

**MASTER OF ARTS
SOCIOLOGY
CENTRE FOR OPEN AND
DISTANCE LEARNING
(CODL)**



**MSO 203: SOCIOLOGY OF
DEVELOPMENT
BLOCK I**

**CENTRE FOR OPEN AND DISTANCE LEARNING
TEZPUR UNIVERSITY (A CENTRAL UNIVERSITY)
TEZPUR, ASSAM - 784028
INDIA**

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- **To undertake various research and academic activities for furtherance of distance education in the region.**
- **To contribute to conserve and promote cultural heritage, literature, traditional knowledge and environment conducting short programmes, workshops, seminars and research in interdisciplinary field.**

MSO 203: SOCIOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT



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MSO-203: SOCIOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT

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BLOCK I

MODULE I: INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT

UNIT 1: MEANING, SIGNIFICANCE AND THE IDEA OF DEVELOPMENT IN SOCIOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDING

UNIT 2: MEANING OF DEVELOPMENT OVER TIME

MODULE II: SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES OF DEVELOPMENT

UNIT 3: PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT: LIBERAL, MARXIST AND ECOLOGICAL

UNIT 4: THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT: MODERNISATION THEORIES

UNIT 5: THEORIES OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT: DEPENDENCY THEORY

UNIT 6: THEORIES OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT: WORLD SYSTEM THEORY, UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

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COURSE INTRODUCTION

This course introduces the main ideas and perspectives on development in the discipline of sociology. It also discusses the critiques of the conventional paradigm of development and the alternatives that are being thrown up by scholars as well as social movements. The course also highlights emerging concepts and formulations in the understanding and practice of development in contemporary times.

The course is divided into four Modules, each consisting of multiple units. This has been done to discuss the major concepts more elaborately and, in a learner-friendly way.

Module I gives an introduction to Sociology of Development and it is divided into two units. **Unit 1** discusses the meaning, significance and the idea of development in sociological understanding. **Unit 2** deals with the changing meaning of development over time.

Module II is about the different sociological perspectives on development. It has four units. **Unit 3** covers the liberal, Marxist and ecological perspectives on development. **Unit 4**, on the other hand, deals with the theories of development. Modernisation theories are focused upon in this unit. The theories on underdevelopment are covered in **Unit 5**. The unit will discuss in detail the dependency theory. The theories of underdevelopment will further be discussed in **Unit 6**. Here, the focus will be on world system theory and uneven development.

Module III deals with the critique of development and it consists of three units. **Unit 7** explores the theories of alternative development. On the other hand, **Unit 8** is devoted to post-development theories. **Unit 9** discusses the grassroots level movements in development.

Module IV is about contemporary issues in development. This module is divided into five units. **Unit 10** deals with the politics of

development, focusing on knowledge and power in development. Another contemporary issue in development, i.e., globalisation is covered in **Unit 11**. **Unit 12**, on the other hand, focuses on poverty and politics of development. **Unit 13** discusses NGO and civil society while **Unit 14** discusses gender and development.

The complete course is divided into two Blocks. **Block I** contains Module I and II. **Block II** will have Module III and IV.

MODULE I: INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT

UNIT 1: MEANING, SIGNIFICANCE AND THE IDEA OF DEVELOPMENT IN SOCIOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDING

UNIT STRUCTURE

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Objectives
- 1.3 What is Development?
- 1.4 Significance of Sociology of Development
- 1.5 The Idea of Development in Sociology
- 1.6 Summing Up
- 1.7 Questions
- 1.8 Recommended Readings and References

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In this paper ‘Sociology of Development’, which is divided into four modules and fourteen units in total, you will learn about the concept of development, which covers a range of social transformation processes, from a sociological perspective. Before proceeding with this unit, you are expected to stop and reflect upon your idea about development. Take your time and note down a few lines describing your idea about development. As you proceed with this paper, compare your views with the concepts taught in this paper. This will help you in having a clear understanding of the concept of development from the sociological perspective.

1.2 OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain the meaning of development;

- Analyse the significance of Sociology of Development;
- Analyse the concept of development from a sociological perspective

1.3 WHAT IS DEVELOPMENT?

Development as a term is used in a number of ways, but most social scientists specifically sociologists would agree that development should be meant for improvement or progress for people who greatly need a constructive change in their lives. The notion of development has been central to any sociological question as both development and sociology as a discipline are products of the modern world. Though the relevance of development is related to all the disciplines, it is more closely associated with sociology.

Development as a concept, idea and ideology has multiple meanings with different underpinnings in the context of time and space. 'In common parlance, development describes a process through which the potentialities of an object or organism are released, until it reaches its natural, complete, full-fledged form. Hence the metaphoric use of the term to explain the natural growth of plants and animals' (Esteva, 2010: 3).

There are a vast number of pieces of literature which deal with the meaning and theories of development in disciplines such as economics, development studies, political science, geography, anthropology, cultural studies and sociology. In common terms, development refers to broad processes of change with intentional interventions to achieve progress or growth. Critics point out that it was a concept and programme which was developed just after the Second World war to control the newly decolonised countries, especially in the global South. It surfaced in the political and academic discourse more prominently around the 1950s, that time it was not taken very critically until the staunch critics of development came in the form of post developmentalism in 1990s. Development debate and discourse is

having various kinds of supporters and opponents to it. Many scholars in various fields of studies used terms such as ‘progress,’ ‘growth,’ ‘modernization’, etc. interchangeably. It is important here to mention that initially the development was seen and perceived in terms of Western scholarship which was mostly dominated by the Western countries based scholars and thinkers, but later on when the goal of development could not be realized satisfactorily, many non-Western and native scholars of the global South started questioning the whole idea and notion of development. As we know development was initially known as the synonym for the modernization theory, many works of literature on development assumed that the best way to develop and decolonize from the colonizers is to adopt the modernization process. There are many social scientists who proposed for development through the modernization process. W.W. Rostow’s five stages of economic growth became very popular after World War II; development was considered to be the panacea and best path to independence from underdevelopment in the colonised countries.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



1. Define development.

2. Name one social theorist who proposed development through the modernization process.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF SOCIOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT

Sociology of Development is the study of the causes and consequences of socio-change in society. The study of development through various perspectives has been one of the fundamental aspects of sociology since the establishment of the discipline. In the broader discipline of sociology, the sub-discipline in the area of development is known as sociology of development. There are generally two kinds of sub-disciplinary practice that exist within sociology related to the process of development. These are the sociology of development and development sociology. The former looks at the social processes of development from various critical sociological perspectives whereas the latter tries to involve sociological knowledge to formulate and implement a better developmental design for the improvement of the society. The process, idea and concept of development have been approached and defined by various disciplines differently. Particularly there has been a new area of discipline in the name of development studies that emerged in the 1980s to specifically understand the process from various vantage points. But here in this unit, we will mostly focus on the introductory ideas on the sociology of development.

Nineteenth and Twentieth-century philosophers and theorists like Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim and Max Weber who are known as the founding fathers of sociology have analysed the changing nature of society by looking at the social transformations from their own viewpoints. They considered that social change is inevitable and it has come due to the process of modernisation. The advent of modernisation in the Western countries is linked with the Enlightenment movement, Scientific and Industrial Revolution. Understanding social change is the essence of the sociology of development. Karl Marx interpreted development and social change in terms of class struggle. According to him, it is through conflict and contradiction, through the method dialectical process, society transforms from one form to the another. Similarly, Emile Durkheim analysed the changes in society through the division of labour and various

forms of solidarity. Max Weber argued that social progress dictated a change from traditional forms of authority to rational and bureaucratic ones.

Proponents of the Western model of development emphasized the magical economism countering the idea of development through communism, which was developed into a treaty by Rostow in his book titled *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (Rostow, 1960) which is mostly clubbed under the modernization school. He prescribed and suggested that all societies essentially go through five stages of development, the process starts from traditional society and end with the process of high mass consumption. This topic will be discussed at length in the subsequent units. In the 1960s and 1970s, the overarching notion of development proposed by modernization theories was critiqued and replaced by mostly neo-Marxists theories like dependency and world system theories. Apart from these critical theories, even the World Bank and UNDP came up with the basic need postulations. Instead of big developmental projects, they focused on the local development and developed few indicators to measure development. Human Development Index is also part of this process. Factors such as infant mortality, maternal mortality, literacy, access to clean drinking water were added to the measurement of development and progress. The politics of aid to the underdeveloped countries also came into focus and faced severe criticisms from the Third World theorists. They opined that aid is a form of new colonisation and it does not help the underdeveloped countries, rather it under-develops the countries by extracting various kinds of local resources.

In 1980s, many alternative theorists proposed the idea of alternative development. E.F. Schumacher called for small-scale projects and criticised the idea of big development. In his famous thesis, *Small is Beautiful*, he shows the dark side of consumerism and new capitalism which is based on development through the exploitation of both human beings and nature. Human development and capability approach by Amartya Sen and Martha

Nussbaum called for direct and participatory democracy where people should decide for themselves. These approaches emphasize development as freedom and advocate for the enhancement of human capabilities. These propose that human beings should be able to work as agents of development for themselves and for their own community. There were also various kinds of alternative development thinking that emerged from the critique of mainstream developments; these are human-centred development, integrated development, inclusive development. Then came the idea of post developmentalism which criticized the notion of development and declared that development is dead. But when the United Nations in the year 2000 came up with Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), various international bodies realised that development is a complex process and it cannot be achieved by centralized planning. MDGs aimed at the eradication of extreme poverty and universal primary education by 2015. But again, this could not be achieved and a new formulation came into the forefront in the form of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

Post-developmental scholars trace the origin of the concept of development to American President Harry Truman's January 20, 1949 inaugural presidential speech, where Truman announced the programme of development for the 'underdeveloped world'. Truman's doctrine envisioned to solve the problem of underdevelopment by way of replicating the features that characterized the advanced societies throughout the world. The problem of underdevelopment was perceived as something which could only be solved by imitating the paths travelled by then advanced nations of Western Europe and Northern America, i.e. high levels of industrialization and urbanization, technicalisation of agriculture, a rapid growth of material production, widespread adoption of modern education and cultural values (Esteva, 2010).

The period immediately following World War II witnessed a drastic realignment of relations between the rich and the poor world, with the

ascendancy of United States as the dominant power of the capitalist world on the one hand, and concomitant consolidation of communist power by the Soviet Union on the other. The then newly independent nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America had one of the two choices at that time: either to dissociate their national liberation movement from the framework of world capitalism, and join hands with the socialist/communist revolution; or to associate their national liberation with institutions and international framework of world capitalism. Development, as a project of specific intervention through active financial assistance and technology transfer from the then advance nations, pertained to those nations who adopted the second type of choice mentioned above.

But, in a holistic way, development means making a better life for everyone. Economic growth means achieving a more massive economy by producing more goods and services (Gross Domestic Product - GDP) and generating a larger total income (Gross National Income - GNI). However, economic growth can occur without touching problems like inequality or poverty. To the contrary, development is interested not so much in the growth of an economy but rather the conditions under which production occurs and the results that flow from it. In terms of conditions, development pays attention to the environment affected by economic activity and the labour relations and conditions of the peasants and workers who produce growth. If growth wrecks the environment, and if growth deadens working life, it is not development. Development also looks at what is produced. If growth merely produces more shopping malls and food chains rather than schools or clinics, it is not development. Development attends to the social consequences of production. If growth merely concentrates wealth in the hands of a few, it is not development. Development also analyses who controls production and consumption. If the growth process is controlled by a few powerful people rather than the many people who make it possible, it is not development. Thus, development is optimistic and utopian. Development means changing the

world for the better. Development means improvement in a complex of linked natural, economic, social, cultural, and political conditions.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



1. Why do we need Sociology of Development?

2. Who wrote *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*?

3. How is development different from economic growth?

1.5 THE IDEA OF DEVELOPMENT IN SOCIOLOGY

Development is important because it produces an economy, and more broadly a society and culture that determine how people live in terms of income, services, life chances, education, and so on. Sociology was originated in the ‘positive philosophy’ of the early 19th century philosopher Auguste Comte. Comte thought that social science studied society in much the same scientific way that natural science studies nature. So, positivistic social science possessed the same logical forms as the natural sciences. As such, human social development, Comte said, might be governed by laws quite similar to the laws of nature. For Herbert Spencer, societies had natural functional characteristics like all living organisms. By analogy, therefore, biological principles of organic evolution (the evolution of plants

and animals) applied also to the development of the ‘social organism’, i.e., the naturally conceived society. In Spencer’s theory, rich natural environments enabled high population densities that increased the degree of economic specialization. In Spencer’s theory, therefore, the naturally well-endowed areas of the world were areas of innovation, development, progress, and civilization. Also, societies went through life cycles, the young conquering the old, with the whole process of survival of the societal fittest leading upward and onward toward an eventual utopian paradise where people could more leisurely pursue high culture. Spencer’s ideas were extremely significant in mid to late 19th-century social thought, especially in the United States. Additionally, social Darwinism helped explain the transition to an intensely competitive industrial capitalism (Pieterse, 2010; Peet and Hartwick, 2015).

Weber outlined a historical theory of the stages through which modern rationalism emerged, and Western culture achieved a rationalized development path. His theory was based on a comparative study of the sociology of religions. For Weber, the two religious principles, transcendence and predestination, had a great impact on the believer’s existential posture, shaping the ethical principles governing everyday conduct. Calvinists worried constantly whether they were going to heaven or to hell. Calvinists wanted to succeed economically to assure themselves that they were among the elect destined for eternal bliss rather than everlasting pain. Thus, people engaged in continuous work. In terms of this connection with capitalism, Calvinists considered themselves ethically bound to sustain profitability through relentless, steady, and systematic activity in business. They strove for maximal returns on invested assets and yet abstained from immediate enjoyment of the fruits of their activity. Hence, capital accumulated through continuous investment. In this way, the cultures of rationality determined the paths of development. Thus, Weber’s argument implies that the phenomena we now understand to be ‘growth’ or ‘development’ are not inevitable events that were necessarily bound to be

realized. Rather, growth occurring through savings and investment is specifically a product of Calvinist theological contemplation.

The most important change process in neo-evolutionary theories is the enhancement of a society's adaptive capacity (that is, its adaptation to the environment) either internally (originating new type of structures) or externally through cultural diffusion (importation of new factors from outside). What Parsons called the 'adaptive upgrading' of society basically involves differentiation, i.e., subsystems specializing and dividing. As each subsystem becomes better able to perform its primary function, societies become better able to cope with their problems and adapt to their environments. But social differentiation and the proliferation of specialized components of society produce problems of social integration. Thus, for Parsons, the other vital component of the evolution of society is the value system, that holds the differentiating societies and prevents them from disintegrating. Therefore, according to Parsons, adaptation, differentiation, and integration are the themes of evolutionary social development.

Naturalistic theories in sociology drew on biology to argue that natural environments create societies and people and that these have different potentials for development. Weberian sociology looked to the emergence of a certain kind of culture, specifically a form of thinking called rationalism to explain European progress. Structural functionalism, the leading paradigm in sociology in the post-World War II period, combined naturalism with rationalism in creating a neo-evolutionary theory of modernization. Modernization theory divided the global system into (1) centres of modern progress and (2) peripheries of traditional backwardness, with the centre showing the peripheries their path to development. All these sociological theories saw development as far more than economic growth.

In social science, it is now widely assumed that realities are socially constructed. The way people think and talk about social realities affects agendas, policies, laws and the ways laws are interpreted. Evolutionism, Marxism, Neo-Marxism, Keynesianism, structural functionalism, neo-

classical economics and post-structuralism are among the social science paradigms imported by development theories at different times (Peet and Hartwick, 2015).

Writers have different views on the degree of autonomy of development theory. Some treat development theory primarily as part of social science and thus emphasize the influence of classical economic and social thought. Others implicitly view development theory mainly as ideology. The advantage of this view is that it draws attention to the ideological role of development theory – in setting agendas, framing priorities, building coalitions, justifying policies. Its limitation is that it treats development theory as a by-product of political processes and not as an intellectual process as well. In between these views is a middle position that recognizes the intellectual as well as the political elements in development theory. In the contextual approach to development theory, both political contexts and influences from social science count. This is the approach that can be termed as the ‘sociology of development knowledge’ (Pieterse, 2010).

Generally, development denotes improvement or betterment. But it is not properly defined that what is to be improved and in what direction. Everybody has a different notion of development and different understanding. Various new trends in development thinking came into practice after developmental thinkers have started engaging themselves with the question of post-colonialism and post-developmentalism. They questioned the theories originated in the global North which defined and tried to implement development from their own perspectives. Critiques from global South brought the question and worldviews of the indigenous and marginalized. Various activists also worked and fought against global capitalism. There was an appeal to care for the ecology and nature. Sustainable development became the buzzword and corporations were forced to take the environment into the account. After the failure of mainstream development, various strands of thought such as sustainable

development, human development, green development and the idea of social devolvment emerged.

That is why a unified approach is required to address various challenges and issues by integrating the economic and social components in policies and programmes for the betterment of different marginalized and underprivileged communities. Various critical issues like the environment, pollution, poverty, hunger, employment, livelihood, freedom, misery came into the surface that needs continuous and serious attention of policymakers, leaders, activists and planners. Some of the biggest challenges to contemporary society is posed by climate change, human security and sustainability. These problems are complex and interrelated. To solve these issues, it has to be approached from inter and multi-disciplinary approach. As critics rightly say, the purpose of development should be to develop human beings and not the matter or things. Fulfilment of basic needs, freedom, enhancement of capabilities of human beings should be the objective of development.

1.6 SUMMING UP

Sociology of development has also elements of sociology of demography which is concerned about migration and development. It also refers to the fertility and mortality. In the economic sense, it is related to economic sociology where it tries to look at the role of the economy in the development of society and achieving the desired goal. It closely analyses the gendered ideology and the role of patriarchy in social development. The role of power within the family, workplace and politics also has been considered by the sub-discipline. Various feminist thinkers also have contributed to this field. They have raised pertinent questions of gender and development, addressing questions of low wage, feminization of poverty, hierarchy and power in the workplace. Political sociology has also its connection with the sociology of development in terms of looking at the role of the state in the process of development. It is concerned about the

political choice and motives behind the developmental decision of a nation state. In this sense, the sociology of development addresses and questions various emergent issues such as migration, political changes, alteration in household formations, technological change, both sustainable and unsustainable economic growth, reproduction of social and economic inequality and so on whereas as mentioned in the beginning, development sociology investigates and intervenes in the practices and processes of social change.

1.7 QUESTIONS

1. What is development? How is it different from economic growth?
2. What is Sociology of Development? Explain its significance.
3. Write a note on the idea of development in Sociology.

1.8 RECOMMENDED READINGS AND REFERENCES

Esteva, G. (2010). Development. In Sach, W., editor, *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*. Zed Books, New York.

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

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

UNIT 2: MEANING OF DEVELOPMENT OVER TIME

UNIT STRUCTURE

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Objectives
- 2.3 Development: Meaning
- 2.4 Meanings of 'Development' Over Time
- 2.5 Summing Up
- 2.6 Questions
- 2.7 Recommended Readings and References

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, i.e. Unit 1, you have already learnt about the meaning of development. You have understood that the meaning of development is not the same as that of economic growth. Development is a broad term that covers an improvement in a complex of linked natural, economic, social, cultural, and political conditions. And mere economic growth need not necessarily lead to development. In this unit, the meaning of development will be further explored in detail and we will then move on to analyse how the meaning of development has changed over time.

2.2 OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain what development is;
- Analyse the changing meaning of development over time.

2.3 DEVELOPMENT: MEANING

The term 'development' has eclectic meanings. It carries the meaning according to the context. It may be metaphorically compared with a map. Like maps having different features according to space and time, in a

similar manner, development is also having different features and different meanings. Pieterse (2010) mentions that the term 'development' in its present sense dates from the post-war era of modern development thinking. During the Cold War years, there was a rivalry between capitalism and communism, these two competing development strategies were Western development economics and central planning by countries following communism. But the most popular understanding of development was catching up with the advanced industrialized countries. Björn Hettne (2008: 6) defines 'Development in the modern sense implies an intentional social change in accordance with societal objectives'. But Pieterse articulates that he would add the condition of improvement into the definition of development. Then he goes on to define 'development as the organized intervention in collective affairs according to a standard of improvement. What constitutes improvement and what is an appropriate intervention obviously varies according to class, culture, historical context and relations of power. Development theory is the negotiation of these issues' (Pieterse, 2010: 3-4).

The field of knowledge on development is full of contradiction and challenges. It does have both the aspects, one is policy orientation and the other one is theoretical orientation. The field of development is practised in terms of policy, programmes and problem. While the practice of development belongs to the applied field, the process belongs to the theoretical field. It is the combination of both theory and practice. Development theories have been influenced by various social theories and perspectives. These are evolutionism, Marxism, Neo-Marxism, Keynesianism, structural functionalism, neoclassical economics and post-structuralism and so on. Dependency theory as an area of development theory has influenced many other branches of social sciences. Dependency theory has been widely used and referred to outside development studies and it has helped in generating many other theories such as world-system theory, uneven development and maldevelopment (Pieterse, 2010).

To discuss the meanings of development in a clarifying manner is a tricky affair. It is believed that only global South is concerned about development because they need it more than the so-called developed countries. But if we see the development knowledge which is produced in the West and is practised in the South, there has been a deep hierarchy in knowledge production between the North and the South. So, it is evident that the meaning of development will also differ in these two hemispheres. It is also seen that some sections of the societies are excluded from the fruit of development even in the Western countries, at the same time some communities in the South even enjoy privileges at par with the Westerners.

Development is having various kinds of meanings in different regions, different sections, classes, religions, ethnic groups, so on and so forth. If one looks at the field of development practice in the sphere of academics, apart from sociology and anthropology, development studies are engaged in defining the meaning of development in various parts of the world. As mentioned earlier, these development perspectives are influenced by various schools of thought.

Pieterse (2010) in a lucid manner maps the trajectory of the changing meaning of development over time. There has been a distance and difference between the status of development theory between development studies and social science in general. The Western knowledge on development which is imported from the global North creates a problem in the global South. This is why there has been a conflict between knowledge productions in these two regions. One has to trace the historical relations along with the changing geopolitical relations between these two different worlds. To understand the ‘development’ which has been changing its meaning over time, it is apt to consider all the historical episodes which are part of the wider historical relations between the northern hemisphere and southern hemisphere.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



1. Fill up the gaps:

- a. The most popular understanding of development was catching up with the _____.
- b. The field of knowledge on development is full of _____ and _____.

2.4 MEANINGS OF DEVELOPMENT OVER TIME

It is evident that over the period, development has been carrying different meanings. The term development is very old but it was used in different sense earlier. Wolfgang Sachs (2010) argues that there has been the semantic confusion brought about by the concept of development. Different persons interpret and understand development differently. Somebody may consider development as putting up skyscrapers to putting in latrines, extracting oil and drilling for water, from establishing software farm to the planting of tree nurseries. Sachs points out that the concept entails monumental emptiness and carries a vaguely positive connotation. This creates conflicting perspectives. Sachs writes ‘on the one hand, there are those who implicitly identify development with economic growth, calling for more relative equity in GDP. Their use of the word ‘development’ reinforces the hegemony of the economic world-view. On the other hand, there are those who identify development with more rights and resources for the poor and powerless. Their use of the word calls for de-emphasizing growth in favour of greater autonomy of communities’ (Sachs, 2010: x). Critics of development argue that the claims and speeches of development are false; these misrepresent the concern of the marginalized and vulnerable communities and in turn create more confusion.

Gustavo Esteva (2010) analyses the meaning of development both from historical and etymological sense. He writes that the term development has been used in biology in the sense of the evolution of living beings, it is a process through which organisms achieve their genetic potential. If it failed to achieve the desired results, its growth could not be termed as development, rather it was termed as an anomaly: pathological, and even anti-natural, behaviour. 'It was between 1759 (Wolff) and 1859 (Darwin) that development evolved from a conception of transformation that moves towards the appropriate form of being to a conception of transformation that moves towards an ever more perfect form. During this period, evolution and development began to be used as interchangeable terms by scientists' (Esteva, 2010: 4).

Esteva (2010) points out that since then the biological metaphor was transferred into the social history sphere in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Then the word entered into the theological sense and after that, it was used in a self-reflexive sense and the word self-development became fashionable. As claimed by Marx and Hegel, their interpretation of history is scientific. Both Darwin's concept of evolution and Hegelian concept of history was interwoven in development and reinforced with the scientific characteristics of Marx.

Post-developmentalists generally accuse that when the metaphor entered to the vernacular, it acquired a more violent power to dominate the third world countries and gave the powerful countries ways to colonise the so-called less developed countries. Later on, it was used in such a manner that politicians vouched for it and converted history into a programme which needed some kind of intervention. 'The metaphor of development gave global hegemony to a purely Western genealogy of history, robbing peoples of different cultures of the opportunity to define the forms of their social life' (Esteva, 2010: 5).

The metaphor of development which was used specifically in biology and other fields became normal in the nineteenth century, then the word development gathered different connotations. If one looks at the uses of the word, it could mean anything. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the word urban development came to fashion, big buildings, concrete houses and other accessories related to urbanism referred to the word development. The new colonizers started using the word development to have power over the colonized countries. They, the colonizers, started using phrases like better nutrition, health and education for all to justify their presence in the colonies. Though the term lacks precision, slowly it captured everybody's imagination and percolated into all socio-politico-economic spheres.

Pieterse (2010) demonstrates the changing meaning of development in different periods historically. He says that the term 'development' in its present sense dates from the post-war era of modern development thinking. Many scholars believe that though the word was not in use in the same sense around the 1800s, David Ricardo and Karl Marx were discussing the same thing within the purview of political economy which was related to the problems of economic development. Around the 1850s, colonial economics was in the main front while the Europeans were ruling over various colonies in the South. Through various chartered companies, they were operating mining and plantation in the colonies. So through a kind of trusteeship and management of the local economy, colonizers were extracting and exploiting the colonies. In the period the 1870s, in various parts of the world, industrialization came into practice. The buzzword of the time was to catch up with already established countries who adopted industrialization through scientific progress and modernization. Industrialization also created a kind of maldevelopment in the colonies. The colonizers exploited the local resources and sold the finished product at a higher price. The process of buying back own material in the form of the finished product made the colonies poorer. This system of exploitation

continued for a longer period of time until the Second World War. Again around 1940s, through the idea of development economics, the Western developed countries again promoted industrialization. Through industrialization, they developed the economy. But in reality, the colonisers exploited the host countries and ruined their age old cottage and household-based industries. Economic development which was imported from the outside, could not bring the desired result of development. Rather it underdeveloped the host countries and made them miserable.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



1. How does Gustavo Esteva analyse the meaning of development?

2. How do the post-modernists look at the concept of development?

Meanings of Development over Time

Period	Perspectives	Meanings of development
1800s	Classical political economy	Remedy for progress, catching up
1850>	Colonial economics	Resource management, trusteeship

1870>	Latecomers	Industrialization, catching-up
1940>	Development economics	Economic growth – industrialization
1950>	Modernization theory	Growth, political and social modernization
1960>	Dependency theory	Accumulation – national, auto-centric
1970>	Alternative development	Human flourishing
1980>	Human development	Capacitation, enlargement of people's choices
1980>	Neoliberalism	Economic growth – structural reform, deregulation, liberalization, privatization
1990>	Post-development	Authoritarian engineering, disaster
2000	Millennium Development Goals	Structural reforms

(Source: Pieterse 2010, Table 1.1, pp.7)

In modern thinking, the agenda of economic growth dominated both the policy and field of economics. In the 1950s, the idea and agenda of modernization came into practice. Social Scientists like W.W. Rostow, Daniel Lerner, Daniel Bell suggested modernization could bring development in the less developed countries. Rostow's Stages of Economic Growth was much in the fashion. Later, political modernization also was clubbed with economic growth during this period. In the course of time,

mechanization and industrialization became part of it. Then eventually the concept of development was broadened to encompass modernization, where economic growth was combined with political modernization. Issues of nation-building, social upliftment, freedom from social evil and other forms of empowerment through modernization were discussed. The 1960s saw the changes in the thought process regarding development discourse. Social scientists from Latin America, Africa and Asia started critiquing the modernization theories. Through the conceptualization of dependency theory and world system theory, modernization theory was criticized. They alleged that through this relationship, the less developed countries are getting more underdeveloped instead of developing themselves. This whole process was termed as exploitative, accumulative and auto-centric.

The notion of alternative development came into the picture in the 1970s. The practice of development emphasized social and community development. The meaning of development shifted from development of things to human flourishing. 'With human development in the mid-1980s, came the understanding of development as 'capacitation', following Amartya Sen's work on capacities and entitlements. In this view, the point of development, above all, is that it is enabling. The core definition of development in the Human Development Reports of UNDP is 'the enlargement of people's choices''(Pieterse, 2010: 7). Around the same time in the 1980s, came to the fore neo-liberalism. According to the neoliberal view, high importance should be given to the market. The state should not interfere in the market affairs and market forces should do their duties to get the right price. The main objective of neoliberalism is economic growth. This ideology promotes liberalization, privatization and deregulation of the market. In this stage, an agency of development switch from the state to the market. Accordingly, critics of neo-liberalism allege that it is an anti-development perspective which empowers few and dis-empower many. It creates a gap between the rich and the poor.

In the 1990s, Post-development ideology argues against the idea of development. The proponent of this ideology clearly argue against development and take an anti-development position. They accused the state of taking a position of authoritarian engineering by manipulating the society. This development position emerged against a backdrop of post-colonial processes and subaltern studies focusing on non-elites, with an aim to study history from below. Post-development asserts that development is embedded in a Western, neo-colonial discourse that perpetuates unequal power relations between the North and South of the world.

Following the Millennium Summit of the United Nations in 2000, eight international development goals were established that were to be achieved by 2015. These goals were-

- To eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
- To achieve universal primary education
- To promote gender equality and empower women
- To reduce child mortality
- To improve maternal health
- To combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases.
- To ensure environmental sustainability
- To develop a global partnership for development.

As of 2013, progress toward the goals was uneven. The ‘donor-recipient’ relationship was identified as the shortcoming of the Millennium Development Goals, which ended in 2015. On 25th September 2015, 193 countries of the UN General Assembly adopted the 2030 Development Agenda titled ‘Transforming our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development’. These new (Sustainable Development Goals) SDGs favour collective action by all countries and cover the following 17 goals:

- No poverty
- Zero hunger
- Good health and well-being for people

- Quality education
- Gender equality
- Clean water and sanitation
- Affordable and clean energy
- Decent work and economic growth
- Industry, innovation and infrastructure
- Reducing inequalities
- Sustainable cities and communities
- Responsible consumption and production
- Climate action
- Life below water
- Life on land
- Peace, justice and strong institutions
- Partnerships for the goals

Thus, the roots of development are very composite and complex. They include a range of components such as infrastructure like roads, railways, dams to policy on social and economic, welfare state and so on. There are various ways to look at the whole shift in meaning such as deconstruction of the idea and reconstruction of the concept and meaning. One is acceptance of the meaning, another one is the rejection of the meaning and the other way to combine various meanings and derive new meaning from the existing combination of development approaches.

In this way, the meaning of development has evolved over time. Besides different meanings of development over time, there are different trends in development theory (Pieterse, 2010: 13). The long-term trends in development theory parallel general shifts in social science. Initially, there were a shift from structuralist perspectives to more agency-oriented views. Structuralist view emphasized the role of macro-structures towards the functioning of society and development. If one looks at carefully, the classical and modern development thinking were fundamentally structuralist. They emphasized on large scale, macrostructure of

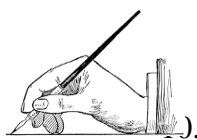
development and tried to bring in structural changes in the economy. Both the Marxian thinking and Neo-Marxian thinking were patterned with this structural framework.

With the beginning of social interactionism, approaches like phenomenology and ethnomethodology started influencing the outlook of the development theorists. These orientations demonstrate a shift from structuralist toward the institutional and agency-oriented views. This can also be described as a change from deterministic to interpretative views. A different account of this shift is from structuralism to constructivism, i.e., from an account of social realities as determined and patterned by macro-structures, to an account of social realities as being socially constructed. In development studies, these broad changes involve various implications. One of the consequences of the emphasis on the agency is that development thinking becomes spatialized and more local or regional. Another implication is the concern for differentiation and diversity. Early development thinking was generalizing and homogenizing. But today, there are no more general recipes, no development policies that are relevant across countries and regions. New qualifiers and attributes, such as sustainable development, people-friendly growth, pro-poor growth, etc. have entered mainstream development discourse. The emergence of new fields of interest also shapes development studies. Gender, ecology, democratization, good governance, empowerment, culture and communication now figure prominently in development agendas (Pieterse, 2010: 13).

Pieterse (2010) articulates that a significant methodological change is a gradual trend toward inter-disciplinarity. A transitional phase has been the shift from disciplinary case studies and policies towards multi-disciplinary approaches. Novel disciplinary combinations and themes include, for instance, new institutional economics, the sociology of economics. There is a new awareness that development demands a multi-dimensional, holistic approach. Moreover, the trend towards the role of discourse analysis has

emerged, which treat development as a story, as narrative, text. It is the awareness that development is not simply theory or policy but in either form is discourse. This position is mostly taken by post developmentalists. The book edited by Wolfgang Sachs (2010) compiles many essays which look at development very critically. On this ground, it is argued that since development is discourse it is therefore fictional, untrue, bogus, deceptive. It is a form of Western modernism and scientific distortion that sets illusory goals of material achievement and in its pursuit wreaks havoc upon Third World people. In this mode, discourse analysis turns into anti or post-development thinking. The new group of critics who have joined the anti-development wagon are anti-consumerism and de-growth movement.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



1. What do you mean by alternative development?

.....

.....

2. What is the main objective of neoliberalism?

.....

3. How do the structuralists look at the concept of development?

.....

.....

.....

2.5 SUMMING UP

In this unit, we first learned about the meaning of development. Then we saw how the concept of development has taken different meanings over time. We have seen how the idea of development has changed from the 1850s when colonizers were extracting and exploiting the colonies through trusteeship and management of the local economy to catching

up with the advanced industrial countries with the advent of industrialisation. We have also learnt that during the 1950s, development was seen in terms of modernisation and growth which was later criticised, paving the way for alternative development in the 1970s. The rise of neoliberalism further changed the meaning of development which looked at it basically in terms of the market. We also learnt about post-development ideology that takes an anti-development position. The meaning of development further changed with the Millennium Development Goals.

2.6 QUESTIONS

1. Define development. How has the meaning of development changed over time? Discuss.
2. Discuss the different concepts related to development.
3. How is development similar or dissimilar to growth?
4. Write a short note on Millennium Development Goals.

2.7 RECOMMENDED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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MODULE II: SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES OF DEVELOPMENT

UNIT 3: PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT: LIBERAL, MARXIST AND ECOLOGICAL

UNIT STRUCTURE

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Objectives
- 3.3 Liberal Perspective on Development
 - 3.3.1 Neo-Liberalism
- 3.4 Marxist Perspective on Development
- 3.5 Ecological Approach to Development
 - 3.5.1 Ecofeminism
- 3.6 Summing Up
- 3.7 Questions
- 3.8 Recommended Readings and References

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last module, you got introduced to Sociology of Development. By now, you are clear about the meaning and significance of development as well as Sociology of Development. In the second module, you will learn about the different sociological perspectives through which we can look at the concept of development. It is important and almost a prerequisite to understand and to be familiar with various kinds of theoretical perspectives or approaches to understanding any social process or social institution in the discipline of sociology. There are various kinds of approaches that exist in the domain of sociology to understand the process of development. But in this unit, we will focus on Liberal, Marxist and Ecological approach to analyse the process of development. It is seen as a tussle of ideology and practice between liberalism and Marxism whereas ecological approach takes a different standpoint which could be seen as anti-development in nature. In the following section, we will first discuss the liberal approach

and then Marxist approach, the ecological approach will be discussed subsequently.

3.2 OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the liberal perspective on development;
- Explain neo-liberalism;
- Describe the Marxist perspective on development;
- Discuss ecological approach to development;
- Explain ecofeminism.

3.3 LIBERAL PERSPECTIVE ON DEVELOPMENT

As we proceed further in this course, we will be more familiar with the notion of development from various theoretical approaches. One of the main perspectives to understand development from a sociological perspective is the liberal approach. It is thought that the liberal approach emerged from the Enlightenment philosophy of the West. Liberalism is used mostly as a political philosophy. Later, it influenced both the field of economy and development. Literally, the term ‘liberal’ implies open-minded, broad-minded, free-thinking, moderate, tolerant, generous, etc.

In the context of development, liberalism could be seen more like a supporter of the market and unregulated mechanism of the market. Liberalism has a uniqueness and connection with all the social categories such as social, economic and political development. When it started to capture the socio-political and economic sphere, Marxism came as a counter and conflicting perspective with liberalism. The framework of liberalism operates under the idea that the market should be self-regulatory and free from the control of the state. Whereas, Marxism looks at the nature

of exploitation of both the environment and the proletariat class. In the next section, we will be discussing the Marxian approach to development.

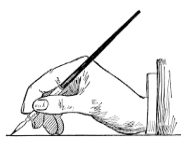
The Enlightenment is used to refer to a period in European history when the civilisation was going through a radical change. It spans around the 17th and 18th centuries in Western Europe. Peet and Hartwick (2015) very lucidly explain the advent of liberalism and neo-liberalism in the sphere of development. The Enlightenment movement emphasises on human reason to counter ignorance, superstition, and tyranny in creating a better world. The movement especially targeted religion and the church. The authors mention that philosophers of 17th and 18th century such as Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), John Locke (1632–1704), David Hume (1711–1776) propounded political-economic ideas that created the base for the modern capitalism and liberal approach to development.

Hobbes argued that rational self-interestedness (selfishness) legitimated philosophically as the morality of the new capitalist system. John Locke believed that God originally gave the earth and its products to all people in common and human individuals had the right to preserve their own lives through subsistence such as food and drink derived from the earth. By mixing labour with nature, man created private property. Later on, labour was used as a commodity and money was used as a medium of exchange. Similarly, the Scottish philosopher David Hume believed that human beings are driven by consumerism and they have the greed to acquire things. Human beings strike a balance between society and consumption. He argues self-interestedness and social responsibility could be reconciled. Hume supported free trade without any kind of restrictions with the support of the state for national economic benefit. Various philosophers and political economists of the Enlightenment period argued for the rationalization of society and market against all kinds of absolutism. The belief in individual natural rights, equality of opportunity, civil liberties,

freedom, progress, democracy forms the basis of modern liberalism (Peet and Hartwick, 2015).

Adam Smith is regarded as the father of classical economics. His book titled *The Wealth of Nations* and John Stuart Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* created a different wave in Europe. The classical economics gave rise to the modern theories of growth and development. Smith also tried to explore the human selfishness and tried to link this with the rise of market growth and capitalism. He believed that the unregulated market will work as an invisible hand and in turn, will help in the development of the economy. He also advocated for Laissez Faire model which argues for unregulated mechanism free from state control. David Ricardo is also considered as one of the founding members of the political economy approach. He opined that trade and the extension of the market in other parts increased the rate of profit in a country, this resulted in a more productive and efficient division of labour in the international market. J.S. Mill through his work *On Liberty* (1859) advocated for the liberty and freedom of the citizens and stated that the state should protect its citizen from any kind of harm. His approach took the form of compassionate developmentalism (Peet and Hartwick, 2015: 32-52).

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



Fill up the gaps:

1. It is thought that the liberal approach emerged from the _____ philosophy.
2. _____ came as a counter and conflicting perspective with liberalism.
3. _____ is regarded as the father of classical economics.

3.3.1 Neo-Liberalism:

When it was felt that liberalism is not working as per the plan and it started facing some sorts of resistance, the process of neoliberalism started after the Second World War. All the capitalist states realised that the state has to start some of the welfare mechanisms to address the grievance of citizens. Some of the prominent thinkers are Milton Friedman, Friedrich Hayek, and Robert Nozick. Around 1970s and 1980s, globalisation process started. Liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation became the buzzword that applied to all socio-political levels with emphasis on economism.

There are also various critical stands on liberal perspective to development. Critics have argued that it emphasises individualism and consumerism which go against the social ethos of cohesive living. Social theorists and thinkers have called for the state to protect the weaker section and promote equality in society. They argue that the market is a force which brings in disparity and it can never bring equality if the state does not intervene in it. Mitchell Foucault through his works has criticised the state and its social control mechanism through the concept of bio-power, anatomo-politics and governmentality. Louis Althusser has come up with ideological state apparatus (ISA) and repressive state apparatus (RSA) to critique the state.

In summary, it could be said that liberalism has to be understood in a broader framework. Various other categories such as economic, political and social meanings have to be brought into the analysis.

3.4 MARXIST PERSPECTIVE ON DEVELOPMENT

Karl Marx is regarded as one of the founding fathers of sociology. His contributions to the field of development and economy are unparalleled. His analysis and methods to understand social change and development are known as historical materialism or dialectical materialism. He has traced the trajectory of human civilization and development from the ancient

times till the advent of capitalism. He tried to understand the society from the material perspective.

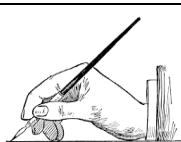
Originally, human labour was similar to the animal's hunting or gathering. For Marx, the transformative moment differentiating human distinctively from natural history came when human beings put consciousness and deliberation into effect as they worked to reproduce them. This happened most significantly in the making of 'instruments of labour', such as tools, implements, machine, which added greatly to the available means of the production of livelihood. As a result, the forces available for development became labour, physical means like tools, and mental conceptions, intentions, and plans. By applying these productive forces, necessary labour time could be shortened and more time could be devoted to conceptualization, science, technology, and the production of more tools - all sources of development in Marx's understanding. Development of the human ability to transform nature through labour gave the possibility of higher material standards of living and thus the potential for a more liberated existence. In particular, for Marx, the social relations that combined labour with means of production determined the quality and quantity of productive development (Peet and Hartwick, 2015).

In Marxism, the productive base of society is inherently conflictive and therefore, subject to developmental change. A second transformative historical moment (the first being intentionality in production) came when the means of production came to be controlled by a ruling elite. Capitalists put accumulated capital into use by employing additional wage workers to produce a profit. Competition forced capitalists to extract surplus value from workers. Competition forced the adoption of new technologies (more and better machines) and innovative types of organization (for example, corporations in place of family firms, and multinational instead of national corporations). For Marx, development was a process of capital accumulation occurring unevenly in terms of class (the owning class becoming richer) and space (some countries becoming richer than others).

Development was an utterly contradictory and violent process essentially because of the contradictory nature of its defining social relations, i.e., exploitation and competition. Development is driven by the exploitation of labour, producing surplus value, and the reinvestment of the part of this surplus, under compulsive conditions of competition, in improved technology. Economic development, for Marx, occurs by building up the forces of production, especially adding tools, machines, and infrastructure to human labour power. This process makes production more productive, that is, the average amount of product made in an hour increases. And higher productivity yields the possibility of better material life (Peet and Hartwick, 2015).

As Marx summarizes very clearly in his preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, the material development is full of crises. These sharpen and intensify the social struggles endemic to class societies. Heightened struggle presents the possibility for structural change. As stated by Marx, at a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production. Thereafter, begins an era of social revolution. The changes in the economic foundation lead sooner or later to the transformation of the whole immense superstructure. Thus, according to the Marxist perspective, development is driven by the exploitation of labour, producing surplus value, and the reinvestment of part of this surplus, under compulsive conditions of competition, in improved technology.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



1. What is neo-liberalism?

2. How does Marx looks at the concept of development?

3.5 ECOLOGICAL APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT

Francis Bacon, Rene Descartes, Isaac Newton along with the Enlightenment philosophy and the scientific revolution presents the mechanistic worldview of science to the modern world. Carolyn Merchant (1990) in her philosophical and anthropological treatment of nature and modern science shows the dark side of modern development and technology which controls women. She shows how the Western scientific fraternity initiated the process to have control over nature and society through rationality. The machine metaphor became more real to control nature for human development. Merchant laments, “the machine has permeated and reconstituted human consciousness so totally that today we scarcely question its validity” (Merchant, 1990: 193). It became the common sense and get manifested in everyday practice as reality (ibid). The organismic metaphor to the idea of nature as a living whole had a long history. The enlightened Western civilisations aim to dominate the nature and other societies reflected in the 18th and 19th centuries’ expedition of the Europeans. Western science and technology not only marred with anti-nature stance but it was also patriarchal in nature. Merchant explores the historical linkage of domination of nature and women and urges to ‘re-examine the formation of a worldview and science that, by reconceptualizing reality as a machine rather than a living organism, sanctioned the domination of both nature and women’ (ibid: xxi).

Through the idea of deep ecology, which is an ecological philosophy, the proponent and founder of this ideology and movement, the Norwegian Philosopher Arne Naess around 1973, argues that human beings are not alone in this earth and they are interrelated to other plants and organisms in

a complex manner. So it is our duty and responsibility to preserve the environment and ecosystem. The idea of Anthropocene will not only destroy human beings, but it will also wipe out the whole ecosystem. Deep ecology has both philosophical and spiritual underpinnings. It appeals for a holistic approach to looking at the world together with other plants and animals. It has been influenced by Buddhist philosophy and Gandhian philosophy. Materiality and consumerism are discouraged by this approach. This philosophy has given rise to many other green movements in different parts of the world. Deep ecology advocates for the preservation of ecology and biodiversity, to live a simple and frugal life and to control the human population.

Similarly, eco-feminism argues for a balanced development by keeping nature at the centre. This position is also related to Carolyn Merchant's idea of the Death of Nature. She argues that women and nature both have been controlled by the patriarchy and science. Manisha Rao (2012) points out that in the Indian context, Vandana Shiva's approach to ecofeminism has to be looked at critically.

Critics argue that today the world is facing a huge challenge in terms of risk. Modern science does not care for the traditional knowledge and they try to dominate nature through science and technology. Traditional knowledge incorporates ethics and spirituality and tries to preserve the nature and environment. In India, especially after the green revolution, in states like Punjab and Haryana, excessive use of fertilizers and pesticides created havoc. A lot of farmers committed suicide and it caused cancer.

Indira Munshi (2000) while discussing the theoretical basis of environmental sociology mentions Anthony Giddens and Ulrich Beck's approach to understand the environmental damage. Modern society has encountered many crises, environmental and ecological crisis is one among them. Giddens and Beck argue that modern capitalism and technology try to exploit nature. This brings catastrophic results in society. Through various local movement and resistance, civil society challenge and restrict

the force of capitalism and modern technology. In India, movements like Niyamgiri movement in Odisha and Narmada Bachao Andolan in Central India are examples of such movements. ‘Giddens argues that capitalism combined with industrialism is responsible for the environmental crisis. In his later works, in particular, he attributes environmental problems to the modern industrial societies and to the industrial sectors in the developing countries. Whatever the origins of the crisis, the modern industry, shaped by the combination of science and technology, he believes, is responsible for the greatest transformation of the world of nature than ever before’ (Munshi, 2000)

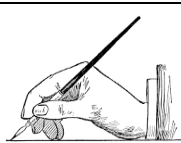
Ulrich Beck along with Anthony Giddens calls for a reflexive society. Their postulation on risk-society shows the dark side of modernity and the change brought in by modernity. Environmental sociologists and anthropologists blame the human-centric approach to development for the degradation of ecology and environment. Human beings always think and keep themselves above other organisms. This arrogant thinking has ruined both traditional worldviews and ecology. This approach of human supremacy over other species has been justified by both scientific knowledge and religious doctrines. To be free from this catastrophic process, human beings need to be more conscious and concerned about nature and ecology.

3.5.1 Ecofeminism:

The term “ecofeminism” was coined by the writer Francoise d’Eaubonne in 1974. (Rao, 2012: 125). Ecofeminism may be defined as a value system or a social movement that explores the connections between patriarchal structures and environmental destruction. Just as the patriarchal structures consider anything masculine as superior to feminine structures leading to the domination and exploitation, the nature is also exploited in the similar manner; in other words, the exploitation of nature is linked to men’s attitude towards women. Therefore, it is the same ideology that determines the exploitation of women as well as nature. In order to do away with this

exploitation, the patriarchal values and structures need to be reconstructed to bring about equality. Ecofeminism advocates that all living beings are equally important and have their own worth. Unlike liberal feminism, it does not strive for equal position of women or environmental preservation within the patriarchal setup, rather, it aims for a complete restructure of the world order where patriarchal structures will be dismantled and women and men, human and nature all will be respected and have equally important positions.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



1. What is deep ecology?

2. Name two environmental movements of India.

3. Who coined the term 'ecofeminism'?

3.6 SUMMING UP

In this unit, we have covered three of the sociological perspectives on development. It may be noted here that development means producing a better life for present and future. Development is generally understood and designed in economic terms. Richard Peet and Elaine Hartwick (2015) posit that discipline of economics has to be integrally involved in the study of development. Therefore, many of the theories of development have significant economic aspects, along with other dimensions like social, political and cultural. In terms of the liberal perspective, we have seen that

here, development is basically seen in terms of the free market whereas, according to Marx, development is driven by the exploitation of the working class. The ecological approach to development criticises the human-centric approach to development that has led to environmental degradation. This approach advocates that human beings should not consider themselves as superior to other living beings rather should strive towards the protection of nature and ecology.

3.7 QUESTIONS

1. Write an essay on Marxist approach to development.
2. Critically discuss the liberal approach to development.
3. Write an essay on the contribution of feminist scholars towards ecological perspective on development.
4. Discuss various theoretical approaches to understand development.
5. Analyse the limitations of various theoretical approaches to development.

3.8 RECOMMENDED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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UNIT 4: THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT:

MODERNISATION THEORIES

UNIT STRUCTURE

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Objectives
- 4.3 What is Modernisation?
- 4.4 Theoretical Roots of Modernisation Theory
- 4.5 Modernisation Theory
 - 4.5.1 Tradition vs. Modernity
 - 4.5.2 Rostow's Stages of Economic Growth
 - 4.5.3 Modernity and Development
- 4.6 Critique of Modernisation Theory
- 4.7 Summing Up
- 4.8 Questions
- 4.9 Recommended Readings and References

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, i.e. unit 3, we learned about liberal, Marxist and ecological perspectives on development. In this unit, we will learn about modernisation theories. It may be noted here that in the sub-discipline of sociology of development, while we consider various perspectives, modernization theory may be considered as one of the most contested theories among all the existing theories. David Harrison mentions that “there is no one modernization theory. Rather, this term is shorthand for a variety of perspectives that were applied by non-Marxists to the Third World in the 1950s and 1960s. The dominant themes of such perspectives arose from established sociological traditions and involved the reinterpretation, often conscious, of the concerns of classical sociology. Evolutionism (with its focus on increasing differentiation), diffusionism,

structural functionalism, systems theory and interactionism all combined to help form the mish-mash of ideas that came to be known as modernization theory” (Harrison, 2005: 1).

4.2 OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain what is meant by the term ‘modernisation’;
- Describe modernisation theory and its theoretical roots;
- Analyse the link between modernity and development.

4.3 WHAT IS MODERNISATION?

Modernisation as a process that has been most of the times interchangeably used with Westernization. Some people also refer it to Europeanisation or Americanisation. It is thought that once the modernisation process begins, there is no stoppage to it. Most of the thinkers of modernisation theories happen to be from the Western Countries. It assumes to be a process of universalisation and homogenisation. M.J. Levy (1967) argues that over the period of time, the developed and less developed will increasingly resemble with one another because of the patterns of modernization push towards resemblance with one another.

Encyclopaedia of Britannica¹ mentions that modernisation in a sociological sense refers to the transformation from a traditional, rural, agrarian society to a more secular, urban, industrial society. Modern society is linked to the emergence of industrial society. Industrialism and industrial society imply far more than the economic and technological components, it is a way of life that includes profound economic, social, political, and cultural changes. Modernisation is a kind of continuous and open-ended process. As understood by some theorists, modernisation is not a once-and-for-all-time achievement.

¹ <https://www.britannica.com/topic/modernization>

4.4 THEORETICAL ROOTS OF MODERNISATION THEORY

The beginning of the idea of modernisation theory can be traced back to as early as the period when evolution was first used in the context of human society. However, it is to be noted that the evolution of human society began to be studied systematically only from the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century, social evolutionism began to be reinforced as the period saw many social changes that were extensively studied and interpreted variously by different social thinkers like Marx, Weber and Durkheim. Despite the differences in their interpretations, there shared a commonality, i.e. their concern to identify the basic features of society that promote or inhibit the process of development. A major breakthrough during this period was the emergence of the Darwinian thought that emphasised that the origin of things and how they develop could be identified and explained.

Sociology originated in the backdrop of enlightenment and positive philosophy. August Comte tried to establish the discipline in the line of natural science. He thought society could also be studied like science and the base of positivism started with Comte's idea of scientism. Rationalism as an approach developed in the backdrop of enlightenment and positivism. Naturalism looks at basic human instincts whereas rationalism tries to overcome the basic human instinct and make a decision based on reason. Development as a social process has mostly been attributed to Western modernity. Marx, Durkheim and Weber, all of these three classical thinkers are looking at various kinds of social change in the modern era. Then came the structural-functional approach where Durkheim took a lead role in explaining the various aspects such as morality, collective conscience, and culture. Through his works like *Rules of Sociological Method*, *Suicide*, *The Division of Labour in Society*, Durkheim explained how society changed from the traditional to the modern society. Similarly, Ferdinand Tonnies distinguished between two types of social groupings such as community (Gemeinschaft) and society (Gesellschaft). Talcott Parsons is also

considered as a thinker of modernization. He considered that sociology is a study of social action (Peet and Hartwick, 2015). It may be noted here that modernisation theory came into prominence in the 1950s and 1960s which basically drew on the analyses of Durkheim and Weber.

4.5 MODERNISATION THEORY

As already mentioned, modernisation theory was developed by a number of social thinkers during the 1950s and early 1960s. The idea of such a theory was prompted by the decline of old colonies paving the way for the emergence of the concept of the Third World which soon became the focus of attention as those countries that need to be developed along the lines of developed Western countries through the creation of socio-economic conditions conducive to modernisation.

According to S. N. Eisenstadt, modernisation theory refers to a model. In this system, it is measured whether societies are similar or not to the model of modern industrial society. Under this perspective, how developed a society is could be measured in terms of indices of similarity with the characteristics of modern industrial society. More specifically, in the economic sphere, modernisation meant specialisation of economic activities and occupational roles and the growth of markets; in terms of socio-spatial organization, modernisation meant urbanization, mobility, flexibility, and the spread of education; in the political sphere, modernisation meant the spread of democracy and the weakening of traditional elites; in the cultural sphere, modernisation meant growing differentiation between the various cultural and value systems (for example, a separation between religion and philosophy), secularisation, and the emergence of a new intelligentsia. These developments were closely related to the expansion of modern communications media and the consumption of the culture created by centrally placed elites, manifested as changes in attitudes, especially the emergence of an outlook that stressed individual self-advancement. In general, modern societies were able to

absorb change and assure their own continuous growth. Such was the socio-cultural differences between traditional societies (low on the evolutionary scale) and modern societies (high on the evolutionary scale) (Peet and Hartwick, 2015).

Bert Hoselitz explains on the efficiency of the division of labour and writes that “A society on a low level of economic development is, therefore, one in which productivity is low because division of labour is little developed, in which the objectives of economic activity are more commonly the maintenance or strengthening of status relations, in which social and geographical mobility is low, and in which the hard cake of custom determines the manner, and often the effects, of economic performance. An economically highly developed society, in contrast, is characterized by a complex division of social labour, a relatively open social structure from which caste barriers are absent and class barriers are surmountable, in which social roles and gains from economic activity are distributed essentially on the basis of achievement, and in which, therefore, innovation, the search for and exploitation of profitable market situations, and the ruthless pursuit of self-interest without regard to the welfare of others is fully sanctioned” (Hoselitz, 1960: 60-61).

Bernstein (1971) analyses modernisation theory in the framework of sociology of development. He writes that the principal assumptions of modernisation theory are that modernisation is a total social process associated with (or subsuming) economic development in terms of the preconditions, concomitants, and consequences of the latter and this process constitutes a ‘universal pattern’. He mentions that different writers have given a different meaning to the term modernisation and most of the concepts are related to development. Some of the meanings are attached to economic terms, industrialisation, the transformation of culture and ecology.

“Both Smelser and Rostow attempted to provide more general perspectives in the analysis of development. Smelser, a sociologist, was particularly

concerned with the effects of economic development (by which he seems to have meant economic growth) on social structures. He detailed four major processes that were especially important. First, there was a move from simple to complex technology, secondly, a change from subsistence farming to cash crops, thirdly, a move from animal and human power to industrialization and, finally, an increasingly urban-based population. Smelser stressed that such processes would not occur simultaneously and that changes would differ from one society to another. There was a variety of ‘pre-modern’ starting points and the impetus to change would also vary, being crucially affected by tradition, thus leading to different paths towards modernization” (Harrison, 2005: 22).

4.5.1 Tradition vs. Modernity

The social theorists while developing the theories and ideas of development drew on the distinction between tradition and modernity as given classical sociologists like Weber and Durkheim. This distinction was basically based on the differences in values and norms that operate in modern and traditional societies, particularly in their economic systems. Going by this distinction, it was felt by the social theorists that development depends on the replacement of traditional or primitive values with modern ones.

Let us now look at the main features of ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ societies. In a ‘traditional’ society, the main features that can be noted are (Webster, 2002: 49-50):

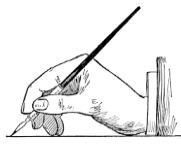
- i. Traditional values are dominant in such a society and people are accustomed to the ways that they have been practising since the past and thereby lack the ability to adjust to new circumstances;
- ii. The kinship system determines all the social practices and it controls all relationships - economic, political or legal;
- iii. The people in such a society are emotional and superstitious and they accept the things as they are without changing their age-old practices and beliefs.

On the other hand, a ‘modern’ society exhibits completely opposite characteristics. These are:

- i. In such a society, though there may be traditions, the people do not adhere to them religiously and they may change them if they feel that such a tradition is impeding the process of continued progress;
- ii. The kinship system does not play a very crucial role in it as kinship ties often get weakened owing to geographical and social mobility. Besides, an individual’s position in the social, political, economic, etc. aspects is achieved through ability and hard work;
- iii. People in the modern society are rational, innovative and have a scientific approach and they are ready to do away with old beliefs and practices that may get in the way of progress.

Based on these features of traditional and modern societies which draw heavily on the ideas of classical sociologists, different social thinkers came up with their own ideas about these two types of society. For instance, Parsons argues that in modern society, there is an achievement orientation especially in the economic sphere based on which, rewards are distributed rationally. In other words, in such a society, jobs are assigned and rewarded on the basis of one’s achieved skills and hard work. Similarly, David Lerner approach on modernisation also includes a ‘transitional society’ which is an intermediate phase between traditional and modern societies. According to him, traditional society goes through the phase of being a transitional society through empathy, i.e. the ability to take up new roles. A more precise model of modernisation has been given by W.W. Rostow through his stages of economic growth which you will learn in the following sub-section.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



1. What is modernisation?

2. Write two features of 'traditional society' as found in classical sociology.

3. How does David Lerner approach the concept of modernisation?

4.5.2 Rostow's Stages of Economic Growth

W. W. Rostow's 'The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto' stated that there are universal stages of growth, true for all societies moving from traditional to modern, from being backward to being advanced, from undeveloped to developed. The basic force propelling a society along the historical path through the stages is technological development in the context of social, cultural, and political conditions suited to modernization. Peet and Hartwick (2015) explain these five stages in the following manner:

1. Traditional society was the first stage which had limited production functions, primitive technologies, and spiritual attitudes toward the physical world. These placed a ceiling on productivity and limited economies to the agricultural level.

2. Preconditions for take-off constituted the second universal historical stage. These preconditions cohered in western Europe during the late 17th and early 18th centuries as the insights of modern science were translated into new production functions in agriculture and industry (for example, more machinery, in contrast to brute labour). During the pre-conditional phase education expanded, new kinds of people came forward, banks appeared, investment increased, the scope of commerce broadened, and manufacturing plants sprang up.

3. Take-off was the third stage when blockages and resistance to steady growth were finally overcome. During take-off the rate of effective investment rose from 5% of national income to 10% or more, new industries expanded, profits were ploughed back, urban industrial employment increased, and the class of entrepreneurs expanded. New techniques spread usually from industry to agriculture and, in a decade or two, the social and political structures of society were transformed so that steady economic growth could be sustained.

4. The drive toward maturity occurred over a protracted period of time as modern technology spread over the whole spectrum of a country's economic activity. It refers to that state in which there were sufficient entrepreneurial and technical skills to produce anything the society needed, whether it be machine tools, chemicals, or electrical equipment.

5. High mass consumption was the final stage where the leading industrial sectors became durable consumer goods and services (for example, automobiles), real income rose to a level permitting a large number of people to consume at levels far in excess of needs, and the structure of the workforce changed toward the urban-skilled and office types of employment. Western societies at this level might choose to allocate increased resources to social welfare and social security.

4.5.3 Modernity and Development

By now, you have learnt that there is no agreed definition of development and the term has been defined variously by different social thinkers. Modernity, on the other hand, seems to be more easily defined. In simple words, modernity implies being ‘up-to-date’. It is generally seen in terms of the ideas of Westernisation which basically consists in bringing about changes in the traditional elements of society. Such changes need not necessarily translate into complete elimination of traditional elements, rather modernity implies the blending of something new to the existing order. Now if we try to analyse the difference between development and modernisation, we see that development is a movement towards a valued state which may or may not be achieved or achievable. On the other hand, modernisation is what is actually happening which consists of a series of patterns, for either good or ill, that can be described and evaluated. If these patterns are good or progressive then they are said to contribute to development. However, such changes can also be regressive or neutral rather than being progressive. (Harrison, 2005: 152-153).

Katie Willis (2011) explains that for many, “ideas of development are linked to concepts of modernity. Because of social, economic, political and cultural dynamism, what is ‘modern’ will change over time and also spatially. What is ‘modern’ in one place may be ‘old-fashioned’ elsewhere. However, more specifically, ‘modernity’ has been used as a term to describe particular forms of economy and society based on the experiences of Western Europe and more recently the USA. In economic terms, ‘modernity’ encompasses industrialization, urbanization and the increased use of technology within all sectors of the economy. Willis articulates that for some people, the diffusion of modernity is interpreted as ‘development’ and ‘progress’, while for others it is associated with the eradication of cultural practices, the destruction of natural environments and a decline in the quality of life (Willis, 2011: 2-3).

4.6 CRITIQUE OF MODERNISATION THEORY

Modernisation theory has been criticised on several grounds. Firstly, the critics are of the view that the classification of societies into two categories of ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ is somewhat vague and these two categories fail to cover the variety of societies that exist. For instance, the wide variety of pre-industrial societies exhibit different resources and abilities that are needed for modernisation and therefore, clubbing these varied societies under one category of being ‘traditional’ fails to recognise their distinctiveness in terms of socio-economic and political structures. Secondly, it is being pointed out that though modernisation theory advocates the way a society develops, not much is being explained regarding this process. It fails to state as to which mechanism is best when it comes to bringing about social progress. Another important point that is being raised is that economic growth and modernity need not necessarily translate into an abandonment of ‘traditional’ values and beliefs. Modernity can be achieved even without giving up ‘traditional’ values. Another important criticism is that modernisation theory completely ignores the impact of colonialism on the Third World countries.

4.7 SUMMING UP

In this unit, we learned about what modernisation is and how it is related to and at the same time, different from development. Regarding modernisation theory, we have observed that modernisation is basically seen as a yardstick to measure how developed a country is based on certain indices of similarity with the characteristics of modern industrial society. It basically looks at the societies in terms of being ‘traditional’ or ‘modern’. Modernisation theory looks at lack of development as a fault of Third World countries’ socio-economic system which acts as an impediment to modernisation and to do away with it, these countries need to be developed on the Western lines. We also learnt that modernisation theory has been

criticised on several grounds and especially for having ignored the impact of colonialism on the Third World countries.

4.8 QUESTIONS

1. What do you mean by modernisation?
2. Explain the modernisation approach to development.
3. What are the historical stages of growth as suggested by Rostow?
4. Write a critique of modernisation approach based on your understanding of Rostow.

4.9 RECOMMENDED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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UNIT 5: THEORIES OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT: DEPENDENCY THEORY

UNIT STRUCTURE

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Objectives
- 5.3 Genesis of Dependency Theory
- 5.4 Dependency Theory: Meaning and Central Idea
- 5.5 Criticisms of Dependency Theory
- 5.6 Summing Up
- 5.7 Questions
- 5.8 Recommended Readings and References

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last unit, you learnt about modernisation theory which is a theory of development. In this unit and in Unit 6, we will focus theories of underdevelopment. The theory that will be covered in this unit is dependency theory. Before proceeding with this unit, you need to understand that dependency theory has emerged from the body of critiques which has links to the neo-Marxism. It looks at the process of exploitation and surplus extraction by the developed countries termed as the core from the underdeveloped countries termed as the periphery.

5.2 OBJECTIVES

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

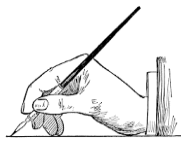
- Understand and explain the dependency theory;
- Explain the basic characteristics of its economy;
- Analyse the criticisms of dependency theory.

5.3 GENESIS OF DEPENDENCY THEORY

Dependency theory has its roots in historical materialism. It is regarded as a critical approach which is primarily targeting the modernisation approach to development. “The basic message of the dependency school draws on a theme namely, that European and U.S. development was predicated on the active underdevelopment of the non-European world, that is, making it less developed than it had been” (Peet and Hartwick, 2015:188). Dependency theorists believe that Europe developed itself by destroying the non-Western countries. Some of the theorists who developed the framework of dependency theory are Raúl Prebisch, Hans Singer, Celso Furtado, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Paul Sweezy, Paul Baran and Andre Gunder Frank.

Dependency theory was prominent in the 1960s, through the works of a great number of critical academics and development economists, the nature of dependency economy was demonstrated. They tried to show the failure of Latin American economy. They were critical of the idea of modernisation theory, which argues that a lack of development could be attributed to a deficiency in appropriate modernising values. Positive exposure to advanced industrial countries could help the third world countries to develop. But contrary to this, dependency theorists argued that the massive and persistent poverty in countries like Argentina, Peru, Chile and Brazil was caused by exposure to the economic and political influences of the advanced countries. The analysis of the impact of advanced countries are in the form of the diffusionism thesis of modernisation theory was completely rejected. When we look at the developed countries in the world today, it may have resulted through the simultaneous underdevelopment of the third world countries (Webster, 1990: 84-85).

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



1. Name three theorists who developed the framework of Dependency theory.

2. Why is dependency theory regarded as a critical approach?

5.4 DEPENDENCY THEORY: MEANING AND CENTRAL IDEA

Dependency theory looks at the exploitative relationship between core and periphery. This theory argues that the core (developed and wealthy) countries are rich because they exploit and plunder the periphery (underdeveloped and poor) countries. A range of theories of underdevelopment came as a critique to modernisation theory, dependency theory one is among them. Modernisation theory suggested that if underdeveloped countries will follow the path of the developed countries, then they will achieve the condition of the presently developed countries, but dependency theory argues that through the exploitative relationship, poor countries become poorer and rich country gets richer.

It is commonly discussed that neither Marx nor Engels had much to say about the Third World. They have mainly focused on the development of Western capitalism and they drew on other societies chiefly for illustrative purposes. As a consequence, Marx did not attempt to analyse the characteristics of non-industrialized regions in any depth. The key issue that divides classical Marxists from underdevelopment theorists: for the

former, Third World societies remain 'undeveloped' until they are 'developed' by capitalism, whereas for the latter it is, precisely, because such societies have been incorporated into world capitalism that their development has been blocked, even reversed, and they have become 'underdeveloped' (Harrison, 2005: 61-63).

Dependency theorists who were known as *dependistas* claims that the Latin American countries found themselves in positions of 'underdevelopment' because of the exploitation by the capitalist system. It has been proved from the process that the core industrialized countries were experiencing growth and economic development through the exploitation of the non-industrialized peripheral countries. On a different note, modernisation theorists advocated that non-industrialized countries lag behind on the development ladder because they function in a traditional and conventional condition. Along with other dependency theorists, André Gunder Frank analysed the process of underdevelopment through the capitalist development process. Frank used the examples of Chile and Brazil to demonstrate the chains of dependency that had existed since the colonial period beginning in the sixteenth century. He argued that with capitalist development, Latin America was caught up in a global system of dependence consisting of relationships of exploitation from the global scale to the inter-personal level. In this process, local peasants were exploited by local landlords and underpaid them for their labour and commodity that they produced. These big landlords sold them in the urban market to other rich merchants at a higher price and generated a greater profit. This process continued through a chain of series until it reached the core countries and all the surpluses were transferred through the above-mentioned process. While most of the dependency theorists would agree with the claims that exogenous factors were key in explaining the low levels of economic development in Latin America, but the solutions to solve this problem differed from each other. The neo-Marxists believed that to counter this situation, the capitalist system has to be overthrown. Andre Gunder Frank believed that until global capitalism is in function, there will be third world

countries which will go through the continuous process of underdevelopment and they will be marginalized (Willis, 2005: 77-78).

Peet and Hartwick (2015) write that the basic force of dependency theory has been derived from two main sources. One from the neo-Marxist thought centred on the socialist journal *Monthly Review* which developed a theory of “monopoly capitalism” in the USA which argues that large corporations increasingly took over, or outcompeted, small companies. This monopolisation of trade restricted competition, and thus corporations accumulated large surpluses in the form of excess profit. Paul Baran (1910–1964) and Paul Sweezy (1910–2004), were the main proponents and advocates of the concept of monopoly capitalism in the *Monthly Review* school which described dependency system to be an irrational kind of development. They suggested that the third world countries can develop on their own like China and Cuba by withdrawing from the world capitalist system and reconstructing economy and society on a socialist basis. The second main source for the dependency school was critical radical economic thinking in Latin America. The ideas of the United Nations Commission for Latin America and Raúl Prebisch were criticized by the Latin American left, in that the former ignored class relations. The kind of state intervention in the economy proposed by Prebisch and the UN Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), involving the protection of infant industries through tariff remedies, could end up subsidizing the profits of the local bourgeoisie, with consumers paying vastly higher prices for the subsidized commodities (Peet and Hartwick, 2015: 190).

Andre Gunder Frank criticised the concept of the ‘dual society’. This concept looks at the underdeveloped societies in terms of dual structure both modern and traditional. While explaining the condition of underdevelopment, Frank explained the capitalist exploitation of the dependency, he writes that underdevelopment “is not due to the survival of archaic institutions and the existence of capital shortage in regions that

have remained isolated from the stream of world history. On the contrary, underdevelopment was and still is generated by the very same historical process which also generated economic development: the development of capitalism itself' (Frank, 1966: 18). Frank through his dependency theory model tried to demonstrate that the capitalist world economy resulted in the underdevelopment of the periphery or satellite countries. "For Frank, the economic, political, social, and cultural institutions of the underdeveloped countries resulted from the penetration of capitalism rather than being original or traditional. Frank focused on the metropole–satellite (or centre–periphery) relations he found typical of Latin America. The underdevelopment of peripheral capitalist regions and people, he said, was characterized by three contradictions: the contradiction of the monopolistic expropriation of economic surplus, the contradiction of metropolis–satellite polarization, and the contradiction of continuity in change" (Peet and Hartwick, 2015: 190).

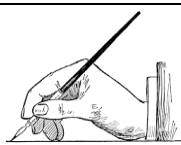
The first contradiction states that economic surplus is appropriated by the core country. Underdeveloped countries are subservient to the developed one. The underdeveloped countries become dependent on the developed countries. The second contradiction discusses the polarization between core and periphery. It shows that the satellite countries experienced their greatest economic development when their ties to the metropolis countries were weakest. Frank gave the examples of industrial development in countries like Chile, Argentina, Mexico and Brazil during the World Wars and the Great Depression in the West. During this time, ties were at their weakest and those countries which were seen as most under-developed in the twentieth century had the closest ties to the developed world in the past. Frank terms it as the "ultra-underdevelopment" and gives examples of the sugar-exporting region of north-eastern Brazil and the mining regions of Bolivia. The third contradiction of continuity in change shows when the core countries bounce back and recover from various kinds of internal crises when it again incorporates the peripheral countries into its system.

As a result of this process, the growth of industrialization in these countries becomes stagnant.

To fulfil the weakness in Frank's theory, where it fails to show the exact economic mechanisms of surplus extraction by the core countries. Emmanuel takes a different position in this. Peet and Hartwick mention that:

“Arghiri Emmanuel in the ‘theory of unequal exchange’ argued against classical (Ricardian) trade theory, which claimed the international division of labour and the comparative advantage system of trade brought advantages to all participants. Specifically, Emmanuel argued that trade made poor countries poorer and rich countries richer. Emmanuel assumed the perfect international mobility of capital but also the immobility of labour among countries—hence, wage rates persistently differed greatly among regions. Peripheral countries exported agricultural products, which entailed large quantities of cheap rural labour, while importing industrial products, which entail small amounts of expensive urban labour. This set of circumstances caused the terms of trade to favour the higher-cost products of the centre while devaluing the lower-cost exports of the periphery. Peripheral countries were prevented from achieving development because they sold their goods at prices below their values (the socially necessary labour embedded in the products), while rich countries sold goods at prices above their values. For Emmanuel, unequal exchange (through trade) was a hidden mechanism of surplus extraction and a major cause of the economic stagnation in the periphery” (Peet and Hartwick, 2015: 192-193).

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



1. What do you mean by core and periphery?

2. What do you mean by concept of the ‘dual society’?

3. What is the main argument of theory of ‘monopoly capitalism’?

5.5 CRITICISMS OF DEPENDENCY THEORY

Dependency theory has mostly been criticised by the free market and neoliberal economists. They argue that the lack of competition will give rise to the subsidy culture which in turn will not put emphasis on innovation and production. They will not raise more revenue thereby cannot support the state government in spending the money on other welfare systems. The question of sustainability is also an important issue. They may be dependent on the government for sustenance if they will not be able to make a profit.

Neoliberal economists have given the examples of India, China, South Korea, Malaysia. They argue that after shifting from a regulated and controlled economy to free market economy, these countries were successful in increasing the growth of GDP.

Social scientists and economists have also criticised the protectionism approach of the dependency theory. They give examples of Latin America and some Asian countries and argue that protectionism will not help the peripheral countries in economic growth. It will reduce the rate of consumption as the national local market may not be able to fulfil the demand. Protectionism will lead to an economic recession and put a country into debt, thereby it may create more problem for the country. It may lead to higher corruption in the domestic market. The stagnation of the

peripheral countries are not permanent as demonstrated by dependency theory, so it is an incorrect explanation. Even some peripheral countries have achieved faster economic growth. Dependency theory does not focus on peripheral countries' internal problems such as under-utilization of human resource, natural resources and stark unemployment. It does not provide any substantive empirical pieces of evidence to prove the dependency system. It has also been mentioned that it is an abstract theory which homogenizes all categories. Dependency theory has failed to look at the contemporary issues of socio-economic, political situations and does not reflect much on the issue of globalisation. It focuses much on the economic factor and is silent about the factors like culture and environment.

The Brazilian economist, Fernando Cardoso (1982) found Frank's notion of the development of underdevelopment to be rhetoric and it has little concrete evidence. By bringing in the Latin American examples, Cardoso argues that multinational corporations invested in modern industrialization while supposedly traditional sectors (agriculture, mining) operated in technically and organizationally sophisticated ways, and both were parts of an advanced yet dependent form of capitalist development. In contrast to Frank's universalism, Cardoso wanted to look at specific situations in particular parts of the Third World where development and dependence could be found in tandem. Dependency theory was holistic in that it attempted to place a country into the larger (global) system. It tried to blame on the external causes of underdevelopment rather than looking at the causes which are internal to a peripheral society. Dependency theory emphasised much on the economic aspects rather than social or cultural interactions. Frank could not look at the internal class characteristics of the dependency system. (Peet and Hartwick, 2015: 193-194).

The concept of 'dependency' is much too vague to be of use, failing to clarify sufficiently the sense in which Third World countries are dependent

on metropolitan centres. Frank spends too much time measuring underdevelopment in terms of the exchange and transfer of the surplus from satellites to metropolises. This has led a number of critics to argue that the basic flaw in his work is his failure to examine the way in which surplus is extracted through the system of production that prevails in the Third World societies (Webster, 1990: 86-89).

5.6 SUMMING UP

In contemporary social science discourse, dependency theory does not have many advocates but it has the relevance as a conceptual framework to look at the global division of wealth and disparity. The dependency theory offers a very sharp analysis of politics in the underdeveloped countries and also looks at the exploitative relationship between the developed and underdeveloped countries. To explain the appropriation of surplus, the centre-periphery paradigm has been used. Dependency theory blames global capitalism for the underdevelopment of the Third World countries. Many underdevelopment theorists believe that unless there is global capitalism, there will be under-development. To get rid of the condition of underdevelopment, many neo-Marxist theorists believe that a socialist movement is required to overthrow global capitalism.

5.7 QUESTIONS

1. Explain how the internal disparities in a nation can be explained through the dependency theory.
2. Discuss the role of the state in the development of a nation.
3. Elucidate the process of underdevelopment and development in economic terms?
4. What are the characteristics of a dependent economy?
5. Explain the basic premise of dependency theory along with some of the important criticisms of dependency theory.

5.8 RECOMMENDED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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UNIT 6: THEORIES OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT: WORLD SYSTEM THEORY, UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Objectives
- 6.3 Underdevelopment: Views of Andre Gunder Frank
- 6.4 World System Theory
- 6.5 Uneven Development
- 6.6 Summing Up
- 6.7 Questions
- 6.8 Recommended Readings and References

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last unit, i.e. unit 5, you got familiarised with a theory of underdevelopment, i.e. Dependency Theory which throws light on the exploitative relationship between the developed and underdeveloped countries. In this unit, theories of underdevelopment will be further elaborated focusing on World System Theory and Uneven Development. You have already learnt that the Underdevelopment Theory emerged as a reaction and critique of the Modernisation Theory. So let us first look at the views of Andre Gunder Frank on underdevelopment which will help us understand better why Underdevelopment Theory emerged as a reaction against Modernisation Theory.

6.2 OBJECTIVES

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

- Analyse the importance of historical perspective on the past experience of underdeveloped countries;
- Discuss the World System Theory;

- Discuss and understand Uneven Development.

6.3 UNDERDEVELOPMENT: VIEWS OF ANDRE GUNDER FRANK

Andre Gunder Frank (1966) argues that it would not be helpful to devise appropriate development theory for the majority of the world's population that suffers underdevelopment unless there is a study on how the past economic and social history of the underdeveloped regions gave rise to their present underdevelopment. Moreover, the historical experience of the colonial and underdeveloped countries have been starkly different. This is why the available theories fall flat in reflecting the past of the underdeveloped regions of the world in its entirety, and as a result reflects only the past of a part of the world. Frank (1966) further argues that the ignorance of the history of the underdeveloped regions leads to the assumption that their past and the present mirror the earlier stages of the history of the now developed regions.

Frank (1966) posits that the now developed regions of the world were never underdeveloped but may have been undeveloped. Moreover, he talked in terms of metropolitan/satellite relations while referring to the developed/underdeveloped regions. According to him, there is a series of metropolitan/satellite relations in the structure of the global capitalist system which transcends national boundaries. Within a particular country, the city gets its supplies from the hinterland and therefore the hinterlands are exploited by the cities. On the other hand, the cities, which are often the centre of export trade, are dependent on the metropolitan countries of the West. Further, Frank (1966) argues that in order to promote their own development, the metropolises take advantage of the global, national and local capitalist system and therefore seeks to impose and maintain the monopolistic structure and exploitative nature of this system.

However, there are certain understandings about the underdeveloped regions of the world which, according to Frank (1966) are inaccurate. One

such understanding is that the contemporary underdevelopment of a country is a consequence of its own social, political and economic structure. But, Frank (1966) argues that it has been proven by historical research that underdevelopment is largely a product of the past and the continuing economic and other relations between the satellite underdeveloped and the developed metropolitan countries. Another understanding is that the underdeveloped regions can develop by diffusing capital, institutions and values, etc. from the international and national capitalist metropolises. However, Frank (1966) argues that the historical perspective on the past experience of the underdeveloped regions suggested that the economic development of these regions will occur independently of the relations of diffusion. According to Frank (1966), the reasons for the underdevelopment of a region are not due to the existence of archaic institutions and the shortage of capital in these regions that remained isolated from the stream of world history. It was and still is caused, argues Frank (1966), by the same historical process that also generated economic development - the development of capitalism itself. Thus, underdevelopment can be viewed as a process that is induced externally and which is sustained by a small but powerful elite.

6.4 WORLD SYSTEM THEORY

The world-system theory developed due to the emergence of a distinct form of capitalism since the decade of the 1960s. At the beginning of this decade, the Third World countries encountered new conditions wherein they had to improve the social conditions and the standard of living. These new conditions entailed the flexible character of the international financial and trade systems and the lessening influence of government actions. These new international economic order provided scope for the radical researchers led by Immanuel Wallerstein to conclude that these new activities in the capitalist world-economy could not be explained within the confinements of the dependency theory.

Wallerstein (1987) posited that there are certain worldwide conditions that operate as decisive factors for the underdeveloped nations. He further argues that the new global systems of communications, the new world trade mechanisms, the international financial system, and the transference of knowledge and military links are the factors which have a huge impact on the internal development of small and underdeveloped countries. These factors work in its own ways at the international level and simultaneously interact with the internal aspects of each country.

Wallerstein (1979) suggested that the modern world economic system developed in distinct historical stages -

1. The European world economy emerged during the 16th century (1450–1640). It was the result of the crisis of feudalism that posed a series of dilemmas which could be resolved through geographic expansion of the division of labour. By the end of the period northwest Europe had established itself as core, Spain and the Northern Italian cities declined into the semi-periphery, and Northern Europe and Iberian America were the main peripheries of the developing world system.
2. Mercantilist struggle during the recession of 1650–1730 left England as the only surviving core state.
3. Industrial production and the demand for raw materials increased rapidly after 1760, leading to geographic expansion of frontiers in what now became truly a world system under British hegemony. Russia, previously an important external system, was incorporated into the semi-periphery while the remaining areas of Latin America and Asia and Africa were absorbed into the periphery. This expansion enabled some former areas of the periphery (the United States and Germany) to become at first semi-peripheral, and then eventually core states. The core exchanged manufactured goods with the periphery's agricultural products.

4. World War I marked the beginning of a new stage characterized by revolutionary turmoil and the consolidation of the capitalist world economy under the hegemony of the United States instead of Britain. After World War II, the urgent need for expanded markets was met by reconstructing Western Europe, reserving Latin America for U.S. investment, and decolonizing southern Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. Since the late 1960s, a decline in U.S. political hegemony has increased the freedom of action of capitalist enterprises, which are now taking the form of multinational corporations.

Wallerstein (1974) stated that "a world-system is a social system, one that has boundaries, structures, member groups, rules of legitimation, and coherence. Its life is made up of the conflicting forces which hold it together by tension and tear it apart as each group seeks eternally to remould it to its advantage. It has the characteristics of an organism, in that it has a lifespan over which its characteristics change in some respects and remain stable in others...Life within it is largely self-contained, and the dynamics of its development are largely internal" (Wallerstein, 1974: 347). A world-system is what Wallerstein terms a 'world economy' that is integrated through the market rather than a political centre and in which two or more regions are interdependent with respect to necessities like food, fuel, and protection, and two or more polities compete for domination without the emergence of one single centre (Goldfrank, 2000).

Wallerstein (1974) stated the world-system to be a multicultural territorial *division of labour* in which the production and exchange of basic goods and raw materials takes place. This production and exchange of goods and raw materials are necessary for the everyday life of inhabitants of the world-system. This division of labour refers to the forces and relations of production of the world economy as a whole and it leads to the existence of two interdependent regions: *core* and *periphery*. These are geographically and culturally different, one focusing on labour-intensive, and the other on

capital-intensive production (Goldfrank, 2000). Moreover, the core-periphery relationship is structural. Semi-peripheral states act as a buffer zone between core and periphery and has a mix of the kinds of activities and institutions that exist on them (Skocpol, 1977).

Thus, Wallerstein's world economy has three components (Harrison, 2005) -

- First, the **core regions** - These are strong states that have the capacity to enforce unequal exchange relations favourable to themselves. These states are administratively well organized and are militarily powerful. Moreover, they appropriate surplus value from the periphery.
- The second system component is the **periphery** - It is made up of exploited regions characterized by mono-agriculture and is dependent on the export of low-wage products.
- Thirdly, the **semi-periphery** - It is an intermediate category which acts as a buffer, separating the core and the periphery. It produces both high-wage and low-wage products. Moreover, it is exploited by the core but in turn, exploits the periphery.

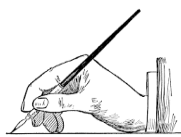
Therefore, according to the world system theory, most of the surplus gets accumulated and then converted to capital in the core. This surplus is appropriated from local sources. While for the periphery, the loss of surplus meant that the capital needed for modernisation is not available. Moreover, the system of intense labour exploitation at low wage levels shapes class relations and fosters political conflict in the periphery. Semi-peripheral states function to prevent political polarisation in the world system while collecting surplus for transmission to the core.

Among the most important structures of the current world-system is a power hierarchy between *core* and *periphery*. The powerful and wealthy 'core' societies dominate and exploit weak and poor peripheral societies. Technology plays a central factor in locating a region to be in the core or in the periphery (Martínez-Vela, 2001). Advanced or developed countries are

the core, and the less developed are in the periphery. Peripheral countries are structurally constrained to experience a kind of development that reproduces their subordinate status (Chase-Dunn and Grimes, 1995). The differential strength of the multiple states within the system is crucial to maintaining the system as a whole because strong states reinforce and increase the differential flow of surplus to the core zone (Skocpol, 1977). This is what Wallerstein called *unequal exchange*, the systematic transfer of surplus from semi-proletarian sectors in the periphery to the high-technology, industrialised core (Goldfrank, 2000). This leads to a process of capital accumulation at a global scale and necessarily involves the appropriation and transformation of peripheral surplus.

Therefore, it can be said that the unequal exchange in commerce was imposed by the strong core on the weak peripheries, and thus the surplus of the world economy was appropriated by the core.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



1. What according to Wallerstein are the three components of world economy?

2. What does Wallerstein mean by *unequal exchange*?

6.5 UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

Historically, one of the noted characteristics of the process of capitalist development is the phenomenon of uneven development. Uneven

development can be understood as the constant differences in levels and rate of economic development between different sectors of the economy. It has been argued that capital accumulation is governed by the law of uneven development. The spatial dimension of economic development is characterized by a core/periphery configuration.

Gunnar Myrdal (1956) too argued that capital movements tend to increase regional inequality by concentrating on the more developed regions. However, uneven development can take varied forms. It can be between the modes of production or social formations; between large and small capitals; between consumer goods and capital goods industries; between different sectors; between the productive forces; between classes; between geographical areas; or between combinations of all the above. For example, in the unevenness, in the development of the productive forces between firms, industries or even whole sectors, regions or nations.

Uneven development refers to the inequitable spatial distribution of wealth and/or economic growth within a city, a metropolitan area, a nation-state, or globally. The term also represents the simultaneous occurrence of economic and wealth expansion in one area accompanied by disinvestment and/or expanding poverty in another area. The markers for the process of uneven development involves the level of labour productivity in different sectors, the level of wages, occupational and skill composition of the labour force, the degree of mechanisation and vintage of production techniques, rates of profit, rates of growth, and the size structure of firms. Uneven development occurs at all levels. For instance, it occurs at the level of manufacturing industry and agriculture, at the level of individual industries within the manufacturing sector, and at the level of individual firms in an industry. Moreover, it is also prevalent on a regional level within national economies as well as on a global scale between different national economies. In the context of the global scale, there is a continued differentiation between underdeveloped and advanced economies, which is

usually identified as the problem of underdevelopment (Harris, 2006). Thus, uneven development is an intrinsic or inherent property of the economic process (Harris, 2006).

There are wide ranges of factors that contribute to uneven development. It involves vast concentrations of capital and labour in one region, particularly in the metropolitan areas and at the same time the development of the transport and communication system. The development of the transport and communication system permitted the flow of information, ideas, material goods and labour power around the globe with relative ease. The tight concentrations of economic activities in one region make the region to take advantage of this very process which, in turn, leads to the prosperity and development of the region, in contrast to the other regions deprived of such economic activities. All of these add up to the uneven development due to the system of capitalism. Such uneven development produces society-wide effects. For instance, it can lead to the emergence of imperialism at a world scale; can affect the micro-politics of the city.

Samir Amin (1976) argues that from the standpoint of the international division of labour, the dispersion of the division of labour leads to a new form of inequality between nations. He argues that the strategic activities are gathered around the centre, which is the aspect relating to the software and the production of the most complex types of essential equipment and skilled labour. To the periphery falls the hardware - that is the production of those elements which, given the help of imported equipment, require only ordinary labour. Amin (1976) states that “the old division of labour, in which the underdeveloped countries supplied the raw materials and the advanced countries supplied the manufactured goods, is being replaced by a different division, in which the former supply the primary products and the manufactures, while the second supply the equipment and the software. This division reinforces the functions of the centralisation of decision-making authority and technological innovation. Thereby it reproduces its

own conditions, splitting the world labour market into watertight national markets with big differences in rewards. It deepens unequal exchange by internalizing this in the firm” (Amin, 1976: 211-212).

Capitalism mostly depends on the constant possibility of expansion into non-capitalist spaces. It was Leon Trotsky (1906) who introduced the notion of ‘Uneven and Combined Development’ in his book *Results and Prospects*. It was done while analysing the particular location of Russia within the world economy. While Russia was economically backward, indicating the unevenness of development in relation to ‘advanced’ Western countries, a number of small regions of highly developed industries (especially in military-related production) were established as a result of foreign pressures from more ‘advanced’ Western competitor states.

Unequal exchange is the central factor whereby capitalism reproduces inequalities. In this kind of exchange, the world is divided between the rich ‘centre’ countries and poor ‘peripheral’ countries. Centre countries are less structurally dependent than peripheral countries and tend to produce mainly capital goods and consumer goods. Accumulation in centre countries is cumulative over time, whereas accumulation in peripheral countries is stagnant. This is because of differences in pricing mechanisms for raw materials and produced goods. Produced goods tend to go up in price over time, whereas raw materials stay at the same price or are unstable.

In this context, Gunnar Myrdal’s (1956) principle of ‘Cumulative Causation’ can be mentioned, which states that in the case of poor countries a vicious circle is at work keeping them poor. For example, low income leads to low savings and low investment, which in turn causes low income in the next round. By contrast, in rich countries, a reverse beneficial circle enables them to go from strength to strength and to improve their condition progressively. In addition, whereas wages in rich countries keep up with

development, those in poor countries do not. This is because wages in poor countries are not connected with global labour markets and because states in poor countries tend to suppress social movements which would win increased wages.

Thus, according to Samir Amin (1976), the global market is distorted because equally productive workers are paid at different rates in different countries. Workers with the same skills may be earning a lot more if they are in rich rather than poor countries. This is, according to Amin (1976), an unequal exchange - it exchanges one hour of productive work in a Northern country for many hours of similarly productive work in a Southern country. According to Amin (1976), the poor are lacking and at the same time, they are actively impoverished by processes of capitalism which are constantly reproduced and which are getting worse. Hence, he refers not to poverty but to 'pauperisation'. He argues that the global popular classes are increasingly being pauperised through resource grabs and surplus extraction.

Since the post-1945 age of monopoly capitalism, expanded reproduction has been secured not simply by integrating non-capitalist spaces, but through restructuring the way in which peripheral spaces are integrated within the global political economy. Amin (1976) describes this period as the 'second wind' of Uneven and Combined development. Through the export of capital, forms of production have been established in the peripheral spaces, enjoying the advantage of low-wage costs. As a result, peripheral spaces have not only exported primary product, but also manufactured goods. These goods, however, are characterized by low, outdated technological inputs and cheap labour. Hence, it is the difference in productivity levels, in which high-valued added goods produced in the core are exchanged for goods based on more living labour inputs from the periphery, which is the key to unequal exchange. This ultimately further

deepens the inequalities or unevenness between ‘core’ and ‘peripheral’ regions.

According to Amin (1976), the main cause of unevenness in development is the distribution of income. But added to this there are some other causes which are also important, and “which are connected with the incomplete extent of the development of capitalism: a low level of uniformization of labour time (especially between agriculture, where capitalist forms of organization do not prevail and the urban sector) different rates of profit for foreign monopoly - capital and dependent national capital; etc. There are also some factors of a secondary order, such as: (1) the respective levels of employment in the rural and urban areas, which have a determining influence in the division of income between wages and incomes of enterprise and of ownership; (2) the structures of distribution of ownership of capital and enterprise which mainly determine the way income of enterprise is distributed in the urban areas; (3) the structures of distribution of landownership and of the way the land is exploited which mainly determine the distribution of non-wage incomes in the rural areas; and (4) the distribution of the labour supply in accordance with the levels of skill - and degree of trade-union and political organization of the different groups, which is what largely determines the structure of the distribution of wages” (Amin, 1976: 218).

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



1. What is uneven development?

2. Who wrote the book *Results and Prospects*?

3. What is ‘Cumulative Causation’?

4. How does division of labour lead to inequality between nations?

6.6 SUMMING UP

In this unit, we began by understanding the views of Andre Gunder Frank on underdevelopment. We understood the importance of historical perspective on the past experience of underdeveloped countries. Modernisation Theory fails to incorporate the particular historical experiences of the Third World countries while advocating an approach of modernisation based on the model of the developed countries. We then discussed world system theory focusing on the views of Wallerstein on the world economy. We have understood the concept of core, periphery and semi-periphery and learnt about world system theory's emphasis on the surplus getting accumulate and converted to capital in the core. Finally, we discussed uneven development and looked at it from different levels - regional, national and of course, global level.

6.7 QUESTIONS

1. Write an essay on comparing the world system theory and dependency theory.
2. Elaborate on the genesis of the world system theory.
3. Critically evaluate the limitations of world system theory.
4. Explain the main arguments of uneven development.
5. Prepare a chart to demonstrate the process of world system theory and uneven development.

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