according to Robert Chambers, is the same with the people. According to Chambers, rural poor may include women, villagers who live at a distance from main roads, simple peasants and old people. The poor are thus, in his particularly broad and imprecise description of the word, all those who are excluded, marginalized and ignored by development. He again explains that 'poor' does not imply the people from the Third World or any marginalized or oppressed groups, rather what he refers to as the 'poor' is precisely what others refer to as the people. The 'poor' are those who are invisible and unknown, who do not speak, those who are last in the line, those who are forgotten, and those who are unheard. Chambers vehemently argue against the inability of the urban elites, policy planners and academicians to see the poor and their experience. He attempts to propose an impossible definition of poverty, seen as a combination of five prejudices these are: insufficient reserves of cash and food, physical

debility and illness, isolation, the vulnerability in the face of the unexpected crisis, lack of influence (Olivier De Sardan, 2005: 112-119).

Arturo Escobar's (1995) treatment on the issue of poverty is very extensive and critical in his book, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. He tries to problematise the concept of poverty and writes that the word is a keyword of our times and extensively used and abused by everyone. But nobody including the proposed beneficiaries of various poverty reduction programmes seems to have a clear and agreeable view of poverty. It is difficult to agree on a common thing as needs are relative. Important questions arise as to what is necessary, to whom and who will decide and define that. Majid Rahnema (2010) argues that most of the definition of poverty is centred around the concept of lack, deficiency, deprivation, shortage, scarcity, etc. Escobar explains that in the early post-World War II period, mass poverty was discovered in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In various parts of the world, the vernacular societies had developed ways of defining and treating poverty that accommodated visions of community, frugality, and sufficiency. But the massive poverty in the contemporary sense appeared with the spread of the capitalism and market economy which broke down community ties and deprived millions of people from access to land, water, and other natural resources earlier used as commons (Escobar, 1995).

Poverty has been problematised in Escobar's book from Foucault's perspective. Through various historical arguments, he explains that poverty is a modern discovery and through poverty, capitalist nations can dominate the underdeveloped countries and rule them through various kinds of development aid. Under-development became the buzz word and very popular among the policy-makers of the developed countries. They tried to erase it through developmental intervention and work in the regions to eradicate poverty. Instead of eradicating it, it was multiplied into infinity. Development became the technical solution to all sorts of

misery and poverty that arose out of the social and political reasons. Escobar argues that due to various kinds of strategies, the Third World began to think of themselves as inferior, underdeveloped, and ignorant and to doubt the value of their own culture. Then they started adhering to the Western notion of reason and progress. They, through this so-called modern developmental processes, will end the misery and bring progress.

Post-developmentalists argue that the market economy forces people to buy their products and consume them. If they are not able to buy or not prefer to consume them, then they are branded poor by the materialistic thinkers. People may not be taking or thinking themselves as poor as the outsiders think. In fact, the frugality and subsistence economy breaks down along with the interference of the market economy. Adopting the growth strategies in tandem with appropriate technology with the use of local resources, an alternative development model can be practised. 'Poverty' is not simply a deficit, for that is simply to adopt the commodity-based perspective of the North; 'poverty' can also be a resource (Pieterse, 2010).

Most of the economists do not relate poverty with ecology and the environment. Anil Agarwal from Centre for Science and Environment strongly criticizes Amartya Sen and Mahbub ul Haq for ignoring the environmental factor in their analysis of human development. Sachs (2010) argues that poverty was long regarded as unrelated to environmental degradation, which was attributed to the impact of industrial man. But with the deforestation and danger of climate change, the poor became targets of campaigns to promote 'environmental consciousness'. In a very ironical tone, the Brundtland Report mentions that poverty reduces people's capacity to use resources in a sustainable manner; it intensives pressure on the environment. Rather the wealthier class of the society consumes more products which take a toll on the environment.

Latouche (2010) writes that wealth and poverty are clearly relative concepts. These concepts vary according to what a culture defines as its reference points and how it models reality. Nomads and forest dwellers have a different concept of living. They believe in subsistence and frugality. The obsession with the standard of living is a gift of the modern west. They try to universalise their culture and spread the culture of consumerism. Post-developmentalist like Latouche believes that poverty is a modern creation of Western culture. In many popular religions, the state of voluntary poverty and frugality has been celebrated and given priority.

Ivan Illich who is a strong critic of modern capitalism and consumerism, argues that frugality and austerity are neither defects nor misfortunes. They are even at times the signs of divine choice. The vow of poverty testifies to the desire for holiness. He argues against the Western universal definition of standard of living. Illich goes on to state, "poverty was a general concept for a specific cultural interpretation of the necessity to live within very narrow limits, defined differently for each place and time. It was the name for a unique and ecologically sustainable style of coping with historically given, rather than technically construed, necessity, the 'need' to face the unavoidable, not a lack" (Illich, 2010).

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Who wrote, *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time*?

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2. How does Ivan Illich look at the concept of poverty?

12.5 POVERTY: A SOCIAL CONSTRUCT

Though poverty is an undeniable reality as can be seen in terms of the people who languish in hunger and misery, yet it is also argued by thinkers that in several instances, poverty is also a myth and a social construct that has been invented by a particular civilisation. This implies that there can be several different ways in which a person can be branded poor, depending on the culture of different societies.

Language forms an important aspect of culture, that goes a long way in giving a variety of ways to define poverty. The very fact that there are several words in a single language to define poverty speak volumes about the many perceptions about poverty. For instance, if we take up the Persian language, we will find that there are more than thirty words to define those who are in some way or the other perceived as poor. In other words, there is a range of conditions that define if a person is poor. There are also many proverbs and sayings in different languages that provide insights into the different perceptions about poverty.

One important aspect on which the various contracts of poverty are based are those 'things' the lack of which translates into poverty. Though these things are culture-specific, there are few parameters as malnutrition, starvation and visible hardships that are universally applicable in the diagnosis of poverty. Another important aspect is the subject's own perception of her/his condition. It is to be noted that not every individual perceives the lack of particular means in negative terms. Minimalism and frugality are romanticised in many belief systems (Sufis, Sanyasi, Gandhian, etc.) and lack of material possessions is often considered as a blessing. The third aspect that needs to be taken into consideration is how

others view the poor. When poverty is a free choice of the subject, it is often been considered by others as a virtue, otherwise the poor are usually looked upon with feelings of contempt, embarrassment, pity or even violence. In other words, how others perceive the poor also gives different ideas about poverty.

In this context, let us also learn about the term 'spimes' which is a combination of the words 'space' and 'time' and which translates into socio-cultural spacetimes. Spimes affect various perceptions about poverty and explain why in different communities and at different times, the parameters that define poverty are perceived differently both by those referred to as the poor and society at large.

Poverty as a Global Construct:

New and modern construction poverty is global poverty. The idea of global poverty emerged as a result of the process of development and integration of the Third World into the sphere of the world economy. Global poverty has been defined by the World Bank in one of its reports in 1948, taking the average per capita income as the yardstick and the countries with less than a $100 per capita income came to be considered as poor.

It may be noted here that such a global definition of poverty gives a universal character to poverty disregarding the multifaceted concept of poverty. Such a definition leads to the identification of certain countries as poor who need to be cured of their poverty through economic and technological development.

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Activity:
Analyse how space and time define poverty by citing examples that you see in your everyday life.

12.6 SUMMING UP

➢ Poverty is defined variously by different thinkers.

➢ Haralambos defines poverty basically in three terms – absolute poverty, relative poverty, subjective poverty and convivial poverty.

➢ Post-developmentalists argue that the capitalist economy forces people to buy and consume their products and if they fail to do so they are labelled as poor.

➢ Poverty is a social construction.

➢ A modern construction of poverty is global poverty which is used by the developed West to measure economic development of the Third World.

12.7 QUESTIONS

1. Analyse the different ways in which poverty is defined.

2. How, according to Escobar, does poverty become an instrument for the developed capitalist nations to dominate the underdeveloped countries?

3. Analyse Jeffrey Sach's views on poverty.

4. "Poverty, like beauty, lies in the eye of the beholder". Comment.

5. Is poverty a social construct? Substantiate with examples.

12.8 RECOMMENDED READINGS AND REFERENCES

Escobar, A. (1995). *Encountering Development : The Making And Unmaking Of The Third World*. Princeton University Press, Princeton: New Jersey.

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Pieterse, J.N. (2010). *Development Theory: Deconstructions/Reconstructions.* SAGE Publications Ltd, Second Edition.

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UNIT 13: CONTEMPORARY ISSUE: NGO AND CIVIL SOCIETY

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Introduction

13.2 Objectives

13.3 Decline of the Role of State

13.4 NGO and Civil Society

13.5 Civil Society, NGO and Cynicism

13.6 Summing Up

13.7 Questions

13.8 Recommended Readings and References

13.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, we are going to cover another contemporary issue pertaining to Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) and civil society which have emerged as significant actors in social transformation. It is to be noted here that the civil society along with the NGOs serve as the interface between the state and the local communities. In other words, they curb the authoritarian character of the government leading to improved political transparency and inclusiveness of governance. Therefore, the proliferation of the NGOs and the growing prominence of the civil society occupy a significant place in the discourses on development.

13.2 OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Analyse the nature of civil society and NGO;
- Discuss their role in development;

- Analyse their role as an interface between the state and the people.

13.3 DECLINE OF THE ROLE OF THE STATE

It is generally argued that we experience the decline of the role of the state or there has been a retreat of the state. This results in the proliferation of NGOs and civil societies. Especially in India, there has been a growth of NGOs and civil society post-1990s. But the present government has started curbing and monitoring various NGOs and civil society organisations in India. The process of social transformation should be done by both state and the community. However, the state gives responsibility to the civil society organisations and NGOs to carry out the necessary action in accordance with the values and culture of the community. In various fields such as health, education, livelihood, sanitation and so on, all the sectors involve NGOs for better delivery of the services. Baviskar (2001) describes that the rise of NGOs began since the 1980s. Because of the gearing up of developmentalism as a project, various developmentalists who adhere to the neo-liberal ideology described it as market triumphalism. In sociology, he suggests that students of the sociology of organisations, political sociology, the sociology of social movements, and the sociology of development need to pay greater attention to the phenomenon of NGOs.

Further, Baviskar notes that sociologists have not given the phenomenal growth of NGOs the critical attention that it requires. Over the past two decades, the rhetoric of civil society has been prominent in the field of political and development discourse. The germination of the idea of civil society in this particular field is linked to the democratization process that occurred in Latin America and Eastern Europe which successively diffused to the developing world. In common parlance, civil society is seen as a significant agent in reducing the authoritarian character of the

government, catalysing a particular social movement, reducing the atomising effect of marker forces, improving political transparency and improving the quality and inclusiveness of governance (Veltmeyer, 2008).

Let us begin with the initiation of the concept of civil society. In stark contrast to the State and the market, civil society is the arena where ideological hegemony is contested across a range of organisations and ideologies that challenge and uphold the existing order (Lewis, 2002; Mohan, 2002). Civil society is a broad and hazy concept and diversity in the NGO sector amounts to all non-state, non-market, non-household organisations and institutions, ranging from the community or grassroots associations, social movements, cooperative labour unions, professional groups, advocacy and development NGOs, formal non-profits, social enterprises and many more. In recent decades, 'old' social movements of trade unions and labour have been joined by movements focussing on issues such as gender, environment and a wide diversity of other citizen interests (Bolnick, 2008).

Citizens protesting has been a characteristic of both authoritarian and democratic regimes albeit attempts to repress or suppress them (Edwards, 2011). Social movements have been a feature of democratic societies when there is plausible neglect of major concerns, alienation of groups by the aggregation of issues, or when majority representation gets politicised (Rucht and Neidhardt, 2002). Civil society is, therefore, seen as oppositional rather than accommodating with respect to the state and the private sector. It brings together a multiplicity of actors, groups and organisations around a shared collective identity and common interest (Stiles, 2002).
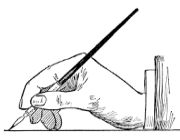
1. How does civil society act as an agent in reducing the authoritarian character of the government?

13.4 NGO AND CIVIL SOCIETY

A 'civil society' function for NGOs leads to the moving from a supply side, service-based approach to a demand-side approach that helps communities to articulate their interests and participate in the development process and thereby making NGOs bonded and accountable to civil society (Fowler, 2002). It also engages with the idea of shifting from the conventional methods of advocacy wherein the NGOs carried out campaigns on behalf of the poor to ways that enhanced the bargaining power of the poor. This would provide them with the space to defend their rights and increase their capacity for organising themselves and ascend to collective action (Ibrahim and Hulme, 2011). This leads us to understand that civil society need not be understood in practical expression in terms of NGOs alone.

As wider concepts of public action have gained precedence, it is widely recognised that NGOs play a role in mobilising people's voices to alternatives but not necessarily be equated with the central theme of development. Significantly, NGOs serve as the interface between governments at different levels, local communities and donors (Chhotray, 2008). They mark the way and focus on how their objectives can be realigned with the concerns of the grassroots as a method to

broaden their struggle and redefine power relations (Bebbington et al, 2008). Extension of this line of thought enables us to understand that categories such as donors and NGOs nurture 'civil society' but to the extent that it does not dictate the agenda of the citizens and allows citizens to carve their own contexts and concerns (Edwards, 2011).
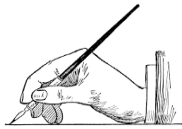
An important question that arises here is, can civil society be seen as an alternative to the state and market? These distinctions are often needed to understand and locate NGOs as actors of the civil society (Bebbington, 1997). Yet such tripartite division is problematic. Firstly, the discourse of civil society being normative instead of analytical leads to the understanding that this 'entity' is 'good' in relation to the 'bad' that is often tagged to the state and market. If we engage critically, such engagement would downplay any progressive change or initiative initiated by the state and ignore the racist and business opportunities that are created within the sphere of NGOs and organizations. Secondly, though the three spheres are understood in distinction to each other, the relative fluidity of boundaries between them and the tendency of actors to move across NGOs, government and occasionally business is often ignored. Such mobility has questioned the understanding of NGOs being a part of the civil society by those who argue that NGOs are essentially corporate entities according to the logic of the marketplace. Henceforth, civil society and the positionality of NGOs within it needs to be understood historically, conceptually and relationally. Within the field of development studies, civil society has been understood predominantly in two ways: Firstly, at the level of ideology and theory, the neoliberal school of thought advocates reduced role of the state or a post-Marxist/post-structural approach that believes in the transformative capacity of social movements within civil society. Secondly, at the conceptual level, civil society is usually viewed in terms of organizations and associations or a sphere where the ordering of social life is contested and debated (Bebbington and Hickey, 2006). At this juncture, Gramscian understanding of civil society may be discussed. Gramsci (1971)

perceived state and civil society to be mutually constitutive rather than being exclusive entities, which were formative in relation to the forces of historical and structural forces similar to the processes of 'little d' development. Failure of liberalism and socialism and the counter-hegemonic movements within civil society in promoting social change was of significant interest for Gramsci (Gramsci, 1971)

Cowen and Shenton (1996) while discussing the history of 'doctrine of development' distinguished the dual meaning of this phenomenon into two aspects. Firstly, development as immanent and unintentional, as for instance the rise of capitalism and secondly, development as an intentional activity. Hart (2001) talks of this distinction in terms of 'little d' and 'big D' d/Development where the former includes the geographically uneven, profoundly "contradictory set of processes underlying capitalist developments, while the latter refers to the project of intervention in the 'third world' that emerged in the context of decolonization and cold war". Variance in classifying the notions of development as discussed above and the deeper economic, social and structural wedges that it establishes is not centrifugal but what we need to be critical of is the underlying processes of uneven development that are not inclusive and create inequality while for some it leads to enhanced opportunities.

It is in this context that the role of the NGOs in promoting development alternatives is relatable. Such alternatives have been in relation to 'big D' Development - NGOs have been seen as entities arranging micro-finance, project planning, service delivery and so on. These act as components of alternate ways of intervening. However, alternatives can also be understood in relation to the underlying processes of capitalist development or 'little d' development. The main focus of this variant of alternatives seeks to change and organize the economy, political and social relationships in society (Bebbington et al, 2008).

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Explain Gramscian understanding of civil society?

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2. What do you mean by 'little d' and 'big D' d/Development?

13.5 CIVIL SOCIETY, NGO AND CYNICISM

Given the success of NGOs in initiating transformation through their association and mobilising people at grassroots levels in various forms and as development agents they have been key partners for both government and donor agencies in implementing developmental programmes. Mainstreaming of NGOs within international development have led to an increased amount of pressure on them especially those who have started as small cadre based organizations to compete for development funds, formalize their structure and improve their kind of work (Chhotray, 2008). In these processes, the inclination of NGOs to engage in radical work devoted to development is compromised (Chhotray, 2008). Such cynicism afflicts development in general and is understood as an activity or set of relations that is divorced from 'politics'. Here 'politics' is understood in terms of radical and transformative change or 'the discourse and struggle over the organization of human possibilities' (Held, 1984).

Vasudha Chhotray in "Political Entrepreneurs of Development Agents: An NGOs Tale of Resistance and Acquiescence in Madhya Pradesh, India" argues that NGOs that seek to be effective in meeting their objectives of development need not necessarily be either political entrepreneurs or development agents (Chhotray, 2008). Based on qualitative research with an NGO in 2000, that is based in Bagli tehsil (block) in Dewas district in south-west Madhya Pradesh, she maintains that 'depoliticization' of development initiatives of NGO is not always successful and that resistance and acquiescence are interwoven into each other in subtle ways (Chhotray, 2008). The group that emerged in Bagli sought to work for upliftment against the long periods of political and economic marginalisation which further produced official or rather government disinterest in the region in addition with the marked absence of any kind of mobilization in the area. The main development objective of the group was to promote local natural resource management which was perceived to be significant to offer a solution to the chronic resource poverty of the region. Additionally, the formation of a people's organization engaged in grassroots work and advocacy would produce a 'critical mass within policy-making' so that there is a space where the marginalised tribal areas would get the opportunity of state intervention and public investment. The group registered was Samaj Pragati Sahyog (SPS). The group quest in Bagli began not with any particular development project but to create a platform for government intervention. With strategy and time, SPS was successful in its struggle against exploitative wage practices, outdated land registrations and unfair appropriation of essential common property. This thwarted the fortunes of the dominant locals which further dismantled their hegemony (Scott, 1990). Simultaneously this enhanced the prestige of SPS in the tehsil which was directly proportional to their increase in material capacity. It was also aware of its existence as the only potential agency, either governmental or non-governmental talking of development. The appropriation of legitimacy by the NGO follows from the work it

implements in relation to ideas of the state, as a guarantor of rights and a doer of development. Resisting state structures or its actors and processes, SPS never discredited the idea of the state and it has painstakingly organised its structure and practice to complement the idea of the state. As such it had made difficult for the local stakeholders to oppose SPS. Vasudha Chhotray engages with the question of the kind of hegemony that such NGOs exerts from such a position in Bagli and the kind of issues it takes up without losing its critical leverage. Critically we need to understand how we comprehend and appraise this NGOs praxis.

The recent debate on grassroots activity has been increasingly recognising the hazy boundaries between resistance and acquiescence, struggle and compromise, activism and development, all binaries that have distinguished radical social movements from NGOs. Michael (2004) in discussing the examples of powerful NGOs in the developing world identifies two commonalities: their interest in linking their activities with the mainstream economic system and their inclination and engagement to political activity. Kamat also maintains on the difficulty of maintaining a balance between 'a struggle based organization' supported largely by popular participation and nominally paid tribal cadre on the one hand; and also a development organization flushed with funds managed by a professional paid staff on the other (Kamat, 2002). Henceforth, Chhotray maintains the fallacy of depoliticization and is affirmative of the political nature of development by the NGO being a guarantor of rights and at the same time senior officials of the same being engaged to preserve a technocratic façade to development (Chhotray, 2008). She also presents four aspects to delineate the power available to NGOs that ran parallel to her case study.

Firstly, NGOs have the power to alter and bring concrete changes in local power relations, as the case of SPS, in overturning wage relations, transforming common property access and challenging an exploitative

anti-tribal coalition. However, this also signifies that their power may be sometimes exclusionary. Secondly, their power is text oriented. SPS relied on the precise reading of the laws and official guidelines of the Indian state to initiate radical changes. This stems from the lack of constitutional power of entities of this nature and hence the greater need to justify their actions. Thirdly, the power of NGO is also vested in their performance and therefore, SPS too in their early days chose to create public events of confrontations and gained a good reputation in the press. Finally, it is of utmost importance for the NGOs to elicit government support be it in the form of land records camp, watershed project, panchayat related activities. Through these processes, NGOs not only create an interface with the government but also with the key actors of the political society including political representatives, activists and local courts. Thus, they cannot afford to limit their interactions to the officials of the government alone as the initiation for development and change comes from the messy entanglements and struggles with the political actors that impact upon the fabric of development and society. Thus, as Chhotray concludes it is the synthesis of the roles of political entrepreneurs and development agents that hold the key to their power (Chhotray, 2008).

13.6 SUMMING UP

➢ Civil society and NGOs serve as the interface between governments at different levels, local communities and donors.

➢ Civil society and the NGOs within it needs to be understood historically, conceptually and relationally.

➢ Gramsci perceived state and civil society to be mutually constitutive rather than being exclusive entities.

➢ Mainstreaming of NGOs within international development have led to an increased amount of pressure on them.

➢ The recent debate on grassroots activity has been increasingly recognising the hazy boundaries between resistance and

acquiescence, struggle and compromise, activism and development.

> NGOs have the power to alter and bring concrete changes in local power relations, in overturning wage relations, transforming common property access and challenging an exploitative anti-tribal coalition.

13.7 QUESTIONS

1. Demonstrate the interrelationship between the decline of the role of the state and the rise of the civil society and NGOs.
2. Discuss the contribution of NGOs and civil society in the process of development.
3. Critically analyse the role and function of civil society in India.
4. Write about the cynical aspects of civil society and NGOs.

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UNIT 14: GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

14.1 Introduction

14.2 Objectives

14.3 Gender and Development: Meaning

14.4 Third World Women as a Social Category

14.5 Development Policies and Visibility

14.6 Work, Gender and Development

14.7 Summing Up

14.8 Questions

14.9 Recommended Readings and References

14.1 INTRODUCTION

By now you are already familiar with the concept of gender and you have understood the basic meaning of development that has launched the idea of modernity. Development is regarded as the cultural complex of this modernity project. This unit does not aim to minimise the liberating effect that the modernity project had, but to take gender as a category and discuss the pathways that this progressive project has led to. For you to comprehend this unit, a general understanding of gender will be helpful which is covered in your 'Social Stratification' paper in the first semester.

14.2 OBJECTIVES

By the end of the unit, you will be able to:

- Analyse the importance of gender in development discourse;
- Explain the different patterns of gender and development.

14.3 GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT: MEANING

Let s first try to understand why it is essential to look at development from the perspective of gender. To answer this, we need to realise that development as a process has different impacts on men and women and as such, it becomes essential to give due emphasis on the aspect of gender when it comes to the process of development.

As you have already understood that the mainstream discourse on development is a Western construct that focuses on developing the economically weak countries that have been branded 'Third World' countries through the West-centric processes of industrialisation, urbanisation, technicalisation of agriculture, rapid capitalistic material production and the subsequent rise in living standards and the widespread adoption of modern education and cultural values. Initiation of such processes in the Third World countries had led to inevitable gender-based disadvantages. First of all, we need to understand that such changes have altered the division of labour between men and women. Certain tasks like the weaving of clothes or food processing which were earlier taken care of by the women as domestic chores began to be taken over by the modern sector as commercial production. Even though such a takeover gave women enough freedom to look for better opportunities to earn an income, it was observed that the well-paid jobs remained a prerogative of their male counterparts.

The change in the division of labour between men and women also led to an increase in the dependence of women on men. When it comes to mobility, men can easily move between places and jobs as compared to women. Along with restrictions on women's mobility, their workload is also more as they have to look after domestic chores and childcare along with the expanding involvement in paid

employment. The working hours of women are usually, therefore, more than men.

We also need to understand that the term 'gender' is often misinterpreted to mean as sex or used to refer only to women. Gender, on the other hand, is a socially constructed entity that refers to the concept of masculinity and feminity by which an individual is identified. This implies that gender identities are not the same globally and these may vary from one place to another. Likewise, gender roles are also not constant and vary from one place to another. Besides, it is also important to note that gender is inevitably linked with several other categories like class, religion, ethnicity, race, etc. Therefore, while looking at the concept of gender in terms of development or in general, we need to take into consideration the specificities of a particular society rather than constructing homogenous global gender roles.

14.4 THIRD WORLD WOMEN AS A SOCIAL CATEGORY

Foucault's work on the dynamics of power in the representation of social reality that allows one mode of thinking and action permissible while dismissing others led to a plethora of debates that seek to question the colonisation of the developmental discourse. This line of thought was extended through the writings of Chandra Mohanty, Edward Said and Homi Bhabha that were critical of the colonial and post-colonial representations of women of the Third World (Escobar,1995).

We need to take cognizance of the fact that problems like poverty, illiterate peasants, poor infrastructure are all seen as an impediment to growth. Eradication of the same necessitates alleviation programmes that are driven by the World Bank and expert knowledge in planners and development practitioners that have received training in the Western tradition (Escobar,1995). What needs to be seen here are the patterns of

domination and dependency that these programmes carry latently. These need to be analysed and critically discussed.

Adele Mueller studied the bureaucratization of knowledge of Third World women that represents such domination practices that otherwise spell development. According to him, in development texts, women's situatedness in a particular context (Third World women) is not taken into consideration; rather it is a construction of their own production. These women are depicted as poor women with a number of children, illiterate dependent on their husbands for their economic survival or impoverished because they have none (Mueller,1986). The needs, concerns or rather the aspirations of these Third world women are not bespoken but rather constructed to seamlessly fit into the functioning of development agencies' idea of managing the problems of these women.

Chandra Talpade Mohanty contented the idea of modernity that was classified on Western construction of women. She raises the same questions as to who produces knowledge for Third World women and from what spaces (Mohanty,1991). Women in such contexts are always depicted as women with problems and needs, but with no options or freedom to act. Mohanty problematizes the political discourse and utilization of the term 'colonization' that the cultural discourse around development tried and has been successful in appropriating. In her article "The Western Eyes", she tries to establish how the construction of 'Third World women' takes place in Western feminist texts leading to ethnocentric universality summed with the ignorance of the impact that Western texts might have on women belonging to diverse cultural backgrounds like caste, class and religion. The discursive assumption of women as a social category constituted with homogenous identity in Western feminist literature draws us to discuss 'Women in Development Process' (Mohanty,1991).

The universal reductionism of women can be found in liberal 'women in development literature'. Scholars like Irene Tinker, Ester Boserup and

Perdita Huston belonging to this school of thought examine the impact of development policies on Third World women. The approach is sometimes from a feminist perspective but at the very least laden with an interest in improving the conditions of these women. These scholarly works try to locate development as a synonym to 'economic progress' or 'economic development'. As for instance, Perdita Huston's study examines the impact of development policies on "family unit and its individual members" in Egypt, Kenya, Sudan, Tunisia, Mexico and Sri Lanka. The 'problems' and 'needs' of these women in both rural and urban areas centred around education and training, work and wage, access to health and other services, political participation and legal rights (Mohanty, 1991). The solution to all these deficiencies could be made possible by developmental policies that focus on women, who were otherwise, an excluded category. These included women trainers in developmental policies, women field workers, women cooperatives. The lacunae here is the construction of a discursive group that is homogenous and could be inserted into the path of development by increasing their representation in developmental policies, assuming that women in Third World countries must have same needs and problems. This pervades the production of women in socio-economic contexts with class, caste and ethnic identities. Linearity in assuming women as subordinate category reiterates sexual power into traditional binary: those who have power (men) and those who do not have power (women). According to Mohanty, such simplistic reductions reinforce power relations between men and women.

This does not denounce Western feminist scholarship in the context of development. For instance, Maria Mies study on the lace workers in Narsapur, India (1981). The study is a detailed analysis of the structure, relations among production, the sexual division of labour, profit and exploitation of women and the consequences of these workers being "non-working housewives" and lace making being a leisure time activity. This ideology of non-working housewife produces the structural

condition where women are seen as a subjective and subordinate entity in that particular cultural milieu which further leads to their pauperization. It illustrates a historically and culturally specific patriarchal organization that defines women as 'non- working wives' at local, regional and international level and places them at a site that is exploitative at the world market (Mies, 1981). The mere political construction of these workers as subordinate or being passive is subverted in many instances by their protest, resistance at various junctures. Thus, taking them as mere passive subjects is problematic. The socio-structural context within which the patriarchal norms of subordination and subjugation of women is challenged by themselves with their willingness to 'work' outside their homes for more money rather than being respectable housewives is a crack to the normative understanding of women being a passive agent in the development process (Mies,1981).

14.5 DEVELOPMENT POLICIES AND VISIBILITY

With the concept of development as the sole means that would eradicate the deficiencies of the Third World countries, there emerged a plethora of political, economic and global systems of social change. Many feminist scholars paid close attention to the modernist discourse that excluded the productive role of women.

Initiating with Ester Boserup's work, *Women's Role in Economic Development* (1970), there have been numerous studies reiterating developmental policies being not only detrimental to but also an impact on women's economic position and status. In fact, it has increased the burden as a result of the exclusion of women from agricultural developmental policies. This was rooted in the male bias in agriculture and the model chosen in the context of American agriculture. The development practitioners and the policy-makers were male-dominated that often saw women as reproducers and not as producers. The

traditional sexual role of women being a caretaker and nurturer was inherent in such biases. The fair sex was seen as caretakers of children, fetching water for household chores or at best cultivating kitchen gardens that would supplement family diet. Women were reduced into being 'invisible farmers'. Men were assumed to be productive and policies were formulated aiming at enhancing their agricultural production and productivity while women were given training in sectors that were considered natural for them such as sewing and handicrafts. This reinforced the traditional sexual division among the sexes and provided a ceiling to any kind of alternative that might impede this heteronormativity. As some feminist writers observed, the development policies helped in modernising patriarchy with grave consequences for Third World women. Women's unpaid and low wages is a testimony to the modernization of patriarchy (Simmons, 1992).

Developmental interventions sought restructuring in the traditional culture of agriculture in the Third World countries. Taussig (1970) explained that women in the Cauca Valley region of Colombia have been resisting the rural development strategy that their government has pushed since the 1970s. It introduced mono-cropping and production for the market that was detrimental in the interest of the women as they preferred their local practice constituted with systematic cultivation that included cultivation of both food crops and cash crops. This ensured a steady supply of labour all year long though the revenue was meagre. Most male farmers were lured by this approach of cash crops and better income. Additionally, this strategy also led to the concentration of landholdings in few hands and ascending proletarianization of a larger segment of the local population. Unwillingness on the part of women to adopt this strategy was partly because they were not pursued by male agents and their ability to gauge the probable dangers that might materialise by switching to this strategy (Taussig,1980).

One final aspect of the economic impact of developmental policies on women involves the relationship between gender and changing the international division of labour (Escobar, 1995). The promotion of industrialization through export platforms and free trade zones were simultaneous at a time when "women were integrated into the development process" and were hailed by international agencies. This development has been a major concern for the political feminists as they were critical that through export platforms and free trade zones, there would be a restructuring in the international division of labour as it involved the transfer of manufacturing units from the North to the Third World countries. Rising energy costs, labour costs, pollution and inclination to the right in the centre states led to a new structure of accumulation through re-proletarianization and de-development in the North and the shift of certain activities to the South (Escobar, 1995). Thus, young women being the most preferred labour force in terms of "cheap and docile labour force" was not to be considered as a coincidence (Escobar,1995).

Stop and Read:

Chronology of Approaches to Gender and Development:

1. The Welfare Approach: This approach continued until the early 1970s. It focused on development policies that took women into consideration only in terms of their roles as wives and mothers, emphasising such issues as mother-child health and reduction of fertility. It emphasised the trickle-down theory thereby leading to the assumption that poor women would benefit automatically as the economic position of their husbands improved.

2. The WID Approach: The aim of Women in Development policies was to integrate women into economic development by emphasising income earning projects for women.

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3. Gender and Development (GAD): The GAD approach began to criticise WID for considering women as a homogenous category. This approach emphasised the importance of differences in race, ethnicity, class, religion, etc. in connection with gender that play a significant role in development. This approach focused on improving women's lives within the existing roles as well as in increasing women's ability to take up new roles to empower themselves.

4. Women and Development (WAD): This approach emerged as a result of the rejection of the feminist approaches of white women by the women of developing countries who argued that their development model did not take into consideration the perspective of developing countries wherein overcoming poverty and the effects of colonialism were more important than equality.

5. The Efficiency Approach: This approach emphasised that the roles and responsibilities of both men and women as part of the planning of development interventions which could lead to the effectiveness of the project.

6. The Empowerment Approach: This approach led to the participatory approaches to development leading to working with women at the community level.

7. Gender and Environment (GED): This approach was based on the views of ecofeminism which established a link between women and the environment.

8. Mainstreaming Gender Equality: This approach focuses on both women's as well as men's concerns and experiences as integral to all the designing of all development projects so that gender inequality is curbed. (Momsen, 2004: 12-15)

1. Why is it essential to look at development from the perspective of gender?

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2. Who wrote *Women Role in Economic Development*?

3**.** What is WAD?

14.6 WORK, GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

The discussion here focuses on the 'work' that was created to reinforce or rather naturalise the traditional cultural roles of women in ambiguous ways that feminism had tried to question and overthrow. Position and visibility of women in development need to be assessed critically and intersectionally.

In East Asia, the Confucian tradition considers women as inferior. Within this tradition, the hierarchy between rulers and the ruled, old and young, men and women are considered to be the 'natural order' of the society. Even so when women enter into the labour market, they end up doing what is termed as 'double burden of work' as they have to engage in childcare, domestic work and a job. In Latin America, than in any other Third World, women have succeeded in building a career at the respite of hiring other cheap women labour whom they could pay for doing their

'domestic work'. This is a case where class and gender inequalities overlap (Leghorn and Parkr,1982).

Elson and Pearson examine the employment of women in modern 'factory work' leads to decomposition, recomposition or intensified as development occurs. Intensification might occur when a Multinational Company functioning in Malaysia which beliefs in trying to preserve deliberately the traditional forms of patriarchy, might exert more control over their daughters and send them to factories even if they are not willing to do so. As an example of decomposition work in factories, we can cite the pretext to evade early arranged marriages for young women in South-Asia. Work in world labour market functions through a formal hierarchy where unskilled or semi-skilled workers occupy the lower strata while the skilled workers often male are at the highest rung. Studies after studies have revealed that the lower rung consists of women under the authority of male. Without any familial relation, such kind of work recomposes traditional forms of gender subjugation (Elson and Pearson, 1981).

Lastly, sectors, where women are considered to be skilled, is often ignored as 'natural' to them, thus getting socially invisible and privatised and is classified as 'semi-skilled'. As for instance, the famous 'nimble fingers' that young women have are not an inheritance from their mothers. Rather it is resultant of training that young women receive from their mothers and female kin in their formative years because sewing is considered to be socially appropriate for a women's role. Industrial sewing of clothing resembles sewing with a domestic sewing machine and girls equipped with this training is blatantly attributed to 'nature' and purposively not a skill (Elson and Pearson, 1981)

The above discussion elucidates that the major means by which women are affected by the development discourse is rooted in their invisibility to the planners and development practitioners. This requires gender planning and a shift from 'women in development' to 'gender and

development'. This approach focuses more on the axiom that women and men have different life courses and development policies affect them differently. It recognises that women cannot be developed in isolation but only by taking into account the status of both men and women. It tries to address not only women's practical gender needs i.e. needs of women in their practical gender roles, but also in strategic gender interests especially, addressing inequalities in employment and income, political participation, cultural and legal status (Moser, 2003).

14.7 SUMMING UP

➢ Development affects both men and women differently and therefore, gender has a significant role to play in terms of development discourse.

➢ Gender identities and roles are not constant and vary from one place to another.

➢ Social specificities need to be taken into consideration while looking at the gender aspect of a particular society.

➢ The issues of gender and development in the developing countries are intertwined with several aspects like poverty and post-colonial effects that are peculiar to these countries.

14.8 QUESTIONS

1. To what extent the development approach of the West tended to make the lives of the majority of women of the developing countries more difficult?
2. Write a note on work, gender and development .
3. Explain the significance of gender in development.
4. Gender roles are not fixed and may vary from one place to another. Explain.

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