Unit 12

Micro-Planning

Contents

Learning Objectives

This unit helps you analyse the:

- concept, need and objectives of micro-planning;

- background pertaining to the emergence micro-planning as a concept of development;

- strategies of micro-planning; and

- advancement of primary education through micro-planning.

12.1 Introduction

The previous two Blocks dealt with various perspectives on growth oriented development as well as theories that originated as a response or critique to those perspectives. Apart from these theoretical perspectives there are some issues such as the need for community participation in planning and development, environmental sustainability etc. have become a part of contemporary development discourse. In this Block we will be discussing some of these issues in detail.

In a diverse country like India, the concept like decentralised planning has got under-acceptance as it takes cognizance of the dimension of planning and local resources to be utilised for the execution of the planning. Micro-planning or area planning has been an important component of decentralised planning.

In India micro-planning works as a bridge between national orientation of planning and the localised needs. This unit introduces you with various dimensions of micro-planning. The aims, objective and concept of micro-planning at the outset, and the historical background of micro-planning. Its needs are also specifically spelt out. The approach and strategy required for the successful implementation of micro-planning are also examined.

12.2 The Concept, Need and Objectives

Micro-planning is a crucial aspect of development. At the outset let us get clarify with the concept, need and objectives of micro planning. Micro-planning is a crucial aspect of development.

a) **The Concept**

The term micro-planning is used in many different ways and in vastly divergent contexts. In fact, the term micro-planning remains rather vague unless the actual level of planning is defined. Nowadays a more fashionable term "area planning" is often employed as a synonym of micro-planning. In essence, the

term micro-planning implies multi-level and decentralised planning approach to the overall development of a country.

Micro-planning is essentially a spatial development planning which tends to utilise all kinds of available resources – natural, human and others to the fullest extent. It attempts to distribute the fruits of development among regions and social groups within the region, which can minimize the socio-economic imbalances and improve the living conditions of the masses. In other words, micro-planning is concerned with the ordering of human activities for socio-economic transformation in "supra-local space" in an agriculture based rural economy as against supra-urban space for an urban dominated economy (Singh 1982: 2).

In India, the concept of micro-planning has emerged in order to maintain a balance in "planning and development" between national priorities and local needs. Micro-planning as a development strategy got some importance out of a realisation that general planning done at the national level does not automatically ensure its applicability at local levels, for each area has its own personality, potentiality and needs. A successful plan, therefore, must be sensitive to these micro-level variations, while taking into account the limitations posed by national priorities, resources and investment of funds.

b) The Need

In the development policies of the developing countries like India, the issue of social equity and balanced spatial development has, now, come to the forefront. For this, greater emphasis has been laid on local level or regional/ area approach to planning as against the macro-economic sectoral approach. It has been done out of a comprehension that micro-planning, in its true perspective, tends to be much more responsive to the emerging socio-economic problems at various territorial levels.

Micro-planning is suggested for the allround socio-economic development of a geographically diverse country like India against the single national level sectroal planning. Because the space in which the people live and work is real and to ignore the space and its community is to ignore the basic reality of interface between habitat, economy and society. The central argument of micro-planning is that as resources for development are space-bound that planning must be within the spatial framework so that human, natural and all other resources may be utilised fully and benefits of development may be distributed evenly. It may thus help to overcome the possibility of any further regional disparity in fostering economic growth and development.

In order to carry the benefits of development to the poor, to ensure the continuity of balanced growth and to provide social justice, micro-level approach to planning was recommended. It was thought by some experts that micro/ regional planning, as such, may take the planning objectives and strategy at the national level for granted, and especially addressed itself to the specific spatial features emerging in the formulation and operation of a national plan in a particular region (Gadgil 1967: 6). Strategically, micro-planning helps in fixing priorities for different regions depending upon their specific needs. And also for the successful implementation of the macro-level planning, micro-planning is often considered necessary.

c) Aim and Objective

The aim in 'micro-planning' is on planning from the lowest level i.e., from the functional community upward to a clearly defined region to fulfil the need of the local areas and ensuring the process of integration of the different areas with an objective to attain balanced regional development. Therefore, location of specific socio-economic activities and their inter-linkage over a region or particular geographical area are the major concerns of micro-level planning.

Micro-planning takes into cognizance the evolution of the spatial pattern of human activities without which economic, social and environmental goals of planning cannot be achieved upto expectation. It is thus put greater emphasis on those sectors which support the people of lower income groups, particularly the poor and the weaker sections in rural areas with an aim to offer them a better quality of life and ameliotaring their deplorable socio-economic conditions. Thus, to alleviate rural poverty and inequality, emphasis has been laid on spatial type of economic, social and environmental management through micro-level development planning. There is no denial of the fact that India's approach to development planning has been predominantly macro-oriented, emphasising national goals and priorities. Micro-planning, on the other hand, was developed to functionally maintain a balance between national priorities and local needs.

Reflection and Action 12.1

What do you mean by micro-planning? Highlight its need, aims and objectives.

12.3 The Background of Micro-Planning in India

Since the very beginning of Indian planning emphasis has been given on promoting a better standard of living of the people by efficient exploitation of resources of the country, increasing production and offering opportunities to all for employment in the services of the community within an ideology deeply rooted in the concept of democracy and socialism (Singh 1969: 254). For achieving these objectives, special significance has been laid on the welfare of the rural areas and the weaker/backward sections. But in reality, a larger share of the benefits has been appropriated by some privileged/forward classes as well as a few economically developed/advanced regions of the country. That has resulted in mass rural poverty, unemployment and underemployment, and social tension particularly among the weaker sections of rural population, and ultimately brought into being regional disparity and sectoral imbalances.

The first two Five-Year Plans of India made no effort in the direction of micro-level or regional planning and development. During the Third Plan, the regional focus in planning became more explicit and for the first time, it gave a serious thought over the problems of regional development. But due to lack of proper national policy with regard to spatial dimensions of planning, the micro-level regional approach to development could not be initiated in the actual planning strategy.

The Fourth Five-Year Plan (1969-74), however, noted that certain regions in the country are advancing at the cost of others and that certain sections of the population who already have some resources are prospering, while an overwhelming proportion of the population has generally remained outside the mainstream of economic progress. In order to correct some of these regional imbalances, it had emphasised the need for 'micro' planning (district level) on the assumption that plans made at the national and state levels can be brought down to the people of more lower levels in a much more efficient manner. So the Fourth Plan put considerable importance to planning at the district level and to experimental studies on 'growth centres' for evolving an appropriate micro-planning strategy at the grass-root level (*Fourth Five Year Plan* 1969: 229-30).

The Fourth Plan, in fact, marked a watershed in Indian Planning by emphasising the need to strengthen regional development through some kind of micro-planning. For the first time in Indian planning, it stressed upon the necessity to strengthen micro-planning at district and lower levels. The Fourth Plan initiated micro/regional planning from the grass-roots under the name of area development taking due note of regional resource potentialities and limitations.

It was strongly felt by the planners and policy makers that the planning exercise at the macro (nation/state) levels cannot take into account the local variations in resources and needs. Hence, an area development framework drawn up at the district and block levels was considered to be more realistic than one formulated at the state level. Therefore, for micro-level regional planning, initially, district was selected as a planning unit.

With the aim to accelerate development of backward areas and to reduce regional disparities in socio-economic advancement, the concept of integrated area development had emerged for sustained development of the targeted 'area'. Various models like growth centers, growth poles, service centers, central place, etc., had been advanced during the Fourth and Fifth Plans to serve the hinterlands of backward and tribal areas taking into consideration the economic base and population potential of that area. Integrated area development thus referred to the appropriate location of social and economic activities over a physical space for the balanced development of a particular region. The concept of integrated area development therefore offered a new framework for decentralising economic and social activities by locating specific functions in appropriate places (Sen 1972: 3-9).

Reflection and Action 12.2

Write a short note on the historical background of the micro-planning in India.

12.4 Approach and Strategies

Micro-level planning is considered as a method to bring about integrated area development in the countryside. It is, however, not limited to any particular settlement. Micro-planning takes a whole hierarchy of central places and its hinterlands as its focus. The emphasis in micro-planning is a planning from the lowest level upward to a clearly defined area or region. In many cases, this region may be co-terminous with the district. In doing this, the needs of the local areas as well as the purpose of regional development are served. The location of specific socio-economic activities and their interlinkages over a region are major concerns of micro-planning (Ibid).

The national plans while providing a broad framework of development, strategically, micro-planning helps fix priorities for different regions depending on their specific need. It has been realised that without micro-level planning, no national plan can be properly implemented. At the same time, without national priorities, no micro-planning is possible. Therefore, for all practical purposes, both the 'macro' and 'micro' methods of planning are complementary to each other, and their combined use is essential in bringing about an overall socio-economic development of the country. Or, to put it in another way, to make any development planning effective, there is a need to follow a two-pronged approach working simultaneously and in a coordinated way from the grass roots level up, and the national level down (Singh 1999: 247).

Micro-planning, in its true perspective, attempts to address the emerging socio-economic problems at various territorial levels. It offers a planning within a spatial framework so that all kinds of resources and endowments may be utilised fully and the fruits of development could be equally shared socially. At some point, micro-planning is often made synonymous with 'regional' and 'area' planning. From policy considerations, micro-planning provides a realistic approach for the socio-economic development particular for a country like India where regional disparities and imbalances are acute and problems of poverty and unemployment are alarming with specific features in the rural areas. It emphasises spatial process of development within the broad framework of the national plan giving due consideration to the spatial problems, resources and needs at the grass-root level.

The basic idea behind the micro-planning is to offer a "grass-root" approach in discovering growth potentials and various impediments to development spatially. In 1970s, the "growth centre" model had been identified as a basic tool for micro-level planning and development in rural India. In micro-planning, major emphasis has been given to the development of weaker sections of the population and of the backward regions/areas.

The concept of micro-planning was developed to bring planning efforts to district or block level for a balanced growth of all regions and all sections of population. Micro-planning came as a real breakthrough in the area of planning by offering a scientific local plan at the micro level. Taking into account the geographical scope of micro-planning within which various development programme can be effectively organised and implemented, "micro-regions" were identified as suitable units for the formulation of area development plans because they were found sufficiently close to grass-roots and afford opportunities for direct and active people's participation and implementation of the plan.

The spatial process of development, being the sole criterion for micro-planning, emphasises planning from the lowest level i.e., from the cluster of villages upward to a clearly defined region. The rationale behind micro-level area planning is that, there is hierarchy of settlements based on availability of services with specialisation in an area and population which need to be located at the most appropriate places. Micro-planning approach provides opportunity to the backward areas for development through different integrated area development programmes. It also offers a framework for decentralising economic and social activities by locating specific functions at appropriate places. Thus, location of specific socio-economic activities and their interlinkage over a region are the major concerns of micro-level planning (Singh 1982: 33).

The approach of micro-planning in later period also led to introduction of several new 'area specific' development programmes. The more prominent of them are the Command Area Development (CAD), Desert Development Programme (DDP), Drought-Prone Area Development Programme (DPAP), Integrated Area Development Programme (IADP), Hill Area Development Programme (HADP), Tribal Area Development Programme (TADP) and Whole Village Development Programme (WVDP). They are directed at specific areas or region which suffer from some disabilities or are prone to certain hardships.

Reflection and Action 12.3

Try to locate a micro-project operating in your area, collect information about, nature and source of fund, aims, objectives and achievements of this project. Based on your information write a three page note on the reasons for the success/failure of this project.

12.5 Advancement of Primary Education through Micro-Planning

The strategy of micro-planning is applied in various areas of social concern. As education is an important component of human development, in this section we shall be examining how micro-planning is used for advancement of primary education in India.

As you are aware education is in the concurrent list, both the central and the state government can make laws on education. Both the central and state governments have been expanding the provision of primary formal and non – formal education to realise the goal of Univerilisation of Elementary Education (UEE) since independence. There are several strategies formulated at the state, district, even at the village level to attain the objective of UEE. The

challenge now is to sustain and deepen current reforms in education and encourage local planning and management of strategies for expanding and improving primary education.

The National Policy on Education, 1986 and its policy of action (1992) envisaged the formulation of Village Education Committees (VECs) for management of elementary education. It emphasised on micro-planning as a process of designing a family-wise and child-wise plan of action by which every child regularly attends school continues his or her education at the place suitable to him/her and completes at least eight years of schooling (Government of India 2005).

The 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments provide for decentralisation of the activities and facilitate transfer of power and participation of the local self-government institutions or the Panchayati Raj institution. This institutions have widely been used by a women, Scheduled Castes and Tribes, minorities, parents and educational functionaries for the implementation of the UEE programme at the grass-roots. As the Panchayati Raj institutions have also been delegated with responsibilities to location and relocation of existing primary and upper schools on the basis of micro-planning and school mapping, these have emerged as effective tools for decentralised school management at the village level.

Since the Eighth Plan period the District Primary Education Programme has shifted the planning mechanism from the state to the district level, and '*Lok Jumbish*' has gone one step further by assigning decision making processes to a Block level committee. At the village level, a Village Education Committee has the main responsibility for community mobilisation, school mapping, micro-planning, renovation and construction of school buildings and improvement of pedagogical curriculum. A brief account of these community based programmes follows:

i)   **Community Mobilisation and Participation**

At the grassroots, educational innovations are based on the strong foundation of community support and participation. When educational progress is discussed and analysed at different levels within the project, "people's acceptance and participation" is used as an indicator. Mobilising the village community to take responsibility to ensure quality education for every child, is the core strategy of both '*Lok Jumbish*' (LJ) and *Shikhsa Karmi* Project (SKP) in their efforts to universalise primary education and deliver quality education.

ii)   *Shiksha Karmi* **Project (SKP)**

The SKP constituted VECs in 2000 villages also aims to promote community involvement in primary education and encourage village level planning. The role of the VEC is to mobilise resources for maintenance, repair and construction of school infrastructure, determine the school calendar and school timings in consultation with the local community and *Shiksha Karmis* (educational workers). The *Shiksha Karmi* Project (SKP) is being implemented since 1987, with assistance from the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA). The project aims at universalisation and qualitative improvement of primary education in the remote and socio-economically backward villages of Rajasthan, with primary focus on girls. Since teacher absenteeism has been found to be a major obstacle in achieving the objective of UEE, the project uses the novel approach of substituting teachers in dysfuncational schools with local youth known as *Shiksha Karmis* who are provided with rigorous training and supervisory support. An important feature of this innovative project is the mobilisation and participation of the community in improving the functioning of primary schools.

Lok Jumbish (LJ) project works to empower the locally elected people, especially the female representatives at village level, who are often active as members of the LJ core teams or women's groups. The Village Education Committees (VECs), are carefully formed and are trained to handle the LJ programme. Barely five years old, *Lok Jumbish* (LJ) has made an indelible impression in the primary education landscape of Rajasthan. The coverage of the project has extended to 75 blocks, covering a population of approximately 12 million. Significantly, it has also achieved a major breakthrough in welding together government agencies, teachers, NGOs, elected representatives and the people into an interactive group effort to promote universalisation of primary education.

The seven guiding principles of Lok Jumbish are:

- A process rather than product approach;

- Partnership;

- Decentralised functioning;

- Participatory learning;

- Integration with the mainstream education system;

- Flexibility of management; and

- Creating multiple levels of leadership committed to quality and mission mode.

Special focus has been given to environment building in all training programmes under LJ. This helps in the development of an understanding about issues involved in people's mobilisation, use of different media forms and clarity about the messages to be given to the people (Ibid).

Reflection and Action 12.4

Visit a government aided primary school functioning in your locality to collect information on the involvement of the local people in the management of the school. Also collect the information on how did the involvement of the local people affect functioning of the school and student enrolment and retention in the school. Write a note based on your observation in about 500 words.

12.6 Micro-Planning: The Need for a Holistic Approach

In India, micro-planning became a matter of concern and subject of study only in the early seventies of 20th century. The concept of micro-planning emerged taking in view the emerging socio-economic conditions of the country and the inadequacy of past planning efforts in checking regional disparities. Micro-planning is a novel approach for an integrated and balanced development of an area. The location of specific resources and socio-economic activities, and their interlinkages over a region are major concerns of micro-level planning.

Micro-planning addresses itself to the specific spatial features of particular regions laying due emphasis on local problems, varying widely in potentials, perplexities, resources, infrastructures and needs. In a nutshell, micro level planning is concerned with the allocation of resources of the planning entity concerned, to maximise whatever goals the entity may have (Singh 1999: 246).

Till the Third Plan, India had gone through the exercises of macro-level planning without evolving any micro-level plans for implementation. The Fourth Plan, however, envisaged the necessity of micro-planning in rejuvenating an under developed area by proper utilisation of the natural and human resources. It stressed upon the need to strengthen micro-planning at district and lower levels with an area development programme to provide infrastructure and

other growth requirements in each area. The proponents of micro-planning felt that the planning exercise at the national and state levels cannot take into account the local variations in resources and needs, hence, an area development framework drawn upon at the district and block levels was considered to be more realistic than one formulated at the higher level.

In case of any micro or regional planning, four prime considerations are involved for its actual policy formulation and successful performance. They are : (1) identification of the specific needs of the area, (ii) an accurate assessment of the limits and opportunities imposed on available resources of the area, (iii) selection of suitable strategy for development, and (iv) proper coordination at multiple spatial levels.

Moreover in preparing a comprehensive micro-level area development plan there is a need to integrate the economic and social goals into a single whole in a more coordinated fashion.

To conclude, in a country like India with its heterogenous composition of people and regions, the wide local variations in the levels of development calls for a different approach in which the plan is based on local resources potential and is sensitive to local needs. For this purpose micro-level regional and spatial planning could be proper instruments for promoting 'area-specific' development within the overall framework of the national plan. It could expedite rural transformation from the deplorable state of stagnation, poverty, unemployment and inequality to the progress, prosperity, self-employment and equity. However, if micro-planning is to be effective, micro-planning requires an interdisciplinary approach.

12.7 Conclusion

Even though the concept of micro-planning became a part of propular discousse, the concept varies from layman to policy makers. This unit familiarises us with the concept of micro-planning, its needs and objectives. It examines how the concept has been emerged in India and how it has been conceived in different Plans. Micro-planning is aimed at discovering growth potentials at grassroot level. Besides this, in India, micro-planning has been applied on various areas of social concern. In this unit we have seen how micro-planning is used for advancement of education in India. Finally it highlights the need for a holistic approach in micro-planning of human development.

12.8 Further Reading

Gadgil, D.R. 1967. *District Development Planning*. Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics: Poona

Singh, Radha Raman 1982. *Studies in Regional Planning and rural Development*. Associated Book Agency: Patna

Singh, Tarlok 1969. *Towards on Integrated society : Reflections on Planning, Social Policy and Rural Institutions*. Orient Longman: Bombay

Unit 13

Ecology, Environment and Development

Contents

Learning objectives

This unit introduces you to the environmental and ecological issues of development by highlighting the

- relations among ecology, environment and development;

- consequences of development on ecology and environment; and

- concerns of the ecological movements.

13.1 Introduction

This unit introduces you with the interrelationship between ecology, environment and development. It begins with a discussion on the concepts and their development. It discusses the consequences of development on ecology and environment. The issue of degradation of environment, social pollution and destruction of forests are also discussed here. The major concerns of ecological movements have also been discussed here. The last section of this unit deals with a few development projects that have raised alarm among the environmentalists all over the globe.

13.2 Ecology and Sustainable Development

The term 'sustainable development' gained wide international currency in recent years with the growth of ecological understanding at local, national and international levels not only among the communities and movements but also, among Nation-States and Governments. Ensuring environmental sustainability the 7th Millenium Development Goal requires achieving sustainable development patterns and preserving the productive capacity of natural ecosystems for future generations.

Till the beginning of the 1980s in many countries of the world, ecology was not integrated as an essential element of development planning and therefore it was not seriously considered as a major issue. The economic expansion in the last century and half had alarming consequences for the global environment. Depletion of ozone layer, air pollution, loss of forests and bio-diversity, extinction of plant and animal species, loss of marine life, soil and water pollution have occurred at an alarming rate. On realizing the importance of environmental variations, problems created by them and their impact on human settlement, quality of life, developmental problems and changes in fertility, mortality and morbidity, the concept of ecology acquired prominence during the 1980s. It brought forth the realisation that the ecosystem had to be protected for the betterment of life in general.

> **Box 13.1: Ecology**
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> "The word Ecology may be used as interchangeable with geographic environment and consequently ecological studies are often limited to the study of the direct effect of environment on the material culture of the people with simple technologies….. Social ecology is likewise concerned not only with direct response to environment where technology is unsophisticated, but also with the distribution and composition of groups necessary for the exploitation of natural resources, the indirect relationships which spring from these groupings and general conceptualisation of the cosmos associated with the specific habitats".
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> Source: *Dictionary of Sociology* 1969: 62

The recent period in human history contrasts with the previous in its strikingly high rates of resource utilisation. Ever expanding and intensifying industrial and agricultural production has generated increasing demands on the world's total stock and flow of resources.

Development interventions aimed at commercialisation of natural resources involve a major shift in the manner in which rights to resources are perceived and exercised. The resource demand of development has led to the narrowing of the natural resource base for the survival of the economically poor and powerless, either by direct transfer of resources away from their basic needs or by destruction of the essential ecological process that ensures renewability of the life-supporting natural resources. For development to be sustainable it must take into account the social, cultural, ecological as well as economic factors of the living and non-living resource base, and the long-term as well as short-term advantages and disadvantages.

a)   **Sustainable Development**

The Brundtland Commission, in its report, defined sustainable development as the "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 "need", in particular, is the essential needs of the world's poor, to which overriding priority should be given and the idea of limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organisation on the environment ability to meet present and future needs.

Thus the goals of economic and social development must be defined in terms of sustainability in all countries – developed/developing, market-oriented or centrally planned. Interpretation will vary, but must share certain general features and must flow from a consensus on the basic concept of sustainable development and on a broad strategic framework for achieving it.

Development involves a progressive transformation of economy and society. A development path that is sustainable in a physical sense could theoretically be pursued even in a rigid social and political setting. But physical sustainability cannot be secured unless development policies pay attention to such consideration as changes in access to resources and in the distribution of costs and benefits.

b)   **Colonial Domination over National Resources**

For centuries, vital natural resources like land, water and forests had been controlled and used collectively by village communities thus ensuring a sustainable use of these renewable resources. The first radical change in resource control and the emergence of major conflicts over natural resources induced by non-local factors was associated with colonial domination of this part of the world. Colonial domination systematically transformed the common vital resources into commodities for generating profits and growth of revenues. The first industrial revolution was to a large extent supported by this

transformation of commons into commodities, which permitted European industries' access to the resources of South Africa. The transformation of commons into commodities has two implications — First, it deprives the politically weaker groups of their right to survival, which they had through access to commons; second, it robs from nature its right to self-renewal and sustainability by eliminating the social constraints on resource use that are the basis of common property management.

With the collapse of the international colonial structure and the establishment of sovereign countries in the region, this international conflict over natural resources was expected to be reduced and replaced by resource policies guided by comprehensive national interests. However, resource use policies continued along the colonial pattern and, in the recent past, a second drastic change in resource use has been initiated to meet the international requirements and the demands of the elites in the Third World, leading to yet another acute conflict among the diverse interest. The most seriously threatened interest in this conflict appears to be that of the politically weak and socially disorganised group whose resource requirements are minimal and whose survival is primarily dependant directly on the products of nature outside the market system. Recent changes in resource utilisation have almost wholly by-passed the survival needs of these groups. These changes are primarily guided by the requirements of the countries of the North and of the elites of the South.

Reflection and Action 13.1

How do you think the increase in consumption affected the process of development?

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c) **Expansion of Global Market Fares**

Development as an ideology allows the indirect entry of global market domination. It creates the need for international aid and foreign debt, which provide the capital for such development projects that commercialise or privatise resources. Local resources thus increasingly move out of control of local communities and even national governments into the hands of international financial institutions. Forestry projects, dam projects and fisheries projects tie the resources of the remotest village to international investment and aid. Multilateral development agencies such as World Bank give loan for environmentally sensitive areas like agriculture, forestry and irrigation and through these loans give primacy to the market economy, and render nature's economy and the survival economy as indispensable. The condition for the loan determine the mode of utilisation of natural resources, the rates of return on investments in irrigation projects create an imperative for cash crop cultivation and wastage of water, even though it leaves the land water logged or an arid desert. Through internationally financed development projects, conflicts over natural resources pit tribal and peasant communities against international institutions with the state acting as an agent of dispossession of local communities, to clear the way for global plans and ideologies of development. Integration with the global market economy thus marginalises the concern for nature's economy and the survival economy.

The massive involvement of international finance in the economic development of Third World countries changes the natural resource management strategies in drastic ways. Rapid growth of export-oriented resource utilisation has led countries to the debt trap, with its concomitant ecological degradation.

Box 13.1: Chernobyl Catastrophe

On April 26, 1986, in the Kiev region, Ukrain, 12 kms from the Belarusian Border, a Catastrophe occured — the major breakdown of a power unit at the Chernobyl nuclear power station. By its scale, complexity to long-term consequence, it is the most severe catastrophe in the entire world history of atomic energy use. As a result of the explosion of the failed reactor, huge amounts of radioactive substance were emitted to the atmosphere. The accident has left its radio-active fallout trace on 23% of the territory of Belarus, 3778 settlements with more then 2 million people had resided therein; or 4.8% of the territory of Ukraine; 0.5% territory of Russia.

After the Chernobyl accident Belarus became a zone of ecological disaster. The situation got worse since the newly emerged area of radioactive contamination coincided with the formerly existing area of high chemical pollution. The area of agricultural lands contaminated with radioactive cesium-137 with a very high density constitutes 1600 thousand hectares. 1685 thousand hectares of forest in Belarus are contaminanted with radioactive elements. The catastrophe has affected the destinies of millions Belarusians. The radioactivity contamination of the ecosystem will stifle normal agricultural production and forestry for many decades.

Source: www.belarusguide.com

13.3 Environmental Concerns and Contemporary Social Theory

The more recent concern of the causes and consequences of the present ecological crises are significant to modern social theory. The relation between human beings and nature and the deleterious effect of human action upon the latter, a hitherto neglected area, has emerged as a major issue. Another important issue in contemporary theory is the growth of environmental politics/ movements which pose a challenge to the modern industrial/ capitalist mode of production and consumption which are essentially environmentally destructive.

Anthony Giddens, in his later works, attributes environmental problems to the modern industrial societies and the industrial sectors in the developing countries. Whatever the origin of the crisis, the modern industry, shaped by the combination of science and technology is responsible for the greatest transformation of the world of nature than ever before (Giddens 1990: 60).

Ulrich Beck distinguishes the modern society from the earlier ones as the risk society, characterised by its catastrophic potential resulting from environmental deterioration. In the pre-industrial societies, risks resulting from natural hazards occurred and by their very character could not be attributed to voluntary decision-making. The nature of risk changed in the industrial societies. Industrial risks and accidents at work sites, or dangers of unemployment resulting from the changes in the economic cycles, could no longer be attributed to nature. These societies also developed institutions and methods to cope with the dangers and risks, in the form of insurance, compensation, safety, etc. The risk societies are characterised by increasing environmental degradation and environmental hazards. "At the center lie the risks and consequences of modernisation which are revealed as irresistable threats to the life of plants animals and human beings. Unlike the factory related or occupational hazards of the 19th and first half of the 20th century, these can no longer be limited to certain localities or groups, but rather exhibit a tendency to globalisation" (Beck 1992: 13).

In the face of environmental risks and hazards of a qualitatively different kind, both real and potential, earlier modes of coping with them also break down. Yet when large-scale disasters like "Chernobyl" occur (see Box 13.1), protests do break out which challenge the legitimacy of the state and other institutions that appear powerless to manage the problems.

Giddens offers two explanations for the emergence of environmental politics-as a response to the ecological threats and thus "a politics mobilized by ideal values and moral imperatives". Ecological movements, he observes compel us to confront those dimensions of modernity, which have been hitherto neglected. Furthermore, they sensitise us of subtleties in the relation between nature and human beings that would otherwise remain unexplored (Giddens 1987: 49).

Habermas sees the ecology movements as a response of the life-world to its colonisation. Since they are an expression of the reification of the communicative order of the life-world, further economic development or technical improvements in the administrative apparatus of government cannot alleviate these tensions. For Habermas, capitalism is the primary cause of environmental degradation.

All these social theorists emphasise the need for democratization of state power and civil society. Giddens (1990: 170) suggests that not just the impact, but the very logic of unchecked scientific and technological development would have to be confronted if further harm is to be avoided. He argues that since the most consequential ecological issues are global, forms of intervention would necessarily have a global basis. New forms of local, national and international democracy may emerge and form an essential component of any politics that seeks to transcend the threats of modernity. Habermas, while recognising the limitations of modern state power, argues for the creation and defence of a public sphere where rational democratic discourse can occur. Beck argues for an ecological democracy as the central political response to the dangers of the risk society. Research agendas, development plans and introduction of new technologies must be made open for discussion and at the same time legal and institutional controls on them must be made more effective. All the above scholars point to the limitations of the pre-dominantly representative rather that participatory character of liberal democracy being an essential pre-condition for creating environmental sustainability.

A sociological/social science perspective in the analysis of environmental issues is still emerging. Responding to the demands of social reality, sociologists are just beginning to explore the many dimensions of the environmental problems of our times.

The ecological/environmental perspective opens up the unexplored dimension of some of the important areas of sociological concern.

As powerful critique of the modernisation/development agenda, this perspective brings out the unsustainability of the project. The indusrial capitalist mode of production and consumption destroys the very resource base necessary for its existence, but even more, threatens human life itself.

With the growth of ecological politics and movements, a new area of sociological enquiry has opened up, which transcends the conventional dichotomy of the right and left politics, that cuts across class divisions and even national boundaries and creates spaces for activism within the civil society using the popular initiative. In a fundamental sense, it calls for a redefinition of the relation between human beings and their natural environment and a reconsideration of the effect of human action upon nature.

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13.4 Consequences of Development on Ecology and Environment

The tremendous impact of human ecology is well manifested in the life-support systems including air, water, land and energy. As the human population grows, there appear imbalance of food production and crisis of space leading to environmental pollution which unfavorably alter our surroundings. Survival in such circumstances calls for an expansion or movement to a different place and destruction of the natural forest for human existence and comfort. These human activities in due course lead to all sorts of unfavourable alteration of our environment (pollution), which is now a worldwide concern. These human activities are discussed here.

a) Water Pollution

The major sources of water pollution are:

i)   **Industrial effluents** (wastes) or toxic by-products.

ii) **Sewage wastes:** This contains decomposable organic matter and pathogenic agents directly discharged into rivers, streams, lakes, etc.

iii) **Agricultural pollutants:** there ae excessive agricultural nutrients such as fertilizers, disease controlling chemicals (pesticides, herbicides, insecticides and fungicides).

These pollutants damage not only human beings but plants and animals alike. However compared to the other two, industrial effluents cause much greater pollution.

b) **Air Pollution and Noise**

The sources are:

i)   **Industrial manufacturing processes:** steel, chemical plants, oil refineries, fertilizer factories, etc.

ii) **Combustion:** Industrial and domestic combustion of coal, oil, forest fires, etc; through smoke, dust, carbon dioxide, sulphur dioxide, etc.

iii) **Automobiles:** These emit carbon monoxide, nitrogen oxide, suspended particulate matter.

iv) **Miscellaneous:** Agricultural activities such as crop spraying for pest control, nuclear energy programmes, etc.

v)   **Radiation pollution:** For example the one happened in Chernobyl or Gas tragedy in Bhopal

Here too, the omission of gases from industries, manufacturing and in radiation cause the greatest pollution.

c) **Soil Pollution**

i)   Solid fallout from explosion of nuclear devices.

ii) Agricultural activities — over application of inorganic manure and different chemical-based pesticides.

d) **Destruction of Forest**

Large-scale deforestation leads to flood, soil erosion, silting of rivers, contraction of agricultural areas and desertification. We see more deforestation through forest contractors than from local villagers who use the wood as fuel.

All these types of pollution affect human health directly or indirectly through environment, other flora and fauna, recreational amenities and productivity.

Reflection and Action 13.2

Half of the world's population already lives in cities and the pace of urbanisation continues to accelerate. Most of the world's mega-cities with over 8 million inhabitants are in the developing world. How do we make urbanisation more sustainable? Can we avoid problems such as air and water pollution, loss of farmlands and isolation from nature? What are the major ecological challenges human society are facing today?

13.5 Ecology Movements and Survival

The contemporary period is characterised by the emergence of ecology movements in all parts of the world which are attempting to redesign the pattern and extent of natural resource utilisation to ensure social equality and ecological sustainability. Ecology movements emerging from conflicts over natural resources and the people's right to survival are spreading in regions like the Indian sub-continent where most natural resources are already being utilised to fulfill the basic survival needs of a large majority of people. The introduction of resource and energy-intensive production technologies under such conditions lead to economic growth for a small minority while at the same time undermines the material basis for the survival of the large majority. In this way, ecology movements have questioned the validity of the dominant concepts and indicators of development.

Third World ecology movements, which resist the destruction caused by State managed market development, are challenging the concepts of politics and economies as defined within the narrow confines of the market. They reveal that there is a notion of democracy, which is wider and deeper than the market democracy. This is the ecological concept of democracy of all life based on the recognition of the right to life of non-human nature and all segments of human society, including those large numbers which do not and cannot produce and consume within the market, and who are treated as dispensable in the logic of the market. The Third World ecology movements highlight the way in which issues of ecology and equity, sustainability and justice are intimately linked to one another.

The intensity and range of ecology movements in independent India have continuously widened as predatory exploitation of natural resources to feed the process of development had increased in extent and intensity. This process has been characterised by the massive expansion of energy and resource-intensive industrial activity and major development projects like large dams, forest exploitation, mining and energy intensive agriculture.

Among the various ecology movements in India, the "*Chipko* Movement" (embrace the trees to oppose fellings) is the most well known. It began as a movement of the hill people in the State of U.P. to save the forest resources from exploitation by contractors from outside. It later evolved into an ecological movement that was aimed at the maintenance of the ecological stability of the major upland watersheds in India. A spontaneous people's response to save vital forest resources was seen in Jharkhand area, the one in Bihar-Orissa border region as well as in *Bastar* areas of Madhya Pradesh where there were attempts to convert the mixed natural forests into plantations of commercial tree species, to the complete detriment of the tribal people. Inspired by the *Chipko* Movement, the "*Appiko* movement" in the Himalayas is actively involved in stopping illegal over-felling of forests and in replanting forest lands with multipurpose broad leaved tree species. In the Aravalli Hills of Rajasthan there has been a massive programme of tree planting to give employment to those hands which were hitherto engaged in felling of trees.

The exploitation of mineral resources, in particular, the open-cast mining in the sensitive watersheds of the Himalayas, the Western Ghats and Central India have also resulted in a great deal of environmental damage. As a consequence, environmental movements have come up in these regions to oppose the reckless mining operations. Most successful among them is the movement against limestone quarrying in the Doon Valley.

Large river valley projects, which are coming up in India at a very rapid pace, is another group of development projects against which people have organised ecology movements.

The large scale submersion of forest and agricultural lands, a prerequisite for the large river valley projects, always takes a heavy toll of dense forest and the best food growing lands. These have usually been the material basis for survival of a large number of people in India, especially tribal people. The ecological movement against the Tehri high dam in the UP Himalaya exposes the possible threat to people living both above and below the dam site through large-scale destabilisation of land by seepage and strong seismic movements that could be induced by impoundment.

13.6 Development Projects as Ecological Concerns

In this section we shall present a few projects that have been widely discussed in recent years as threat to ecology and environment in India.

a) Tehri Hydroelectric Project

The controversial Tehri dam is a classic example of the wanton destruction of the Himalayan geosystem and ecology wrought by the demands of development. The idea of setting up a high dam in the lesser Himalayas to harness its power and water potential was conceived way back in 1949 and a site chosen on river Bhagirathi, 1.5 km downstream from the 1000 year old holy town of Tehri, 1550 m above sea level. Serious doubts were raised about the viability and location of Tehri dam.

Tehri dam is located in the central Himalayan Seismic Gap where the Indian plate is crashing into the Asian mainland at a speed of 2 cm per year. The geological disturbances being created by the construction of the dam may hasten and intensify the earthquake. The rocks lining the walls of Bhagirathi gorge are prone to seepage and the accumulating water may exert immense pressure on the hill slopes. This along with the constantly eroding shale of the river bed will weaken the dam's foundation which is said to be lying on a fault.

Further, the Tehri dam will obstruct the natural flow of the massive volumes of sediments raising the river beds upstream and endangering the populous settlements. It will inundate several villages and displace its inhabitants who have been living there for generations.

More precious land in this already dended land had to be cleared for those ousted, compelling them to surrender their fertile fields in return for barren patches. The rehabilitation scheme ignored the village as the unit for relocation and settled them as individual families thus taking away their collective bargaining power and destroying community culture.

People in the Garhwal Himalaya have been against the project and their opposition coalesced into a movement. A fresh review of the project and closer scrutiny of the dam construction is being done.

b) Narmada River Valley Project

The Narmada river valley project, the largest in the country, envisages construction of 30 major dams — 10 on Narmada and 20 on its tributaries — as

well as 135 medium and 3000 minor dams. Of these the two mega-dams are the Sardar Sarovar and Narmada Sagar. Some 21 million people dwell in this enormous basin covering 98,796 km sq. Around 80% of the population, with a sizeable number of tribals, live in villages and are dependent on agriculture and forests.

The Narmada Sagar and Sardar Sarovar dams were to be built in tandem, but the former estimated to submerge 90,000, was and thus never got underway being enmeshed in controversy from its inception. Construction of the latter, however, was taken up with zeal at the instance of the Gujarat government.

People affected adversely from the project are numerous and ever increasing. Hundreds of villages need to be evicted for the project resulting in the villagers and tribals being displaced and dispossessed.

Their traditional sources of livelihood are lost and rehabilitation does not necessarily recreate the same. The farmers of Nimar thrive on horticulture and when moved out of fertile plains, where will they grow their flowers?

It has been contended widely that there will be serious ecological consequences as a result of the building of these dams. Massive water logging and increased salinity of the soil would compound the problem.

Activists such as Medha Patkar and several other have drawn attention to these negative impacts on the environment. Protests in the form of strikes and indefinite fasts have emerged. Construction of the Sardar Sarovar dam has been stalled due to several anomalies which have been found in the project report of the government.

c) Bhopal Gas Leak

The Bhopal gas disaster, unparalleled in Indian history, reveals the mindless exploitation of developing countries by the multinationals for profit.

Union Carbide Plant set up for pesticide formulations expanded despite posing environmental hazard. The Plants' safety system was not up to the mark which caused the lethal leak and deadly chemicals were released in the atmosphere. The mushroom cloud which dissipated over an area of 40 km sq in Bhopal city, shed its toxins over the people, the poor being affected largely. Hundreds died while others suffer from chronic diseases, a result of the toxics, even today.

The Bhopal genocide is only a link in the chain of lethal pesticides and chemicals being developed by big industries and multinationals in their search for profit. It is the Third World countries where they dump hazardous products and experiment with deadly chemicals. Cities and towns especially the congested localities inhabited by the poor are the potential powder kegs, ready to ignite at the drop of a match. International dealers in pesticides, agrochemicals and petrochemicals, batteries, synthetic flares are swarming in, which without safety precautions and mindless exploitation poses a threat to the environment.

d) Chilika Shrimp Farm

Chilika, situated in Orissa, is the largest brackish water lake in India. It is a protected bird sanctuary, provides sustenance to thousands of farmers and fisher folk and has innumerable species of fish and marine life. Aquatic plants thrive in this unique ecosystem, making it an ideal spawning ground for shrimps.

Its natural propensity to breed prawns makes its blue waters irresistible to big business houses. Integrated Shrimp Farming Project (ISFP) in the backwaters of Chilika has been conceived by some corporate giants. When the project gets underway, a part of Chilika will be enclosed by a 13 km embankment to form an artificial lake. It will then be parceled into small ponds which will be filled up with seawater or freshwater as and when required.

To breed 250-300g shrimps in 30-40 days as proposed in the project, protein-rich feed, chemical fertilizers and pesticides will be pumped into the waters. The poisonous effluents will be dumped into the creek joining Chilika with the sea.

The natural ebb and flow of Chilka is set to lose its rhythm with the ISFP embankment which will dislocate the fish route. Chemicals and pesticides will destroy the spawning grounds and the pumps will scare away the birds. Cattle will not be able to graze on the new grass on the islands springing up in the arid seasons. There will be water logging, salinity and consequently ecological balance will be disturbed.

Reflection and Action 13.3

Discuss the dilemma of development. What kind of development would be equitable and sustainable?

13.7 Internationalisation of Enviornmental Concerns

With the increased internationalisation of environmental concerns, Lynton Caldwell (1990) notes that the "doctrines and dogmas of inalienable national sovereignty are being modified de facto to accommodate the imperatives of international environmental cooperation." In his opinion, "nations need not lose their cultural identity and integrity by cooperating with other nations in matters of common necessity. Indeed, international environmental policy has been directed to protecting and restoring the cultural and ecological distinctiveness of nations (Ibid)." The question is not merely the linkage between international environmental cooperation and national identity and sovereignty. One perceives an increasing tendency of contentions and debates on ecological issues at the global level on significant matters of sustainable development.

The deliberations on sustainable development in various international fora and conferences recently were compelled to deal with questions of the North-South divide and hierarchy. Wide-ranging differences persist due to a variety of issues like causes for global environmental degradation to the mechanisms of arresting ecological crises. While some perceive underdevelopment of Third World countries itself as a major cause of environmental damage, many advocates from these countries argue that the very process of development along the lines of industrial progress has been instrumental in unleashing a global ecological crisis. Third World spokespersons in international environmental negotiations demand that industrialised countries of the North should subsidise efforts of replacing environmentally polluting industries of the South. Responsibilities for global environmental crises like ozone layer depletion, green house effect, etc. are still contentious issues between the North and the South.

A critical international ecological perspective demands not only an urge to create newer and wider international environmental regimes to tackle specific problems but also a commitment to transformatory politics which addresses global unequal power relation.

The challenges to the nation-state system emanating from various quarters provide an ambivalent realm of perspectives from an ecological angle. Environmental activists and theoreticians conventionally argued that since the State is an embodiment of coercive power and an instrument of accumulation of resources, it has to be replaced by local self-governing entities and ecologically sustainable communities. The accelerated onslaught of globalisation forces on local and national lives of people and their environment pose new challenges to the development of a contemporary critical ecological perspective.

In the changing global context, local communities find it extremely difficult to stop the plundering of their natural resource endowments by transnational corporations and agencies. Ecology movements, while realising their own weakness due to their dissipated nature and the changing character of the nation-state are faced with the task of critically rethinking the linkage between micro-politics of movements and macro-politics of the nation-state and international affairs. Reinventing civil society and the state in new democratic ways is being proposed as the inevitable alternative route.

The International perspective on ecology and sustainable development envisages transformatory politics challenging the existing processes of accumulation and hierarchies of power from local to global realms. This politics of transformation envisions sustainability of nature and resources through the development of struggles to challenge forces, which exploit humans and nature. Such a perspective looks for meaningful and organic democratic local-global linkages with a bottom-up approach.

13.8 Participatory Approach for the Management of Natural Resources

Different conceptions and debates on environment-development connections by conservationists, developmentalists, women activists, tribals and other marginalized groups reveals that each one has a different position or emphasis on issues such as conservation, subsistence needs of the poor, particularly women; economic growth models and sustainability of critical resources, threats to eco-systems and issues of equity and distribution of costs and benefits in the management of natural resources. The focus on the environment-development connection has reframed the issues of control and management of natural resources as it reflects the demands of the global economy which are pitted against the peoples' claim to traditional rights and their livelihood. As political and economic battles intensify, livelihood interests and commercial interests are locked in never ending contradictions and may not be easily reconciled.

Over the years, various approaches for natural resource management have been outlined — both formal and informal arrangements — to support participatory processes on the grounds of efficiency, involving local people and building a partnership between the state and the community through appropriate institutional arrangements. Within the agenda of decentralised management of natural resources, one can identify several institutional arrangements such as self-initiated user groups, formal community groups established through government initiatives (Joint Forest Management or Watershed Management) and institutions of Local Self-Government (Panchayati Raj institutions). These local institutional arrangements shape the choices, priorities and bargaining systems to change state-community dynamics.

Community management of local resources or a decentralised strategy has assumed importance as it is expected to protect livelihoods and lead to a more sustainable management of resources. Another argument often made in defence of community management of natural resources relates to the indigenous/women's knowledge systems, which are embedded in a particular community or context. Shiva argues "Third World women tribal and peasants act as intellectual gene pools of ecological categories of thought and action" (Shiva 1988).

Women's responses to environmental issues are mediated by their livelihood systems, division of labour and unequal access to productive resources, and knowledge and information. Local NGO's have tried to build alternatives for the management of the local resource base and link issues of gender equity to issues of social justice, poverty and indigenous people's rights. The

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arguments for social justice and local people's rights are based on the premise that local communities have a greater stake in the sustainable use of resources and are better positioned to respond and adapt to specific social and ecological conditions and incorporate local interest and preference. They are also conversant with the local ecological practices and processes and can manage the resources through traditional forms of access and management.

During the last two decades, natural resource management and bio-diversity conservation have emerged as major priorities within countries and among donor agencies. People-oriented rhetoric and community-based natural resource management have become part of a strategy for bringing nations into line with global resource management initiatives (Neumann 2005).

Reflection and Action 13.4

Drastic changes in lifestyles and attitudes are essential for a sustainable tomorrow. Discuss.

13.9 Conclusion

The boundaries of environmental concerns are fast disappearing. Local-global linkages in ecological perspectives and movements are becoming more pronounced. While different sections of people and communities all over are raising issues of environment and survival through movements, nation-states are engaged in international deliberations and conferences for developing international protocols and creating international environmental regimes. A meaningful attempt at grasping ecological politics of our times has to understand and respond to the emerging conflictual and consensual dynamics within and between the local-global parameters. "Sustainable development" is a conceptual and policy arena where contestations on a variety of local-global factors occur. There is a need to decipher proper ecological perspectives in more concrete terms.

This unit delineates the inter-relationship between ecology, environment and development. It analyses how the question of ecology and environment are addressed in social theory. We understood most responses to the 'environmental crisis' will remain at best superficial and palliative unless there is a universal recognition that our species is an integral part of nature, that we must recognize the latter's limits. This understanding (as well as a lack of it) has profound implications for the kind of future society and polity that needs to be established. It also has profound implications for arenas as diverse as the content and direction of ideology, development, technological choices, and consumer freedom. The unit also makes an attempt to look into the mammoth proportions of the environmental crisis caused by the development practices presently adopted. And we understood the urgency of the need to find solutions to this crisis pose tremendous challenges to develop coherent, rational and ecological perspectives. Finally, an alternative paradigm for the management of resources also have been explored in this unit.

13.10   Further Reading

Munshi, I. 2000 "Environment in Sociological Theory", *Sociological Bulletin*, vol.49, no. 2, 258-62

Shiva, V. 1991. *Ecology and the Politics of Survival.* UN University Press and Sage Publications: New Delhi

UNDP, 2003. *Human Development Report.* Oxford University Press: New Delhi

Unit 14
Ethno-development

Contents

Learning Objectives

The central objectives of this unit is to explain:

- reorientation of developmental perspective;

- cultural consideration in development;

- endogenous development approach; and

- strategies of ethno-development.

14.1 Introduction

This unit deals with the approach of ethno-development as one of the approaches to sustainable development. Before going into details of the ethno-development it is necessary to discuss the growth of the approaches of development over the times. This will help us to understand how and why there has been growing demand over the times to develop appropriate development theories covering all sections of human societies. From time to time various scholars have pointed out the importance of understanding diversities of culture and specific needs of the communities for their own development. This growing concern about the social and cultural dimensions of development has brought changes in the developmental thinking, and as a result, approaches of sustainable development and ethno-development have emerged as the critics of the earlier developmental theories. In view of these issues, this unit will explain the various perspectives on development, cultural considerations in development and strategies of ethno-development.

14.2 New Concerns in Development Theories

The study of the development theories reveals that the meanings and concepts related to the theories vary over times. In the beginning, the core meaning of development was to achieve the status of advanced industrial countries of West mainly referred to remedies of shortcomings and maladies of progress. The development thinkers of the twentieth century have rejected the development thinking of the previous century due to the latter's failure to explain the development patterns of then society. Their reactions to the nineteenth century's failure are related to the process of industrialisation of non-western countries where this transformation uprooted a large section of people and made them workless. It was also alleged that this development approach has even dislocated social relations among the members of these societies.

a)   **From economic growth to human development**

The growth of colonial economics of development has generated dependencies of colonial countries on their rulers. The colonial rulers are mainly the European countries. It has been experienced that such dependencies has not created

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any environment of proper industrialisation in the colonial countries, although some development has been taken place in the interest of colonial rulers. In the name of the development the European or colonial countries have destroyed native manufactures as found in case of textile manufacturing in India and sabotage efforts at industrialisation in Egypt, Turkey and Persia (Stavrianos 1981, Pieterse 2001).

Gradually the economic growth theory emerged as development thinking. Mechanisation and industrialisation have become parts of concept of economic growth. To widen the scope of development, the dimension of political modernisation has been incorporated. Further, the new way to develop the thinking has included the wider dimensions. In the mid 1980s Amartya Sen's contribution to the concept of human development has been important to bring a different direction in the development approaches.

Structural reform of society is the basis of neoliberalism of development thinking. This structural reform of the society came about through liberalisation and privatisation of the economy. All classical and modern development theories are fundamentally structuralist. In the latter phase of progress of development theories this structuralist emphasis has started to change with the influence of phenomenology (see box 14.1). The theoritical orientation has been brought a shift in development approach to structuralist to institutional ones. It can also be interpreted as change from deterministic to interpretative views and from materialist to multidimensional and holistic views. Such a change can also be interpreted as shift from structuralism to constructivism. The source of constructivism is found into phenomenology and ethnomethodology (Peterse 2001).

Box 14.1: Phenomenology and Ethnomethodology

Literally, phenomenology is the study of phenomena; appearances of thing or things as they appear in our experience or the ways we experience things. Phenomenology studies various experience as experienced from the subjective or the first person point of view. Phenomenology is a 20th cnetury philosophical way of thinking about the nature of reality, which has influenced sociology. The German philosopher Edward Hussral (1859-1938) is closely linked with phenomenology. Phenomenology argues that the only "phenomena" that we can be sure of is that we are conscious thinking beings therefore we should study any phenomena around us in terms of the way we consciously experience them. This examination should be free of pre-conceptions of causal ideas. These ideas influenced sociologists such as Alfred Schutz (1899-1959) who thought that sociology should look at the way individual construct the social world (Schutz 1967). Phenomenology is used in two basic ways in sociology: (1) to theorize about substantive sociological problems, (2) to enhance the adequacy of sociological research methods. There are two expressions of this approach, which are constructivism and ethnomethodolgoy. Ethnomethodology integrates the Parsonian concern for social order into phenomenology and examines the means by which action make ordinary life possible. (Garfinkel 1967).

Ethnomethodology as a sociological perspective was founded by American sociologist Harold Garfinkel is early 1960s. The main ideas behind it are set out in his book *Studies in Ethnomethodology* (1967). It differs from their sociological perspectives in the way that which all the perspectives pre-suppose that social world is orderly, ethnomethodologists start out with the assumption that social order is illusory. For them social order is constructed in the minds of social actors as society confront the individual as a series of sense impressions and experiences which she or he must somehow organise into a coherent pattern.

However, along with the changes in the broader perspectives in the development studies there can be seen another trend of changes in the approaches. The development approach gradually started to be more specialised and specific.

It has become more local and regional in orientation. The early and the modern thinkers of development has been fundamentally associated with theoretical orientation of structuralism but the later development thinking has rejected this view. This approach exhibits more diversities in theoretical orientation. The earlier groups are concerned with generalized theoretical orientation having world – wide application for development. But the present development thinking does not believe in general application of generalised theories. Now the development approaches are not relevant across the wider regions. This development approaches are related not only to growth but to what kind of growth, not simply to development but what kind of development. This has helped in emergence of approaches in diverse new directions which have come to be known as sustainable development, people-friendly growth, pro-poor growth, etc. Now the development approach is related to groups, actor – oriented approach (Long 1994), and participatory approach (Oommen 1998).

b) Sustainable development

Sustainable development needs development approach from within the community. Earlier it was felt that technological and capital transfer from other countries would bring development. This has been gradually found ineffective in continuity of development process of society. Groups of scholars believe that to make the development sustainable there should be participatory and community based programme. The development approach should be identified by the local people themselves on the basis of their own needs. The designing and the implementation of the project principles and techniques suited to the local people are developed with the help of local people from whom the development planning is being designed. Since it is the development for the people the development process essentially depends on people's participation. Development cannot be successfully imposed on a society from outside. The sustainable development put stress on the participatory aspects of the local people on decision making process that affects their lives. The people for whom development programme has been adopted must take part in planning and the execution of every aspects of the programme. It believes that the development programme which does not involve the local people often fails. Therefore community participation or people's participation is essential.

c) Culture consideration in development

During the colonial period colonised societies have tended to modernise themselves for their own development. They have tried to adopt the attributes of modern societies, i.e., their colonial rulers. Therefore, modernisation and development mean westernisation of colonised societies and culture. The process has established strong trend in social transformation. But this approach and belief have started to decline along with development of colony-free national culture. Culture has gradually become a part of development studies. Along with the World Commission on Culture and Development in 1996 there has been increase of importance of the cultural dimensions and development. Now culture is not considered as an obstacle to the development process, rather as influential factor for development of a society.

In due course of time the development studies have been oriented more to cultural dimensions on the basis of cultural diversities. Earlier in most of the development studies Nation has been considered as the unit of development. But gradually this "Nation" has undergone considerable changes. Now the nation is not always considered as unit of development; it is the community or small section of a nation considered as the unit of development. The community development, local economic development and micro-regional development are gaining importance in the development studies. Local development in the various forms, like urban development, rural development, regional development, regional inequality, regionalism, ethnic development (ethno-development) are the common orientations of the development studies.

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However, there has been a trend of development beyond the nation, at the macro-regional level with inter-national cooperation and global macro-economic policies. The regional has become a familiar unit of development. There is yet another developmental approach at the world level with global macro-policies of the international institutions and UN system.

Consideration of culture in development is now new. Culture is found to be implied in many earlier approaches. The culture and development studies originated from Anthropology, particularly, Development Anthropology. Therefore, the anthropological methodology has influenced and modified the development studies in course of its changes. The anthropological participant observation method has gradually emerged as participatory and action oriented development studies. Participatory action research, rapid rural appraisal and goal-oriented project planning have been commonly used in the development studies.

Now development planning is generally "based on culture" because it is not possible to operate development outside culture. In development, culture is interpreted in relation to economic development. Political and social development get less importance. The Dutch Development Corporation policy asserts culture as the basis of sustainable development. The argument of culture for sustainable development has been developed by Stavenhagen (1986) and following him by Hettne (1995). According to their view and development should consider the "ethnos" (people) for whom development is intended. This is what is known as ethno-development approach. It is the approach that is concerned with the development of indigenous culture. The Dutch Development Policy recognised communities as bearers of culture, not the nations as a whole. It maintains cultural diversities and cultural differences among communities of a nation.

Reflection and Action 14.1

Why should cultural considerations be made part of planning? Discuss with suitable illustrations.

14.3 Emergence of Alternative Approaches

In the course of development of developmental theories the mainstream development theories, such as growth oriented theories and others, have been severely criticised. Gradually, alternative development theories have emerged to avoid the weakness of the earlier theories. The alternative approaches and their methodologies have emerged as development paradigm indicating a theoretical break from the mainstream development approaches. Some of the alternative theories are concerned with local development.

Dependency theory, one of alternative to the mainstream development theories, is concerned with structural macro-economic changes in the non-western societies in the line of western societies. There is another alternative development approach that emphasizes the capacity of people to bring about change with development. This development approach depends on different means: participatory action and people centred development. It does not depend on the other societies or countries for its own development.

a) Alternative Development

Since 1970 onwards alternative development approaches have emerged as people centred development. This development is geared to the satisfaction of needs of the people for whom development is directed. The alternative development is also known as endogenous development. This approach has its own distinct methods associated with it. Usually participatory method is also used for such approach. The participatory method initiates development process within the community and take into consideration the basic needs of the people for their

development. The alternative developments are different from the earlier development approaches in respect of their methodology; a participatory, endogenous, self- sufficient and objectives oriented. Therefore, development here must be undertaken from within the people and geared to their basic needs. Hettne (1995) believes that these are mainstream approaches. He puts least emphasis on the idea of demodernisation and anti-development theories.

In course of the development of developmental theories, the alternative development approaches have been institutionalised as part of mainstream development. The alternative development is a accepted as progressive, but not radical; it does not embrace any clear ideology and this could be absorbed by the mainstream development ideology (Pieterse 2001).

Hettne (1995) presents "another development" which is combination of the basic needs, self – reliance, sustainable and endogenous development. But this could not be developed as a paradigm or alternative model. Today there is not much differences between the approaches of alternative development and mainstream development. The components of alternative development approach like, participation and sustainability have been adopted by the mainstream development. There is no difference in principles. Gradually, this approach has become popular as Mainstream Alternative Development (MAD).

b) Endogenous Development Approach

The idea of endogenous development has emerged from the approach of the alternative development. It is more specific to ones' own culture in respect of its own development. The term, as it suggests, indicates the development from within the culture. It takes impetus from its own foundation of culture and gears the process of development. The notion of the "endogenous" takes into consideration social, cultural and symbolic aspects of a society. When we call endogenous development, we think it is opposite to the idea of mainstream development, which emphasises development through the process of change, that means, through the process of modernisation i.e. development of a society following the cultural characteristics of western societies. It is the process which can be called as westernisation. But endogenous development means shaking off all the traditional and existing customs, values, and beliefs of the society which intends to develop its self confidence. When goals and values are generated from within the culture, it also generate self- confidence. Here it is believed that modernity is generated from within own culture. Therefore, modernisation is not a thing to be borrowed from the west. There is no need to believe in modernisation of tradition. Any society can develop of its own; it can develop itself without the help of the others' path of development. Rahman (1993) mentions " Development is endogenous — there are no front runners to be followed". If a society tries to modernise itself by following models of any western country, it will lead to the destruction of its own culture by inviting western cultural elements in its own culture which may not be adjustable to the existing situation. There will be destruction of its own social values, moral and beliefs. Tradition always resists any change towards modernisation in the form of western model. Therefore, there my be conflict between tradition and modernity leading to unstable traditional cultural situation in a society (So 1990). But modernisation from within means innovation of new elements from within the society and adaptation to these new elements. Tradition is also considered as sources of innovation, change, development and modernisation.

It is seen that the endogenous idea of development is the foundation of the alternative development approach. But there are some problems to discern what is endogenous and what is exogenous element in a culture. There may not always any distinct boundary between endogenous and exogenous elements in a culture and development thinking. There is also a problem with regard to

the unit of development in the endogenous concept. In the conventional idea "society" is used as a unit of development or a "state" or a "nation".

In criticising the approaches of the mainstream development the ethno-developent approach has highlighted that the development statistics usually show country statistics, or at the national level. Besides country statistics other development statistics are available at the regional level concerning Latin America, Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, etc. In development studies the regions have become a familiar unit of development similar to the nation. The other scale of development action is the world – local, national and macro-regional under UN system. These broader units of development may not have any systematic in-depth approach at the micro-level such as the community or ethnic group of a nation or of a region, etc. The need-based approach of the ethnic group of community requires micro-and in-depth analysis of the community own ideas or perception of development. In other words this is what is called understanding of indigenous knowledge. The idea of indigenous knowledge has emerged to recognize the local knowledge (Chamber 1983, Brokensha et al and Hobart 1993). Agrawal (1995) has pointed out that ignoring people's knowledge about their own development is almost to ensure failure in developmental efforts. There has been a clear shift of the orientation of developmental approach which has been largely influenced by enthnomethodology in opposition to the enlightment or positivistic approach in the areas of development. Norman Long (1992) has advocated "actor-oriented" approach in criticising structuralist approaches in development and prefers to adopt anthropological approach.

Reflection and Action 14.2

Discuss the various alternative approaches to development and describe reasons behind the emergence of ethno-development as distinct approach to development.

14.4 Methodology of Ethno-development

The concept and methodological approaches of ethno-development incorporate conventional anthropological method such as participant observation. From this concept there emerges the methodology of the alternative development which is based on participation by the people. This is what has come to be known as participatory method. The idea is that development must be participatory and must involve local persons in decision making processes that affect their lives with development. The people or community, for whom development programmes are adopted must take part in formulation of development programmes. Those which do not involve the community or local people often fail. Participatory Action Research, Rapid Rural Appraisal, critical pedagogy and empowerment are the various elements of alternative development programme. What is special to these methods? These methods are applied to the local community context.

It is argued that since development should come from within the society not from outside, it must be participatory and community based. The initiative for development must be identified by the local people, who will involve themselves in designing and implementation of the development projects using principles and techniques suited to the local conditions.

Cohen and Uphoff (1980) have interpreted participation as "generally denoting the involvement of a significant number of persons in situations or actions which enhance their well-being, e.g., their income, security or self-esteem." Paul (1987) has defined participation, in the context of development, as "community participation that refers to an active process whereby beneficiaries influence the duration and execution of development projects rather than merely receiving a share of project benefits". Santhanam (1993) defines

participation as "commitment on the part of the individual towards all forms of action by which the individual can 'take part' or 'play part' in the operation without being conscious of any socio-economic barriers to achieve certain common goals in a group situation". This commitment is possible only when he is appraised with the situation so as to enable him/her to form an attitude based on his/her own perceptions. Lele (1975) from the study in Africa has explained that the local participation may mean involvement of people in planning and assessment of local needs. They may also be informed of the plans designed for their society if they are expected to give consent and to cooperate with the programme implementation. Participation thus can bring self-reliance to accelerate self-development.

Reflection and Action 14.3

There may be several problems in your own community related to water, electricity, repairing of road, or even livelihood security. Based on your own experience as a community member explain how the cultural resources of your community could be integrated for the solution to any of these problems.

14.5 Conclusion

This unit began with a small discussion on the various theories of development. The issues of sustainable development and cultural considerations in development are important dimensions of development discourse in contemporary world. Development is no longer defined solely in terms of economic growth. The cultural dimensions of society have emerged to play significant roles in contemporary development orientation. In this context the emergence of various alternative approaches to development i.e., endogenous development and ethno-development approaches are elaborated.

14.6 Further Reading

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Unit 15

Population and Development

Contents

Learning Objectives

This unit will help you to explain:

*   Malthusian and Neo Malthusian perspectives on development;

*   role of church and State on population control;

*   politics of population control; and

*   India's population experience and developmental concerns.

15.1 Introduction

This unit seeks to outline the role of population and its relationship with development. Conventionally in India, the study of population is understood to be the concern of demographers and, at the most, of government census officials who bring out the *Census of India Report* once in ten years. Population studies, however, is more than just keeping count of numbers, or of births and deaths. It presents an overview of the socio-economic condition of society and is relevant in determining its course of social and economic development. The Census is a mammoth exercise, a long drawn out process of collecting data on the number of persons in India with an assemble of information on the socio-economic status of the population. With every census, routine concerns have been raised and pronouncements made over the issue of over-population, levels of poverty and unemployment, and social inequities. The significance and importance of population studies to the understanding of society as a whole, that is, the social, economic and political spheres of life, has attracted the interests of experts from various disciplines. Concomitantly, the study of population has been marked by controversies, conflicts of opinion and long-standing debates on the desired course of development for the country.

For long, a major global concern has been the overpopulation of the world. High population rates in the so called developing countries (primarily Asian and African countries), it is argued, adds to the global crises of providing for more persons from the limited and already over-exploited natural resource base on earth. There are various perspectives on the understanding of the global crises and the issue of overpopulation. According to some experts, the hype associated with the role of overpopulation in aggravating the global crises is overstated. The overemphasis on population as the cause for the crises, they argue, shift the focus from other structural reasons for over and wasteful utilisation of natural resources by the advanced countries. In this context, the development debate gains significance and brings to light the politics around the population question.

The present unit attempts to present some of the key issues that are central to the debate on population and development. The first section would present

a historical backdrop to the concern in population, the reasons for its inception, the issues that it raised, the politics that accompanied the same and as to how the subject of population became an institutionalised concern in international circles. The second section would delineate the substantive issues that emerge from what is popularly termed as 'population questions', on how population becomes a point of altercation and negotiation between the advanced and the so called developing world over issues of development and the related environment and gender concerns. The third section would present the Indian experience with population issues and development and the broad policy shifts in understanding the population crises in the country. The conclusion would summarise the key issues raised in the different sections of the unit in relation to the debate on population and development.

15.2 Historical Background

Thomas Malthus' work *Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798) is considered as the pioneering work on population in which he explicated the fundamental theory of population growth. According to the theory, population grows at a much faster rate than what the natural resources can provide for. The number of people doubles every 25 years if unchecked and thus grows at a geometric rate (1,2,4,8, etc.) while food production increases at an arithmetic rate (1,2,3,4,5, etc). And given the limited natural resource base, there will be a shortage of food supply. This gap between the rates of increase of population and food supply creates what he termed as 'positive' conditions such as wars, famines and epidemics that act as checks against overpopulation. He was against the use of birth control methods and abortion to check population. He suggested some 'preventive' checks for overpopulation like prolonged celibacy and late marriage.

Malthus proposed his theory at a time when Europe was experiencing a decline in death rates due to improvements in medicine and an overall industrial growth. Subsequently there was a rapid growth of population in Europe, but the spread of industry and acquisition of colonies accommodated the growing population. Moreover, between the years 1800 and 1930, an estimated 400 million migrated from Europe to North America in search of better opportunities of work. Europe experienced 'depopulation' rather than 'overpopulation'. America was concerned about the rise in population, largely because of the influx of migrants as well as the high rate of fertility among them. America came up with strict immigration policies, which was resented by some European countries, as it closed doors to greater economic opportunities. France was the first country to experience a fall in birth rates around 1800 and her low fertility rate was considered as one of the reasons for her defeat against Prussia in 1870. Government efforts were made to deal with the problem in 1919 when a separate Council was established as a part of the Ministry of Health to suggest remedial action. The government introduced a number of measures to encourage larger families. Family allowances were granted to assist wage earners with large families. In 1923, the law against abortion was amended to make it more effective.

Other European countries too registered low birth rates, which led to pro-natalist measures (measures to keep the locals at home) in countries like Italy and Germany. For example in Italy, strict laws against abortion and birth control measures and emigration were introduced. In Nazi Germany, marriage loans were extended to couples to start families. A feature, which was already in place in Italy and France. The pro-natalist measures related well to the Fascist and Nazi propaganda of the time and took on ethnic and racist hues. Considerations of race and science led to the emergence of eugenics, a political movement and a philosophy that dominated Europe in the early twentieth century, particularly in Germany under Hitler. Eugenics is the selective breeding of the supposedly 'superior' human genes to improve the quality of the human

race. Eugenics became the fundamental justification for the persecution of Jews in Germany and racial discrimination in general.

Demographic considerations dominated many of the fears and consequent policy measures in Europe till the end of World War II. Population concerns became internationalised with the League of Nations (between 1900 and 1914) taking up issues of birth control and immigration for discussion in its various forums. Advocates of Malthus' prophecy from countries such as France, Italy and Holland, debated over the relationship between overpopulation and war. According to them, population pressure was the major reason for international tensions and economic rivalry between countries as well as colonialism. Pro-natalist movements were viewed as expressions of disgruntlement with the lack of access to economic resources leading to racist and ethic rivalries. The Neo-Malthusians, in their various forums such as the British Malthusian League (1919) and the Sixth International neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference (1925) repeatedly pledged to restrict the birth rate so that people are able to live in comfort in their own country without feeling the need to expand their territorial base. The British Malthusian League adopted a resolution to deny membership to any country that did not pledge to restrict its birth rate.

The term neo-Malthusianism was first used in 1877 by Dr. Samuel Van Houten, one of the vice-presidents of the Malthusian League. Neo-Malthusianism was not just a campaign in favour of birth control; it was particular perspective on the effects of population on human conduct and behaviour. The neo-Malthusian movement therefore was different from conventional Malthusian position on two counts: it stressed on birth control methods and also identified the working class with the problem of overpopulation. The overcrowded industrial slums were identified as sites of moral degeneration. This diverted the debate on population from issues of poverty and unequal access to resources, to birth control per se. Infact, the assumption was that access to commons or availability of resources would give the poor little reason to abstain from having more children. Neo-Malthusianism thereby reinforced the ideology of private property, individualism and capitalism (Ross 1998). The neo-Malthusian position found favour with the elite sentiments on the issue of overpopulation. The elite, threatened by the growing numbers of commoners, considered birth control as an important means of checking future conflict over their property.

The French delegates tried to maintain a stance of ambivalence though they were wary of contraception on the grounds that it encouraged the idea of seeking sexual pleasure without taking the responsibility of the consequences of the act. According to them, it devalued the institution and sanctity of marriage and family values. For the Catholic Church, birth control was illicit and immoral and went against the basic tenet of Christianity. Till the 1920s, most medical opinion was also against birth control, as it considered it unhealthy and immoral. The attitude started changing subsequently, as evidenced by the effort made by the British medical professionals in 1921 to appeal to the Anglican Church to reconsider their position on birth control in the light of existing medical knowledge. In America too, after a court ruling in 1929 that upheld the right of doctors to prescribe contraceptives for health reasons, birth control was included in medical curricula. Birth control clinics were set up in different parts of Europe and America and marked the new phase of the birth control movement. Birth control came to be popularised by taking recourse to the less "offensive" and more "social" terms like "family planning" or "planned parenthood", and the emphasis was on spacing of children and women's health.

In its bid to control sexuality and the domestic sphere of a person's life, birth control went against the modern values of individual freedom and the right of an individual to her/his privacy. On the other hand, it also questioned the orthodoxy of the times and presented birth control as an attempt to present

a choice to the individual to have a child or not. However the source of the birth control debate was not whether individual freedom should be protected or not, but on how to control overpopulation, depopulation or under population and its consequent effect on the world. Central to the debate were the issues of migration, availability of labour, conflict over resources, and poverty. The concerns were developmental and political.

The erstwhle Soviet Union was the first country whose government attempted to make birth control advice and services freely available. Lenin, a key supporter of family planning, distinguished neo-Malthusian propaganda from what he termed as 'the freedom of dissemination of medical knowledge and the defence of the elementary democratic rights of citizens of both sexes" (Symonds and Carder 1973: 21). The socialists consistently maintained that the hue and cry over population was a way to divert the focus from the core issues of inequality and class struggle. For the socialists, the real issue was unequal access to resources than rising population. According to them, there was enough for everyone, provided resources are shared equally. The problem lay in the lack of equal distribution, with the bourgeois and the propertied class unwilling to give up the large share of resources under their control.

After World War II, the situation altered with a number of newly independent states joining the United Nations. By then the neo-Malthusian demographic transition theory was well accepted. According to this theory, all countries pass through four stages of demographic evolution. The first phase is the pre-industrial stage, marked by a high birth and death rate and slow population growth. The second stage is characterised by a population explosion, with improvement in technology and social conditions of life. The death rate is low but the birth rate remains high leading to a high population growth rate. The third stage marks the beginning of the decline in the birth rate due to socio-economic changes and the fourth stage stabilises this trend and establishes a low and steady population growth rate. The interesting aspect of the theory is that population growth was supposed to reflect the level of economic development of a society. It established a low population rate as a key indicator of an economically developed country.

The post-colonies or the countries of the 'third world' stood out in terms of the neo-Malthusian analysis. The countries that break oil of the dutches of colonial rule seemed to be undergoing the second stage of demographic transition, that is, they were experiencing high birth rates and low death rates. With better medical facilities and infrequent famine conditions, population had not only stabilised but also increased at a rapid rate. They were considered as backward, far behind the advanced societies in terms of economic development and technological growth, which was reflected in the persistent high rate of population growth rate. These were a matter of concern for the developed world. Years of colonialism had left these countries poor, with a large population to provide for.

Reduction of population became a priority with the UN. The focus was on raising nutrition levels in developing countries and providing better health facilities to women and children. The proposal to set up the Population Commission came up in 1945, which was opposed by former USSR and Yugoslavia on the grounds that another Commission would only confuse matters, given the proliferation of international bodies within the UN. But the main reason for opposing the Commission was because it focussed primarily on "population changes" and the impending doom following the population explosion, rather than on "growth". It ignored the role of global capitalist development in the production of economic backwardness in developing countries. The Commission was nonetheless formally established in 1946. Although it had no decision making power, it worked in collaboration with the other specialised agencies of the UN such as the International Labour Organisation (ILO), Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) and the World Health Organisation (WHO).

Reflection and Action 15.1

What are the major differences between Malthusian and Neo-Malthusian views on population growth and control? What has been the role of Church in population control in Europe?

15.3 The Politics of Population Control: Environment and Gender

As discussed in the earlier section, scientific studies to evolve ways and techniques of engineering demographic transition in the developing world had been well established in the United States around the Second World War itself. The UN too had taken upon itself the task of encouraging third world countries to include birth control and family planning within its official responsibilities. The general perception was that the primary reason for underdevelopment and poverty in developing countries is overpopulation, in that whatever is produced is spent on feeding that many persons. This keeps the per capita incomes low and people are unable to come out of situations of poverty. They live in unhygienic conditions, have no access to education, health facilities, and family planning techniques, and have more children with the hope that there would be more persons to labour and earn a living. According to the neo-Malthusians, it is this vicious circle that perpetuates poverty and the only way to cut through this mesh is by controlling population growth.

This position is intolerant to the argument put forward by the third world countries that development is the best contraceptive. The idea being that with socio-economic development and consequent improvement in the standard of living, population rates will slow down. This, however, is unacceptable to the neo-Malthusians on the premise that the world cannot afford to wait that long, given the alarming rate at which the population is growing. The impatience has also grown with an increasing awareness about the global ecological crises. The ecologists have drawn attention to the limited carrying capacity of the earth and the limit to its resources, an idea central to Malthus' thesis. The ecological movement, which gained momentum over the last century, has consistently predicted doom in the near future if the earth continues to be overexploited at the present rate. For the neo-Malthusians, this argument directly addresses the issue of overpopulation, that is, the overexploitation of the earth is a direct consequence of the larger number of people who feed on it.

This argument however has been criticised for being simplistic and factually incorrect. The industrialised nations, which account for less than 25% of the world population, account for 75% of the world's energy use and two-thirds of green house gases that damage the ozone layer. The effects are global and affect everyone. Moreover, the third-world countries have been used as dumping grounds for the toxics and chemicals produced by the multinational companies of the advanced countries in the third world. Thus it seems that the source of the ecological crisis is not 'overpopulation' but 'over consumption'. The crisis lies in the fact that the rate of reproduction of nature is slower than the rate of industrial production.

The neo-Malthusian position on poverty and population also fails to explore the role and extent of structural inequalities of class and status, unequal access to the means of production and a lack of structural reforms in the perpetuation of the conditions of poverty. The mechanisation of the hitherto labour intensive agricultural sector has accentuated class differences and hastened the marginalisation of the lower strata. In India, the Green revolution, a movement to increase food production and to realise the goal of food self-sufficiency in the country, was achieved through technological upgradation of the methods of agriculture and the introduction of high yielding variety of

hybrid seeds. The example is of interest more so because it was introduced to boost economic growth and agricultural production. Despite the immediate gains of the green revolution, it triggered off a series of social, economic and environmental complications. In the absence of land reforms, the commercialisation of agriculture benefited the rich farmers and created conditions of indebtedness among the poor farmers. The poor farmers did not have as much land or the financial resources to benefit from the green revolution.

Box 15.1: Mythand Fact

Myth: Poor people will be better off if they had fewer children to feed and clothe.

Fact: This depends on whether children are an asset or a liability. In the US, for instance, the cost of supporting a child to the age of 18, excluding college fees, is over $100,000 and 50% of American women using contraception are doing so because they feel they cannot afford another child. But in countries of the South, boys are already producing more than they consume by the age of 10 and have repaid their parents' investment in their upbringing by the time they are 15.

(**Source:** Facts Against Myths 1993)

As for the environmental consequences, the use of pesticides, chemical fertilisers and hybrid seeds have had a negative effect on the soil quality. In fact, commercial agriculture and the over utilisation of ground water has created conditions of drought all over India. The environmental crisis has put even the tried and tested route to development of the modern and advanced countries to question. The construction of large dams, monoculture plantations and commercial agriculture have not only created conditions of poverty, but also questioned the explicit faith in the dominant ideas of progress and development to bring about the appropriate demographic changes. The overexploitation of the environment has put a large section of the world population at risk. Millions of persons have lost their livelihoods, face severe health risks, and have been forced to migrate to the already overpopulated cities in search of alternative employment. The indigenous peoples across the world or tribes, as they are known in India, have collectively campaigned against the destruction of their natural habitats, which has cut into their source of livelihood and forced them to migrate in search of employment.

Studies on fertility and poverty reveal the complex relationship between poverty and the tendency to have more children. For one, unlike the neo-Malthusian belief, children are not viewed as liabilities but as assets. The motivation to have more children varies from class to class. Landless labourers, who depend on manual labour, and the poor farmers, who cannot afford mechanised alternatives to manual labour, prefer to have more children. Overpopulation then is not the cause of poverty, but perhaps or at the most a symptom. This is to say that having more children is not the reason for their impoverishment, but is a calculated, rational economic decision on their part. According to the ILO statistics, 1995, there are 250 million children in the age group of 4 - 14 years working for a living and 50% of them are employed full time (Bandarage 1997: 159). The *World Development Report,* 1984 further supports this argument through its findings in Thailand, South Korea, Indonesia and Turkey; children here are considered as investments, as persons who would take care of their parents in the future. This heavy reliance on children also demonstrates the absence and poor performance of other forms of institutional support structures and welfare programmes in the third world. Clearly a unidirectional focus on population cannot explain or 'cure' poverty and its persistence in the third world.

> **Box 15.2: Myth and Fact**
>
> Myth: Muslims do not practice family planning because of their religion
>
> Fact: Islam does not prohibit family planning. Several '*Ulemas*' of different countries infact have already issued '*fatwas*' saying that all temporary forms of family planning for medical and economic reasons are permitted. In Islamic countries like Turkey and Indonesia, for instance, family planning methods are quite popular. In Turkey, 63% of the population uses contraception and in Indonesia the figure stands at 48%.
>
> Islam prohibits abortion only after 120 days of conceiving, except to save mother's health.
>
> (**Source:** Facts Against Myths 1993)

Another factor that needs to be discussed alongside the issue of overpopulation is the simultaneous prevalence of high rate of infant mortality and fertility in developing countries. An analysis of the reasons reveals structural factors for the same. The low status of women, lack of proper nutrition and personal health emerge as common reasons for high rates of infant mortality. Infant mortality only registers death of children in the first year of birth, while many of the children who do survive beyond the first year die due to lack of proper nutrition and care. In a system dominated by patriarchal values, which attaches greater value to a male child and recognises women primarily by their reproductive functions, the motivation for having many children is structural. In such a situation, women either lack the power to decide whether to have a child or not, or exercise their reproductive role in order to find acceptance in the system.

Contraceptives or other techniques of birth control have been misused to control women's fertility. Thus instead of providing women greater control over their reproductive functions, birth control techniques have provided a means of controlling women's bodies. The proliferation of illegal and private sex determination clinics all over India is the case in point. Female infanticide and termination of pregnancy to avoid having a girl child is a common practice. Similarly, in China, the resurgence of female infanticide and abandonment of children in the early 1980s was attributed to the pressure created by government's family planning program. The fear is that the drop in the number in females will lead to other forms of exploitative practices against women such as revival of infant betrothal and new forms of sexual and economic slavery.

There is also a controversy over the politics of technology transfers from the first to the third world. The concern about population, and now HIV/AIDS, has also been viewed as a circuitous means of creating a market, or rather a "dumping ground" for many of the obsolete technologies, of the first world in the developing world. In such a scenario, is it good enough to control birth and bring down the population? Is it not important to address the ethical issues surrounding birth control technologies and the overdrive to check overpopulation without dealing with the larger structural dimensions of the problem? In order for family planning techniques and birth control measures to be meaningful, social and economic conditions of women have to be improved. By concentrating on women's reproductive roles, women's productive lives are not considered in comprehending their compulsions and the reproductive choices that they make.

> **Reflection and Action 15.2**
>
> How does population control policy of the state affect women's status in society?

15.4 INDIA: The Population Experience and Developmental Concerns

India was one of the first countries to recognise the population problem and adopt an official national programme on family planning in 1952. Concern over the rise in population in India started well before independence, in the 1930s. Between 1881 and 1931, India's population grew from 27.7 million to 279.0 million; and between 1931 and 1940, it grew from 279.0 million to 318.7 million. The rise was phenomenal, from 10% in the first decade to a 14% in the second. This growth was unprecedented, primarily because of the measures taken to control epidemic and famine situations. The concern over the rise of population was more among the social reformers, intellectuals, and the Congress party than in the British government. The British government was cautious in raising the issue, as they had witnessed the reaction of people to birth control back in Britain and also because they did not want to create conditions of unrest among the Indians over the issue.

Most Congress workers, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, were against birth control measures. The use of contraceptives was considered sinful; it was seen as a method to offset the procreative role of sex. But many leaders, scholars and trainees of the Indian Civil Service, who had been to England and were acquainted with the Malthusian theory, considered India as a likely casualty of the 'positive' checks — wars, famines and epidemics — due to overpopulation and poverty. The Neo-Malthusian League was established in Madras (present Chennai) as early as in 1929. The League brought out a propaganda journal titled *The Madras Birth Control Bulletin*. It was in Mumbai that birth control was for the first time seen not as a means to control the population, but as a method of liberating women from the frequent and difficult task of childbearing, preventing unwanted pregnancies, and improving the health of women. Professor R.D.Karve in Mumbai made it his life long mission to campaign for the rights of women and educate people about birth control. He later became the member of the Family Planning Association of India formed in 1949. In 1935, the All India Women's Conference also took up the issue of birth control in the annual meeting held in Thiruvananthapuram (Kerala) and adopted a resolution to uphold birth control with the view to improve the status of women in society.

The Bengal famine, in which over 1.5 million people died, and the inquiry that followed brought to light the effect of a rising population on the economy and poverty. Similarly the *Bhore Committee Report* of 1949 also related issues of public health, sanitation, and prevention from communicable diseases with population control. Both the reports formed the foundation for the family planning programme after independence and its inclusion into India's five-year development plans. The First Five-Year Plan (1951-6) stated its intention as follows, "the reduction of birth rate to the extent necessary to stabilize the population at a level consistent with the requirements of the national economy" (Srinivasan 1995: 30). Clearly, the intention was not just to reduce population, but also to stabilise population growth rate at a level that can be sustained by the national economy. But population control was pursued as an independent agenda, separate from the concerns of development and social change.

No numerical targets or demographic goals were set in the First and the Second Plan (1956-61) and people were expected to go to the clinics and seek family planning services. Besides providing the regular methods of birth control such as diaphragm, condoms, vaginal foam tablets, sterilisation services were also provided. The Third Plan (1961-66) replaced the clinic-oriented approach with an extension-education approach, which aimed at taking the message of birth control to the people instead of waiting for them to approach the government clinics. The message to the people was to adopt the small family

norm, which was not only a sensible choice in terms of giving their children a better future and improving the health of women, but also the need for building a healthy and prosperous country. The family planning programme was officially made a part of the public health departments and peripheral health workers such as the Auxiliary Nurses-Midwives (ANMs) were appointed in primary health centres to inform, motivate and encourage villagers to adopt family planning methods. By the Fourth Plan (1969-74), targets for sterilisation were set and camps were held to operate on people to meet targets. Although 61% of the target was achieved, population growth increased at the same rate, which perplexed policy makers and administrators.

It was in the Fifth Plan period (1974-79) that the National Population Policy (1976) was formulated. Concerted effort was made to improve the organisational structure of the health department and increase its efficiency in achieving family planning goals. Government offices, villages and urban centres were targeted for sterilisation. The Emergency that followed soon after, as per many analysts, brought out the uninhibited and obsessive side to this drive of bringing down the population. The emergency created a fear among people about forced sterilisation, and the newly elected Janata government changed its approach to pacify people's fear regarding birth control. It adopted the term "family welfare" instead of "family panning" to suggest a malleable character of the programme. The concentration was now on educating people and thereby motivating them to adopt family welfare measures. A number of recommendations of the 1976 policy were nonetheless adopted. For example, the age of marriage of boys and girls was raised to 21 and 18 respectively. The Sixth Plan (1980-85) set long and short-term targets, which persisted through the Seventh Plan (1985-91); the long-term goals focussed on reducing the size of the family, the birth, infant mortality and death rates, while the short-term goal was to encourage sterilisation, use of Intra-Uterine Devices (IUDs) and other conventional contraceptives.

The Plans demonstrated, time and again, that enacting laws or implementing birth control programmes was unable to deliver the desired results. The deeper analysis of the population puzzle reveals that the accompanying measures to reduce poverty levels, economic and social disparities in the country were not effectively translated into practice. Most remained on paper; the goal of employment for all, improving the quality of life of people by providing efficient and regular basic services of education, health and sanitation, and water and most importantly strengthening the capacity of people to procure these services without difficulty are yet to be achieved. High population growth rate is found in the northern states of India in comparison to the rest of the country. Interestingly, Kerala, which is one of the states that has brought down its fertility rates, is still one of the most economically backward states in the country. The Kerala experience illustrates how economic growth is not the only important condition for population regulation. Infact, the case of West Bengal, the other communist stronghold in the country has not been able to achieve the success of Kerala, primarily due to the lack of attention given to female literacy.

An analysis of states like Goa, Kerala and Tamiladu, which have registered a drop in population growth, demonstrates other supposedly "extraneous" reasons for the same. Goa despite the strong presence of the church has never been averse to family planning propaganda. It has like Kerala always recorded high female literacy level. The age at marriage of women has been higher than the rest of India. Kerala with a communist state in power for over two decades in the State and a strong workers' movement was able to direct economic and social change. Land reforms, regularisation of minimum wages in agriculture and the organised sectors, and premium attention to primary and secondary education ensured social justice and reduction of poverty levels, and thereby created conditions for fertility regulation and decline in population growth.

Tamilnadu's experience reveals the role of a strong bureaucracy and political will in popularising the family planning programmes. Known for the self-respect movement spearheaded by Periyar and his strong radical views on caste, status of women and education, marriage and contraception in the 1920s, the political and social climate was already set for implementing birth control programmes. The bureaucracy in Tamilnadu pioneered the family planning programmes and developed a comprehensive maternal and child welfare programme in the state. The 'camp approach' was also systematically institutionalised in the state. The programme was also decentralised to the district level and was made a special responsibility of the district administrators. Components of teaching or awareness building, extension or instructions about contraceptive services and 'after care' services to persons who undergo vasectomy was included in the programme. Popular initiatives (funded by International agencies) like midday meals for over 9 million school children, which also generated employment for over two hundred thousand women in the villages, further helped in building a mass base for the programme.

Evidently the supply driven services of fertility and population regulation have to be complemented by the principle of demand for these services. The demand or motivation for fertility regulation has to be created by concerned citizens, organisations and the government. Increasingly it is clear that a target-oriented programme of population control is narrow and does not address the larger social, political and economic issues that perpetuate conditions of poverty, illiteracy and ill health. Any policy framework for population control has to create favourable conditions for economic, social and political equality as well as environment friendly economic growth. Bureaucratic efficiency and good governance are also at the heart of a successful delivery system of health services. Unless this multi-pronged approach is adopted and implemented with right earnest, containing population growth will be difficult, if not impossible. The National Population Policy of India, 1994, explicitly argues for a pro-poor, pro-nature and a pro-women population programme, which views people as active partners in dealing with the population problem rather than the source itself. Initiatives by the Indian government to decentralise development concerns to the lowest levels of administration and thereby involving the elected representatives of the village councils and non-governmental organisations in implementing health programmes, as well as mainstreaming alternative medicine systems and health delivery systems within the government have been attempts to evolve a multi-pronged approach to population and development. The policy changes, however, have to be supported by a strong political will and a sense of social responsibility.

Reflection and Action 15.3

Select any two States in India. Collect data on these States of the 1991 and 2001 census on

i)   population by rural, urban, male and female;

ii)   literacy by rural, urban, male and female; and

iii)   work participation by rural, urban, male and female.

Arrange these data in a tabular form and compare the co-relationship among these variable as emerged in these states keeping the following questions in mind:

a)   What is the pattern of population growth in these states by gender?

b)   Is there a relationship between literacy and population growth?

c)   What is the relationship between work participation and population growth?

15.5 Conclusion

In this unit, the attempt is to move beyond statistics in understanding the issue of population growth. The issue of population control has always been surrounded by controversies. The first section illustrates how the population debate at its inception was closely associated with the social and economic changes in the western world. Religious orthodoxy, concerns of depopulation and the availability of labour and the overcrowding of urban centres and rising poverty plagued the debates on population growth. The attempt is to demonstrate the importance of ideological positions in the adoption of particular strategies in dealing with the issue of population.

The second section carries the debate further, as it evolved after the Second World War between the advanced countries and the newly independent nations of the third world. Over population was identified as the main reason for backwardness and poverty in the third world. While the third world believed that economic development would lead to a decline in the population rate, the same did not convince the advanced countries. The pressure to control population was mounted on the third world especially in the wake of the 'limit to growth' thesis, which argued that earth would not be able to sustain the ever-growing population on her limited resource base for long. The section also examines the implications of the population politics on women.

The third section traces the broad policy orientations on population in India and presented case studies to understand the reasons for the failure and success of the programmes in different parts of the country. Analyses revealed the role of larger structural and social reforms, and efficient government delivery systems as the underlying reasons for their success. These cases have prompted a countrywide debate on population, and some of issues have been included at least at the policy level. This unit traces the debate from its inception to the present with a view to addresses some of the issues that have contributed to its growth and intensity all over the world as well as in India.

15.6 Further Reading

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Glossary

Altruism: The dictionary meaning of altruism is the behaviour intended to help others and done without any expectation of personal benefit. Durkheim, the social thinker talks extensively about altruism and altruistic suicide. For him altruism is the violent and voluntary act of self-destruction for no personal benefit. Altruistic suicide occurs when the individual's integration with the society is too great and the collective consciousness is also too strong.

Asceticism: It is rejection of bodily pleasures through sustained self-denial and self-mortification, with the objective of strengthening spiritual life. Asceticism has been common in most of the major world religions, including Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, Judaism, and Christianity etc., all of these have special ascetic cults or ascetic ideals. 'Fasting' is one of the most common ascetic practices seen among these religious practitioners.

Balance of Payments: It is a record of official estimates of all transactions between two countries during a year. It shows the sum total of all external transactions arising from export and import of goods and services and transfers, such as remittances and capital inflows and outflows (transactions on capital account).

Barbarism: An uncivilized or coarse state or condition; rudeness of manners; ignorance of arts, learning, and literature etc.

Biodiversity: A term for the variety of ecosystems, plants and animal species, and genetic differences that exist on the earth. Scientists estimate the number of species existing on earth as between 5 million and 30 million.

Bureaucracy: Bureaucracy is a sociological concept of government and its institutions as an organisational structure characterised by regularised procedure, division of responsibility, hierarchy, and impersonal relationships. According to Weber, the attributes of modern bureaucracy include its impersonality, concentration of the means of administration, a leveling effect on social and economic differences and implementation of a system of authority that is practically unyeildable.

Civilisation: An advanced state of intellectual, cultural, and material development in human society, marked by progress in the arts and sciences, the extensive use of record-keeping, including writing, and the appearance of complex political and social institutions.

Common Property Resources: Natural resources accessed through social and legal institutions that ensure sharing of benefits from the resources but that may also impose regulations on their use. The management of such natural resources will be community based. This is different from "open access" resources.

Commons: Commons are pieces of land historically available for grazing by anyone. They are any sets of resources that a community recognizes as being accessible to any member of that community and "owned" equally by every member of the community, even though the community recognises that only a limited number of members may use the resource at any given time. The nature of commons is different in different communities, but they often include cultural resources and natural resources. The Commons are most often a finite but replenishable resource, which requires responsible use in order to remain available.

Comparative Advantage: A component of free market theory that states that if each nation made just those things which it could produce cheaper relative to a foreign country and then trade with other nations to get that which they could produce relatively cheaper, wealth would expand and everyone would benefit. For David Ricardo, the economist who formulated the concept of comparative cost (today called as comparative advantage), comparison is of "unit labor requirements". His argument is that a country that trades for products that it can get at lower cost from another country is better off than if it had made the products at home.

Concomitant: Interrelated facts or phenomenon. It may be a social event or situation that happens at the same time as or in connection with another.

Diffusion: Diffusion is the spontaneous spreading of something such as particles, heat, or momentum. In cultural anthropology diffusion means spread of ideas or artifacts from one culture to another.

Discourse: a term described by Dr. Ortwin Renn in the theory of communicative action, to denote a special form of dialogue in which all affected parties have equal rights and duties to present claims and test their validity in a context free of social or political domination. Michel Foucault saw a discourse as a system of ideas or knowledge, inscribed in a specific vocabulary (eg psychoanalysis, anthropology, cultural/literary studies). The important thing, for Foucault, was that such discourses were used to legitimate the exercise of power over certain persons by categorising them as particular 'types'.

Economic Growth Model of Development: The model of development essentially concerned with economic growth of a nation-state, which is measured in terms of increase in Gross National/ Gross Domestic Product (GNP/GDP) and per capita income. This model of development is based on capital accumulation from within the country wherever possible and with foreign assistance where domestic accumulation is not possible, and is characterized by rapid industrialisation. The strategies of economic growth, which had already proved successful in Western countries, were recommended for newly independent less developed countries. One of the assumptions of the economic growth model of development was that, the GNP/GDP growth would automatically trickle down to the lower income groups.

Ecosystem: A localised group of interacting and interdependent organisms together with the environment that they inhabit and depend on.

Egalitarian: A type of social organisation that assumes the equality of all people, in which every individual has an equal opportunity to obtain resources and the esteem of others in leadership activities.

Environment: Natural environment; the natural world as a whole or in a particular geographical area, in which plants, animals (including human beings) live and operate, influence the other elements of it and are being influenced by them.

Environmentalism: Environmentalism is the movement or activism that works toward protecting the natural world from harmful human activities. It is aimed at protecting the environment or improving its condition, particularly nature and quite often takes the form of public education programs, advocacy, legislation and treaties.

Exogenous: Exogenous (or exogeneous), orginated from the Greek words "exo" and "gen", meaning "outside" and "production", refers to an action or object coming from outside a system. It is the opposite of endogenous that means something generated from within the system.

Gemeinschaft and **Gesselschaft:** Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft are sociological categories introduced by the German sociologist Ferdinand Tonnies for two normal types of human association. (A normal type as coined by Tonnies is a purely conceptual tool to be built up logically, whereas an ideal type, as coined by Max Weber, is a concept formed by accentuating main elements of a historic/social change). Gemeinschaft is a form of community said to be common in traditional societies and associated with notions of stability and informal personal contact. Gesellschaft is a form of association common in urban-based industrial societies and associated with non-permanent and utilitarian social relationships.

Gender: Gender refers to the socially constructed roles ascribed to males and females and the resulting socially determined relations. These roles are learned, change over time, and vary widely within and across cultures. Gender is one of the key entry points for social analysis/ assessment. It is important to understand the social, economic, political, and cultural forces that determine how men and women participate in, benefit from, and control project resources and activities and thereby to highlight gender specific constraints, risks and opportunities.

Globalisation: Globalization (or globalisation) is a term used to describe the changes in societies and the world economies that are the result of dramatically increased international trade and cultural exchange. In specifically economic contexts, it is often understood to refer almost exclusively to the effects of trade, particularly trade liberalisation or free trade. Globalization is a comprehensive term referring to the processes leading to the emergence of a global society in which economic, political, environmental and cultural events in one part of the world influence people in other parts of the world. The process of globalisation is the result of advances in communication, transportation and information technologies, due to which there is phenomenal growth in linkages that connect individuals, communities, business and commercial institutions and governments around the world.

Gross Domestic Product: The monetary value of all of a nation's goods and services produced within a nation's borders and within a particular period of time, such as a year.

Hegemony: Hegemony is the dominance of one group over other groups, with or without the threat of force, to the extent that, for instance, the dominant party can dictate the terms of trade to its advantage; more broadly, cultural perspectives become skewed to favour the dominant group. Hegemony may result in the empowerment of certain cultural beliefs, values and practices to the submersion and partial exclusion of others.

Human Rights: Human rights are rights to which people are entitled simply because they are human beings, regardless of their nationality, race, ethnicity, gender, or religion. These are those basic standards without which people cannot live in dignity. To violate someone's human rights is to treat that person as though she or he were not a human being. To advocate human rights is to demand that the human dignity of all people be respected.

Immediacy: A lack of an intervening or mediating agency; for example, the immediacy of television coverage.

Imperialism: The policy of imposing the rule or command of an empire or nation over foreign countries, or of obtaining and occupying colonies and dependencies. Imperialism reached its peak in 1914, when almost 85% of the world's land surface was controlled by a handful of colonial powers, mostly European.

Import Substitution: An economic development strategy that replaces imports with domestic production. Its proponents favour the export of industrial goods over primary products. They emphasise the growth of domestic industries, often by import protection using tariff and non-tariff measures. Their argument is that the export of raw materials and the import of finished products do not make a favourable condition for industrial growth in developing countries.

Laissez-faire: *Laissez-faire* is a French phrase meaning idiomatically "leave to do, leave to pass" or more accurately "let things alone, let them pass". This phrase was first used by the eighteenth century Physiocrats as an injunction against government interference with trade, it is now used as a synonym for strict free market economics. The *laissez-faire* school of thought holds a pure capitalist or free market view. Their basic idea is that less government interference in private economic decisions such as pricing, production, and distribution of goods and services makes for a better system.Adam Smith played a large role in popularizing *laissez-faire* economic theories in English-speaking countries, though he was critical of a number of aspects of what is currently thought of as laissez-faire (such as lack of government regulation of business practices).

Land Reforms: Land reform, also known as agrarian reform, is the government-initiated or government-backed redistribution or transfer of ownership of or tenure in agricultural land. The term most often refers to transfer from ownership by a relatively small number of wealthy (or noble) owners with extensive land holdings (e.g. plantations, large ranches, or agribusiness plots) to individual or collective ownership by those who work in that land.

Metaphor: An idiom used to explain a fact or a phenomenon. This is a figure of speech in which two things are compared, usually by saying one thing is another, or by substituting a more descriptive word for the more common or usual word that would be expected. Some examples of metaphors: the world is a stage; he was a lion in battle; drowning in debt; a sea of troubles etc.

Mixed Economy: A mixed economy is an economy that combines capitalism and solcilaism. Some sources prefer the use of command economy over "socialism" in defining a mixed economy. It is an economy in which resources are allocated partly through the decisions of private individuals and privately owned business enterprises and partly through the decisions of the Government and state-owned enterprises. The two sectors are known as the private and public sectors, respectively. India follwed the policy of mixed economy after independence. The economic polives started changing after the adoption of new economic policy in early 1990s.

Model: Hypothetical or a tested representation of a phenomenon

Nation State: A nation-state is a specific form of state, which exists to provide a sovereign territory for a particular nation, and derives its legitimacy from that function. In the ideal model of the nation-state, the population consists of the nation and only

of the nation; the state not only houses it, but protects it and its national identity. A nation state may at the same time be a federal state.

Neoliberalism: Perhaps most often neoliberalism refers to a political-economic philosophy that has had major implications for government policies beginning in the 1970s, and increasingly prominent since 1980, which de-emphasises or rejects government intervention in the economy, focusing instead on achieving progress and even social justice by encouraging free-market methods and fewer restrictions on business operations and economic development.

New Economic Policy: The New Economic Policy (NEP) is a system of economic reforms, partly market-oriented, that Vladimir Lenin instituted in the erstwhile Soviet Union in 1921 after a period of existence of war communism. War Communism had included forced requisition of grain, nationalization of all trade and industry, strict control of labor, payment in kind, and confiscation of financial capital. As a result of this program and of the ravages of the war, industrial and agricultural production declined sharply, and the population suffered severe deprivation. During then Lenin introduced the NEP in order to revive the economy. The new program signified a return to a limited capitalist system. India adopted new economic policy in 1991. The new economic policy adopted by the Government aims at improving India's competitiveness in the global market and rapid growth of exports. Another element of the new economic policy is attracting foreign direct investment and stimulating domestic investment. The new economic policy was more of market oriented and with less government controls and interventions.

Oligarchy: The word oligarchy is originated from the Greek words for "few" and "rule". Oligarchy is a form of government where most political power effectively rests with a small segment of society, typically the most powerful, whether by wealth, military strength, ruthlessness, or political influence. Their power is maintained by force or by the shaping of the law to restrict the people and/or remove any need to consult them or be accountable to them. Many of the monarchies established in Europe during the Middle Ages began as oligarchies, with one family eventually gaining ascendancy over others.

Oligopolic Market: A market structure characterized by "fewness" of sellers. An oligopoly exists when a few companies dominate an industry. Given a situation in which there are only a few sellers, a phenomenon called "oligopolistic interdependence" is expected. In an oligopolic market situation the prices are set by agreement rather than by the operation of the supply and demand mechanism. For an oligopoly to exist, the few companies do not need to control all the production or sale of a particular commodity or service. They only need to control a significant share of the total production or sales.

Open Access Resources: Natural resources accessible to anyone, with no restrictions on their use. Since there is no restriction of its use by the users there is a chance for over exploitation.

Orientalism: This is a term introduced by the Palestinian cultural critic Edward Said in his book *Orientalism* published in 1978. By orientalism he refers to the historical and ideological process whereby false images of and myths about the Eastern or "oriental" world have been constructed in various western discourses. It is the incorrect Western tendency to view all Asian cultures as a kind of homogenous whole and to place them within an artificial framework that is distinctly opposed to their own, which is also somewhat artificially conceived; i.e., all Westerners are rational and linear, all Asians are non-rational and spatial, etc.

Paradigm: Refers to a pattern or model; a collection of assumptions, concepts, practices, and values that constitutes a way of viewing reality, especially for an intellectual community that shares them.

Patriarchy: It is the social organization marked by the supremacy of the father in the clan or family; the legal dependence of wives and children on him, and the reckoning of descent and inheritance in the male line. In a social system patriarchy is understood as the male domination of ownership and control, at all levels in society, which maintains and operates the system of gender discrimination. Here system of control is justified in terms of patriarchal ideology, which means a system of ideas based on a belief in male superiority and sometimes the claim that the gender division of labour is based on biology or even based on scripture.

Pedagogy: It stands for the strategies, techniques, and approaches that teachers can use to facilitate learning. The literal definition tends to be — the "science" of teaching children but it is a term, which has being commonly accepted to mean the study of teaching and learning in all contexts.

Phenomenology: Phenomenology, a 20th-century philosophical movement dedicated to describing the structures of experience as they present themselves to consciousness, without recourse to theory, deduction, or assumptions from other disciplines such as the natural sciences.

Policy of Autarky: An autarky is an economy that does no trade with the outside world (engage in international trade), or an ecosystem not affected by influences from its outside, and relies entirely on its own resources (a state of self-sufficiency). In the economic meaning, it is also referred to as a "closed economy."

Promethean: Promethean means advancing human life through self-expression, augmented by authentic freedom, experimentality and individualism. The philosophy of prometheanism opposes repression, orthodoxy, and collectivism; instead it values the liberated and realized person.

Purchasing Power: The ability to purchase goods and services or the amount of goods and services that one unit of money can buy. During times of inflation, purchasing power decreases when money is held because of a decline in the value of the currency. In other words, creditors lose while borrowers gain. In economics, purchasing power refers to the amount of goods and services a given amount of money or, more generally, liquid assets can buy.

Reaganomics: The term Reaganomics, a portmanteau of Reagan and economics, was used to describe, and decry, the economic policies of U.S. President Ronald Reagan during the 1980s. Reagan assumed office during a period of high inflation and unemployment. His new Right policies included cutting back on government spending by privatisation, and deregulating the economy.

Reductionist: Reductionism in philosophy describes a number of related, contentious theories   can always be reduced to or explained by simpler or more fundamental things. This is true of objects, phenomena, explanations, theories, and meanings. The term is often used to criticize an imagined position rather than to describe a real one.

Self- reliance: The capacity to manage one's own affairs, make one's own judgments, and provide for oneself.

Social Justice: Social justice, also called as civil justice, is a concept largely based on various social contract theories. It refers to a worldview that calls for equality of consideration for all members of a society, regardless of colour, race, socio-economic class, gender, age, or sexual preference. With reference to State it refers as governments are instituted among populations for the benefit of members of those populations; those governments which fail to see to the welfare of their citizens are failing to uphold their part in the social contract and are, therefore, unjust.

Structural Adjustment Programme: Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) were designed in the 1980s as a response by the major international creditor agencies, the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) to the growing economic crisis and balance of payments problems encountered by many developing countries subsequent to the two major oil shocks in the 1970s. Both World Bank and IMF concluded that short-term stabilisation policies, which were traditionally prescribed to address such crisis, had proved to be inadequate, ineffective and had lacked vision. There was a growing realisation at the WB and IMF that economic crisis of the type faced by majority of the developing countries in the 1980s originated from deep-rooted structural weaknesses in their economics. Consequently, this recognition influenced the Bank and Fund to design a new generation of 'stabilisation facilities and policy based loans', which together came to be known as Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP).   Reforms underwritten by the SAPs mainly concentrated on deregulation, decontrol and liberalisation of the economy, and they put major emphasis on market instruments as the main driving force behind the economy.

Subsistence Economy: A subsistence economy is an economy in which a group obtains the necessities of life through self-provisioning. In such a system wealth is not measured in any form of currency, but rather exists in the form of natural resources. Food in a subsistence economy is grown or hunted, and homes built from surrounding trees. In such a system very short surpluses generally exist, and therefore there is a reliance on renewal and reproduction within the natural environment to ensure survival.

Symbol: Something that represents something else by association, resemblance, or convention, especially a material object used to represent something invisible. Symbols

often take the form of words, visual images, or gestures that are used to convey ideas and beliefs. All human cultures use symbols to express the underlying structure of their social systems, to represent ideal cultural characteristics, such as beauty, and to ensure that the culture is passed on to new generations. Symbolic relationships are learned rather than biologically or naturally determined, and each culture has its own symbols.

Teleology: A theoretical proposition which argues that the cause and direction of changes in phenomena are determined by a previously existing plan or purpose, as opposed to mechanism wherein they are determined according to the laws of the natural sciences. All human actions (purposive human behavior) are teleological, i.e., they are activated by the purpose of the actor.

Trickle-down Theory: The proponents of this theory maintain that the benefits given to the upper classes will "trickle down" to those below them on the social hierarchy, mostly as a result of the normal workings of free markets. This economic theory arcyues that the support of businesses that allows them to flourish will eventually benefit middle- and lower-income people, in the form of increased economic activity and reduced unemployment.

Welfare State: A nation in which the government undertakes large-scale action to ensure the provision of social goods and benefits. These welfare programs are usually provided at public expense with little or no cost to the recipient of the services. Policy prescriptions advanced by proponents of the welfare-state emphasise securing a minimum standard of living for all citizens where no one is denied an essential service which might be available to others; the production of social goods and services; the control of the business cycle; and the manipulation of total output to allow for social costs and revenues. Among the instruments of the modern welfare state are progressive taxes, social security, unemployment insurance, agricultural subsidies, and government-subsidized housing programs.
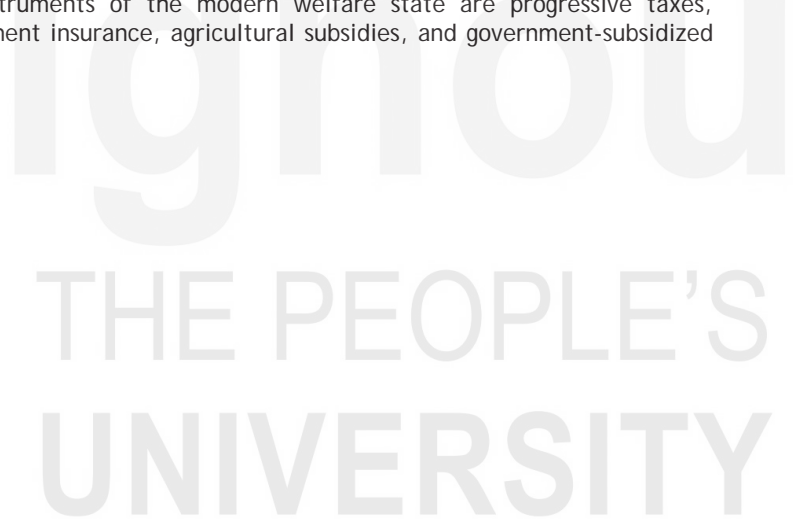
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