

MA (Sociology)
FIRST SEMESTER
MASOC 401



INSTITUTE
OF DISTANCE
EDUCATION **IDE**
Rajiv Gandhi University

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CLASSICAL SOCIOLOGICAL
THINKERS

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MA (SOCIOLOGY)
First Semester
MASOC 401



RAJIV GANHI UNIVERSITY
ARUNACHAL PRADESH, INDIA-791 112

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SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

CLASSICAL SOCIOLOGICAL THINKERS

Syllabi	Mapping in Book
UNIT 1 THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE EMERGENCE OF SOCIOLOGY AUGUSTE COMTE Emergence and Development of Sociology, Auguste Comte, Positivism, Law of three stages Hierarchy of Sciences	UNIT 1 THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE EMERGENCE OF SOCIOLOGY AUGUSTE COMTE
UNIT 2 KARL MARX Dialectical Materialism, Historical Materialism Theory of Capitalism, Class and Class Conflict Alienation.	UNIT 2 KARL MARX
UNIT 3 EMILE DURKHEIM Early Life of Emile Durkheim ,Rules of Sociological Methods Division of Labour ,Theory of Suicide Sociology of Religion	UNIT 3 EMILE DURKHEIM
UNIT 4 MAX WEBER Social Action , Verstehen, Ideal Types Power, Authority and Legitimacy, Protestant Ethics and Spirit of Capitalism.	UNIT 4 MAX WEBER

CONTENTS

UNIT 1: INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT

- 1.0. Introduction
- 1.1. Unit Objectives
- 1.2. Meaning of Sociology of Development
 - 1.2.1. Nature of Sociology of Development
 - 1.2.2. Scope of Sociology of Development
- 1.3. Basic Concept
 - 1.3.1. Economic Growth and Development
 - 1.3.2. Progress and Evolution
 - 1.3.3. Human Development
 - 1.3.4. Globalisation and Sustainable Development
- 1.4. Summary
- 1.5. Key Terms
- 1.6. Answer to 'Check your Progress'
- 1.7. Questions and Exercises
 - 1.7.1. Short-Answer Questions
 - 1.7.2. Long-Answer Questions
- 1.8. Further Reading

UNIT 2: APPROACHES TO STUDY DEVELOPMENT

26-45

- 2.0. Introduction
- 2.1. Unit Objectives
- 2.2. Marxist
- 2.3. Functional
- 2.4. Liberal
- 2.5. Ecological
- 2.6. Summary
- 2.7. Key Terms
- 2.8. Answer to 'Check your Progress'
- 2.9. Questions and Exercises
- 2.10. Further reading

UNIT 3: THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT

46-69

- 3.0. Introduction
- 3.1. Unit Objectives
- 3.2. Modernisation

- 3.3. Dependency
- 3.4. World System
- 3.5. Uneven Development
- 3.6. Summary
- 3.7. Key Terms
- 3.8. Answer to 'Check your Progress'
- 3.9. Questions and Exercises
- 3.10. Further reading

UNIT 4: CRITIQUE OF DEVELOPMENT

70-85

- 4.0. Introduction
- 4.1. Unit Objectives
- 4.2. Gandhi
- 4.3. Schumacher
- 4.4. Summary
- 4.5. Key Terms
- 4.6. Answer to 'Check your Progress'
- 4.7. Questions and Exercises
- 4.8. Further reading

UNIT 5: DEVELOPMENT AND NORTHEAST INDIA

86-122

- 5.0. Introduction
- 5.1. Unit Objectives
- 5.2. Northeast India Development Policies
 - 5.2.1. Philosophy, Culture and Social Parameters
 - 5.2.2. Establishment of North Eastern Council
 - 5.2.3. DONER
 - 5.2.4. Issues of Tribal Development and Ethnic identity
 - 5.2.5. Look East Policy.
- 5.3. Summary
- 5.4. Key Terms
- 5.5. Answer to 'Check your Progress'
- 5.6. Questions and Exercises
- 5.7. Further reading

INTRODUCTION

The MASOC-504 is introduced in MA Sociology Programme in Institute of Distance Education (IDE). The main Purpose of the introduction of MASOC-504, 'Sociology of Development' is to introduce the learner to make understand the concept of development from Sociological Perspectives and to appreciate development as an integrated process.

Course Introduction

The Concept of Development has always been a matter of significant concern. Henceforth, the subject so called the 'Sociology of Development' is introduced at Post Graduate Level (IDE) to enable the students to understand the *concept of development* and *its process* in a more better way from the sociological perspective. The present book is an attempt to enable the students to have a comprehensive overview of the Sociology of Development.

The basic purpose of the subject is to enable the students to grasp the concept of development along with its various approaches to development. Development as a subject matter is quite complex one. Since, Development as a process has been understood differently like as growth, change, transformation and modernisation, etc.

Traditionally, the concept of development and its process was usually explained in economic term. However, later there has been paradigm shift in the ideology and people realised that, the economic factor too need socio-cultural prerequisite which play a decisive role in making economic factor more effective. Therefore, presently there is global tendency to view development with social and human orientation besides economic and political orientation. And it has been observed that, due to liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation there is frequent, rapid, and radical changes in the field of development. Therefore, the course has been formulated and developed with the objective of understanding development which will enable students to acquire a sociological understanding of the concept of development and its process. This will assist in developing and acquiring socio-historical critique of the development process.

Therefore, keeping all these factors in mind, the present course is an attempt to critically examine and understand the historical, empirical and social context, the intellectual perception and relevance of the developmental concept and perspective pertaining to development. Thus, the course called Sociology of Development is incorporated in the MA Sociology (IDE) to focus on the concept, approaches or perspective of development from critical orientation. The course also highlights the development process and its impact in Indian context as well in Northeast Indian context.

Course organisation

There are five units in this course. Each unit is incorporated with a view to enable the students to have comprehensive knowledge in relevant topics. Further, for the convenient, each unit is divided into sub-headings. The themes focus on the following:

- The concept of development
- Approaches to study development
- Theories of development
- Critique of development
- Development and Northeast India

UNIT 1: INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT

1.0. Introduction

1.1. Unit Objectives

1.2. Meaning of Sociology of Development

1.2.1. Nature of Sociology of Development

1.2.2. Scope of Sociology of Development

1.3. Basic Concept

1.3.1. Economic Growth and Development

1.3.2. Progress and Evolution

1.3.3. Human Development

1.3.4. Globalisation and Sustainable Development

1.4. Summary

1.5. Key Terms

1.6. Answers to 'check your progress'

1.7. Questions and Exercises

1.7.1. Short-Answer Questions

1.7.2. Long-Answer Questions

1.8. Further Reading

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Understanding the concept of “**Development**” has become more significant in the modern contemporary era. There is complexity in dealing *development* as its subject matter. Development is composite concept with multiple meaning like- economic development, social development, human and sustainable development. Therefore, it has multi-dimension. Thus, it required profound knowledge in the same field. And various Philosopher, Scholars and Intellectuals have propounded different insight regarding the same. However, Development can be understood as a process of positive sense. It refers to the planned change in desire way. To sum up, we can say “development” is a planned change in the material conditions and related socio-cultural milieu.

Development is an integral aspect of the society. It is an important indicator for change in society. Since, society is ever changing process with interaction and adaptation of other cultures it become necessary for us to study the concept and indicator that are related to development. *Development* thus, is a planned change in the material conditions and related socio-cultural milieu.

1.1. UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Meaning of Sociology of development
- Nature of Sociology of development
- Scope of Sociology of development
- Understand Development and Social & Human Development.
- Differentiate between Economic Growth and Development
- Distinguish economic growth with development
- Understand the term “Progress” and “Evolution”
- Describe human development

- Explain globalisation and sustainable development

1.2.MEANING OF SOCIOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT

Sociology of Development is a new branch of study to understand the term development in more relevant manner. The “Sociology of Development” was originated with the Post-Second World War and the Post-Colonial experiences of Development in the newly emerged Nations. As during that era there was *stern need for the sociological analysis of development*, which could aid in understanding and explaining the interface of economy and society. The *subject matter of sociology of development is indeed no doubt complex due to interface between the economy and society. Both condition each other*. Thereby, changes in one corresponds the changes in other. The modern industrial economy could not have emerged if the culture would not have undergone radical change. Similarly, due to radical change in the economy and technology we witnessed there are structural changes in the family, community, social stratification and gender, etc. in society.

The *Sociology of development* can be understood as a subject which study the *concept of development and its process* from the *sociological perspective*. As we know that, there several aspect of human life like social, political, Economical, religious, educational and family life. All these aspect are interdependent and inter-related each other. In short, all these aspects influence each other. Further, each of these aspects is studied by a separate discipline of social science. *For example*, Political science and Economics study the- political and economical aspect of life, respectively. Likewise, Sociology too has several branches to study different aspects of social life as being science of society. Thus, we have sociology of law, sociology of religion, sociology of education, sociology of medicine, sociology of crime, sociology of environment, etc. are such branch of Sociology. Perhaps, the economic aspect of human life is the most vital aspect. Therefore, we have economic sociology with its different branches like sociology of work, sociology of leisure, sociology of profession and sociology

of development, which holds a significant position. Infact, some economist like Sombart, Pareto, Schumpeter and Oppenheimer have explained economic change as an aspect of social change. And renowned German Sociologist Max Weber has profounded a classical example to show how social factors, particularly its religious beliefs and practical ethics have influence the economic activities of people.

In simple words, we can say that, addressing the issue of development from the point of view of sociology is called as Sociology of Development. There is close linkage between the Socio-cultural environment and economic activities. Both condition each other (Smelser- sociology of economic life). The “Sociology of Development” helps us to comprehend that, there is relevant issues involved in the linkages between the Society and Economy. The ideology, philosophy, values, norms and polity, etc. are determined by the economic structure (Marx). Thus, to some extent we can say that, people’s attitudes towards economic activities and their way of economic life are determined by the norms and values of the society they are brought up in.

The “Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism” by Weber is perhaps the most convincing interpretation on the positive role of cultural norms in determination of the nature of economic milieu. As his study reveals that, Protestantism helped in bringing about modern Capitalism in Western Europe.

To conclude, we can say that “addressing the problems of development from the point of view of Sociology may be called as sociology of development”. The term “Development” is a composite concept and multiple meaning depending on its nature and context. Economic development, social development, human development, political development and sustainable development, etc. are various dimension of development and all have sociological bearing and implication. Further, all these dimension of development are in one way or the other, can be interpretable in terms of their linkages with socio-cultural condition. Thus, all

these aspects are interrelated to one another. For example, Economic development is not possible only when there is sufficient availability of economic resources or factor like labour, capital, technological, Infrastructure, markets, transportation and communication, etc. Thus, these economic factors too need socio-cultural prerequisites which play a significant role in making these factors more effective.

1.2.1. Nature of Sociology of Development

The nature of Sociology of development is significant one to understand the developmental process in better manner. Thereby, study of development has been one of the fundamental aspects of sociology since the beginning of the discipline itself. Sociology as an independent social science has concern over the issue of development. Therefore, Sociology as being science of society studies the causes and consequences of economic changes in the society. Sociology of development is one of importance branch of Sociology which studies the interface of socio-cultural circumstances and the process of development in sociological perspective. This discipline presumes that every aspects of the development are largely dependson sociological condition of society for its realisation.

The eminent contribution of Weber's Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (1904-05) and Marx's Das Kapital (1867) have made significant debates concerning the rise and evolution of Capitalism central to the core theoretical debates in sociology. It is this analysis of causes and consequences of development leads to the spur that produced the further sociological intellectual enrichment like; development of Parsonian functionalism as well as Neo-Marxist and the world-system theory based challenges to system models.

Considering the inter-relation between economic development and social life has stimulated many of our models of demography, notably those of changes in fertility and mortality. Models of migration have been consistently rooted in development dynamics. Analyses of historical transformations of gender roles and gender ideology consistently

invoke the dialectical interplay between the forces of economic development, female labor force participation, power within the family and gendered culture. Political sociology has consistently engaged with the role of the state in producing economic development – and the role of economic change in redistributing power among social actors. Economic sociology consistently turns to economic development as the natural setting for tests of its theories.

Development Sociology investigates the practices and processes of social change. In this sense the sociology of development addresses pressing intellectual challenges: internal and international migration, transformation of political regimes, changes in household and family formations, technological change, sustainable (and unsustainable) population and economic growth, and the production and reproduction of social and economic inequality.

Weberians have responded to the challenge of developing transnational models by introducing the concepts of globalization and global culture, forces capable of constraining nations and states (Meyer et al. 1997). Throughout the debate on globalization, which now pervades sociology as a discipline, an emphasis on development remains a central concern.

The sociology of development has been essential component of the sociological study of stratification and inequality. Development sociologists address both national differences in income per se (O'Hearn 2001) and a wide variety of other indicators of human well being (see Jorgenson *et al.*'s 2007 examination of environmental inequality on a global scale). Development sociologists also address spatial inequality internal to nation-states (Hechter 1999; Logan and Molotch 1985; Massey and Denton 1993). Using both quantitative and qualitative methods, this body of work highlights spatial variation in patterns of inequality and power differences (Lobao, Hooks and Tickamyer [eds.] 2007; McCall 2001; Pellow 2002).

Development has been central to microsociological debates as well. The relevance of development to demographic dynamics is well known and is epitomized in the journal

the *Population and Development Review*. Feminist theorists have turned their attention to the question of gender and development, addressing questions of low wage female labor, the rise of gendered labor regimes and migration within female sex-typed occupation. Gender and development scholars also consider the inter-relations between economic change, the family, patriarchal cultural institutions, and women's mobilization. (Beneria and Feldman 1992, Tiano 1994, Moghadam 2005) The empirical material of development has been so rich that it has been a staple for sociologists working at virtually every level of analysis.

To conclude, we can say that several sociological condition define the the term "development". social issues, gender equity, women's education and their participation in economically gainful activities, increases the- lifespan, literacy, advancement of democracy, reduction of infant and maternal mortality, reduction of birth and death rate are the sociological phenomena which in combination or in turn determine the extent of development.

Check your progress

1. What do you mean by Sociology of Development?

1.2.2. Scope of Sociology of Development

The Scope of Sociology of Development can be more appropriately understand by making a distinction between the *Classical Economics* and *Development Economics* which emerged around the initial years of second half of the last century.

The *Classical or Traditional Economics* was more opted toward the study if political economy which dealt the relationship between the politics and economics thereby analyzed the economics laws of monopoly and dominance. Management of resources, markets and their best appropriation and sustaining growth have been the prime focus of the study.

On the other hand, the Development economics has wider scope of study. To M.P. Todaro, the *Developmenteconomics* along with concerned with the efficient allocation of existing

scarce productive resources and with their sustained growth over time, must also deal with economic, social and institutional mechanisms, both public and private, necessary for bringing about rapid (at least by historical standards) and large scale improvement in level of living for poverty-stricken, malnourished, illiterate people of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Thus, the Development Economics have much concern towards the structural and institutional transformation and human development.

The *Sociology of Development* is to some extent quite close to *Development Economics*. The only differences are that, the *Sociology of Development* locates sociological laws and spheres which contribute to development and what social and cultural consequences are entailed from development. Whereas, *Development Economics* is concerned towards the task of tracing the cultural and institutional conditions which determine development in society.

Thus, the *Sociology of Development* is a social science discipline which studies economic development from the point of view of *social development*. It attempts to explore the linkages between the social, political, cultural and institutional spheres, along with the levels of economic development in a society. The *ultimate aim* of the subject is to trace the non-economic factors of economic development. That is, The *Sociology of Development* tries to understand how far the social, political, cultural and institutional factors are facilitative to development. Thus, following are the areas which sociology of development can suggest to explore:

1. Structure and Development

The Various scholars have extensively studied the “Social Structure” in order to establish its positive or negative role. For example, it has been observed that, the traditional social structure, which has been authoritarian in nature and in which the status rights and duties of an individual were ascribed and not achieved, did not facilitate the process of

development. The micro-structures such as joint family and caste system, etc. and the Macro-structures such as modern elites and Bureaucracy, etc. are need to be studied with an objective to find out their positive or negative role in the development. Berna, K. Sujata, S. Singh Choudhary and Timberg, etc. may be consulted to discover the linkages between the social structure and business in India.

2. Culture and Development

Along with *social structure*, *Culture* also determines the nature and magnitude of development in a society, which can be considered as part of the scope of sociology of development. Religious compatibility and imperativeness of cultural reforms have proved to be culturally favourable factors for development and, therefore, need to introduce into the curriculum of sociology of development. Likewise, we have humanistic and Liberal philosophical orientations of people towards different issues like-religious, social and economic life, etc. which we need to address in this discipline. Max Weber, E. Durkheim, Kapp, Papanek and Momin have put forward their views on these lines.

3. Polity and Development

Political factor no doubt plays a very significant role in development. Any factor of development, howsoever strong it is, will remain ineffective to yield better result unless it is supported by governmental policies and programmes. Thus, the protection, support and incentive etc. are the important role that, the government has to perform in order to ensure economic development in the region or in the country. The reason behind the unequal industrial development among the different states in the country is due to inter alia variation in the industrial policies. Which of course needed to be shorted-out? Thus, the political factor is needed to be taken into consideration by Sociologist while analysing the development of a region or a country.

4. Gender and Development

The society or country cannot properly develop or tends towards developing phase if there is *gender discrimination*. All human is equal, the reason why we have incorporated Article 21 in Indian constitutions. Further, there is notion of Human Rights which is supported by UNO (UDHR) since 1948. The traditional family structure of almost all over the modern world is *patriarchal*. Due to patriarchal system male supremacy is prevailed over the female. Result leads to gender discrimination, due to which still large number of female population is being denied from general social, economical and political participation. This gender discrimination hampers the societal development. Women's work cannot be underrated, but unfortunately, about three-fourths of unmonetized labour in the world is done by the women (UN Report). Thus, women are deprived from the various economical, social and political opportunities and privileges. They too are suffering from health and hygiene issue. It is therefore, utmost necessary for the sociology of development to focus on this field.

5. Entrepreneurship and Development

Development refers to social and cultural development along with successive economic growth. Industrialization and economic growth are not only result of precondition of sufficient labour, technology, capital and infrastructure, but most importantly from adequate supply of able entrepreneurs. An entrepreneur is neither capitalist nor a simple trader. An entrepreneur is a business leader who takes initiative to establish a business enterprise. Entrepreneur is a notable person with a typical personality, who emerges from a specific social and cultural setting. Therefore, it is an important field of the study of sociology of development.

6. Displacement and Rehabilitation

Displacement so called forceful migration has been historically associated with the development projects such as construction and installation of dam, mining, industrial plants, military installation and airport, etc. The Development-induced displacement and

Resettlement (DIDR) occur when people are forced to leave their native place as a result of development. This displacement matter is really a big social problem. This displaced family's needs to rehabilitate and resettled through a proper framework policies, which may ensure appropriate compensation and minimum decent living. The development project mostly affects the marginalized and weaker section of society. Many social, ethical and legal issues are involved in the after-effect of development projects. We have been witnessing such development and displacement issue for last six decades with reference to land reforms and community development programmes, etc. Thus, the displacement and rehabilitation issue and policies of the Government of India is needed to be sociologically analyzed to grasp better understanding of the same.

7. Human Development Index (HDI)

The human development concept was developed by the Pakistani economist MahbubulHaq. There was thinking on this human development concept at the World Bank in the 1970s. But it took the concrete shape as an approach when Dr. Haq argued that existing measures of human progress failed to improve people's lives. Therefore, he propounded three essential indicators that can indicate human developments are:

- a) Life expectancy-To lead a long and healthy life,
- b) Education- To acquire knowledge and
- c) Per capita income-To have access to resources needed for a decent standard of living.

The level of development of different countries is rated on the scale of HDI. Thus, the Human Development Index (HDI) is one of the important area of the scope of sociology of development.

8. Sustainability of Development

From around 1980s onwards of last century, people became more conscious over the negative consequences of the nature of development. The developmental process has breeds

two major problems such as environmental pollution and exhaustion of natural resources. These two problems were more deteriorate by more use of technology and cruel exploitation of natural resources. Which no doubt posed serious threat to living creatures on earth. Therefore, major focus was made in the development process along with aims to sustain the natural resources. Now, it becomes serious challenge for the *scholars of development* to explore viable alternatives to the existing developmental planning. Thus, it becomes one of the important fields of the study of sociology of development.

9. Modernisation of Traditions

To some extent modernity and development have many related symptoms (Huntington). Societies may not develop unless and until the tradition of that society undergo a process of modernisation. And as per the study of change in Indian society is concern it is problematic one. As because Indian society has its deep rooted traditional history which may not completely replaced with modernity. This leads to some extent create constraint development in the country. In this regard the Yogendra Singh and Milton Singer have portray the trajectory of modernity in the world of Indian traditions. Thus, the study of modernization of development could be the important scope of the sociology of development.

Check your progress

2. Which are the areas which Sociology of Development can explore?

1.3. BASIC CONCEPT

1.3.1. Economic Growth and Development

A. Economic Growth

Economic Growth Economic growth is one of the prime goals of every nation be small or large. Right from the beginning of the development debates, it is taken as the key driver and indicator of development. The prosperity of a nation is judged in terms of the rate of economic growth it achieves from time to time.

Meaning Economic growth is the long-term expansion of a country's productive potential. It is the process by which a nation's wealth increases over time. Although the term is often used in discussions of short-term economic performance, in the context of economic theory, it generally refers to an increase in wealth over an extended period. An increase in the capacity of an economy to produce more goods and services, compared from one period of time to another becomes an indicator of economic growth. Economic growth is indicated through GDP or GNP per capita. Increase in the capital stock, advances in technology, and improvement in the quality and level of literacy are considered to be the principal causes of economic growth. In recent years, the idea of sustainable development has become a prime indicator of economic growth. Sustainable development focuses on environmentally sound processes that must be taken into account in growing an economy.

Economic growth has two meanings:

1. Firstly, and most commonly, growth is defined as an increase in the output that an economy produces over a period of time.
2. The second meaning of economic growth is an increase in production of an economy by the use of its scarce resources. When an economy is in a position to produce more, it is termed as economic growth. The increase in production can be noted through the increase in the production of consumer goods and capital goods.

Economic growth, thus simply means an increase in the production and consumption of goods and services. Todaro and Smith define economic growth as "The steady process by which the productive capacity of the economy is increased over time to bring about rising levels of national output and income." Economic growth has been defined by Arthur Lewis as "the growth of output per head of population". Economic growth is often and generally indicated by increasing real gross domestic product (GDP) or real gross national product (GNP), and it has been a primary, perennial goal of many societies and most governments.

However, it should be remembered that economic growth has its limitations and sometimes blind stress on economic growth results in negative yields like degradation of environment which becomes detrimental to the lives and longevity of the people and the planet. So instead of bringing economic welfare it proves disastrous for human existence.

Characteristics of Economic Growth There are some marked characteristics of economic growth. According to Simon Kuznet there are six characteristics of modern economic growth. They are:

- High rates of growth of per capita incomes.
- High rates of growth of total factor productivity.
- High rates of structural transformation of the economy.
- High rates of social and ideological transformation.
- Growth of trade, specifically import of raw materials and
- Export of manufactures.

Rostow's Stages of Economic Growth

W.W. Rostow, the American economic historian described the transformation of countries from underdevelopment to development in terms of stages of growth. He is of the view that all countries must pass through the following stages:

- 1) The traditional society;
- 2) The transitional society;
- 3) The take- off stage;
- 4) The mature stage and;
- 5) The age of high mass consumption.

B.Development

Social and economic development as processes is inherent to a society right from its inception. However, the emergence of the concept of development is a recent one dating back

to the early nineteen fifties. The post Second World War period and the period of decolonization witnessed the emergence and the dominance of the concept of “Development” in academic literature. The declaration of 1960s as the Development decade by the United Nations led to a burgeoning of literature on the concept. Initially development was conceived as an exclusive economic term referring to “growth”, “increase in per capita income” etc. But soon it was felt, development cannot be thought of in a one-dimensional way having economic implications. It should affect the other dimensions of the society. Since then development became a sociological lexicon. Simply speaking development came to be interpreted as a process that is for the benefit of the society and only economic growth minus societal progress cannot be termed as development. Development thus stands for improvement in quality of life and conditions of living.

In general terms, “development” means an “event constituting a new stage or a changing situation”. “Development” is implicitly intended as something positive or desirable. When referring to a society or to a socio-economic system, “development” usually means improvement, either in the general situation of the system, or in some of its constituent elements. The concept of development though was not explicitly used, finds its essence in August Comte’s ‘Law of Three Stages’, in Herbert Spencer’s evolutionary theory, in Emile Durkheim’s ideas on the progress of society from mechanical to organic solidarity, in Karl Marx’s ideas on the progress of societies through different epochs and Max Weber’s ideas on the growth of modern capitalism.

But it was in the post Second World War period and the subsequent process of decolonization, the concept of “Development” got a momentum. During this period, the proactive role of the International agencies in assisting the war affected nations to rebuild their economies, the nation building process initiated by the newly liberalized countries gave a boost to the concept of development.

The word “develop” has come from an Italian word “voluper” meaning to unwrap or unfold. The definition of ‘development’ has been always controversial over time. As Thomas argues, development as a concept is ‘contested, complex, and ambiguous’.

Although development has been a constant concern of governments, policymakers, economists and other social scientists – and has touched the lives of more people than ever before – there has been little agreement on what constitutes development, how it is best measured and how it is best achieved. One reason for this lack of agreement is that dissatisfaction with the pace and character of economic and social change has instilled a desire to redefine the aims and measures of development.”(UNDP 1990, 104) Development can be defined as the process of economic and social transformation that is based on complex cultural and environmental factors and their interactions.

Thomas (2000) explains three ways the word ‘development’ is used.

Development as a vision: a vision or description of how a desirable society should be.

Development as a historical process: social change that takes place over long periods of time due to inevitable processes. Here development refers to the unavoidable results of progress like agricultural to industrial society.

Development as action: deliberate efforts to change things for the better and to ensure a better standard of living like providing food, education, health services etc. To Prof. Yogindra Singh “Development is a strategy of planned social change which is considered desirable by the members of a society.”

Characteristics of Development

The following are the important characteristics of development:

Development is a continuous process:

The process of development continues from the moment of inception of the society. The society always marches forward. Sometimes the process of development is faster and

under some situations it slows down. However, it witnesses no complete halting point. It is ongoing in nature.

Development follows a pattern

Development occurs in an orderly manner and follows a certain sequence. Thus, primitive, medieval and modern are the different phases of development of the society. The society cannot skip one stage to reach at the other in the process of development. The pattern is always maintained.

Development has a direction

It runs as corollary from the above said feature that the process of development follows a definite direction. The direction is always forward and never backward. August Comte's "Law of Three Stages", Herbert Spencer's proposition that the society moves from a simple to the complex one, Ferdinand Tonnies's idea that the society transits from community to association, Emile Durkheim's proposition that the society makes a shift from mechanical to organic solidarity and Karl Marx's idea that the society progresses from a class to a class less society amply justify the directionality involved in the process of development. It also impresses that in the process of development, the society progresses towards maturity. Development can be evolutionary or revolutionary in nature:

Development when occurs in a slow and gradual manner it is said to be evolutionary in character. Evolutionary development takes its natural course, time and is not very spectacular in nature. In the long run the impacts of development become visible. On the other hand, revolutionary development refers to the abrupt and rapid change in the society. Revolutionary development is triggered by some factors like education, migration in large scale, introduction of policies etc. Revolutionary development is marked in a quick span and is vividly visible in nature. For example, transition of a society from pre modern to modern is evolutionary development, but transition of a society from monarchy to democracy due to

some revolution is revolutionary in nature. Even the developments taking in India in the post globalization period can said to be revolutionary.

Development is multidimensional

The conventional notion of development always insisted upon the uni dimensionality of the concept of development focussing on economic growth. However, later on it was felt economic growth is a parameter of development, but not the sole or whole of it. At this moment the social scientists and development practitioners felt that development has to be multidimensional touching various aspects of the society. So that it can become better yielding in nature. It should not confine itself to the economic dimension, but should have its political, cultural and social dimensions too. Its political dimension is expressed through the process of democratization, distributive justice; increased consciousness for human rights, equity, liberty etc. The cultural dimension of development is manifested through the growth of secular culture, increased consumerism etc. The social dimensions of development include increased participation of people in societal affairs, development of self reliance, better human development and environmental sustainability, etc.

Development is universal, but not uniform

Development is a common process witnessed by every society however primitive or modern it is. Every society witnesses the process of development in some form or the other. Time and space cannot arrest it. Right from the beginning of the society development process is initiated. The rich and the poor societies, the most developed and the most under developed societies too experience it. In some societies it is faster while in some societies it is slow. In some societies the yields of development are more remarkable than other societies. So, the process is universal, but the outcome is not uniform.

Development insists upon adaptability

Development as process is driven by human needs. Human needs change with the changing time and situations. The process of development demands the existing institutions to change and adapt to the upcoming demands to fulfil the emerging needs of the individuals. For example: with the process of industrialization there was increased migration which required the institution of joint family to disintegrate structurally.

Development stands for dynamism

Development necessarily entails change. It brings changes in the status quo of a society. No development process can be imagined without bringing subsequent changes. Thus, the concept of development is against the notion of static.

Development is irreversible

Development as a process is always forward looking and has no look back. There may be temporary stalemates but once a society is into the process of development, it will never revert back to its original state. So development is always progressive.

Development is diffusive

Development never remains concentrated in the place of its origin. It has a natural tendency to spread beyond its place of origin. The best example of it is that when a new technology is innovated, very soon, it spreads to other areas beyond the place of its origin.

Development always has positive yields

The outcomes of development are always positive. It is for the betterment of the society. Development thus is progressive. But sometimes when development outcomes are used by human beings in a negative way its consequences become disastrous. For e.g. Development of technology necessarily improves human quality of life. But when men blindly use it for destructive purpose the outcomes become sorrowful.

Development has got its qualitative and quantitative connotations

Development as a process can be judged through the qualitative improvement human conditions of living. For example when there is a reduction of house hold drudgery for the women we find a qualitative change in their living conditions and term it as development of women. Similarly when there is a quantum lift or there is an increase in number of some institution, then also we feel the impact of development. For example the increase in the number of educational institutions is also described as development. Thus the qualitative aspects of development are felt while the quantitative aspects of development are observed.

Dimensions of Development

Development is always multi dimensional. Four important dimensions of development can be introduced here. They are: economic dimension, human dimension, sustainable dimension and the territorial dimension.

Economic development: Economic development is traditionally seen as the initial form of development. It has been strictly associated with the concept of economic growth determined through an increase in the per capita income. It proposes economic transformations to initiate growth and does not speak much about social transformation. However, soon it was realised that economic development cannot ensure true development as the benefits are cornered by a few.

Human development: Human dimension of development presupposes that development should be measured in terms of the richness of human life. The concept was insisted upon by a Pakistani economist MahbubulHaq and Indian economist AmartyaSen in 1990 and was published by the United Nations Development Programme. To quote Haq income or growth figures cannot be the sole determinant of development. Development needs to ensure greater access to knowledge, better nutrition and health services, more secure livelihoods, security against crime and physical violence, satisfying leisure hours, political and cultural freedoms and sense of participation in community activities to people of a society. The objective of

human development lies in creating an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives. Today human development approach has profoundly affected an entire generation of policy-makers and development specialists around the world.

Sustainable development: The concept of “sustainable development was first introduced by Brundtland (1987), who defined development as “sustainable” if it “meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”. It contains within it two key concepts:

The concept of needs in particular, the essential needs of the world’s poor, to which overriding priority should be given.

The idea of limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organization on the environment’s ability to meet present and future needs.

Sustainable development implies minimising the use of exhaustible resources to create a constant flow of it across generations, and making an appropriate use of renewable resources. This applies to energy, fish stock, wildlife, forests, water, land and air. The concept of sustainability has also been extended beyond environmental concerns, to include social sustainability, i.e. long term acceptance and ownership of development changes by the citizens, their organisations and associations (civil society), and financial and economic sustainability.

Thus, sustainable development recognizes that growth must be both inclusive and environmentally sound to reduce poverty and build shared prosperity for today’s population and to continue to meet the needs of future generations. It is efficient with resources and carefully planned to deliver both immediate and long-term benefits for people, planet, and prosperity. The three pillars of sustainable development are economic growth, environmental stewardship, and social inclusion.

Territorial development: This dimension of development refers to a territorial system. It is intended to establish interrelationships between rural and urban areas connecting them by information systems and transport infrastructures. Territorial development implies focusing on the assets of the territory, its potential and constraints (FAO, 2005). Policies to exploit and enhance this potential play an important role in the development process.

Check your progress

3. How is growth different from development?

1.3.2. Progress and Evolution

It has been understood that social change as a term shall signify such changes as affect the nature and structure of social groups and institutions and the social relations between the individual, the group and the institutions in a society.

‘Development’, ‘evolution’ and ‘progress’ are the different modes of change and whenever we speak of social change the importance of each of these modes has to be assessed, for the changes brought about by each of these processes will have distinct impressions upon the functioning’s of social phenomena.

A. Progress: Every event of social change cannot be regarded as progress, for progress must connote the taking of a step forward. If at the root of evolution we have the stages of integration and differentiation, progress would stand for a development in a particular direction which is regarded as a step forward according to definite criteria of value-judgments.

While evolution has no definite direction other than the one which is inherent and irresistible in it, **progress** must “*stand for a march in a forward direction according to some accepted principle that is formulated by a particular principle of judgment. However, that forward direction may or may not strive towards positive changes or strive towards desired way of change*”.

Ginsberg maintains (Idea of Progress) that progress 'is a development or evolution in a direction which satisfies rational criteria in value'. In order to measure progress, it is necessary to apply the test of ethical advancement made by society which, of course, is an irrelevant factor so far as evolution is concerned.

Writers like Comte and Spencer would maintain that any evolutionary development of society must necessarily mean that it has progressed. Herbert Spencer particularly insists that social evolution cannot have any meaning other than that of progress. But these views are not accepted now by more modern writers. McIver states in his Society that 'evolution is a scientific concept and progress an ethical concept'.

Even Hobhouse observes that evolution of any form does not necessarily imply that it is changing into the better form; and, therefore, we cannot conclude that evolution necessarily implies that society is progressing. According to him, progress can be made only when the individual in society strives for ethical advancement. Social progress, therefore, is not a phenomenon marked by spontaneity; it is the product of conscious efforts made by social individuals.

The concept of progress is based on the vision of an ideal society in which every individual will have the opportunity of developing his innate qualities, in which the very basis of social relations will be principles of liberty and equality, and in which the institutions will aim at comprehending the foundations of collective good. These are, however, matters of value-judgments and the concept of progress cannot be understood without applying the test of values. Evolution, as a term, does not depend upon these values.

Some modern sociologists, however, feel that the science of sociology is not concerned with ethics and, therefore, the term 'social progress', which cannot be understood unless it is related to ethical values, will not be the concern of the sociologist and will

consequently have no scientific value. They maintain that no scientific observation and rational conclusion shall be based on any ethical value.

If the method followed by the sociologist in the study of society is that of positive science, and if the principles of causation are to be objectively investigated into, it will be an anomaly if facts are correlated to values. However, social facts cannot be regarded as isolated phenomena; every social event has a practical side to it and another concerning values. McIver and Page observe that social facts can also be regarded as ‘value-facts’ since social valuation is much concerned with them.

Therefore, the authors maintain, that science appreciates value-judgments, first, in order to test the accuracy of factual evidence in support of a value-judgment and, secondly, for testing the validity of conclusions regarding the good or the bad in so far as these conclusions are supported by reasoning from statements of facts. For example, valuations obtainable in any social institution may be studied scientifically in order to test their validity, but the sociologist shall not apply his own personal judgment to such valuations which are ingrained in the social facts themselves. In this way, a value-judgment can be objectively made in upon the term ‘social progress’, but the social scientist must begin his work by looking upon evolution as a value-free fact.

Thus, one may objectively determine the degree of progress made by a particular society only after one has disinterestedly studied the growth of its associations and institutions and the psychological elements in social relations between individuals in it.

An objective study of social progress can be facilitated by considering the factors that hinder and obstruct advancement in material as well as psychological terms. Any rigid attitude towards scientific development of material conditions will have both material and psychological implications. If science and technology is looked upon with suspicion and if there is a blind adherence to outmoded custom, material development in the society will not

be achieved, while social mentality in general will remain unliberated. But if technology is applied to the processes of developing and utilizing natural resources, material advancement will undoubtedly take place; and at the same time, man will have enough scope of cultivating constructive thoughts about developing his families. His social and moral consciousness grows in degree and he learns to propagate the idea of integrating efforts in the direction of realizing the common good.

Hence, we can conclude that the society in which scientific development is hindered will not progress, while the one which encourages such development will have chances of making progress; and this observation about social progress can remain scientific in so far as it is based on social facts and not merely upon ethical considerations.

However, there are problems connected with the adoption of a scientific attitude towards the study of social change, whether such change speaks of evolutionary development or of mere progress. Social change as a phenomenon is so complex by itself that the analysis of no single factor can lead us to a definite conclusion.

‘Social progress’ does not mean mere development or evolution, for in either of these terms we have witnessed the change from the simple to the complex. If the principle according to which, the valuation is to be made can be objectively ascertained, measuring ‘progress’ does not become a difficult affair; but such principle cannot always remain free from subjective value-judgments. When a subjective analysis confuses ‘progress’ with ‘happiness’ or material comforts, the conclusions tend to remain on the wrong side of value-free judgments and the sociologist must always guard against such pitfalls in reasoning.

B. Evolution

The term “Evolution” has been derived from the Latin word “*evoluere*” which means “to develope” or “to unfold”. Evolution literally means *gradually unfolding* or *unrolling*. It indicates the process of changes from within and not from without. In other words it is

spontaneous, but not automatic. It must take place on its own accord. The term evolution implies continuous change that takes place especially in some structure. Since, it is derived from biological science; the concept of evolution applies more precisely to the internal growth of an organism. As a term has its complexities and, as has been noticed earlier, evolution in an organism means branching out from a single amoeba into different genera and species and then from the species into various forms that are caused by the process of differentiation. Evolution, as understood in a living organism, necessarily stands for a process in which simple matter develops into the complex, but such development is always caused by innate qualities of such organism and not by any extraneous factor.

Social evolution

The term “Evolution” is borrowed from Biological Science to Sociology. Thereby, the term “organic evolution” is replaced by “Social evolution” in Sociology. Whereas the term *organic evolution* is used to *denote the evolution of organism*, the *Social evolution* is used to explain the *evolution of human society*. Here the term implies the evolution of human’s social relations. The Anthropologist and Sociologists wanted to find a satisfactory and significant explanation of how our society evolved? In this regard it was hoped that, the theory of social evolution would explain the origin and development of human. The Anthropologist and Sociologists were impressed by the idea of *organic evolution* which could convincingly explain how one species evolves into another and wanted to apply the same principle to the social world. Which could help them in understanding the explanation of how our society evolved? Hence, the concept of social evolution is quite popular in sociological discussion. In the case of a society, as *Gisbert* puts it in his *Fundamentals of Sociology*, evolutionary change means a ‘branching off of a line in various directions, which again ramify indefinitely’. A condition of simplicity changes into situations of complexity and social

evolution witnesses the *gradual change* in the social ways and customs, norms and beliefs, and associations and institutions etc.

Social Change and evolution

Our explanation of the concept of social evolution revolves round two basic questions:

- i. How does society evolve?
- ii. How did our civilisation come to be what it is today?

Therefore, our common assumption is that society evolves due to human being. In other words, it is the human who made society evolved. Thus, human who evolved more has more advanced society. The reason why there is variation in societal change. Here the “society” is understood in terms of “social behaviour”, whereby behaviour is a function of biological structure. Thus, human with superior and more evolved biological structure, thus, could give rise to a more complex society.

When we consider the factor that explain social evolution we are again confronted with another question, that is, “*what is that evolving in the social world*”? The answer is usually a “society”. And as per as society is concerned, something other than the biological element in it is undergoing the change. To the Anthropologist like R.H.Lowie and A.Kroeber and that other element is “culture”. Therefore, the *social evolution* becomes *cultural evolution* and evolution of group from since time immemorial become part of the evolution of human culture. The question – “*what then are the factors that have caused the great evolution of our culture from the simple beginning to more complex one, it has now attained*”? The answer to this lies in four factors they are: *accumulation, invention, diffusion* and *adjustment*.

Application of the concept of Social evolution in Sociological studies

The concept of “social evolution” basically involves the notions that, all societies pass through certain definite stages in a passage from simple to complex form. All those who

made use of this concept essentially meant the same notion. Some of them have given stressed on the analogy between the growth of an organism and growth of human society. The term “**evolution**” has been extended to include the *process of gradual change taking place in all societies*’.

Darwin’s Origin of Species may have crystallized ideas about the phenomenon of development in living organisms, but the concept of it was grasped in some inadequate form or the other by some thinkers even before that. Particularly when it concerns social evolution, the thought has been current for the past century or two; but upon the nature of such evolution there has been difference of outlook between different students of social science. Saint Simon, for example emphasise that there is an evolutionary sequences through which all humankind pass. Therefore, he distinguished three stages of mental activity, that is, Conjectural, the miconjectural and the positive

Auguste Comte further synthesised the works of his predecessors and later develop his own theory in which he asserted that “all societies must pass through three stages: the theological, the meta-physical and the positive or scientific stage. Comte who is regarded as the father of sociology saw society as social organism possessing a harmony of structure and function.

Herbert Spencer’s “Principle of Sociology” reflects the some ideas of Comte. Spencer agreed that the social life change from homogeneous to heterogeneous, that is from simple to complex. And in this process society also undergoes change in an integrated manner. Herbert Spencer maintains that social evolution is only a part of the general process of evolutionary development in all living matter in the world. Society evolves from the simple form into the complex one as it fulfills the functions of integration and differentiation in its various organs and consequently, out of the same unit of society, different social systems come into existence. According to Spencer, there are three stages in the evolution of society; the first

stage is known as ‘integration’, the second as ‘differentiation’ and the final one as ‘determination.

On the other hand, the 19th Century Scholars were concerned with different aspects of social evolution:

1. Sir Henry Maine in his Ancient Law, 1861 argued that, “societies developed from organisational forms where relationship was based on status to those based upon contract”.
2. McIver and Page have stressed the importance of the process of differentiation in matters of social evolution. They hold that social evolution stands for an internal change within the social system itself and as a result of such change, functional differences can be brought about within the system. According to them, primitive societies did not have many distinctions observed on the basis of different functions and, besides the differences between tribes, clans, age groups and sex groups, not much of differentiation was noted.

Check your progress

4. Who studied the evolutionary model of society?

1.3.3. Human Development

The last decade of the twentieth century witnessed the development of a new approach to development known as the “Human Development” approach. The approach got widespread popularity with the efforts of the United Nations to make it an avowed purpose for all nation states. By this time, the planners, policy makers and the intellectuals realized that development of a society becomes a myth without the proper development of its human beings who are the ultimate stakeholders of the benefits of development. This thinking led to the development of the concept of “Human Development” which has become the most vital index of and an instrument for development today

Human Development: The Concept

The concept of human development can be understood from following discussion-that is, “Income is merely one option that people would like to have, but it is not the sum total of their lives. Therefore, the Development must, be more than just the expansion of income and wealth. Its focus must be people.” Human dimension of development presupposes that development should be measured in terms of the richness of human life. It presupposes that people are the real wealth of the nations. So development should be designed and directed to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives. Human development is defined as the process of enlarging people’s freedoms and opportunities and improving their well-being. Human development is about the real freedom ordinary people have to decide who to be, what to do, and how to live. To be more definitive human development can be said to be a paradigm that speaks about creating an environment in which people can develop their full potential and lead productive, creative lives in accord with their needs and interests

The human development concept was developed by the Pakistani economist MahbubulHaq. There was thinking on this human development concept at the World Bank in the 1970s. But it took the concrete shape as an approach when Dr. Haq argued that existing measures of human progress failed to improve people’s lives. In particular, he believed that the commonly used measure of Gross Domestic Product failed to adequately measure well-being. He noted that the existing model of development had the lacunae of not trickling down to the lower rung of the social ladder. So, it was becoming pro rich and anti poor. Working with Nobel Laureate AmartyaSen and others in 1990 Dr. Haq published the first Human Development Report, which was commissioned by the United Nations Development Programme. The concept of human development was then expanded upon by Martha Nussbaum, Sabina Alkire, Ingrid Robeyns, and others who had development concerns

Human Development in the United Nation's Agenda

The UNDP, in its Human Development Report has voiced its concern against the jobless, ruthless, voiceless, rootless and fortuneless growth in the late 1990s.

The conventional development process resulted in jobless growth, since the economy grew but did not expand the opportunities for employment for large sections of the population. For the developing countries, jobless growth has meant long hours of work, but very low incomes. Under jobless growth, hundreds of millions of people are into low productivity work in agriculture and in other informal sectors which does not become paying for them. The traditional developmental process was ruthless by the fact that the fruits of economic growth have mostly benefited the rich; while millions of people stagnate in poverty. Ruthless growth causes people's cultural identity to wither. At places the dominant majority culture amplifies at the cost of marginalisation of the minority cultures. The minority culture gradually withers away.

The development process in practice resulted in a voiceless growth as in many places it has not ensured the process of democratic participation of the people in decision-making processes. The voiceless growth process also provides women a marginal role in economic development. Again, fast economic growth is also achieved in some countries at the cost of destruction of forests, polluting rivers, destroying bio-diversity and depleting natural resources. Development did not reflect the voices of all sections of the society and all sectors of the planet.

The established development practices yielded a futureless growth in the sense the present generation squanders resources needed by the future generation. At times the futureless growth benefits the industrialised countries at the cost of increased pressure on the poor people of the developing countries. As against this backdrop, the UNDP says development that perpetuates today's inequalities is neither sustainable nor worth sustaining.

The UNDP concluded that expansion of real income and economic growth are not necessarily characteristics of successful development as countries with high GDP and per capita income at times have very low achievements in the quality of life.

So the UNDP launched its efforts to make development pro people. For this, it shifted the development paradigm for growth centric to people centric development and insisted upon human development

United Nations Development Programme has been defining human development as "the process of enlarging people's choices. The choices can be enlarged by allowing them to "lead a long and healthy life, to be educated, to enjoy a decent standard of living", as well as "enjoying political freedom, other guaranteed human rights and various ingredients of self-respect."

In principle, these choices can be infinite and change over time. But at all levels of development, the three essential ones that can indicate human development are:

- a. To lead a long and healthy life,
- b. To acquire knowledge and
- c. To have access to resources needed for a decent standard of living.

When human development insists upon expanding the choices people, its focus hovers around the following propositions.

- a. To allow human beings to lead lives that they value
- b. To improve the human condition so that people have the chance to lead full lives.
- c. To avoid the concentration of the goods and services that underprivileged people need
- d. To allow people to take their own decisions.
- e. To enable human beings to participate in the life of the community.

The human development approach assumes that without these, many choices are simply not available, and many opportunities in life remain inaccessible. This prevents people

from leading a decent life. However, human development does not end there. Additional choices, ranging from political, economic and social freedom to opportunities for being creative and productive and enjoying personal self-respect and guaranteed human rights are also inseparable parts of human development.

Thus, human development is a well-being concept within a field of international development. It involves studies of the human condition with its core being the capability approach. The inequality adjusted Human Development Index is used as a way of measuring actual progress in human development by the United Nations. It is an alternative approach to a single focus on economic growth, and focuses more on social justice, as a way of understanding progress. Fundamental to enlarging these choices is building human capabilities - the range of things that people can do or be in life.

Capabilities are "the substantive freedoms [a person] enjoys to lead the kind of life [they have] reason to value."

Thus, the UNDP depicts two sides of human development. They are:

- The formation of human capabilities – such as improved health, knowledge and access to resources; and
- The people making use of these capabilities for productive purposes being active in cultural, social and political affairs.

Check your progress

5. Who developed the concept of Human Development?
6. Which organization releases Human Development Index (HDI)?

1.3.4. Globalisation and Sustainable Development

A. Globalisation

Globalization or globalisation is the process of interaction and integration among people, companies, and governments worldwide. As a complex and multifaceted

phenomenon, globalization is considered by some as a form of capitalist expansion which entails the integration of local and national economies into a global, unregulated market economy. Globalization has grown due to advances in transportation and communication technology. With the increased global interactions comes the growth of international trade, ideas, and culture. Globalization is primarily an economic process of interaction and integration that's associated with social and cultural aspects. However, conflicts and diplomacy are also large parts of the history of globalization, and modern globalization.

Economically, globalization involves goods, services, the economic resources of capital, technology, and data. Also, the expansions of global markets liberalize the economic activities of the exchange of goods and funds. Removal of Cross-Border Trades barriers has made formation of Global Markets more feasible. The steam locomotive, steamship, jet engine, and container ships are some of the advances in the means of transport while the rise of the telegraph and its modern offspring, the Internet and mobile phones show development in telecommunications infrastructure. All of these improvements have been major factors in globalization and have generated further interdependence of economic and cultural activities around the globe.

Though many scholars place the origins of globalization in modern times, others trace its history long before the European Age of Discovery and voyages to the New World, some even to the third millennium BC. Large-scale globalization began in the 1820s. In the late 19th century and early 20th century, the connectivity of the world's economies and cultures grew very quickly. The term *globalization* is recent, only establishing its current meaning in the 1970s.

In 2000, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) identified four basic aspects of globalization: trade and transactions, capital and investment movements, migration and movement of people, and the dissemination of knowledge. Further, environmental challenges

such as global warming, cross-boundary water, air pollution, and over-fishing of the ocean are linked with globalization. Globalizing processes affect and are affected by business and work organization, economics, socio-cultural resources, and the natural environment. Academic literature commonly subdivides globalization into three major areas: economic globalization, cultural globalization, and political globalization.

Etymology and usage

The term *globalization* derives from the word *globalize*, which refers to the emergence of an international network of economic systems. One of the earliest known usages of the term as a noun was in a 1930 publication entitled *Towards New Education*, where it denoted a holistic view of human experience in education. The term 'globalization' had been used in its economic sense at least as early as 1981, and in other senses since at least as early as 1944. Theodore Levitt is credited with popularizing the term and bringing it into the mainstream business audience in the later half of the 1980s. Since its inception, the concept of globalization has inspired competing definitions and interpretations. Its antecedents date back to the great movements of trade and empire across Asia and the Indian Ocean from the 15th century onward. Due to the complexity of the concept, various research projects, articles, and discussions often stay focused on a single aspect of globalization.

Sociologists Martin Albrow and Elizabeth King define globalization as "all those processes by which the people of the world are incorporated into a single world society." In *The Consequences of Modernity*, Anthony Giddens writes: "Globalization can thus be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa." In 1992, Roland Robertson, professor of sociology at the University of Aberdeen and an early writer in the field, described globalization as "the compression of the world and the intensification of the consciousness of the world as a whole."

Globalisation refers to the *integration* of markets in the global economy, leading to the increased *interconnectedness* of national economies. Markets where globalisation is particularly common include financial markets, such as capital markets, money and credit markets, and insurance markets, commodity markets, including markets for oil, coffee, tin, and gold, and product markets, such as markets for motor vehicles and consumer electronics. The globalisation of sport and entertainment is also a feature of the late 20th and early 21st centuries.

Why has Globalisation Increased?

The pace of globalisation has increased for a number of reasons:

1. Developments in ICT, *transport and communications* have accelerated the pace of globalisation over the past 30 years. The internet has enabled fast and 24/7 global communication, and the use of *containerisation* has enabled vast quantities of goods and commodities to be shipped across the world at extremely low cost.
2. More recently, the rise of *social media* means that national boundaries have, in many ways become irrelevant as producers use new forms of communication and marketing, including micro-marketing, to target international consumers. The widespread use of smartphones has also enabled global shoppers to have easy access to 'virtual' global markets.
3. The rise of new electronic payments systems, including e-Wallets, pre-pay and mobile pay, e-Invoices and mobile pay apps, also facilitate increased global trade.
4. Increasing *capital mobility* has also acted as a stimulus to globalisation. When capital can move freely from country to country, it is relatively straightforward for firms to locate and invest abroad, and repatriate profits.
5. The development of *complex financial products*, such as derivatives, has enabled global credit markets to grow rapidly.

6. Increased trade which has become increasingly free, following the collapse of communism, which has opened up many former communist countries to inward investment and global trade. Over the last 30 years, *trade openness*, which is defined as the ratio of exports and imports to national income, has risen from 25% to around 40% for industrialised economies, and from 15% to 60% for emerging economies.
7. The emergence of footloose *multinational* and *transnational* companies (MNCs and TNCs) and the rise in the significance of global brands such as Microsoft, Apple, Google, Sony, and McDonalds, has been central to the emergence of globalisation. The drive to reduce tax burdens and avoid regulation has also meant the establishment of complex international business structures.

B. Sustainable Development

Sustainable development is a major approach that has dominated the development discourse in contemporary periods. This approach makes an attempt to combine growing concerns about a range of environmental issues with socio-economic issues. According to this paradigm, development cannot be simply growth and economy centric. But it has to bring a blend between growth, human development and environment. So it has to take into consideration environmental concerns to make development more yielding, lasting and effective.

Meaning and definition

Sustainable development has thus, the potential to address fundamental challenges for humanity, now and into the future. It tries to bring a synergy between humanity and environment. The approach insists environment is not external to humanity, but an integral part of it. So, development concerns should take into consideration environment issues. Thus as an approach of development it is environment centric in character.

Sustainable Development implies economic growth together with the protection of environmental quality, each reinforcing the other. Sustainable Development, thus, is maintaining a balance between the human need to improve lifestyles and feeling of well-being on one hand, and preserving natural resources and ecosystems, on which we and future generations depend.

The concept of sustainable development is the result of the growing awareness of the global links between mounting environmental problems, socio-economic issues to do with poverty and inequality and concerns about a healthy future for humanity. It strongly links environmental and socioeconomic issues. This process of bringing together environmental and socioeconomic questions was most famously expressed in the Brundtland Report's definition of sustainable development as meeting 'the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs'. This defines needs from a human standpoint; as Lee has argued, 'sustainable development is an unashamedly anthropocentric concept'. According to the The World Conservation Union, 1991, sustainable development may also be defined as "improving the quality of life while living within the carrying capacity of ecosystems"

Thus, Sustainable development does not focus solely on environmental issues. More broadly, it encompasses the three general policy areas namely economy, environment and society. The Swiss 'Monitoring of Sustainable Development Project' in 2001, proposed the following definition: 'Sustainable development means ensuring dignified living conditions with regard to human rights by creating and maintaining the widest possible range of options for freely defining life plans. The principle of fairness among and between present and future generations should be taken into account in the use of environmental, economic and social resources.

According to Robert Prescott Allen, who has founded and chaired several influential IUCN-The World Conservation Union projects and has 18 years experience evaluating and advising development strategies on four continents, sustainability is just another way of saying “the good life” as a combination of (a) a high level of human well-being, and (b) the high level of ecosystem wellbeing that supports it.

Origin of the Concept

The first important use of the term was in 1980 in the World Conservation Strategy. The idea of sustainable development was very much imbedded long ago in Malthus theory of population growth in late 1700s. But the term started gaining coinage in early 1970s following a range of key publications drawing attention to man’s over exploitation of environment. The theme was in the name of development, man was becoming blind to environment. Few literary publications gave a boost to the world’s thinking on sustainable development. The key among them are: Rachel Carson’s the Silent Spring (1962), Paul Erich’s “How to be Survivor: A Plan to Save Spaceship Earth (1971), Club of Rome’s publication “ The Limits to growth”(1972), Barbara Ward and Rene Dubos’s Only One Earth(1972).

Faced with the over-exploitation of natural resources that accompanied economic and demographic growth, the think tank known as the Club of Rome, created in 1968, advocated zero growth. In 1971, this private international association sounded an urgent alarm by publishing ‘The Limits to Growth’. Broadly speaking, it presents current economic development as being incompatible with the long-term protection of the planet.

World Conventions on Sustainable Development

The theoretical framework for sustainable development evolved between 1972 and 1992 through a series of international conferences and initiatives. The UN Conference on the Human Environment, held in Stockholm in 1972, was the first major international gathering

to discuss sustainability at the global scale. The conference created considerable momentum, and a series of recommendations led to the establishment of the UN Environment Programme (UNEP) as well as the creation of numerous national environmental protection agencies at the national level.

The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm in 1972 gave birth to the first true notion of sustainable development, which was called ‘eco development’ in those days. In this conference personalities like Maurice Strong, Professor René Dubos, Barbara Ward and Ignacy Sachs cautioned about the integration of ecological concerns in economic planning. This resulted in the creation of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

The recommendations from Stockholm were further elaborated in the 1980 World Conservation Strategy—a collaboration between the International Union for the Conservation of Nature, the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), and UNEP—which aimed to advance sustainable development by identifying priority conservation issues and key policy options. In 1980, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) published its world conservation strategy. This document is one of the original sources of the expression ‘sustainable development’.

In 1983, the UN convened the WCED, chaired by Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland. Comprised of representatives from both developed and developing countries, the Commission was created to address growing concern over the “accelerating deterioration of the human environment and natural resources and the consequences of that deterioration for economic and social development.” Four years later, the group produced the landmark publication *Our Common Future* (or the Brundtland report) that provided a stark diagnosis of the state of the environment. The term ‘sustainable development’ remained virtually unnoticed until its revival in the Gro Harlem Brundtland report 'Our Common

Future', published in 1987. The report popularized the most commonly used definition of sustainable development: “Development that meets the needs of current generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”. Since then, the concept of sustainable development has been accepted all over the world.

- A desirable human condition: a society that people want to sustain because it meets their needs.
- An enduring ecosystem condition: an ecosystem that maintains its capacity to support human life and others.
- A balance between present and future generations; and within the present generation

The Brundtland report provided the momentum for the landmark 1992 Rio Summit that laid the foundations for the global institutionalization of sustainable development. Marking the twentieth anniversary of the Stockholm Conference, the Earth Summit adopted the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development and Agenda 21, a global plan of action for sustainable development.

Three seminal instruments of environmental governance were established at the Rio Summit: the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), and the non-legally binding Statement of Forest Principles. Following a recommendation in Agenda 21, the UN General Assembly officially created the Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) later that year.

Since that time a number of important international conferences on sustainable development have been held—including the 1997 Earth Summit+5 in New York and the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg. The negotiations at the WSSD in 2002 demonstrated a major shift in the perception of sustainable development—away from environmental issues toward social and economic development.

This shift was driven by the needs of the developing countries and strongly influenced by the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

The Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC, 2007, chapter 12.1.1) pointed out the interactive relationship between climate change and sustainable development, and that the two can be mutually reinforcing.

Objectives of sustainable Development

Sustainable Development refers to the challenges of reducing global inequity and poverty, and promoting well-being, while reducing threats to the earth's systems from industrial production and consumption. Effective environmental care and management in relation to climate stability, other species and natural resources are the chief objectives of sustainable development. Three main objectives of sustainable development are:

Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 2030

Analysis & Interpretation I: Understanding of SDGs

Sl.No.	Basic theme of SDGs	Key impact of Sustainable Development Goal (SDG)
Goal 1	No poverty	Aims to provide basic subsistent needto poor and needy people. It targets to eradicateextreme poverty globally by 2030.
Goal 2	Zero hunger	Aims are to end hunger, attained food security and improved nutrition along with aims to promote sustainable agriculture practices.
Goal 3	Good health and well- being of people	Prime focus is to ensure healthy lives and endorse/promote well-being of all people at all ages.
Goal 4	<i>Quality education</i>	Aims to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and to promote universal lifelong

		learning opportunities.
Goal 5	Gender equality	Ensure fundamental human right by achieving gender equality and women's empowerment.
Goal 6	Clean water and sanitation	Ambition to ensure availability and sustainable management of water and to provide universal sanitation.
Goal 7	Affordable and clean energy	Ensure universal access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy.
Goal 8	Decent work and economic growth	Ensure and promote inclusive and sustainable economic growth, with full and productive employment and decent work for all.
Goal 9	Industry, innovation and Infrastructure	Strengthen manufacturing industry, to enhance the infrastructure level and generate employment opportunities. Also to promote inclusive and sustainable industrialisation along with foster innovation.
Goal 10	Reducing inequalities	Ensure to reduce income inequality and disparity within and between the countries.
Goal 11	Sustainable cities and communities	Make cities thereby to make inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable human settlement.
Goal 12	Responsible consumption and production	Ensure to provide/deliver eco-friendly production and sustainable consumption.
Goal 13	Climate action	Ensure vital action to combat climate change issues and its impact by regulating emissions and waste management. Also to promote development in the field of renewable energy.
Goal 14	Life below water	Ensure to conserve and sustainably use of the ocean, in order to preserve seas and marines

		species and resources for sustainable development.
Goal 15	Life on land	Ensure to protect/preserve, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems. Promote sustainable management of forests and to combat desertification, also to halt and reverse land degradation and halt/preserve biodiversity loss.
Goal 16	Peace, justice and strong institutions	Ensure to promote peaceful and inclusive societies to meaningful the sustainable development. Further, ensure to provide access to justice universally and aims to build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels efficiently.
Goal 17	Partnerships for the goals	Further ensure to enhance and strengthen the means of implementation of its goals and revitalize the global partnership/cooperation for sustainable development.

Thus, the above mention helps in understanding the concepts of Sustainable Development. According to this paradigm, development cannot be simply growth and economy centric. But it has to bring a blend between growth, human development and environment. So it has to take into consideration environmental concerns to make development more yielding, lasting and effective.

Check your progress

7. What do you mean by Sustainable Development?

1.4. SUMMARY

- Development is a composite concept with multiple dimensions- economic development, social development, human and sustainable development.
- Addressing the issue of development from the point of view of sociology is called as Sociology of Development.
- The Scope of Sociology of Development can be understood by making a distinction between the Classical Economics and Development Economics to some extent.
- Economic growth is the long-term expansion of a country's productive potential by which a nation's wealth increases over time.
- Development means improvement in the general situation of the system, or in some of its constituent elements. The term finds its essence in August Comte's 'Law of Three Stages', in Herbert Spencer's evolutionary theory, in Emile Durkheim's ideas on the progress of society from mechanical to organic solidarity, in Karl Marx's ideas on the progress of societies through different epochs and Max Weber's ideas on the growth of modern capitalism.
- 'Evolution' and 'Progress' are the different modes of change whenever we speak of social change within the society.
- Globalisation is the process of interaction and integration among people, companies, and governments worldwide.
- Sustainable Development is maintaining a balance between the human need to improve lifestyles and feeling of well-being on one hand, and preserving natural resources and ecosystems, on which we and future generations depend.

1.5. KEY TERMS

- **Development:** it can be understood as a process of positive sense. It refers to the planned change in desire way. To sum up, we can say "development" is a planned change in the material conditions and related socio-cultural milieu.

- **Sociology of Development:** The *Sociology of development* can be understood as a subject which study the *concept of development and its process* from the *sociological perspective*.
- **Human Development:** it is designed and directed to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives. Human development is defined as the process of enlarging people's freedoms and opportunities and improving their well-being.
- **Human Development Index (HDI):** It has propounded three essential indicators that can indicate human developments are:
 - (a) Life expectancy-To lead a long and healthy life,
 - (b) Education- To acquire knowledge and
 - (c) Per capita income-To have access to resources needed for a decent standard of living.
- **Progress:** stand for a march in a forward direction according to some accepted principle that is formulated by a particular principle of judgment. However, that forward direction may or may not strive towards positive changes or strive towards desired way of change.
- **Evolution:** The term "Evolution" has been derived from the Latin word "evoluere" which means "to develope" or "to unfold". Evolution literally means *gradually unfolding* or *unrolling*.
- **Globalisation:** Globalization or globalisation is the process of interaction and integration among people, companies, and governments worldwide.
- **Sustainable:** It is the ability to maintain at a certain level.

- **Sustainable Development:** maintaining a balance between the human need to improve lifestyles and feeling of well-being on one hand, and preserving natural resources and ecosystems, on which we and future generations depend on other hand.
- **Social Inclusion:** It is the process of improving the terms on which individuals and groups take part in society—improving the ability, opportunity, and dignity of those disadvantaged on the basis of their identity.

1.6. ANSWER TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. Addressing the problem of development from the point of view of sociology is called ‘Sociology of Development’.
2. Sociology of Development suggests exploring social structure, culture, polity, gender, displacement and rehabilitations, HDI, Sustainable Development, and Modernization.
3. When growth is meant for all, it leads to development, i.e. inclusive growth is called development.
4. Evolutionary model of society was studied by Saint Simon, Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer.
5. The concept of Human Development was developed by Pakistani Economist, MahbubUlHaq.
6. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) release HDI
7. Sustainable Development can be understood as the process that meets the need of the current generation without compromising the ability of the future generation’s needs.

1.7. QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1.7.1. Short-Answer Questions

1. Define Human Development.
2. What are the indices under Human Development Index (HDI)?
3. What is Globalization?

4. Define Evolution.

5. What do you mean by Progress?

1.7.2. Long-Answer Questions

1. Describe the nature and scope of Sociology of Development.

2. Discuss, how Sustainable Development is intertwined with globalization?

3. Briefly analyze 17 United Nation Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGS).

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UNIT 2: APPROACHES TO STUDY DEVELOPMENT

2.0. Introduction

2.1. Unit Objectives

2.2. Marxist

2.3. Functional

2.4. Liberal

2.5. Ecological

2.6. Summary

2.7. Key Terms

2.8. Answer to ‘Check your Progress’

2.9. Questions and Exercises

2.10. Further reading

2.0. INTRODUCTION

This unit begins with a discussion on various approaches to study development. It begins with the Marxist approach which describes human societal progress and development through several stages like, primitive communism, slavery, feudalism and capitalism.

The functional approach, on the other hand, describes how the systems of different parts are interlinked to maintain a state of balance and social equilibrium as a whole; the liberal approaches explain different perspectives of development through various theories like, liberal economy theory, liberal feminist theory and social liberal theory.

The unit also discussed about ecological system theory which identifies five environmental systems that are, Microsystem, Mesosystem, Exosystem, Macrosystem, Chronosystem.

2.1.UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss Marx's theory of economic growth
- Explain Historical materialism
- Describe functionalist approach of development
- Discuss Durkheim's views on development and progress
- Analyse liberal perspective of development
- Explain ecological approach to development

2.2. MARXIST APPROACH

There is an increasing sense that the 'new' Marxist-influenced development sociology which emerged in the early 1970s has reached some kind of impasse. This paper suggests that there are good reasons for this sense of unease; that the weaknesses and lacunae in current sociological development research cannot be attributed entirely to the influence of any particular radical perspective (e.g. dependency theory); and that understanding the impasse

requires standing back from the theoretical controversies of the past decade and a half to examine some underlying commonalities of approach. A key problem, it is argued, is Marxism's metatheoretical commitment to demonstrating the 'necessity' of economic and social patterns, as distinct from explaining them and exploring how they may be changed.

Karl Marx's theory of economic growth

Among the few famous persons who have influenced not only the masses but also the intelligentsia in the world by their writings and teachings, Karl Marx has a most honoured place. He is regarded as the founder of modern communism which had taken deep roots in many countries of the world. This great man's works are significant from the point of view of economics also. The four volumes of his magnum opus "Das Capital" containing also 4000 pages provide useful source material for study by sociologists, Politicians, historians, social reformers and economists. Some of his views relating to economic growth are:

1. Historical stages of growth

Karl Marx introduced the theory of stages of economic development, which complemented his theory of class struggle. He categorized economic evolution into five categories viz.-slavery, feudalism, capitalism, socialism and communism.

Marx has analyzed the main stages which have taken place in human history. According to him, all historical events are the result of a continuous economic struggle between different classes in society. According to Marx, the mode of production which determines the general character of social, political, and spiritual processes of life is the main cause of social change.

As methods and techniques of production change the social relations which follow them also change. Against this background Marx describes four stages in history. They are:

- a. Primitive Communism
- b. Slavery

c. Feudalism

d. Capitalism

(i) **Primitive communism** is the first stage. It was characterized by a classes society, where in all factors of production was owned in common and people lived in groups.

(ii) **Slavery**

In this stage, all the work is done by human labour like hunting, preparing shelter, finding skin of animals or bark of a tree to be used as cloths. This made the human labour the most important resource which can earn income. Those who had maximum slaves were the most powerful in the society.

(iii) **Feudalism**

As the population increased, it was not possible to feed huge population with only hunting. This increased the demand for land to grow food grains to feed growing population. Mankind also started learning the art of sowing and harvesting and invented tools to increase productivity.

Shift of the economy from slavery to feudalism led to shift of strategic resources from human labour to land. Those who land became most important and powerful in the society. Fiefs held land with the permission of the king.

Fiefs were the warlords who fought among themselves to capture land from each other. Sometimes the dispute was settled by Kings. Fiefs employed serfs to work on their fields to grow foodgrains.

Main source of revenue for the government was land revenue and king was usually satisfied till the fiefs paid their land revenue obligations. In feudal economy, agriculture rather than hunting became the most important human activity.

(iv) Capitalism

Industrial Revolution led to generation and spread of scientific ideas and values among people. French Revolution led to realization of the need for freedom of expression and speech. These developments led to many innovations and introduction of new technology in many sectors. Technological improvements initially benefited agriculture resulting in increasing the productivity. This led to displacement of labour from agriculture. At the same time, textile and mineral sectors developed, which were able to employ labour displaced from agriculture.

Agricultural activity was located in rural areas whereas textile and mineral companies were located in urban areas. This led to shift of population from rural areas to urban areas. As the productivity increased in agricultural sector, lesser amount of land was needed for feeding population. This decreased the importance of land. Starting of industrial forms needed capital, which made the owners of capital the most important and powerful section of the population.

(v) Socialism and Communism

Maturity of capitalism will create intense class conflict between proletariat (labour class) and bourgeois (capitalist class). Ultimately, labour will unite together and overthrow the state controlled by capitalist class through a revolution. In a socialistic economy, labour will control the state and will own the companies. Market mechanism will be substituted by planning by the state. Income of the individuals will be decided by their needs and not by market mechanism. Ultimately socialism will lead to communism whereby state itself will wither away and there will be no shortage of products.

According to the Marxian theory of economic development, any social system based on class conflict cannot be a permanent system. So capitalism is to be considered as a transition state in the evolution of society. The capitalist controls the means of production

and the workers depend on the capitalist for work. The main aim of the capitalist for work, the main aim of the capitalist is to maximize their profits. This they do by exploitation of labour pay low wages, long hours of work and employment of women and children are some of the ways by which a capitalist exploit workers. As exploitation increases conditions become ripe to overthrow of capitalism by the united proletariat. Thus increasing antagonism between capitalist and workers creates conditions for the destruction of capitalism, the emergence of socialism. Here lies the importance of class conflict in the Marxian development model.

Appraisal

The Marxian theory of economic development can be examined from two angles.

1. Relates to the examination of Marx's assumptions and predictions in the light of the subsequent actual happenings in the world.
2. Refers to the examination of the place of dynamic factors and their interrelationships contained in the theoretical frame work of his theory of capitalist development.

Marx's prophecy that the capitalist system will collapse after reaching the advanced stage of development and that socialism will emerge in its place only afterwards has been proved false by history. The country such as Russia and China had been in the very early stages of evaluation of capitalization when they adopted communism through revolution. Moreover socialism has not displaced capitalism in USA and UK and other capitalist countries. Further more communisms has not come into existence on the lines laid down by Karl Marx.

Marx has pointed out that the technological progress is helpful to capitalist and increases the misery of workers. But this has not happened in the capitalist countries on the contrary workers have been receiving high wages and other facilities in these countries. The introduction of social security measures in the capitalist societies has promoted the welfare of

workers. According to Marx, the development of capitalism will bring the capitalist and workers in the opposite camps. However such a thing is now a matter of the past. There is no sign of withering away of the state in capitalist societies.

Many capitalist societies have taken many steps to achieve the objective of full employment; therefore, the industrial reserve army is not increasing.

Marx's argument that as capitalism progresses wealth, economic power gets concentrated in fewer and fewer hands is also not a sound argument, as capitalist will have to work within the frame-work of rules and regulations framed by the governments of these countries.

The doctrine of surplus value is regarded as the weakest point in his theory of economic growth. Critics argue that all factors of production are needed to produce a commodity and workers alone cannot claim the entire volume of the commodity.

Marxian theory of economic growth is applicable indirectly to developing countries. Although Marx did not think of the problem of the developing countries, yet some of the variables of his analysis do exist in such countries. In Marxian theory, production means the generation of value. Thus economic development is the process of more value generating, labour generates value. But high level of production is possible through more and more capital accumulation and technological improvement.

At the start, growth under capitalism, generation of value and accumulation of capital underwent at a high rate. After reaching its peak, there is a concentration of capital associated with falling rate of profit. In turn, it reduces the rate of investment and as such rate of economic growth. Unemployment increases. Class conflicts increase. Labour conflicts start and there is a class revolt. Ultimately, there is a downfall of capitalism and rise of socialism.

‘Check your progress’

1. Who wrote the book called ‘Das Capital’?
2. According to Marx, which are the four stages in History?

2.3. Functional Approach

Sociology provides us with different perspectives with which to view our social world. A perspective is simply a way of looking at the world. A theory is a set of interrelated propositions or principles designed to answer a question or explain a particular phenomenon; it provides us with a perspective. Sociological theories help us to explain and predict the social world in which we live.

Sociology includes three major theoretical perspectives: the functionalist perspective, the conflict perspective, and the symbolic interactionist perspective (sometimes called the interactionist perspective or simply the micro view). Each perspective offers a variety of explanations about the social world and human behavior.

Functionalist Perspective The functionalist perspective is based largely on the works of *Herbert Spencer*, *Emile Durkheim*, *Talcott Parsons*, and *Robert Merton*. According to functionalism, society is a system of interconnected parts that work together in harmony to maintain a state of balance and social equilibrium for the whole. For example, each of the social institutions contributes important functions for society: Family provides a context for reproducing, nurturing, and socializing children; education offers a way to transmit a society’s skills, knowledge, and culture to its youth; politics provides a means of governing members of society; economics provides for the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services; and religion provides moral guidance and an outlet for worship of a higher power. The functionalist perspective emphasizes the interconnectedness of society by focusing on how each part influences and is influenced by other parts. For example, the increase in singleparent and dual-earner families has contributed to the number of children

who are failing in school because parents have become less available to supervise their children's homework. As a result of changes in technology, colleges are offering more technical programs, and many adults are returning to school to learn new skills that are required in the workplace. The increasing number of women in the workforce has contributed to the formulation of policies against sexual harassment and job discrimination. Functionalists use the terms functional and dysfunctional to describe the effects of social elements on society. Elements of society are functional if they contribute to social stability and dysfunctional if they disrupt social stability. Some aspects of society can be both functional and dysfunctional. For example, crime is dysfunctional in that it is associated with physical violence, loss of property, and fear. But according to Durkheim and other functionalists, crime is also functional for society because it leads to heightened awareness of shared moral bonds and increased social cohesion.

Durkheim's views on development and progress

Durkheim also conceived society in terms of an evolutionary scheme. He talked about social solidarity by which he meant the moral beliefs and ideas, which defined the "common sense" underlying social life. Like a social evolutionist, he was of the view that mechanical solidarity (characteristics of pre-industrial societies) was based on agreement and identity between people, while organic solidarity in industrial societies was derived from agreement to tolerate a range of differences, conflicts being moderated through a variety of institutional arrangements such as courts, trade unions and political parties.

In the pre-industrial societies there is little or no division of labour, every one works in similar ways and consumes in similar ways; there is little division of opinion, little individuality. In organic solidarity, on the other hand, there are specialisation of activities and advanced division of labour whose production, distribution and consumption are carried out in specialised ways.

Durkheim tried to explain social change as the result of changes in the bonds of morality, which he called social solidarity. Societies based on mechanical solidarity are transferred to organic solidarity by the growth of Industrialisation, heterogeneity, differentiation, specialisation of activity and individualism.

The problem of the growth of population, shrinking of natural resources and growing individualism (growth of material and moral density), according to him, is resolved by division of labour in the industrial society, i.e., in the organic solidarity.

As each individual is specialised and also individualism is respected they are socially integrated with bondage of division of labour. Indeed division of labour in the organic solidarity ensures the integration of individual specialisation in the system. However, abnormal division of labour, according to the Durkheim, may lead to formlessness.

To Durkheim, material density means sheer increase in the number of population in a give space. Which moral density indicates the increased interaction among individuals caused by their increase in numbers? Durkheim considers the development of the division of labour in the society to be associated with the increasing contact among people since the greater density of contact leads to the specialisation of people. But, he argues, the moral relationship can only produce its effect only if the real distance between individuals diminish, which means increase in material density. What Durkheim refers here is that moral density cannot grow unless material density grows at the same time. He suggests three ways in which this happens. People begin to concentrate together. Agriculture may begin this, and this continues with the growth of cities as well. Cities always result from the need of individuals to put themselves in very intimate contact with others. They can multiply and extend only if the moral density is raised. Increased number and rapidity of means of transportation and communication results in suppressing or diminishing the gaps separating social segments which in turn increases the density of society.

Functionalism interprets each part of society in terms of how it contributes to the stability of the whole society. Society is more than the sum of its parts; rather, each part of society is functional for the stability of the whole. Durkheim actually envisioned society as an organism, and just like within an organism, each component plays a necessary part, but none can function alone, and one experiences a crisis or fails, other parts must adapt to fill the void in some way.

Within functionalist theory, *the different parts of society are primarily composed of social institutions, each of which is designed to fill different needs, and each of which has particular consequences for the form and shape of society. The parts all depend on each other.* The core institutions defined by sociology and which are important to understanding for this theory include family, government, economy, media, education, and religion. According to functionalism, an institution only exists because it serves a vital role in the functioning of society. If it no longer serves a role, an institution will die away. When new needs evolve or emerge, new institutions will be created to meet them.

‘Check your progress’

3. Which Sociologists studied Division of Labour?
4. According to Durkheim, types of solidarity in industrial society is _____

2.4. LIBERAL APPROACH

Liberalism is a political and moral philosophy based on liberty, consent of the governed, and equality before the law. Liberals espouse a wide array of views depending on their understanding of these principles, but they generally support limited government, individual rights(including civil rights and human rights), capitalism (free markets), democracy, secularism, gender equality, racial equality, internationalism, freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of religion. Yellow is the political colour most commonly associated with liberalism.

Liberalism became a distinct movement in the Age of Enlightenment, when it became popular among Western philosophers and economists. Liberalism sought to replace the norms of hereditary privilege, state religion, absolute monarchy, the divine right of kings and traditional conservatism with representative democracy and the rule of law. Liberals also ended mercantilist policies, royal monopolies and other barriers to trade, instead promoting free markets. Philosopher John Locke is often credited with founding liberalism as a distinct tradition, based on the social contract, arguing that each man has a natural right to life, liberty and property and governments must not violate these rights[14]. While the British liberal tradition has emphasized expanding democracy, French liberalism has emphasized rejecting authoritarianism and is linked to nation-building.

Leaders in the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the American Revolution of 1776 and the French Revolution of 1789 used liberal philosophy to justify the armed overthrow of royal tyranny. Liberalism started to spread rapidly especially after the French Revolution. The 19th century saw liberal governments established in nations across Europe and South America, whereas it was well-established alongside republicanism in the United States. In Victorian Britain, it was used to critique the political establishment, appealing to science and reason on behalf of the people. During 19th and early 20th century, liberalism in the Ottoman Empire and Middle East influenced periods of reform such as the Tanzimat and Al-Nahda as well as the rise of secularism, constitutionalism and nationalism. These changes, along with other factors, helped to create a sense of crisis within Islam, which continues to this day, leading to Islamic revivalism. Before 1920, the main ideological opponent of classical liberalism was conservatism, but liberalism then faced major ideological challenges from new opponents: fascism and communism. However, during the 20th century liberal ideas also spread even further—especially in Western Europe—as liberal democracies found themselves on the winning side in both world wars.

In Europe and North America, the establishment of social liberalism (often called simply "liberalism" in the United States) became a key component in the expansion of the welfare state. Today, liberal parties continue to wield power and influence throughout the world. However, liberalism still has challenges to overcome in Africa and Asia. The fundamental elements of contemporary society have liberal roots. The early waves of liberalism popularised economic individualism while expanding constitutional government and parliamentary authority. Liberals sought and established a constitutional order that prized important individual freedoms, such as freedom of speech and freedom of association; an independent judiciary and public trial by jury; and the abolition of aristocratic privileges. Later waves of modern liberal thought and struggle were strongly influenced by the need to expand civil rights. Liberals have advocated gender and racial equality in their drive to promote civil rights and a global civil rights movement in the 20th century achieved several objectives towards both goals. Continental European liberalism is divided between moderates and progressives, with the moderates tending to elitism and the progressives supporting the universalisation of fundamental institutions, such as universal suffrage, universal education and the expansion of property rights. Over time, the moderates displaced the progressives as the main guardians of continental European liberalism.

Liberal Perspective of Development

C.B. Macpherson has criticised liberalism on the ground that it promotes “possessive individualism”, meaning individuals with little social or collective concerns. The socialist critique of the liberal perspective is based on the interpretation of inequality and social justice. It has been argued that the economic order, characterised by inequality would promote further inequality and social injustice in an atmosphere of free market competition.

The criticism of classical liberalism also came from within the liberal circle; Keynes, for example, came out with a critique of the classical liberalism of Ricardo, Mill and Bentham, and proposed state-welfarism for the protection of the working class's interests.

Sociologists have critiqued the idea of the individual autonomous self as absurd; they have also rejected the possibility of neutral rule which would guarantee the promotion of equal opportunities for all, a precondition of individual liberty. Historically, there has never been a free-market economy, absolutely free of the control of the state. Even now when in the 1980s and 1990s neo-liberalism has made a strong comeback, pushing the idea of state-welfarism to the back seat, there have been renewed talks on the protection of the rights of victims of neo-liberal economics.

The liberal approach has devised an elaborate arrangement of labour control which entails "some mix of repression, habituation, co-option and cooperation all of which have to be organised not only within the workplace but throughout society at large", and is supported by the formation of dominant ideologies. The liberal approach that consolidated capitalism worldwide has passed through "regimes of accumulation", to borrow Boyer's phrase.

According to Boyer, the "regimes of accumulation" designates "the set of regularities that ensure the general and relatively coherent progress of capital accumulation, that is, which allow for the resolution or postponement of the distortions and disequilibria to which the process continually gives rise". A "regime of accumulation", Lipietz writes, describes the stabilisation over a long period of the allocation of the net product between the transformations of the conditions of both the conditions of reproduction of wage-earners.

A regime of accumulation thus implies the co-ordination of the activities of all sorts of social agents, or in other words institutionalisation, in the form of 'norms, habits, laws, regulating networks and so on that ensure unity of the process. This body of interiorised rules and social processes is [what is] called the mode of regulation". The liberal approach has thus

been accompanied by an elaborate arrangement for legitimising and reproduction of the economy, embedded in a legal and social arrangement that facilitated reproduction of the self-regulated economy or the liberal economy.

The triumph of the free market economy was possible not by cutting the state down to size but with an elaborate social, cultural and political arrangement under the patronage of state and an elaborate arrangement of management of the labour force. Hollingsworth and Boyer have aptly referred to this mechanism as “social system of production.

Liberalism is the leading economic theory in the world today. The core concepts, such as supply and demand, free trade, and laissez-faire government, were formulated in the late 18 century. Today, liberal market prescriptions have become the main economic policies of most governments and IGOs. Liberal economists advocate economic growth strategies. They agree that economic expansion produces higher incomes, which in turn generate more demand for products, greater growth, and more jobs. This pattern of mutually reinforcing supply and demand produces an upward growth spiral which enables an economy to break out of the cycle of underdevelopment. Economic growth from this view is best achieved with a minimum of government intervention and a maximum of people willing to invest their capital. (The response to the oil-induced recession of the 1970s was the emergence of a new paradigm returning primary emphasis to growth based on markets. This was called the Washington Consensus by its supporters and neoliberalism by its critics. There are four main elements in the neoliberal model:

- 1) Neoliberals believe that the economic difficulties of less-developed countries have been caused by too much state regulation of the economy.
- 2) Countries must control inflation and limit their debt by balancing their budgets.
- 3) They must rely on private enterprise and competition as the engine of economic development.

4) Countries should pursue free trade with other countries by reducing tariffs and other barriers to trade.

Liberalism—both as a political current and an intellectual tradition—is mostly a modern phenomenon that started in the 17th century, although some liberal philosophical ideas had precursors in classical antiquity and in Imperial China. The Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius praised, "The idea of a polity administered with regard to equal rights and equal freedom of speech, and the idea of a kingly government which respects most of all the freedom of the governed". Scholars have also recognised a number of principles familiar to contemporary liberals in the works of several Sophists and in the *Funeral Oration* by Pericles. Liberal philosophy symbolises an extensive intellectual tradition that has examined and popularised some of the most important and controversial principles of the modern world. Its immense scholarly and academic output has been characterised as containing "richness and diversity", but that diversity often has meant that liberalism comes in different formulations and presents a challenge to anyone looking for a clear definition.

Major themes

Though all liberal doctrines possess a common heritage, scholars frequently assume that those doctrines contain "separate and often contradictory streams of thought". The objectives of liberal theorists and philosophers have differed across various times, cultures and continents. The diversity of liberalism can be gleaned from the numerous adjectives that liberal thinkers and movements have attached to the very term "liberalism", including classical, egalitarian, economic, social, welfarestate, ethical, humanist, deontologic al, perfectionist, democratic and institutional, to name a few. Despite these variations, liberal thought does exhibit a few definite and fundamental conceptions. At its very root, liberalism is a philosophy about the meaning of humanity and society.

Political philosopher John Gray identified the common strands in liberal thought as being individualist, egalitarian, meliorist and Universalist. The individualist element avers the ethical primacy of the human being against the pressures of social collectivism, the egalitarian element assigns the same moral worth and status to all individuals, the meliorist element asserts that successive generations can improve their sociopolitical arrangements and the universalist element affirms the moral unity of the human species and marginalises local cultural differences. The meliorist element has been the subject of much controversy, defended by thinkers such as Immanuel Kant who believed in human progress while suffering criticism by thinkers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who instead believed that human attempts to improve themselves through social cooperation would fail. Describing the liberal temperament, Gray claimed that it "has been inspired by scepticism and by a fideistic certainty of divine revelation it has exalted the power of reason even as, in other contexts, it has sought to humble reason's claims".

The liberal philosophical tradition has searched for validation and justification through several intellectual projects. The moral and political suppositions of liberalism have been based on traditions such as natural rights and utilitarian theory, although sometimes liberals even requested support from scientific and religious circles. Through all these strands and traditions, scholars have identified the following major common facets of liberal thought: believing in equality and individual liberty, supporting private property and individual rights, supporting the idea of limited constitutional government, and recognising the importance of related values such as pluralism, toleration, autonomy, bodily integrity and consent.

Classical and Modern Liberal Perspective of Development

Enlightenment philosophers are given credit for shaping liberal ideas. These ideas were first drawn together and systematized as a distinct ideology by the English philosopher John Locke, generally regarded as the father of modern liberalism. Thomas

Hobbes attempted to determine the purpose and the justification of governing authority in a post-civil war England. Employing the idea of a state of nature—a hypothetical war-like scenario prior to the state—he constructed the idea of a social contract that individuals enter into to guarantee their security and in so doing form the State, concluding that only an absolute sovereign would be fully able to sustain such a peace. Hobbes had developed the concept of the social contract; according to which individuals in the anarchic and brutal state of nature came together and voluntarily ceded some of their individual rights to an established state authority, which would create laws to regulate social interactions. Whereas Hobbes advocated a strong monarchical authority (the Leviathan), Locke developed the then radical notion that government acquires consent from the governed which has to be constantly present for the government to remain legitimate. While adopting Hobbes's idea of a state of nature and social contract, Locke nevertheless argued that when the monarch becomes a tyrant, it constituted a violation of the social contract, which bestows life, liberty and property as a natural right. He concluded that the people have a right to overthrow a tyrant. By placing life, liberty and property as the supreme value of law and authority, Locke formulated the basis of liberalism based on social contract theory. To these early enlightenment thinkers, securing the most essential amenities of life—liberty and private property among them—required the formation of a "sovereign" authority with universal jurisdiction.

His influential Two Treatises (1690), the foundational text of liberal ideology, outlined his major ideas. Once humans moved out of their natural state and formed societies, Locke argued as follows: "Thus that which begins and actually constitutes any political society is nothing but the consent of any number of freemen capable of a majority to unite and incorporate into such a society. And this is that and that only, which did or could give beginning to any lawful government in the world". The stringent insistence that lawful

government did not have a supernatural basis was a sharp break with the dominant theories of governance which advocated the divine right of kings and echoed the earlier thought of Aristotle. One political scientist described this new thinking as follows: "In the liberal understanding, there are no citizens within the regime who can claim to rule by natural or supernatural right, without the consent of the governed".

Locke had other intellectual opponents besides Hobbes. In the *First Treatise*, Locke aimed his guns first and foremost at one of the doyens of 17th century English conservative philosophy: Robert Filmer. Filmer's *Patriarcha* (1680) argued for the divine right of kings by appealing to biblical teaching, claiming that the authority granted to Adam by God gave successors of Adam in the male line of descent a right of dominion over all other humans and creatures in the world.[47] However, Locke disagreed so thoroughly and obsessively with Filmer that the *First Treatise* is almost a sentence-by-sentence refutation of *Patriarcha*. Reinforcing his respect for consensus, Locke argued that "conjugal society is made up by a voluntary compact between men and women". Locke maintained that the grant of dominion in Genesis was not to men over women, as Filmer believed, but to humans over animals. Locke was certainly no feminist by modern standards, but the first major liberal thinker in history accomplished an equally major task on the road to making the world more pluralistic: the integration of women into social theory.

Locke also originated the concept of the separation of church and state. Based on the social contract principle, Locke argued that the government lacked authority in the realm of individual conscience, as this was something rational people could not cede to the government for it or others to control. For Locke, this created a natural right in the liberty of conscience, which he argued must therefore remain protected from any government authority. He also formulated a general defence for religious toleration in his *Letters Concerning Toleration*. Three arguments are central:

- (1) Earthly judges, the state in particular and human beings generally, cannot dependably evaluate the truth-claims of competing religious standpoints;
- (2) Even if they could, enforcing a single "true religion" would not have the desired effect because belief cannot be compelled by violence;
- (3) Coercing religious uniformity would lead to more social disorder than allowing diversity.

Locke was also influenced by the liberal ideas of Presbyterian politician and poet John Milton, who was a staunch advocate of freedom in all its forms. Milton argued for disestablishment as the only effective way of achieving broad toleration. Rather than force a man's conscience, government should recognise the persuasive force of the gospel. As assistant to Oliver Cromwell, Milton also took part in drafting a constitution of the independents (*Agreement of the People*; 1647) that strongly stressed the equality of all humans as a consequence of democratic tendencies. In his *Areopagitica*, Milton provided one of the first arguments for the importance of freedom of speech—"the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties". His central argument was that the individual is capable of using reason to distinguish right from wrong. To be able to exercise this right, everyone must have unlimited access to the ideas of his fellow men in "a free and open encounter" and this will allow the good arguments to prevail.

In a natural state of affairs, liberals argued, humans were driven by the instincts of survival and self-preservation and the only way to escape from such a dangerous existence was to form a common and supreme power capable of arbitrating between competing human desires. This power could be formed in the framework of a civil society that allows individuals to make a voluntary social contract with the sovereign authority, transferring their natural rights to that authority in return for the protection of life, liberty and property. These early liberals often disagreed about the most appropriate form of government, but they all shared the belief that liberty was natural and that its restriction needed strong

justification. Liberals generally believed in limited government, although several liberal philosophers decried government outright, with Thomas Paine writing "government even in its best state is a necessary evil".

As part of the project to limit the powers of government, various liberal theorists such as James Madison and Montesquieu conceived the notion of separation of powers, a system designed to equally distribute governmental authority among the executive, legislative and judicial branches. Governments had to realise, liberals maintained, that poor and improper governance gave the people authority to overthrow the ruling order through any and all possible means, even through outright violence and revolution, if needed. <https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberalism> - cite note-57 Contemporary liberals, heavily influenced by social liberalism, have continued to support limited constitutional government while also advocating for state services and provisions to ensure equal rights. Modern liberals claim that formal or official guarantees of individual rights are irrelevant when individuals lack the material means to benefit from those rights and call for a greater role for government in the administration of economic affairs. Early liberals also laid the groundwork for the separation of church and state. As heirs of the Enlightenment, liberals believed that any given social and political order emanated from human interactions, not from divine will. Many liberals were openly hostile to religious belief itself, but most concentrated their opposition to the union of religious and political authority, arguing that faith could prosper on its own, without official sponsorship or administration by the state.

Beyond identifying a clear role for government in modern society, liberals also have obsessed over the meaning and nature of the most important principle in liberal philosophy, namely liberty. From the 17th century until the 19th century, liberals (from Adam Smith to John Stuart Mill) conceptualised liberty as the absence of interference from government and from other individuals, claiming that all people should have the freedom to

develop their own unique abilities and capacities without being sabotaged by others. Mill's *On Liberty* (1859), one of the classic texts in liberal philosophy, proclaimed, "the only freedom which deserves the name, is that of pursuing our own good in our own way". Support for *laissez-faire* capitalism is often associated with this principle, with Friedrich Hayek arguing in *The Road to Serfdom* (1944) that reliance on free markets would preclude totalitarian control by the state. <https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberalism> - cite note-61

The development into maturity of classical liberalism took place before and after the French Revolution in Britain and was based on the following core concepts: classical economics, free trade, *laissez-faire* government with minimal intervention and taxation and a balanced budget. Classical liberals were committed to individualism, liberty and equal rights. Writers such as John Bright and Richard Cobden opposed both aristocratic privilege and property, which they saw as an impediment to the development of a class of yeoman farmers.

Beginning in the late 19th century, a new conception of liberty entered the liberal intellectual arena. This new kind of liberty became known as positive liberty to distinguish it from the prior negative version and it was first developed by British philosopher Thomas Hill Green. Green rejected the idea that humans were driven solely by self-interest, emphasising instead the complex circumstances that are involved in the evolution of our moral character. In a very profound step for the future of modern liberalism, he also tasked society and political institutions with the enhancement of individual freedom and identity and the development of moral character, will and reason and the state to create the conditions that allow for the above, giving the opportunity for genuine choice. Foreshadowing the new liberty as the freedom to act rather than to avoid suffering from the acts of others, Green wrote the following:

If it were ever reasonable to wish that the usage of words had been other than it has been one might be inclined to wish that the term 'freedom' had been confined to the power to do what one wills.

Rather than previous liberal conceptions viewing society as populated by selfish individuals, Green viewed society as an organic whole in which all individuals have a duty to promote the common good. His ideas spread rapidly and were developed by other thinkers such as Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse and John A. Hobson. In a few years, this *New Liberalism* had become the essential social and political programme of the Liberal Party in Britain and it would encircle much of the world in the 20th century. In addition to examining negative and positive liberty, liberals have tried to understand the proper relationship between liberty and democracy. As they struggled to expand suffrage rights, liberals increasingly understood that people left out of the democratic decision-making process were liable to the "tyranny of the majority", a concept explained in Mill's *On Liberty* and in *Democracy in America* (1835) by Alexis de Tocqueville. As a response, liberals began demanding proper safeguards to thwart majorities in their attempts at suppressing the rights of minorities.

Besides liberty, liberals have developed several other principles important to the construction of their philosophical structure, such as equality, pluralism and toleration. Highlighting the confusion over the first principle, Voltaire commented that "equality is at once the most natural and at times the most chimeral of things". All forms of liberalism assume in some basic sense that individuals are equal. In maintaining that people are naturally equal, liberals assume that they all possess the same right to liberty. In other words, no one is inherently entitled to enjoy the benefits of liberal society more than anyone else and all people are equal subjects before the law. Beyond this basic conception, liberal theorists diverge on their understanding of equality. American philosopher John Rawls emphasised the need to ensure not only equality under the law, but also the equal distribution of material

resources that individuals required developing their aspirations in life. Libertarian thinker Robert Nozick disagreed with Rawls, championing the former version of Lockean equality instead.

To contribute to the development of liberty, liberals also have promoted concepts like pluralism and toleration. By pluralism, liberals refer to the proliferation of opinions and beliefs that characterise a stable social order. Unlike many of their competitors and predecessors, liberals do not seek conformity and homogeneity in the way that people think. In fact, their efforts have been geared towards establishing a governing framework that harmonises and minimises conflicting views, but still allows those views to exist and flourish. For liberal philosophy, pluralism leads easily to toleration. Since individuals will hold diverging viewpoints, liberals argue, they ought to uphold and respect the right of one another to disagree. From the liberal perspective, toleration was initially connected to religious toleration, with Baruch Spinoza condemning "the stupidity of religious persecution and ideological wars". Toleration also played a central role in the ideas of Kant and John Stuart Mill. Both thinkers believed that society will contain different conceptions of a good ethical life and that people should be allowed to make their own choices without interference from the state or other individuals.

Liberal Economic Theory

Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776, was to provide most of the ideas of economics at least until the publication of John Stuart Mill's *Principles* in 1848. Smith addressed the motivation for economic activity, the causes of prices and the distribution of wealth and the policies the state should follow in order to maximise wealth. Smith wrote that as long as supply, demand, prices and competition were left free of government regulation, the pursuit of material self-interest, rather than altruism, would maximise the wealth of a society through profit-driven production of goods and services. An

"invisible hand" directed individuals and firms to work toward the nation's good as an unintended consequence of efforts to maximise their own gain. This provided a moral justification for the accumulation of wealth, which had previously been viewed by some as sinful.

Smith assumed that workers could be paid as low as was necessary for their survival, which was later transformed by David Ricardo and Thomas Robert Malthus into the "iron law of wages". His main emphasis was on the benefit of free internal and international trade, which he thought could increase wealth through specialisation in production. He also opposed restrictive trade preferences, state grants of monopolies and employers' organisations and trade unions. Government should be limited to defence, public works and the administration of justice, financed by taxes based on income. Smith was one of the progenitors of the idea, which was long central to classical liberalism and has resurfaced in the globalisation literature of the later 20th and early 21st centuries, that free trade promotes peace. Smith's economics was carried into practice in the 19th century with the lowering of tariffs in the 1820s, the repeal of the Poor Relief Act that had restricted the mobility of labour in 1834 and the end of the rule of the East India Company over India in 1858.

In addition to Smith's legacy, Say's law, Malthus theories of population and Ricardo's iron law of wages became central doctrines of classical economics. Jean Baptiste Say challenged Smith's labour theory of value, believing that prices were determined by utility and also emphasised the critical role of the entrepreneur in the economy. However, neither of those observations became accepted by British economists at the time. Malthus wrote An Essay on the Principle of Population in 1798, becoming a major influence on classical liberalism. Malthus claimed that population growth would outstrip food production because population grew geometrically while food production grew arithmetically. As people were provided with food, they would reproduce until their growth outstripped the food

supply. Nature would then provide a check to growth in the forms of vice and misery. No gains in income could prevent this and any welfare for the poor would be self-defeating. The poor were in fact responsible for their own problems which could have been avoided through self-restraint.

Several liberals, including Adam Smith and Richard Cobden, argued that the free exchange of goods between nations would lead to world peace. Smith argued that as societies progressed the spoils of war would rise, but the costs of war would rise further, making war difficult and costly for industrialised nations. Cobden believed that military expenditures worsened the welfare of the state and benefited a small but concentrated elite minority, summing up British imperialism, which he believed was the result of the economic restrictions of mercantilist policies. To Cobden and many classical liberals, those who advocated peace must also advocate free markets.

Utilitarianism provided the political justification for the implementation of economic liberalism by British governments, which was to dominate economic policy from the 1830s. Although utilitarianism prompted legislative and administrative reform and John Stuart Mill's later writings on the subject foreshadowed the welfare state, it was mainly used as a justification for *laissez-faire*. The central concept of utilitarianism, which was developed by Jeremy Bentham, was that public policy should seek to provide "the greatest happiness of the greatest number". While this could be interpreted as a justification for state action to reduce poverty, it was used by classical liberals to justify inaction with the argument that the net benefit to all individuals would be higher. His philosophy proved to be extremely influential on government policy and led to increased Benthamite attempts at government social control, including Robert Peel's Metropolitan Police, prison reforms, the workhouses and asylums for the mentally ill.

Keynesian Economics

During the Great Depression, the definitive liberal response to it was given by the English economist John Maynard Keynes (1883–1946). Keynes had been "brought up" as a classical liberal, but especially after World War I became increasingly a welfare or social liberal. A prolific writer, among many other works, he had begun a theoretical work examining the relationship between unemployment, money and prices back in the 1920s. Keynes was deeply critical of the British government's austerity measures during the Great Depression. He believed that budget deficits were a good thing, a product of recessions. He wrote: "For Government borrowing of one kind or another is nature's remedy, so to speak, for preventing business losses from being, in so severe a slump as the present one, so great as to bring production altogether to a standstill". At the height of the Great Depression in 1933, Keynes published *The Means to Prosperity*, which contained specific policy recommendations for tackling unemployment in a global recession, chiefly counter cyclical public spending. *The Means to Prosperity* contains one of the first mentions of the multiplier effect.

Keynes's *magnum opus*, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, was published in 1936 and served as a theoretical justification for the interventionist policies Keynes favoured for tackling a recession. The *General Theory* challenged the earlier neo-classical economic paradigm, which had held that provided it was unfettered by government interference, the market would naturally establish full employment equilibrium. Classical economists had believed in Say's law, which simply put states that "supply creates its own demand" and that in a free market workers would always be willing to lower their wages to a level where employers could profitably offer them jobs. An innovation from Keynes was the concept of price stickiness, i.e. the recognition that in reality workers often refuses to lower their wage demands even in cases where a classical economist

might argue it is rational for them to do so. Due in part to price stickiness, it was established that the interaction of "aggregate demand" and "aggregate supply" may lead to stable unemployment equilibria and in those cases it is the state and not the market that economies must depend on for their salvation. The book advocated activist economic policy by government to stimulate demand in times of high unemployment, for example by spending on public works. In 1928, he wrote: "Let us be up and doing, using our idle resources to increase our wealth. With men and plants unemployed, it is ridiculous to say that we cannot afford these new developments. It is precisely with these plants and these men that we shall afford them". Where the market failed to properly allocate resources, the government was required to stimulate the economy until private funds could start flowing again—a "prime the pump" kind of strategy designed to boost industrial production.

Liberal Feminist Theory

Liberal feminism, the dominant tradition in feminist history, is an individualistic form of feminist theory which focuses on women's ability to maintain their equality through their own actions and choices. Liberal feminists hope to eradicate all barriers to gender equality, claiming that the continued existence of such barriers eviscerates the individual rights and freedoms ostensibly guaranteed by a liberal social order. They argue that society holds the false belief that women are by nature less intellectually and physically capable than men; thus it tends to discriminate against women in the academy, the forum and the marketplace. Liberal feminists believe that "female subordination is rooted in a set of customary and legal constraints that blocks women's entrance to and success in the so-called public world". They strive for sexual equality via political and legal reform.

British philosopher Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797) is widely regarded as the pioneer of liberal feminism, with *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) expanding the boundaries of liberalism to include women in the political structure of liberal society.[98] In

her writings such as *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, Wollstonecraft commented on society's view of the woman and encouraged women to use their voices in making decisions separate from decisions previously made for them. Wollstonecraft "denied that women are, by nature, more pleasure seeking and pleasure giving than men. She reasoned that if they were confined to the same cages that trap women, men would develop the same flawed characters. What Wollstonecraft most wanted for women was personhood".

John Stuart Mill was also an early proponent of feminism. In his article *The Subjection of Women* (1861, published 1869), Mill attempted to prove that the legal subjugation of women is wrong and that it should give way to perfect equality. He believed that both sexes should have equal rights under the law and that "until conditions of equality exist, no one can possibly assess the natural differences between women and men, distorted as they have been. What is natural to the two sexes can only be found out by allowing both to develop and use their faculties freely". Mill frequently spoke of this imbalance and wondered if women were able to feel the same "genuine unselfishness" that men did in providing for their families. This unselfishness Mill advocated is the one "that motivates people to take into account the good of society as well as the good of the individual person or small family unit".^[97] Similar to Mary Wollstonecraft, Mill compared sexual inequality to slavery, arguing that their husbands are often just as abusive as masters and that a human being controls nearly every aspect of life for another human being. In his book *The Subjection of Women*, Mill argues that three major parts of women's lives are hindering them: society and gender construction, education and marriage.

Equity feminism is a form of liberal feminism discussed since the 1980s, specifically a kind of classically liberal or libertarian feminism. Steven Pinker, an evolutionary psychologist, defines equity feminism as "a moral doctrine about equal treatment that makes no commitments regarding open empirical issues in psychology or biology". Barry Kuhle

asserts that equity feminism is compatible with evolutionary psychology in contrast to gender feminism.

Social Liberal Theory

Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de Sismondi's *Nouveaux principes d'économie politique, ou de la richesse dans ses rapports avec la population* (1819) represents the first comprehensive liberal critique of early capitalism and laissez-faire economics, and his writings, which were studied by John Stuart Mill and Karl Marx among many others, had a profound influence on both liberal and socialist responses to the failures and contradictions of industrial society. By the end of the 19th century, the principles of classical liberalism were being increasingly challenged by downturns in economic growth, a growing perception of the evils of poverty, unemployment and relative deprivation present within modern industrial cities as well as the agitation of organised labour. The ideal of the self-made individual, who through hard work and talent could make his or her place in the world, seemed increasingly implausible. A major political reaction against the changes introduced by industrialisation and *laissez-faire* capitalism came from conservatives concerned about social balance, although socialism later became a more important force for change and reform. Some Victorian writers, including Charles Dickens, Thomas Carlyle and Matthew Arnold, became early influential critics of social injustice.

New liberals began to adapt the old language of liberalism to confront these difficult circumstances, which they believed could only be resolved through a broader and more interventionist conception of the state. An equal right to liberty could not be established merely by ensuring that individuals did not physically interfere with each other, or merely by having laws that were impartially formulated and applied. More positive and proactive measures were required to ensure that every individual would have an equal opportunity of success.

John Stuart Mill contributed enormously to liberal thought by combining elements of classical liberalism with what eventually became known as the new liberalism. Mill's 1859 *On Liberty* addressed the nature and limits of the power that can be legitimately exercised by society over the individual. He gave an impassioned defence of free speech, arguing that free discourse is a necessary condition for intellectual and social progress. Mill defined "social liberty" as protection from "the tyranny of political rulers". He introduced a number of different concepts of the form tyranny can take, referred to as social tyranny and tyranny of the majority, respectively. Social liberty meant limits on the ruler's power through obtaining recognition of political liberties or rights and by the establishment of a system of "constitutional checks".

His definition of liberty, influenced by Joseph Priestley and Josiah Warren, was that the individual ought to be free to do as he wishes unless he harms others. However, although Mill's initial economic philosophys supported free markets and argued that progressive taxation penalised those who worked harder, he later altered his views toward a more socialist bent, adding chapters to his *Principles of Political Economy* in defence of a socialist outlook and defending some socialist causes, including the radical proposal that the whole wage system be abolished in favour of a co-operative wage system.

Another early liberal convert to greater government intervention was Thomas Hill Green. Seeing the effects of alcohol, he believed that the state should foster and protect the social, political and economic environments in which individuals will have the best chance of acting according to their consciences. The state should intervene only where there is a clear, proven and strong tendency of a liberty to enslave the individual. Green regarded the national state as legitimate only to the extent that it upholds a system of rights and obligations that is most likely to foster individual self-realisation.

The New Liberalism or social liberalism movement emerged about 1900 in Britain. The New Liberals, which included intellectuals like L. T. Hobhouse and John A. Hobson, saw individual liberty as something achievable only under favorable social and economic circumstances. In their view, the poverty, squalor and ignorance in which many people lived made it impossible for freedom and individuality to flourish. New Liberals believed that these conditions could be ameliorated only through collective action coordinated by a strong, welfare-oriented and interventionist state. It supports a mixed economy that includes both public and private property in capital goods.

Principles that can be described as liberal socialist have been based upon or developed by the following philosophers: John Stuart Mill, Eduard Bernstein, John Dewey, Carlo Rosselli, Norberto Bobbio and Chantal Mouffe. Other important liberal socialist figures include Guido Calogero, Piero Gobetti, Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse and R. H. Tawney. Liberal socialism has been particularly prominent in British and Italian politics.

Anarcho-capitalist theory

Classical liberalism advocates free trade under the rule of law. Anarcho-capitalism goes one step further, with law enforcement and the courts being provided by private companies. Various theorists have espoused legal philosophies similar to anarcho-capitalism. One of the first liberals to discuss the possibility of privatizing protection of individual liberty and property was France's Jakob Mauvillon in the 18th century. Later in the 1840s, Julius Faucher and Gustave de Molinari advocated the same. In his essay *The Production of Security*, Molinari argued: "No government should have the right to prevent another government from going into competition with it or to require consumers of security to come exclusively to it for this commodity". Molinari and this new type of anti-state liberal grounded their reasoning on liberal ideals and classical economics. Historian and libertarian Ralph Raico argues that what these liberal philosophers "had come up with was a

form of individualist anarchism, or, as it would be called today, anarcho-capitalism or market anarchism". Unlike the liberalism of Locke, which saw the state as evolving from society, the anti-state liberals saw a fundamental conflict between the voluntary interactions of people, i.e. society; and the institutions of force, i.e. the state. This society versus state idea was expressed in various ways: natural society vs. artificial society, liberty vs. authority, society of contract vs. society of authority and industrial society vs. militant society, just to name a few. The anti-state liberal tradition in Europe and the United States continued after Molinari in the early writings of Herbert Spencer as well as in thinkers such as Paul Émile de Puydt and Auberon Herbert. However, the first person to use the term anarcho-capitalism was Murray Rothbard, who in the mid-20th century synthesized elements from the Austrian School of economics, classical liberalism and 19th-century American individualist anarchists Lysander Spooner and Benjamin Tucker (while rejecting their labor theory of value and the norms they derived from it). Anarcho-capitalism advocates the elimination of the state in favor of individual sovereignty, private property and free markets. Anarcho-capitalists believe that in the absence of statute (law by decree or legislation), society would improve itself through the discipline of the free market (or what its proponents describe as a "voluntary society").

In an anarcho-capitalist society, law enforcement, courts and all other security services would be operated by privately funded competitors rather than centrally through taxation. Money, along with all other goods and services, would be privately and competitively provided in an open market. Therefore, personal and economic activities under anarcho-capitalism would be regulated by victim-based dispute resolution organizations under tort and contract law, rather than by statute through centrally determined punishment under political monopolies. A Rothbardian anarcho-capitalist society would operate under a mutually agreed-upon libertarian "legal code which would be generally

accepted, and which the courts would pledge themselves to follow".This pact would recognize self-ownership and the non-aggression principle (NAP), although methods of enforcement vary.

‘Check your progress’

5. In which year American Revolution and French Revolution took place?

2.5. Ecological Approach

Ecological systems theory (also called development in context or human ecology theory) offers a framework through which community psychologists examine individuals' relationships within communities and the wider society. The theory is also commonly referred to as the ecological/systems framework. It identifies five environmental systems with which an individual interacts. The theory Ecological systems theory was developed by Urie Bronfenbrenner.

The five systems are given below:

Microsystem: Refers to the institutions and groups that most immediately and directly impact the child's development including: family, school, religious institutions, neighborhood, and peers.

- **Mesosystem:** Interconnections between the microsystems, Interactions between the family and teachers, Relationship between the child's peers and the family
- **Exosystem:** Involves links between a social setting in which the individual does not have an active role and the individual's immediate context. For example, a parent's or child's experience at home may be influenced by the other parent's experiences at work. The parent might receive a promotion that requires more travel, which might increase conflict with the other parent and change patterns of interaction with the child.

- **Macrosystem:** Describes the culture in which individuals live. Cultural contexts include developing and industrialized countries, socioeconomic status, poverty, and ethnicity. A child, his or her parent, his or her school, and his or her parent's workplace are all part of a large cultural context. Members of a cultural group share a common identity, heritage, and values. The macrosystem evolves over time, because each successive generation may change the macrosystem, leading to their development in a unique macrosystem.
- **Chronosystem:** The patterning of environmental events and transitions over the life course, as well as sociohistorical circumstances. For example, divorces are one transition. Researchers have found that the negative effects of divorce on children often peak in the first year after the divorce. By two years after the divorce, family interaction is less chaotic and more stable. An example of sociohistorical circumstances is the increase in opportunities for women to pursue a career during the last thirty years.

The person's own biology may be considered part of the microsystem; thus the theory has recently sometimes been called Bioecological model.

Per this theoretical construction, each system contains roles, norms and rules which may shape psychological development. For example, an inner-city family faces many challenges which an affluent family in a gated community does not, and vice versa. The inner-city family is more likely to experience environmental hardships, like crime and squalor. On the other hand, the sheltered family is more likely to lack the nurturing support of extended family.

Since its publication in 1979, Bronfenbrenner's major statement of this theory, *The Ecology of Human Development* https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ecological_systems_theory_-_cite_note-4 has had widespread influence on the way psychologists and others approach the study of human beings and their

environments.https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ecological_systems_theory - cite note-5

As a result of his groundbreaking work in *human ecology*, these environments — from the family to economic and political structures — have come to be viewed as part of the life course from childhood through adulthood.

Bronfenbrenner has identified Soviet developmental psychologist Lev Vygotsky and German-born psychologist Kurt Lewin as important influences on his theory.

Bronfenbrenner's work provides one of the foundational elements of the ecological counseling perspective, as espoused by Robert K. Conyne, Ellen Cook, and the University of Cincinnati Counseling Program.

There are many different theories related to human development. Human ecology theory emphasizes environmental factors as central to development.

Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory of Development

American psychologist, Urie Bronfenbrenner, formulated the Ecological Systems Theory to explain how the inherent qualities of a child and his environment interact to influence how he will grow and develop. Through the Bronfenbrenner Ecological Theory, Bronfenbrenner stressed the importance of studying a child in the context of multiple environments, also known as ecological systems in the attempt to understand his development.

A child typically finds himself simultaneously enmeshed in different ecosystems, from the most intimate home ecological system moving outward to the larger school system and the most expansive system which is society and culture. Each of these systems inevitably interacts with and influences each other in every aspect of the child's life.

The Urie Bronfenbrenner model organizes contexts of development into five levels of external influence. The levels are categorized from the most intimate level to the broadest.

The Bronfenbrenner Model: Microsystem

The **microsystem** is the smallest and most immediate environment in which the child lives. As such, the microsystem comprises the daily home, school or daycare, peer group or community environment of the child.

Interactions within the microsystem typically involve personal relationships with family members, classmates, teachers and caregivers, in which influences go back and forth. How these groups or individuals interact with the child will affect how the child grows. Similarly, how the child reacts to people in his microsystem will also influence how they treat the child in return. More nurturing and more supportive interactions and relationships will understandably foster the child's improved development.

Given two siblings experiencing the same microsystem, however, it is not impossible for the development of the two siblings to progress in different manners. Each child's particular personality traits, such as temperament, which is influenced by unique genetic and biological factors, ultimately have a hand in how he is treated by others.

One of the most significant findings that Urie Bronfenbrenner unearthed in his study of ecological systems is that it is possible for siblings who find themselves within the same ecological system to still experience very different environments.

The Bronfenbrenner Model: Mesosystem

The **mesosystem** encompasses the interaction of the different **microsystems** which the developing child finds him in. It is, in essence, a system of microsystems and as such,

involves linkages between home and school, between peer group and family, or between family and church.

If a child's parents are actively involved in the friendships of their child, invite friends over to their house and spend time with them, then the child's development is affected positively through harmony and like-mindedness. However, if the child's parents dislike their child's peers and openly criticize them, then the child experiences disequilibrium and conflicting emotions, probably affecting his development negatively.

The Bronfenbrenner Model: Exosystem

The **exosystem** pertains to the linkages that may exist between two or more settings, one of which may not contain the developing child but affects him indirectly nonetheless. Other people and places which the child may not directly interact with but may still have an effect on the child, comprise the exosystem. Such places and people may include the parents' workplaces, the larger neighborhood, and extended family members.

For example, a father who is continually passed up for promotion by an indifferent boss at the workplace may take it out on his children and mistreat them at home.

The Bronfenbrenner Model: Macrosystem

The **macrosystem** is the largest and most distant collection of people and places to the child that still exercises significant influence on the child. It is composed of the child's cultural patterns and values, specifically the child's dominant beliefs and ideas, as well as political and economic systems. Children in war-torn areas, for example, will experience a different kind of development than children in communities where peace reigns.

The Bronfenbrenner Model: Chronosystem

The **chronosystem** adds the useful dimension of time, which demonstrates the influence of both change and constancy in the child's environment. The chronosystem

may thus include a change in family structure, address, parent's employment status, in addition to immense society changes such as economic cycles and wars.

By studying the different systems that simultaneously influence a child, the Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Theory is able to demonstrate the diversity of interrelated influences on the child's development. Awareness of contexts can sensitize us to variations in the way a child may act in different settings.

For example, a child who frequently bullies smaller children at school may portray the role of a terrified victim at home. Due to these variations, adults concerned with the care of a particular child should pay close attention to behavior in different settings or contexts and to the quality and type of connections that exist between these contexts.

Ecological Systems Review The ecological framework facilitates organizing information about people and their environment in order to understand their interconnectedness. Individuals move through a series of life transitions, all of which necessitate environmental support and coping skills. Social problems involving health care, family relations, inadequate income, mental health difficulties, conflicts with law enforcement agencies, unemployment, educational difficulties, and so on can all be subsumed under the ecological model, which would enable practitioners to assess factors that are relevant to such problems (Hepworth, Rooney, Rooney, Strom-Gottfried, & Larsen, 2010, p. 16). Thus, examining the ecological contexts of parenting success of children with disabilities is particularly important. Utilizing Bronfenbrenner's (1977, 1979) ecological framework, this article explores parenting success factors at the micro- (i.e., parenting practice, parent-child relations), meso- (i.e., caregivers' marital relations, religious social support), and macro-system levels (i.e., cultural variations, racial and ethnic disparities, and health care delivery system) of practice.

'Check your progress'

6. The Ecological System Theory was developed by _____
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2.6.SUMMARY

- Karl Marx theory of economic development can be categorised as conflict perspective of development.
- Functionalist approach of development tries to study the functional aspects of development on the society.
- The functionalist perspective is based largely on the works of Herbert Spencer, Emile Durkheim, Talcott Parsons, and Robert Merton.
- Emile Durkheim carried out the study of social division of labour. In his study he highlighted, how solidarity undergoes change from mechanical to organic as society progresses from pre-industrial to industrial society.
- Liberalism is a political and moral philosophy based on liberty, consent of the governed, and equality before the law.
- Ecological systems theory was developed by Urie Bronfenbrenner which offers a framework through which community psychologists examine individuals' relationships within communities and the wider society.

2.7.KEY TERMS

- **Communism:** A theory or system of social organization in which all property is owned by the community and each person contributes and receives according to their ability and needs.
- **Capitalism:** An economic and political system in which a country's trade and industry are controlled by private owners for profit, rather than by the state.

- **Development:** The act or process of growing or causing something to grow or become larger or more advanced. Functionalist approach of development tries to study the functional aspects of development on the society.
- **Marxist Approach:** This theory of economic development emphasis on the the conflict perspective of development.
- **Functionalist Approach:** this approach tries to study the functional aspects of development on the society in its functional pre-requisite manner.
- **Liberal Approach:** Liberalism is a political and moral philosophy based on liberty, consent of the governed, and equality before the law.
- **Ecological Approach:** Ecological systems theory offers a framework through which community psychologists examine individuals' relationships within communities and the wider society.

2.8.ANSWER TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. Karl Marx
2. Primitive Communism, Slavery, Feudalism and Capitalism
3. Emile Durkheim
4. Organic Solidarity
5. American Revolution (1776), French Revolution (1789)
6. Urie Bronfenbrenner

Now you will be able to give answer to the following topics

1. Marxist Approach to Developement.
2. Functionalist perspevtive of development.
3. Emile Durkheim views on development.
4. Mechanical and Organic Solidarity by Emile Durkheim
5. Liberal Approach to Developement.

6. Ecological Approach to Developement.
7. Urie Bronfenbrenner approach.

2.9. Questions and Exercises

Short-Answer Questions

1. Describe historical materialism.
2. Explain Durkheim's view on Development and Progress
3. What do you mean by functional approach to study development?
4. Explain Karl Marx's Theory of Economic Growth.
5. Define Liberal feminist's perspective on development.
6. Define Ecological Approach to development

Long-Answer Questions

1. How is Marx idea on development different from that of Durkheim's view on development?
2. Give a critical analysis on the functional perspective of development.
3. Define Liberal Perspective of development.
4. Differentiate between Classical and Modern Liberal Perspective of Development.
5. Briefly analyze Ecological Systems Theory developed by Urie Bronfenbrenner.

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UNIT 3: THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT

3.0. Introduction

3.1. Unit Objectives

3.2. Modernisation

- 3.3. Dependency**
- 3.4. World System**
- 3.5. Uneven Development**
- 3.6. Summary**
- 3.7. Key Terms**
- 3.8. Answer to ‘Check your Progress’**
- 3.9. Questions and Exercises**
- 3.10. Further reading**

3.0. INTRODUCTION

The present unit explains the process of modernization, model of a progressive transition from traditional to a modern society. Dependency theories describe about how wealthy or developed countries depended on peripheral poorer nations for maintaining their status as rich nations. While the World System Theories discuss about relationships between core-, peripheral- and semi-peripheral nations, and describe how core nations exploit them in the name of development. On the otherhand, Trotsky and Rudolf Hilferdings discusses uneven development or unequal distributions of resources and wealth .

3.1. UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

1. Explain modernization.
2. Modernization Theory and its Critism.
3. Describe Dependency theory.
4. Discuss World System Theory of Immanuel Wallerstein and its Critism.
5. Analyse Uneven Development Theory and its Origin, Concept and Rudolf Hilferding's Theory.

3.2. MODERNIZATION

Modernization is the current term for an old process—the process of social change whereby less developed societies acquire characteristics common to more developed societies. The process is activated by international, or intersocietal, communication. Modernization is the current term for an old process—the process of social change whereby less developed societies acquire characteristics common to more developed societies. The process is activated by international, or intersocietal, communication. It can be seen on a global scale, as modernization extends outward from its original Western base to take in the whole world. The existence of unevenly and unequally developed nations introduces a fundamental

element of instability into the world system of states. Thus, “ ‘*Modernization*’ can be understood as the process of becoming modern”. It broadly covers two aspects that are, advancement in ‘science’ and ‘technology’, however. It also attached to various other socio-cultural aspects.

What is Modernization Theory?

Modernization theory is a theory used to explain the process of modernization that a nation goes through as it transitions from a traditional society to a modern one. The theory has not been attributed to any one person; instead, its development has been linked to American social scientists in the 1950s.

Modernization theory is used to explain the process of modernization within societies. Modernization refers to a model of a progressive transition from a 'pre-modern' or 'traditional' to a 'modern' society. Modernization theory originated from the ideas of German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920), which provided the basis for the modernization paradigm developed by Harvard sociologist Talcott Parsons (1902–1979). The theory looks at the internal factors of a country while assuming that with assistance, "traditional" countries can be brought to development in the same manner more developed countries have been. Modernization theory was a dominant paradigm in the social sciences in the 1950s and 1960s, and then went into a deep eclipse. It made a comeback after 1991 but remains a controversial model.

Overview

Modernization theory both attempts to identify the social variables that contribute to social progress and development of societies and seeks to explain the process of social evolution. Modernization theory is subject to criticism originating among socialist and free-market ideologies, world-systems theorists, globalization theorists and dependency theorists among others. Modernization theory stresses not only the process of change but also the

responses to that change. It also looks at internal dynamics while referring to social and cultural structures and the adaptation of new technologies. Modernization theory maintains that traditional societies will develop as they adopt more modern practices. Proponents of modernization theory claim that modern states are wealthier and more powerful and that their citizens are freer to enjoy a higher standard of living. Developments such as new data technology and the need to update traditional methods in transport, communication and production, it is argued, make modernization necessary or at least preferable to the status quo. That view makes critique difficult since it implies that such developments control the limits of human interaction, not vice versa. And yet, seemingly paradoxically, it also implies that human agency controls the speed and severity of modernization. Supposedly, instead of being dominated by tradition, societies undergoing the process of modernization typically arrive at forms of governance dictated by abstract principles. Traditional religious beliefs and cultural traits, according to the theory, usually become less important as modernization takes hold.^[2]

Historians link modernization to the processes of urbanization and industrialization and the spread of education. As Kendall (2007) notes, "Urbanization accompanied modernization and the rapid process of industrialization." In sociological critical theory, modernization is linked to an overarching process of rationalisation. When modernization increases within a society, the individual becomes increasingly important, eventually replacing the family or community as the fundamental unit of society

Origin

Sociological theories of the late 19th century such as Social Darwinism provided a basis for asking what the laws of evolution of human society were. The current modernization theory originated with the ideas of German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920) regarding the role of rationality and irrationality in the transition from traditional to modern society. Weber's approach provided the basis for the modernization paradigm as

popularized by Harvard sociologist Talcott Parsons (1902–1979), who translated Weber's works into English in the 1930s and provided his own interpretation.

After 1945 the Parsonian version became widely used in sociology and other social sciences. By the late 1960s opposition developed because the theory was too general and did not fit all societies in quite the same way.

There are many different versions of modernization theory. This lesson will discuss the opposing views of the Marxist and capitalist versions, a Western version, and a present-day version of modernization theory.

Marxist vs. Capitalist

Early theories were greatly affected by the political climate between the United States and the Soviet Union. During the Cold War era (1947-1991), two versions of modernization theory were prominent.

Marxist

The Marxist theory of modernization theorized that as nations developed, adopting a communist approach to governing, such as eradicating private property, would end conflict, exploitation, and inequality. Economic development and social change would lead developing nations to develop into a society much like that of the Soviet Union.

Capitalist

The capitalist version of modernization theorized that as nations developed, economic development and social change would lead to democracy. Many modernization theorists of the time, such as W. W. Rostow, argued that when societies transitioned from traditional societies to modern societies, they would follow a similar path. They further theorized that each developing country could be placed into a category or stage of development. Rostow's stages of development are:

- **Traditional** - an agricultural-based society

- **Pre-conditions for take-off** - characterized by an abundance of entrepreneurial activity
- **Take-off** - a period of rapid economic growth
- **Maturation** - economic development slows to a more consistent rate
- **Mass production or mass consumption** - a period in which real income increases

Other modernization theorists, such as Samuel Huntington, argued that social mobilization and economic development were driving forces behind modernization. Increased **social mobilization** meant that individuals and societal groups changed their aspirations. Increased **economic development** meant the capabilities of the newly modern society would change. Huntington argued that these societal changes would inevitably lead to democratization.

Although the Marxist and capitalist versions of modernization held opposing views, both views held that in order for developing countries to modernize the countries needed assistance in economic development and social change.

Communism was deteriorating by the 1970s and democratization had failed to occur in many nations struggling to develop. Many critics declared that the Marxist and capitalist versions of modernization were void.

Modernisation Theory (Development and Underdevelopment)

Historical Context (1940s and 50s)

By the end of WW2 it had become clear that despite exposure to Capitalism many of the countries of the South had failed to develop. In this context, in the late 1940s, Modernisation Theory was developed. Modernisation theory had two major aims

- It attempted to explain why poorer countries have failed to develop, focussing on what cultural and economic conditions might act as **‘barriers’ to development**

- It aimed to provide a **non-communist** solution to poverty in the developing world by suggesting that economic change (in the form of Capitalism) and the introduction of western values and culture could play a key role in bringing about modernisation.

Why countries are underdeveloped? Cultural and economic barriers to development

Modernisation theorists argue that there are a number of cultural and economic barriers that prevent traditional societies from developing.

Cultural barriers are seen as internal to the country – it is essentially their fault for being backward. Western culture, on the other hand, is seen as having a superior culture that has allowed for it to develop.

Traditional Values – prevent economic growth and change.	Modern Values – inspire change and economic growth.
Simple division of labour, less specialised job roles, individuals rely on a few dozen people in their local communities for basic needs to be met.	Complex division of labour, individuals tend to have very specialised jobs and rely on thousands of others for basic needs to be met
Religious beliefs and tradition influence day to day life (resistance to change)	Rational decision making (cost benefit analysis and efficiency) are more important.
Stronger community and family bonds and collectivism	Weaker community and family bonds means more individual freedom.

Affective relationships	Meritocracy –people are more motivated to innovate and change society for the better.
Patriarchy	Gender equality

Economic barriers to development

These are barriers which may make developing countries unattractive to investors.

- Lack of infrastructure
- Lack of technology
- Lack of skills in the work force
- Political instability
- Lack of capital in the country

Modernisation Theory 2: How countries should develop

Rostow believed that an initial injection of aid from the west in the form of training, education, economic investment etc. would be enough to jolt a society into economic growth overcoming these cultural barriers.

Rostow suggested that development should be seen as an evolutionary process in which countries progress up 5 stages of a development ladder

Rostow's five stage model of development

Stage 1 – Traditional societies whose economies are dominated by subsistence farming. Such societies have little wealth to invest and have limited access to modern industry and technology. Rostow argued that at this stage there are cultural barriers to development (see sheet 6)

Stage 2 – The preconditions for take off.

The stage in which western aid packages brings western values, practises and expertise into the society. This can take the form of:

- Science and technology – to improve agriculture
- Infrastructure – improving roads and cities communications
- Industry – western companies establishing factories

These provide the conditions for investment, attracting more companies into the country.

Stage 3 - Take off stage.

The society experiences economic growth as new modern practices become the norm. Profits are reinvested in infrastructure etc. and a new entrepreneurial class emerges and urbanised that is willing to invest further and take risks. The country now moves beyond subsistence economy and starts exporting goods to other countries

This generates more wealth which then trickles down to the population as a whole who are then able to become consumers of new products produced by new industries there and from abroad.

Stage 4 - The drive to maturity.

More economic growth and investment in education, media and birth control. The population start to realise new opportunities opening up and strive to make the most of their lives.

Stage 5 - The age of high mass consumption.

This is where economic growth and production are at Western levels.

Variations on Rostow's 5 stage model

Different theorists stress the importance of different types of assistance or interventions that could jolt countries out their traditional ways and bring about change.

- **Hoselitz** – education is most important as it should speed up the introduction of Western values such as universalism, individualism, competition and achievement

measured by examinations. This was seen as a way of breaking the link between family and children.

- **Inkeles** – media – Important to diffuse ideas non traditional such as family planning and democracy
- **Hoselitz** – urbanisation. The theory here is that if populations are packed more closely together new ideas are more likely to spread than amongst diffuse rural populations.

Criticisms of Modernisation Theory

The below shows the Criticisms of Modernisation Theory in one by one:

1. The Asian Tiger economies combined elements of traditional culture with Western Capitalism to experience some of the most rapid economic growth of the past 2 decades.
2. Ignores the ‘crisis of modernism’ in both the developed and developing worlds. Many developed countries have huge inequalities and the greater the level of inequality the greater the degree of other problems: High crime rates, suicide rates, health problems, drug abuse.
3. Ethnocentric interpretations tend to exclude contributions from thinkers in the developing world. This is a one size fits all model, and is not culture specific.
4. The model assumes that countries need the help of outside forces. The central role is on experts and money coming in from the outside, parachuted in, and this downgrades the role of local knowledge and initiatives. This approach can be seen as demeaning and dehumanising for local populations. Galeano (1992) argues that minds become colonised with the idea that they are dependent on outside forces. They train you to be paralysed and then sell you crutches. There are alternative models of development: See sheet no...

5. Corruption (Kleptocracy) prevents aid of any kind doing good, Much aid is siphoned off by corrupt elites and government officials rather than getting to the projects it was earmarked for. This means that aid creates more inequality and enables elites to maintain power
6. There are ecological limits to growth. Many modernisation projects such mining and forestry have lead to the destruction of environment.
8. Social damage – Some development projects such as dams have lead to local populations being removed forcibly from their home lands with little or no compensation being paid.

Some Marxist theorists argue that aid and development is not really about helping the developing world at all. It is really about changing societies just enough so they are easier to exploit, making western companies and countries richer, opening them up to exploit cheap natural resources and cheap labour. Joseph Stiglitz notes that those countries that followed alternative models of development ignoring western advice are now competing with the west, China and India are two examples

‘Check your progress’

1. According to Rostow, how many types of developmental stages exist?
2. What are the Two Major Aims of Modernization?

3.3. Dependency

Dependency theory is the notion that resources flow from a "periphery" of poor and underdeveloped states to a "core" of wealthy states, enriching the latter at the expense of the former. It is a central contention of dependency theory that poor states are impoverished and rich ones enriched by the way poor states are integrated into the "world system".

The theory arose as a reaction to modernization theory, an earlier theory of development which held that all societies progress through similar stages of development,

that today's underdeveloped areas are thus in a similar situation to that of today's developed areas at some time in the past, and that, therefore, the task of helping the underdeveloped areas out of poverty is to accelerate them along this supposed common path of development, by various means such as investment, technology transfers, and closer integration into the world market. Dependency theory rejected this view, arguing that under-developed countries are not merely primitive versions of developed countries, but has unique features and structures of their own; and importantly, are in the situation of being the weaker members in a world market economy. Dependency theory no longer has many proponents as an overall theory though some writers have argued for its continuing relevance as a conceptual orientation to the global division of wealth.

One alternative model on the left is Dependency theory. It emerged in the 1950s and argues that the underdevelopment of poor nations in the Third World derived from systematic imperial and neo-colonial exploitation of raw materials. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modernization_theory_-_cite_note-28 Its proponents argue that resources typically flow from a "periphery" of poor and underdeveloped states to a "core" of wealthy states, enriching the latter at the expense of the former. It is a central contention of dependency theorists such as Andre Gunder Frank that poor states are impoverished and rich ones enriched by the way poor states are integrated into the "world system". Dependency models arose from a growing association of southern hemisphere nationalists (from Latin America and Africa) and Marxists. It was their reaction against modernization theory, which held that all societies progress through similar stages of development, that today's underdeveloped areas are thus in a similar situation to that of today's developed areas at some time in the past, and that, therefore, the task of helping the underdeveloped areas out of poverty is to accelerate them along this supposed common path

of development, by various means such as investment, technology transfers, and closer integration into the world market.

History

Dependency theory originates with two papers published in 1949 – one by Hans Singer, one by Raúl Prebisch – in which the authors observe that the terms of trade for underdeveloped countries relative to the developed countries had deteriorated over time: the underdeveloped countries were able to purchase fewer and fewer manufactured goods from the developed countries in exchange for a given quantity of their raw materials exports. This idea is known as the Prebisch–Singer thesis. Prebisch, an Argentine economist at the United Nations Commission for Latin America (UNCLA), went on to conclude that the underdeveloped nations must employ some degree of protectionism in trade if they were to enter a self-sustaining development path. He argued that import-substitution industrialisation (ISI), not a trade-and-export orientation, was the best strategy for underdeveloped countries.https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dependency_theory_-_cite_note-3 The theory was developed from a Marxian perspective by Paul A. Baran in 1957 with the publication of his *The Political Economy of Growth*.https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dependency_theory_-_cite_note-4 Dependency theory shares many points with earlier, Marxist, theories of imperialism by Rosa Luxemburg and Vladimir Lenin, and has attracted continued interest from Marxists. Some authors identify two main streams in dependency theory: the Latin American Structuralist, typified by the work of Prebisch, Celso Furtado, and Aníbal Pinto at the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLAC, or, in Spanish, CEPAL); and the American Marxist, developed by Paul A. Baran, Paul Sweezy, and Andre Gunder Frank.

Using the Latin American dependency model, the Guyanese Marxist historian Walter Rodney, in his book *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, described in 1972 an Africa that

had been consciously exploited by European imperialists, leading directly to the modern underdevelopment of most of the continent.^[5]

The theory was popular in the 1960s and 1970s as a criticism of modernization theory, which was falling increasingly out of favor because of continued widespread poverty in much of the world. It was used to explain the causes of overurbanization, a theory that urbanization rates outpaced industrial growth in several developing countries.https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dependency_theory - cite note-Shandra-6

The Latin American Structuralist and the American Marxist schools had significant differences but agreed on some basic points:

Both groups would agree that at the core of the dependency relation between center and periphery lays [lies] the inability of the periphery to develop an autonomous and dynamic process of technological innovation. Technology – the Promethean force unleashed by the Industrial Revolution – is at the center of stage. The Center countries controlled the technology and the systems for generating technology. Foreign capital could not solve the problem, since it only led to limited transmission of technology, but not the process of innovation itself. Baran and others frequently spoke of the international division of labour – skilled workers in the center; unskilled in the periphery – when discussing key features of dependency.

Baran placed surplus extraction and capital accumulation at the center of his analysis. Development depends on a population's producing more than it needs for bare subsistence (a surplus). Further, some of that surplus must be used for capital accumulation – the purchase of new means of production – if development is to occur; spending the surplus on things like luxury consumption does not produce development. Baran noted two predominant kinds of economic activity in poor countries. In the older of the two, plantation agriculture, which originated in colonial times, most of the surplus goes to the landowners, who use it to emulate

the consumption patterns of wealthy people in the developed world; much of it thus goes to purchase foreign-produced luxury items –automobiles, clothes, etc. – and little is accumulated for investing in development. The more recent kind of economic activity in the periphery is industry—but of a particular kind. It is usually carried out by foreigners, although often in conjunction with local interests. It is often under special tariff protection or other government concessions. The surplus from this production mostly goes to two places: part of it is sent back to the foreign shareholders as profit; the other part is spent on conspicuous consumption in a similar fashion to that of the plantation aristocracy. Again, little is used for development. Baran thought that political revolution was necessary to break this pattern.

In the 1960s, members of the Latin American Structuralist School argued that there is more latitude in the system than the Marxists believed. They argued that it allows for partial development or "dependent development"—development, but still under the control of outside decision makers. They cited the partly successful attempts at industrialisation in Latin America around that time (Argentina, Brazil, Mexico) as evidence for this hypothesis. They were led to the position that dependency is not a relation between commodity exporters and industrialised countries, but between countries with different degrees of industrialisation. In their approach, there is a distinction made between the economic and political spheres: economically, one may be developed or underdeveloped; but even if (somewhat) economically developed, one may be politically autonomous or dependent. More recently, Guillermo O'Donnell has argued that constraints placed on development by neoliberalism were lifted by the military coups in Latin America that came to promote development in authoritarian guise (O'Donnell, 1982).

The importance of multinational corporations and state promotion of technology were emphasised by the Latin American Structuralists.

Fajnzylber has made a distinction between systemic or authentic competitiveness, which is the ability to compete based on higher productivity, and spurious competitiveness, which is based on low wages.https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dependency_theory - cite note-
[9](#)

The third-world debt crisis of the 1980s and continued stagnation in Africa and Latin America in the 1990s caused some doubt as to the feasibility or desirability of "dependent development".https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dependency_theory - cite note-10

The *sine qua non* of the dependency relationship is not the difference in technological sophistication, as traditional dependency theorists believe, but rather the difference in financial strength between core and peripheral countries—particularly the inability of peripheral countries to borrow in their own currency. He believes that the hegemonic position of the United States is very strong because of the importance of its financial markets and because it controls the international reserve currency – the US dollar. He believes that the end of the Bretton Woods international financial agreements in the early 1970s considerably strengthened the United States' position because it removed some constraints on their financial actions.

"Standard" dependency theory differs from Marxism, in arguing against internationalism and any hope of progress in less developed nations towards industrialization and a liberating revolution. Theotonio dos Santos described a "new dependency", which focused on both the internal and external relations of less-developed countries of the periphery, derived from a Marxian analysis. Former Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso (in office 1995–2002) wrote extensively on dependency theory while in political exile during the 1960s, arguing that it was an approach to studying the economic disparities between the centre and periphery. **Cardoso summarized his version of dependency theory as follows:**

- there is a financial and technological penetration by the developed capitalist centers of the countries of the periphery and semi-periphery;
- this produces an unbalanced economic structure both within the peripheral societies and between them and the centers;
- this leads to limitations on self-sustained growth in the periphery;
- this favors the appearance of specific patterns of class relations;
- these require modifications in the role of the state to guarantee both the functioning of the economy and the political articulation of a society, which contains, within itself, foci of inarticulateness and structural imbalance.

The analysis of development patterns in the 1990s and beyond is complicated by the fact that capitalism develops not smoothly, but with very strong and self-repeating ups and downs, called cycles. Relevant results are given in studies by Joshua Goldstein, Volker Bornschier, and Luigi Scandella.

With the economic growth of India and some East Asian economies, dependency theory has lost some of its former influence. It still influences some NGO campaigns, such as Make Poverty History and the fair trade movement.

3.4. World-System Theory

World-systems theory (also known as world-systems analysis or the world-systems perspective)^[1] is a multidisciplinary, macro-scale approach to world history and social change which emphasizes the world-system (and not nation states) as the primary (but not exclusive) unit of social analysis.

"World-system" refers to the inter-regional and transnational division of labor, which divides the world into core countries, semi-periphery countries, and the periphery countries.^[2] Core countries focus on higher skill, capital-intensive production, and the rest of the world focuses on low-skill, labor-intensive production and extraction of raw materials.

This constantly reinforces the dominance of the core countries. Nonetheless, the system has dynamic characteristics, in part as a result of revolutions in transport technology, and individual states can gain or lose their core (semi-periphery, periphery) status over time. This structure is unified by the division of labour. It is a world-economy rooted in a capitalist economy. For a time, certain countries become the world hegemon; during the last few centuries, as the world-system has extended geographically and intensified economically, this status has passed from the Netherlands, to the United Kingdom and (most recently) to the United States.

Background

Immanuel Wallerstein has developed the best-known version of world-systems analysis, beginning in the 1970s. Wallerstein traces the rise of the capitalist world-economy from the "long" 16th century (c. 1450–1640). The rise of capitalism, in his view, was an accidental outcome of the protracted crisis of feudalism (c. 1290–1450). Europe (the West) used its advantages and gained control over most of the world economy and presided over the development and spread of industrialization and capitalist economy, indirectly resulting in unequal development.

Though other commentators refer to Wallerstein's project as world-systems "theory", he consistently rejects that term. For Wallerstein, world-systems analysis is a mode of analysis that aims to transcend the structures of knowledge inherited from the 19th century, especially the definition of capitalism, the divisions within the social sciences, and those between the social sciences and history. For Wallerstein, then, world-systems analysis is a "knowledge movement" that seeks to discern the "totality of what has been paraded under the labels of the human sciences and indeed well beyond". "We must invent a new language," Wallerstein insists, to transcend the illusions of the "three supposedly distinctive arenas" of society, economy and politics. The trinitarian structure of knowledge is grounded in another,

even grander, modernist architecture, the distinction of biophysical worlds (including those within bodies) from social ones: "One question, therefore, is whether we will be able to justify something called social science in the twenty-first century as a separate sphere of knowledge." Many other scholars have contributed significant work in this "knowledge movement"

World-systems theory traces emerged in the 1970s. Its roots can be found in sociology, but it has developed into a highly interdisciplinary field. World-systems theory was aiming to replace modernization theory, which Wallerstein criticised for three reasons:

1. its focus on the nation state as the only unit of analysis
2. its assumption that there is only a single path of evolutionary development for all countries
3. Its disregard of transnational structures that constrain local and national development.

There are three major predecessors of world-systems theory: the Annales School, the Marxist tradition, and the dependence theory. The Annales School tradition (represented most notably by Fernand Braudel) influenced Wallerstein to focusing on long-term processes and geo-ecological regions as unit of analysis. Marxism added a stress on social conflict, a focus on the capital accumulation process and competitive class struggles, a focus on a relevant totality, the transitory nature of social forms and a dialectical sense of motion through conflict and contradiction.

World-systems theory was also significantly influenced by dependency theory, a neo-Marxist explanation of development processes.

Other influences on the world-systems theory come from scholars such as Karl Polanyi, Nikolai Kondratiev and Joseph Schumpeter (particularly their research on business cycles) and the concepts of three basic modes of economic organization: reciprocal,

redistributive, and market modes, which Wallerstein reframed into a discussion of mini systems, world empires, and world economies).

Wallerstein sees the development of the capitalist world economy as detrimental to a large proportion of the world's population. Wallerstein views the period since the 1970s as an "age of transition" that will give way to a future world system (or world systems) whose configuration cannot be determined in advance.

World-systems thinkers include Oliver Cox, Samir Amin, Giovanni Arrighi, Andre Gunder Frank, and Immanuel Wallerstein, with major contributions by Christopher Chase-Dunn, Beverly Silver, Volker Bornschier, Janet Abu Lughod, Thomas D. Hall, Kunibert Raffer, Theotonio dos Santos, Dale Tomich, Jason W. Moore and others. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World-systems_theory - cite note-TB-2 In sociology, a primary alternative perspective is World Polity Theory, as formulated by John W. Meyer.

Dependency theory

World-systems analysis builds upon but also differs fundamentally from dependency theory. While accepting world inequality, the world market and imperialism as fundamental features of historical capitalism, Wallerstein broke with orthodox dependency theory's central proposition. For Wallerstein, core countries do not exploit poor countries for two basic reasons.

Firstly, core capitalists exploit workers in all zones of the capitalist world economy (not just the periphery) and therefore, the crucial redistribution between core and periphery is surplus value, not "wealth" or "resources" abstractly conceived. Secondly, core states do not exploit poor states, as dependency theory proposes, because capitalism is organised around an inter-regional and transnational division of labor rather than an international division of labour.

During the Industrial Revolution, for example, English capitalists exploited slaves (unfree workers) in the cotton zones of the American South, a peripheral region within a semiperipheral country, United States.

From a largely Weberian perspective, Fernando Henrique Cardoso described the main tenets of dependency theory as follows:

- There is a financial and technological penetration of the periphery and semi-periphery countries by the developed capitalist core countries.
- That produces an unbalanced economic structure within the peripheral societies and between them and the central countries.
- That leads to limitations upon self-sustained growth in the periphery.
- That helps the appearance of specific patterns of class relations.
- They require modifications in the role of the state to guarantee the functioning of the economy and the political articulation of a society, which contains, within itself, foci of inarticulateness and structural imbalance.

Dependency and world system theory propose that the poverty and backwardness of poor countries are caused by their peripheral position in the international division of labor. Since the capitalist world system evolved, the distinction between the central and the peripheral nations has grown and diverged. In recognizing a tripartite pattern in division of labor, world-systems analysis criticized dependency theory with its bimodal system of only cores and peripheries.

Immanuel Wallerstein

The best-known version of the world-systems approach was developed by Immanuel Wallerstein.¹ Wallerstein notes that world-systems analysis calls for an unidisciplinary historical social science and contends that the modern disciplines, products of the 19th century, are deeply flawed because they are not separate logics, as is manifest for example in

the *de facto* overlap of analysis among scholars of the disciplines.^[1] Wallerstein offers several definitions of a world-system, defining it in 1974 briefly: a system is defined as a unit with a single division of labor and multiple cultural systems.

He also offered a longer definition: 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 remold it to its advantage. It has the characteristics of an organism, in that it has a life-span over which its characteristics change in some respects and remain stable in others. One can define its structures as being at different times strong or weak in terms of the internal logic of its functioning.

In 1987, Wallerstein again defined it: not the system of the world, but a system that is a world and which can be, most often has been, located in an area less than the entire globe. World-systems analysis argues that the units of social reality within which we operate, whose rules constrain us, are for the most part such world-systems (other than the now extinct, small minisystems that once existed on the earth). World-systems analysis argues that there have been thus far only two varieties of world-systems: world-economies and world empires. A world-empire (examples, the Roman Empire, Han China) are large bureaucratic structures with a single political center and an axial division of labor, but multiple cultures. A world-economy is a large axial division of labor with multiple political centers and multiple cultures. In English, the hyphen is essential to indicate these concepts. "World system" without a hyphen suggests that there has been only one world-system in the history of the world.

Wallerstein characterises the world system as a set of mechanisms, which redistributes surplus value from the periphery to the core. In his terminology, the *core* is the developed, industrialized part of the world, and the *periphery* is the "underdeveloped",

typically raw materials-exporting, poor part of the world; the *market* being the means by which the *core* exploits the *periphery*.

Apart from them, Wallerstein defines four temporal features of the world system. *Cyclical rhythms* represent the short-term fluctuation of economy, and *secular trends* mean deeper long run tendencies, such as general economic growth or decline. The term *contradiction* means a general controversy in the system, usually concerning some short term versus long term tradeoffs. For example, the problem of underconsumption, wherein the driving down of wages increases the profit for capitalists in the short term, but in the long term, the decreasing of wages may have a crucially harmful effect by reducing the demand for the product. The last temporal feature is the *crisis*: a crisis occurs if a constellation of circumstances brings about the end of the system.

In Wallerstein's view, there have been three kinds of historical systems across human history: "mini-systems" or what anthropologists call bands, tribes, and small chiefdoms, and two types of world systems, one that is politically unified and the other is not (single state world empires and multi-polity world economies). World systems are larger, and are ethnically diverse. Modernity is unique in being the first and only fully capitalist world economy to have emerged around 1450 to 1550 and to have geographically expanded across the entire planet, by about 1900. Not being political unified, many political units are included within the world system loosely tied together in an interstate system. Efficient division of labor is the unifying element of the different units, and it is also a function of capitalism, a system based on competition between free producers using free labor with free commodities, 'free' meaning available for sale and purchase on a market. More specifically, it can be described as focusing on endless accumulation of capital; in other words, accumulation of capital in order to accumulate more capital. Such capitalism has a mutually dependent relationship with the world economy since it provides the efficient division of labour, the

unifying element of the world economy, through the process of accumulating wealth. Likewise, such capitalism is dependent on the world economy since the latter provides a large market and a multiplicity of states, enabling capitalists to choose to work with states helping their interests.

Research questions

World-systems theory asks several key questions:

- How is the world system affected by changes in its components (e.g. nations, ethnic groups, social classes, etc.)?
- How does it affect its components?
- To what degree, if any, does the core need the periphery to be underdeveloped?
- What causes world systems to change?
- What system may replace capitalism?

Some questions are more specific to certain subfields; for example, Marxists would concern themselves whether world-systems theory is a useful or unhelpful development of Marxist theories.

World-systems analysis argues that capitalism, as a historical system, has always integrated a variety of labor forms within a functioning division of labor (world economy). Countries do not have economies but are part of the world economy. Far from being separate societies or worlds, the world economy manifests a tripartite division of labor, with core, semiperipheral and peripheral zones. In the core zones, businesses, with the support of states they operate within, monopolise the most profitable activities of the division of labor.

There are many ways to attribute a specific country to the core, semi-periphery, or periphery. Using an empirically based sharp formal definition of "domination" in a two-country relationship, Piana in 2004 defined the "core" as made up of "free countries"

dominating others without being dominated, the "semi-periphery" as the countries that are dominated (usually, but not necessarily, by core countries) but at the same time dominating others (usually in the periphery) and "periphery" as the countries dominated. Based on 1998 data, the full list of countries in the three regions, together with a discussion of methodology, can be found.

The late 18th and early 19th centuries marked a great turning point in the development of capitalism in that capitalists achieved state society power in the key states, which furthered the industrial revolution marking the rise of capitalism. World-systems analysis contends that capitalism as a historical system formed earlier and that countries do not "develop" in stages, but the system does, and events have a different meaning as a phase in the development of historical capitalism, the emergence of the three ideologies of the national developmental mythology (the idea that countries can develop through stages if they pursue the right set of policies): conservatism, liberalism, and radicalism.

Proponents of world-systems analysis see the world stratification system the same way Karl Marx viewed class (ownership versus nonownership of the means of production) and Max Weber viewed class (which, in addition to ownership, stressed occupational skill level in the production process). The core nations primarily own and control the major means of production in the world and perform the higher-level production tasks. The periphery nations own very little of the world's means of production (even when they are located in periphery nations) and provide less-skilled labour. Like a class system with a nation, class positions in the world economy result in an unequal distribution of rewards or resources. The core nations receive the greatest share of surplus production, and periphery nations receive the smallest share. Furthermore, core nations are usually able to purchase raw materials and other goods from non-core nations at low prices and demand higher prices for their exports to

non-core nations. Chirot (1986) lists the five most important benefits coming to core nations from their domination of periphery nations:

1. Access to a large quantity of raw material
2. Cheap labour
3. Enormous profits from direct capital investments
4. A market for exports
5. Skilled professional labor through migration of these people from the non-core to the core.

According to Wallerstein, the unique qualities of the modern world system include its capitalistic nature, its truly global nature, and the fact that it is a world economy that has not become politically unified into a world empire.

Core Nations

Are the most economically diversified, wealthy, and powerful (economically and militarily)

- Have strong central governments, controlling extensive bureaucracies and powerful militaries
- Have stronger and more complex state institutions that help manage economic affairs internally and externally
- Have a sufficient tax base so state institutions can provide infrastructure for a strong economy
- Highly industrialised and produce manufactured goods rather than raw materials for export
- Increasingly tend to specialise in information, finance and service industries
- More often in the forefront of new technologies and new industries. Examples today include high-technology electronic and biotechnology industries. Another example would be assembly-line auto production in the early 20th century.

- Has strong bourgeois and working classes
- Have significant means of influence over non-core nations
- Relatively independent of outside control

Throughout the history of the modern world system, there has been a group of core nations competing with one another for access to the world's resources, economic dominance and hegemony over periphery nations. Occasionally, there has been one core nation with clear dominance over others. According to Immanuel Wallerstein, a core nation is dominant over all the others when it has a lead in three forms of economic dominance over a period of time:

1. ***Productivity dominance*** allows a country to produce products of greater quality at a cheaper price, compared to other countries.
2. Productivity dominance may lead to ***trade dominance***. Now, there is a favorable balance of trade for the dominant nation since more countries are buying the products of the dominant country than buying from them.
3. Trade dominance may lead to ***financial dominance***. Now, more money is coming into the country than going out. Bankers of the dominant nation tend to receive more control of the world's financial resources.

Military dominance is also likely after a nation reaches these three rankings. However, it has been posited that throughout the modern world system, no nation has been able to use its military to gain economic dominance. Each of the past dominant nations became dominant with fairly small levels of military spending and began to lose economic dominance with military expansion later on. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World-systems_theory_-_cite_note-kennedy1987-26 Historically, cores were found in Northwestern Europe (England, France, and The Netherlands) but were later in other parts of the world (such as the United States, Canada, and Australia).

Peripheral nations

- Are the least economically diversified
- Have relatively weak governments.
- Have relatively weak institutions, with tax bases too small to support infrastructural development.
- Tend to depend on one type of economic activity, often by extracting and exporting raw materials to core nations.
- Tend to be the least industrialized.
- Are often targets for investments from multinational (or transnational) corporations from core nations that come into the country to exploit cheap unskilled labor in order to export back to core nations
- Have a small bourgeois and a large peasant classes⁺
- Tend to have populations with high percentages of poor and uneducated people.
- Tend to have very high social inequality because of small upper classes that own most of the land and have profitable ties to multinational corporations.
- Tend to be extensively influenced by core nations and their multinational corporations and often forced to follow economic policies that help core nations and harm the long-term economic prospects of peripheral nations.

Historically, peripheries were found outside Europe, such as in Latin America and today in sub-Saharan Africa.⁺

Semi-peripheral nations

Semi-peripheral nations are those that are midway between the core and periphery. Thus, they have to keep themselves from falling into the category of peripheral nations and at the same time, they strive to join the category of core nations. Therefore, they tend to apply protectionist policies most aggressively among the three categories of

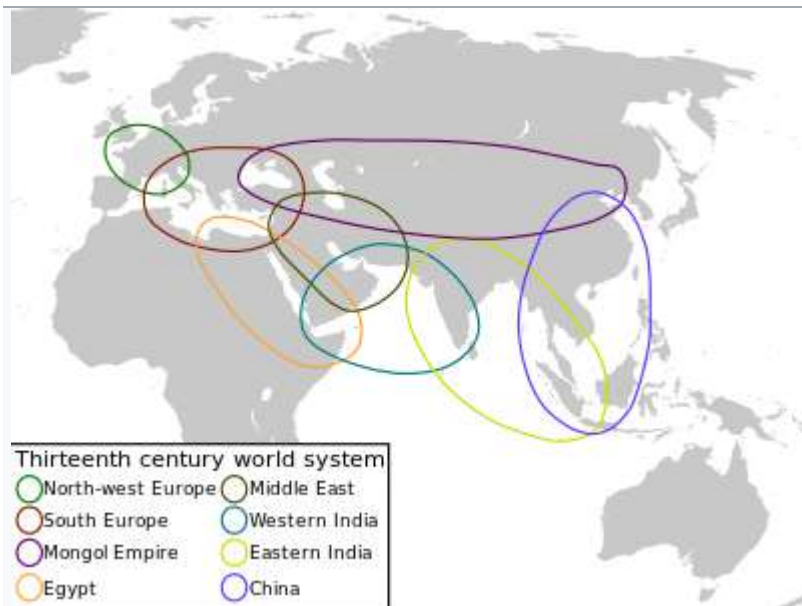
nations. They tend to be countries moving towards industrialization and more diversified economies. These regions often have relatively developed and diversified economies but are not dominant in international trade. They tend to export more to peripheral nations and import more from core nations in trade. According to some scholars, such as Chirot, they are not as subject to outside manipulation as peripheral societies; but according to others (Barfield), they have "peripheral-like" relations to the core. While in the sphere of influence of some cores, semiperipheries also tend to exert their own control over some peripheries. Further, semi-peripheries act as buffers between cores and peripheries and thus "partially deflect the political pressures which groups primarily located in peripheral areas might otherwise direct against core-states" and stabilise the world system.

Semi-peripheries can come into existence from developing peripheries and declining cores. Historically, two examples of semiperipheral nations would be Spain and Portugal, which fell from their early core positions but still managed to retain influence in Latin America. Those countries imported silver and gold from their American colonies but then had to use it to pay for manufactured goods from core countries such as England and France. In the 20th century, nations like the "settler colonies" of Australia, Canada and New Zealand had a semiperipheral status. In the 21st century, nations like Brazil, Russia, India, Israel, China, South Korea and South Africa (BRICS) are usually considered semiperipheral.

External areas

External areas are those that maintain socially necessary divisions of labor independent of the capitalist world economy.

Interpretation of world history



The 13th century world-system

Before the 16th century, Europe was dominated by feudal economies.^[6] European economies grew from mid-12th to 14th century but from 14th to mid 15th century, they suffered from a major crisis.^{[3][6]} Wallerstein explains this crisis as caused by the following:

1. stagnation or even decline of agricultural production, increasing the burden of peasants,
2. decreased agricultural productivity caused by changing climatological conditions (Little Ice Age),
3. an increase in epidemics (Black Death),
4. optimum level of the feudal economy having been reached in its economic cycle; the economy moved beyond it and entered a depression period.

As a response to the failure of the feudal system, Europe embraced the capitalist system. Europeans were motivated to develop technology to explore and trade around the world, using their superior military to take control of the trade routes. Europeans exploited

their initial small advantages, which led to an accelerating process of accumulation of wealth and power in Europe.

Wallerstein notes that never before had an economic system encompassed that much of the world, with trade links crossing so many political boundaries. In the past, geographically large economic systems existed but were mostly limited to spheres of domination of large empires (such as the Roman Empire); development of capitalism enabled the world economy to extend beyond individual states. International division of labor was crucial in deciding what relationships exist between different regions, their labor conditions and political systems. For classification and comparison purposes, Wallerstein introduced the categories of core, semi-periphery, periphery, and external countries. Cores monopolized the capital-intensive production, and the rest of the world could provide only workforce and raw resources. The resulting inequality reinforced existing unequal development.

According to Wallerstein, there have only been three periods in which a core nation dominated in the modern world-system, with each lasting less than one hundred years. In the initial centuries of the rise of Europe, Northwestern Europe constituted the core, Mediterranean Europe the semiperiphery, and Eastern Europe and the Western hemisphere (and parts of Asia) the periphery. Around 1450, Spain and Portugal took the early lead when conditions became right for a capitalist world-economy. They led the way in establishing overseas colonies. However, Portugal and Spain lost their lead, primarily by becoming overextended with empire-building. It became too expensive to dominate and protect so many colonial territories around the world.

The first nation to gain clear dominance was the Netherlands in the 17th century, after its revolution led to a new financial system that many historians consider revolutionary. An impressive shipbuilding industry also contributed to their economic dominance through more exports to other countries. Eventually, other countries began to copy the financial methods

and efficient production created by the Dutch. After the Dutch gained their dominant status, the standard of living rose, pushing up production costs.

Dutch bankers began to go outside of the country seeking profitable investments, and the flow of capital moved, especially to England. By the end of the 17th century, conflict among core nations increased as a result of the economic decline of the Dutch. Dutch financial investment helped England gain productivity and trade dominance, and Dutch military support helped England to defeat France, the other country competing for dominance at the time.



Map showing the British Empire in 1921

In the 19th century, Britain replaced the Netherlands as the hegemon.[As a result of the new British dominance, the world system became relatively stable again during the 19th century. The British began to expand globally, with many colonies in the New World, Africa, and Asia. The colonial system began to place a strain on the British military and, along with other factors, led to an economic decline. Again there was a great deal of core conflict after the British lost their clear dominance. This time it was Germany, and later Italy and Japan that provided the new threat.

Industrialization was another ongoing process during British dominance, resulting in the diminishing importance of the agricultural sector. In the 18th century, Britain was Europe's leading industrial and agricultural producer; by 1900, only 10% of England's population was working in the agricultural sector.

By 1900, the modern world system appeared very different from that of a century earlier in that most of the periphery societies had already been colonised by one of the older core nations. In 1800, the old European core claimed 35% of the world's territory, but by 1914, it claimed 85% of the world's territory, with the Scramble for Africa closing out the imperial era. If a core nation wanted periphery areas to exploit as had done the Dutch and British, these periphery areas had to be taken from another core nation, which the US did by way of the Spanish–American War, and Germany, and then Japan and Italy, attempted to do in the leadup to World War II. The modern world system was thus geographically global, and even the most remote regions of the world had all been integrated into the global economy. As countries vied for core status, so did the United States. The American Civil War led to more power for the Northern industrial elites, who were now better able to pressure the government for policies helping industrial expansion. Like the Dutch bankers, British bankers were putting more investment toward the United States. The US had a small military budget compared to other industrial nations at the time.

The US began to take the place of the British as a new dominant nation after World War I. With Japan and Europe in ruins after World War II, the US was able to dominate the modern world system more than any other country in history, while the USSR and to a lesser extent China were viewed as primary threats. At its height, US economic reach accounted for over half of the world's industrial production, owned two thirds of the gold reserves in the world and supplied one third of the world's exports.

However, since the end of the Cold War, the future of US hegemony has been questioned by some scholars, as its hegemonic position has been in decline for a few decades. By the end of the 20th century, the core of the wealthy industrialized countries was composed of Western Europe, the United States, Japan and a rather limited selection of other countries. The semiperiphery was typically composed of independent states that had not achieved

Western levels of influence, while poor former colonies of the West formed most of the periphery.

Criticism

World-systems theory has attracted criticisms from its rivals; notably for being too focused on economy and not enough on culture and for being too core-centric and state-centric. William I. Robinson has criticized world-systems theory for its nation-state centrism, state-structuralist approach, and its inability to conceptualize the rise of globalization. Robinson suggests that world-systems theory doesn't account for emerging transnational social forces and the relationships forged between them and global institutions serving their interests these forces operate on a global, rather than state system and cannot be understood by Wallerstein's nation-centered approach.

According to Wallerstein himself, critique of the world-systems approach comes from four directions: the positivists, the orthodox Marxists, the state autonomists, and the culturalists. The positivists criticise the approach as too prone to generalization, lacking quantitative data and failing to put forth a falsifiable proposition. Orthodox Marxists find the world-systems approach deviating too far from orthodox Marxist principles, such as by not giving enough weight to the concept of social class. The state autonomists criticize the theory for blurring the boundaries between state and businesses. Further, the positivists and the state autonomists argue that state should be the central unit of analysis. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World-systems_theory - [cite note-IW-1](#) Finally, the culturalists argue that world-systems theory puts too much importance on the economy and not enough on the culture. In Wallerstein's own words:

In short, most of the criticisms of world-systems analysis criticize it for what it explicitly proclaims as its perspective. World-systems analysis views these other modes of analysis as defective and/or limiting in scope and calls for unthinking them.

One of the fundamental conceptual problems of the world-system theory is that the assumptions that define its actual conceptual units are social systems. The assumptions, which define them, need to be examined as well as how they are related to each other and how one change into another. The essential argument of the world-system theory is that in the 16th century a capitalist world economy developed, which could be described as a world system. The following is a theoretical critique concerned with the basic claims of world-system theory: "There are today no socialist systems in the world-economy any more than there are feudal systems because there is only one world system. It is a world-economy and it is by definition capitalist in form."

Robert Brenner has pointed out that the prioritization of the world market means the neglect of local class structures and class struggles: "They fail to take into account either the way in which these class structures themselves emerge as the outcome of class struggles whose results are incomprehensible in terms merely of market forces."^[31] Another criticism is that of reductionism made by Theda Skocpol: she believes the interstate system is far from being a simple superstructure of the capitalist world economy: "The international states system as a transnational structure of military competition was not originally created by capitalism. Throughout modern world history, it represents analytically autonomous level world capitalism, but [is] not reducible to it."

A concept that we can perceive as critique and mostly as renewal is the concept of coloniality (Anibal Quijano, 2000, *Nepantla, Coloniality of power, eurocentrism and Latin America* Issued from the think tank of the group "modernity/coloniality" (es:Grupo modernidad/colonialidad) in Latin America, it re-uses the concept of world working division and core/periphery system in its system of coloniality. But criticizing the "core-centric" origin of World-system and its only economical development, "coloniality" allows further conception of how power still processes in a colonial way over worldwide populations

(Ramon Grosfogel, "the epistemic decolonial turn" 2007): "by "colonial situations" I mean the cultural, political, sexual, spiritual, epistemic and economic oppression/exploitation of subordinate racialized/ethnic groups by dominant racialized/ethnic groups with or without the existence of colonial administration". Coloniality covers, so far, several fields such as coloniality of gender (Maria Lugones), coloniality of "being" (Maldonado Torres), coloniality of knowledge (Walter Mignolo) and Coloniality of power (Anibal Quijano).

‘Check your progress’

3. Who developed World System Theory?
4. Which countries fall under Core Nation?

3.5.Uneven Development

In examining the general character of the process of capitalist development as it has appeared historically across many different countries over a long period of time, one of its most striking characteristics is the phenomenon of uneven development. Specifically, the process is marked by persistent differences in levels and rates of economic development between different sectors of the economy. This differentiation appears at many levels and in terms of a multiplicity of quantitative and qualitative indices (Kuznets, 1966; Maddison, 1982; Mueller, 1990; Pritchett, 1997; Salter, 1966). Relevant measures which sharply identify the phenomenon include the level of labour productivity in different sectors, the level of wages, occupational and skill composition of the labor force, the degree of mechanization and vintage of production techniques, rates of profit, rates of growth, and the size structure of firms. This phenomenon appears regardless of the level of aggregation or disaggregation of the economy, except for the extreme case of complete aggregation – in which case, structural properties of the economy are made to disappear. For example, it appears at the level of comparing the broad aggregates 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. It appears

on a regional level within national economies as well as on a global scale between different national economies. In this latter context, one form that it takes is the continued differentiation between underdeveloped and advanced economies, usually identified as the problem of underdevelopment. These disparities appear from observing the economy as a whole at any given moment and over long periods of time. While the relative position of particular sectors may change from one period to another, nevertheless there is always a definite pattern of such differentiation. We may say, therefore, and certainly it is an implication of these observations, that these disparities are continually reproduced by the process of development. Uneven development, in this sense, is an intrinsic or inherent property of the economic process. Far from being merely transitory, it appears to be a pervasive and permanent condition. Now, it is an equally striking fact that, when we examine the theoretical literature on economic growth, we find the completely opposite picture. In particular, the dominant conception of the growth process that has motivated the postWorldWar II literature is constructed in terms of uniform rates of expansion in output, productivity and employment in all sectors of the economy. In this sense, it is largely a literature of steady state growth, whether presented in multisectoral or aggregative models (Burmeister and Dobell, 1970; Harris, 1978). Some notable and relevant exceptions, including Haavelmo (1954), Leon (1967), Nelson and Winter (1982), Pasinetti (1981), Salter (1965), explicitly examine aspects of the problem of persistent differentiation posed here. The recent flurry of work in endogenous growth theory seeks to incorporate some relevant elements of the problem into the neoclassical conception of the growth process (Aghion and Howitt, 1998). However, much of existing economic theory predicts that, given enough time, many of the features of differentiation which we observe empirically would tend to wash out as a result of

the operation of competitive market forces (Harris, 1988). Such differentiation should therefore be viewed only as a transitory feature of the economic process.

Thus, on the one side, we find a historical picture of uneven development as a persistent phenomenon, and on the other, a theory which essentially negates and denies this fact. It is possible to go some of the way towards bridging this gap. Accordingly, I consider here a strategy for analysis of uneven development that breaks through the narrow limits of the existing steadystate theory and advances towards a historically and empirically relevant theory.

The Analytics of Uneven Development It is necessary to start by recognizing the intrinsic character of the individual firm as an expansionary unit of capital with a complex organization. Various efforts have been made to develop a theory of the firm on this basis. (See, for instance, Penrose, 1959; Baumol, 1967; Marris, 1967, and Winter 1968/2006.) In this conception, growth is the strategic objective on the part of the firm. This urge to expand is not a matter of choice. Rather, it is a necessity enforced upon the firm by its market position and by its existence within a world of firms where each must grow in order to survive. It is reinforced also by sociological factors. It is this character of the firm which constitutes the driving force behind the process of expansion of the economy. In the aggregate, the global economy is conceived to consist of an ordered system of firms (an interlocking network of individual circuits of capital) and its sectors (classified variously as industries, regions, national economies) likewise to be clusters of the firms that are the component units of this system. In this system, it is firms which compete, not industries, not regions, not national economies, not 'north' versus 'south'. The state sets the rules and jointly determines the external conditions (externalities) within which the firms operate. This is a crucial starting point because it establishes the idea of growth as the outcome of a process which is driven by active agents, not by exogenous factors.

In particular, in the context of the capitalist economy, growth is the outcome of the self directed and selforganizing activity of firms, each seeking to expand and to improve its competitive position in relation to the rest. Once this principle is recognized it becomes possible to move towards an understanding of the problem of uneven development. The imperative of growth impels the firm constantly to seek out new investment opportunities wherever they are to be found. Such opportunities may lie within a wide range: in existing product lines, in new products and processes, in new geographical spaces and natural resource frontiers, or in the takeover of existing firms. However, at the core of this movement, viewed historically over the long term, are the invention, innovation and diffusion of new technologies that give rise to new products and services (Freeman, 1982; Landes, 1969, 1999; Marx, 1906, Ch. XV; Mokyr, 1990, 2002). The emergence of growth centres or leading sectors is a reflection of this underlying process. It is a consequence of the effort on the part of many firms to create or to rush into those spheres in which a margin of profitability exists that allows them to capture new profit and growth opportunities. It may be conceived to take the form of a 'swarm' (Schumpeter, 1934, p. 223) or 'contagion' (Baumol, 1967, p. 101), marked by both entry and exit of firms. Such spheres are opened up, typically through complementary 'macroinventions' and 'microinventions' (Mokyr, 1990, p. 13) and in a sporadic and discontinuous pattern, as a consequence of the ongoing investment and innovative activity of firms and the competitive interactions among them. It is this 4 constant flux, consisting of the emergence of new growth centres, their rapid expansion relative to existing sectors, and the relative decline of others, which shows up in the economy as a whole as uneven development

Uneven and combined development (or unequal and combined development) is a Marxist concept https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uneven_and_combined_development -

[cite note-1](#) to describe the overall dynamics of human history. It was originally used by the Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky around the turn of the 20th century, when he was analyzing the developmental possibilities that existed for the economy and civilization in the Russian empire, and the likely future of the Tsarist regime in Russia. It was the basis of his political strategy of permanent revolution, which implied a rejection of the idea that a human society inevitably developed through a uni-linear sequence of necessary "stages". Also before Trotsky, Nikolay Chernyshevsky and Vasily Vorontsov proposed a similar idea. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uneven_and_combined_development - [cite note-4](#) The concept is still used today by Trotskyists and other Marxists concerned with world politics.

Origin

Trotsky's concept was originally inspired by a series of articles by Alexander Helphand (better known as "Parvus") on "War and Revolution" in the Russian journal Iskra in 1904. At first, Trotsky intended this concept only to describe a characteristic evolutionary pattern in the worldwide expansion of the capitalist mode of production from the 16th century onwards, through the growth of a world economy which connected more and more peoples and territories together through trade, migration and investment. His focus was also initially mainly on the history of the Russian empire, where the most advanced technological and scientific developments co-existed with extremely primitive and superstitious cultures.

In the 1920s and 1930s, Trotsky increasingly generalised the concept of uneven and combined development to the *whole* of human history, and even to processes of evolutionary biology, as well as the formation of the human personality - as a general dialectical category.

The concept played a certain role in the fierce theoretical debates during the political conflict between the supporters of Joseph Stalin and Trotsky's Left Opposition, a debate which ranged from the historical interpretation of the Russian revolution and economic

strategies for the transition to socialism, to the correct understanding of principles of Marxism.

Explanation of the concept

Different countries, **Trotsky** observed, developed and advanced to a large extent *independently* from each other, in ways which were *quantitatively* unequal (e.g. the local rate and scope of economic growth and population growth) and *qualitatively* different (e.g. nationally specific cultures and geographical features). In other words, countries had their own specific national history with national peculiarities.

At the same time, all the different countries did not exist in complete isolation from each other; they were also interdependent parts of a world society, a larger totality, in which they all co-existed together, in which they shared many characteristics, and in which they influenced each other through processes of cultural diffusion, trade, political relations and various “spill-over effects” from one country to another.

Sociologically speaking, this had five main effects:

- a more backward, older or more primitive country would adopt parts of the culture of a more advanced, or more modern society, and a more advanced culture could also adopt or merge with parts of a more primitive culture – with good or bad effects.
- Cultural practices, institutions, traditions and ways of life belonging to both very old and very new epochs and phases of human history were all combined, juxtaposed and linked together in a rather unusual way, within one country.
- In turn, this meant that one could not really say that different societies all developed simply through the same sort of *linear* sequence of necessary developmental stages, but rather that they could adopt/utilize the results of developments reached elsewhere, without going through all the previous evolutionary stages which led up to those results. Some countries could thus “skip”, “telescope” or “compress” developmental stages which

other countries took hundreds of years to go through, or, very rapidly carry through a modernization process that took other countries centuries to achieve.

- Different countries could both *aid* or *advance* the socio-economic progress of other countries through trade, subsidies and contributing resources, or *block* and *brake* other countries as competitors from making progress by preventing the use of capital, technology, trading routes, labour, land or other kinds of resources. In Trotsky's theory of imperialism, the domination of one country by another does not mean that the dominated country is *prevented* from development altogether, but rather that it develops mainly according to the requirements of the dominating country. For example, an export industry will develop around mining and farm products in the dominated country, but the rest of the economy is not developed, so that the country's economy becomes more unevenly developed than it was before, rather than achieving balanced development. Or, a school system is set up with foreign assistance, but the schools teach only the messages that the dominating country wants to hear.
- The main tendencies and trends occurring at the level of world society as a whole, could be also found in each separate country, where they combined with unique local trends – but this was a locally specific “mix”, so that some world trends asserted themselves more strongly or faster, others weaker and slower in each specific country. Thus, a country could be very advanced in some areas of activity, but at the same time comparatively retarded in other areas. One effect was that the response to the same events of world significance could be quite different in different countries, because the local people attached different "weightings" to experiences and therefore drew different conclusions.

According to Trotsky, the unequal and combined development of different countries had an effect on the class structure of society.

- For example, the Russian empire in 1917 was largely a peasant society composed of many different nationalities and governed by an absolutist state headed by the Czar; popular democracy did not exist.
- A process of industrialization had begun in the main cities since Peter the Great (for example, the Putilov steel works established in Petrograd - where the February 1917 revolution began, with a strike - was the largest in the world at the time). But this urban industrialization process relied mainly on the investment of foreign capital from France, Britain and other countries, and was limited to some urban areas and regions
- The Russian bourgeoisie which developed under the tutelage of the Czarist state lacked much power, and was politically weak. The bourgeoisie was unable to establish political democracy. At the same time, a militant industrial working class developed in the main cities, concentrated in large factories and plants.
- In this way, the archaic culture of primitive peasant production and a semi-feudal state *combined* with the culture of modern industrial society.

Trotsky believed that this would shape the unique character of the Russian revolution. Namely, the Russian bourgeoisie was politically too weak and too dependent on the Czarist state to challenge its autocratic rule, and therefore the revolution against Czarist rule would be spearheaded by the revolt of urban workers.

Thus, the political and modernizing tasks normally associated in Europe with the leadership of the rising bourgeoisie, such as fighting for popular democracy and civil rights against absolutism, land ownership reform, industrializing the country, and national self-determination for oppressed nationalities, would have to be carried out in the Russian empire under the leadership of *working-class* parties, in particular the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party which had been outlawed (although there were several other socialist, nationalist and liberal parties).

In the chaos towards the end of the First World War, in which Russian soldiers fought against the imperial German army, this political assessment proved largely correct. The provisional government established by the February revolution in 1917 collapsed and the October revolution, in which the Russian Marxists played a dominant role, destroyed Czarist state power completely. Thereafter, the Russian bourgeoisie was largely expropriated; most businesses then fell under state ownership.

A new stage in Trotsky's understanding of uneven and combined development in world history was reached in his analyses of fascism and populism in Germany, France, Spain and Italy. Trotsky makes it clear, the human progress is not a linear, continuously advancing process of bourgeois modernization - progress can also be reversed or undone, and ancient cults, superstitions or barbarous traditions can be revived, even although nobody previously thought that was possible.

Rudolf Hilferding's Theory

Around the time that Trotsky settled in Vienna as a journalist in exile, after escaping from Siberia a second time, the Austro-Marxist Rudolf Hilferding wrote his famous book *Finance Capital* (first published in 1910) in which Hilferding mentions an idea very similar to Trotsky's. The passage occurs in chapter 22 on "the export of capital and the struggle for economic territory". It has never been proved whether Hilferding was influenced in any way by what Trotsky had written, although it is known they corresponded with each other, but Hilferding's own analysis of "the latest phase of capitalist development" certainly influenced a whole generation of socialist leaders. In any case similar notions were widespread among socialists throughout Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe at this time. Among other things, Hilferding states:

The export of capital, especially since it has assumed the form of industrial and finance capital, has enormously accelerated the overthrow of all the old social relations, and

the involvement of the whole world in capitalism. Capitalist development did not take place independently in each individual country, but instead capitalist relations of production and exploitation were imported along with capital from abroad, and indeed imported at the level already attained in the most advanced country. Just as a newly established industry today does not develop from handicraft beginnings and techniques into a modern giant concern, but is established from the outset as an advanced capitalist enterprise, so capitalism is now imported into a new country in its most advanced form and exerts its revolutionary effects far more strongly and in a much shorter time than was the case, for instance, in the capitalist development of Holland and England.

Hilferding's insight was rarely noticed by English-speaking Marxists. His book *Finance Capital*, which went out of print several times, was never translated into English until 1981 (i.e. 70 years later). After the publication of Lenin's classic interpretation of imperialism as the highest (and final) stage of capitalism in 1917, most Marxist writers based their analyses of imperialism on Lenin's book. Even though, on several occasions throughout the book, Lenin cites Hilferding approvingly, by the time that Hilferding became Finance Minister in Germany in 1923, the Marxist–Leninists regarded him as a reformist renegade, and his analyses were no longer trusted or taken seriously

Contemporary application

The idea of uneven and combined development, as formulated by Trotsky, as well as Lenin's "law" of uneven economic and political development under capitalism are still being used today, especially in academic studies of international relations, archaeology, anthropology and development economics, as well as in discussions of the Trotskyist movement. Such International relations schools as the world-systems theory and dependency theory have been both influenced by *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and Trotsky's writings on the subject.

3.6 . SUMMARY

- From this unit we have become familiar about the Marxist Theory of Modernization
- Modernization Theory, its aims, cultural and economic barriers in development and its criticisms were also discussed
- The unit also discussed about the Rostow Model of five different stages in detail
- Dependency Theory of A.G. Frank and World-System Theory of Emanuel Wallerstein (how countries are interlinked and dependent on each other)
- Uneven Development Theory given by Trotsky and Rudolf Hilferding's (Unequal distribution of resources and wealth)

3.7.KEY TERMS

Modernization“‘Modernization’ can be understood as the process of becoming modern”.

It broadly covers two aspects that are, advancement in ‘science’ and ‘technology’, however. It also attached to various other socio-cultural aspects.

Modernization Theory: Modernization theory is a theory used to explain the process of modernization that a nation goes through as it transitions from a traditional society to a modern one.

Marxist theory of modernization : The **Marxist theory of modernization** theorized that as nations developed, adopting a communist approach to governing, such as eradicating private property, would end conflict, exploitation, and inequality.

Dependency theory is the notion that resources flow from a "periphery" of poor and underdeveloped states to a "core" of wealthy states, enriching the latter at the expense of the former. It is a central contention of dependency theory that poor states are impoverished and rich ones enriched by the way poor states are integrated into the "world system".

World-System Theory : "World-system" refers to the inter-regional and transnational division of labor, which divides the world into core countries, semi-periphery countries, and the periphery countries.^[2] Core countries focus on higher skill, capital-intensive production, and the rest of the world focuses on low-skill, labor-intensive production and extraction of raw materials. This constantly reinforces the dominance of the core countries.

Uneven Development : the process is marked by persistent differences in levels and rates of economic development between different sectors of the economy. This differentiation appears at many levels and in terms of a multiplicity of quantitative and qualitative indices.

Core nations-Developed countries

Peripheral nations – Developing and under- developed countries

3.8. ANSWER TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

- Five
- It attempts to explain why poorer countries have failed to develop and it aims to provide a non-communist solution to poverty in the developing world
- Immanuel Wallerstein
- Developed countries

Now you will be able to give answer to the following problems

- Explain Modernization and Modernization Theory.
- It attempts to explain why poorer countries have failed to develop and it aims to provide a non-communist solution to poverty in the developing world.
- Note down Rostow’s five stage model of development.
- Critical analysis of Modernisation Theory.
- Able to describe Dependency Theory.

- Explain World System Theory in relevance manner.
- Understand the concepts of Peripheral, Semi-peripheral and Core Nation.

3.9. Questions And Exercises

Short-Answer Questions

1. What is Modernization?
2. Define Dependency Theory
3. Describe Marxist Theory of Modernization.
4. Define Economic barriers to development
5. Criticisms of modernization theory.
6. What do you mean by Peripheral Nation?
7. Define Semi-Peripheral Nation.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss uneven Development according to Trotsky and Rudolf Hilgerding's Theory.
2. Describe the World System Theory of Immanuel Wallerstein.
3. Explain Rostow's Five Stages Model of Development.

3.10. Further Reading

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UNIT 3: THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT

3.0. Introduction

3.1. Unit Objectives

3.2. Modernisation

3.3. Dependency

3.4. World System

3.5. Uneven Development

3.6. Summary

3.7. Key Terms

3.8. Answer to 'Check your Progress'

3.9. Questions and Exercises

3.10. Further reading

3.0. INTRODUCTION

The present unit explains the process of modernization, model of a progressive transition from traditional to a modern society. Dependency theories describe about how wealthy or developed countries depended on peripheral poorer nations for maintaining their status as rich nations. While the World System Theories discuss about relationships between core-, peripheral- and semi-peripheral nations, and describe how core nations exploit them in the name of development. On the otherhand, Trotsky and Rudolf Hilferdings discusses uneven development or unequal distributions of resources and wealth .

3.1. UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

6. Explain modernization.
7. Modernization Theory and its Critism.
8. Describe Dependency theory.
9. Discuss World System Theory of Immanuel Wallerstein and its Critism.
10. Analyse Uneven Development Theory and its Origin, Concept and Rudolf Hilferding's Theory.

3.2. MODERNIZATION

Modernization is the current term for an old process—the process of social change whereby less developed societies acquire characteristics common to more developed societies. The process is activated by international, or intersocietal, communication. Modernization is the current term for an old process—the process of social change whereby less developed societies acquire characteristics common to more developed societies. The process is activated by international, or intersocietal, communication. It can be seen on a global scale, as modernization extends outward from its original Western base to take in the whole world. The existence of unevenly and unequally developed nations introduces a fundamental

element of instability into the world system of states. Thus, “ ‘*Modernization*’ can be understood as the process of becoming modern”. It broadly covers two aspects that are, advancement in ‘science’ and ‘technology’, however. It also attached to various other socio-cultural aspects.

What is Modernization Theory?

Modernization theory is a theory used to explain the process of modernization that a nation goes through as it transitions from a traditional society to a modern one. The theory has not been attributed to any one person; instead, its development has been linked to American social scientists in the 1950s.

Modernization theory is used to explain the process of modernization within societies. Modernization refers to a model of a progressive transition from a 'pre-modern' or 'traditional' to a 'modern' society. Modernization theory originated from the ideas of German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920), which provided the basis for the modernization paradigm developed by Harvard sociologist Talcott Parsons (1902–1979). The theory looks at the internal factors of a country while assuming that with assistance, "traditional" countries can be brought to development in the same manner more developed countries have been. Modernization theory was a dominant paradigm in the social sciences in the 1950s and 1960s, and then went into a deep eclipse. It made a comeback after 1991 but remains a controversial model.

Overview

Modernization theory both attempts to identify the social variables that contribute to social progress and development of societies and seeks to explain the process of social evolution. Modernization theory is subject to criticism originating among socialist and free-market ideologies, world-systems theorists, globalization theorists and dependency theorists among others. Modernization theory stresses not only the process of change but also the

responses to that change. It also looks at internal dynamics while referring to social and cultural structures and the adaptation of new technologies. Modernization theory maintains that traditional societies will develop as they adopt more modern practices. Proponents of modernization theory claim that modern states are wealthier and more powerful and that their citizens are freer to enjoy a higher standard of living. Developments such as new data technology and the need to update traditional methods in transport, communication and production, it is argued, make modernization necessary or at least preferable to the status quo. That view makes critique difficult since it implies that such developments control the limits of human interaction, not vice versa. And yet, seemingly paradoxically, it also implies that human agency controls the speed and severity of modernization. Supposedly, instead of being dominated by tradition, societies undergoing the process of modernization typically arrive at forms of governance dictated by abstract principles. Traditional religious beliefs and cultural traits, according to the theory, usually become less important as modernization takes hold.^[2]

Historians link modernization to the processes of urbanization and industrialization and the spread of education. As Kendall (2007) notes, "Urbanization accompanied modernization and the rapid process of industrialization." In sociological critical theory, modernization is linked to an overarching process of rationalisation. When modernization increases within a society, the individual becomes increasingly important, eventually replacing the family or community as the fundamental unit of society

Origin

Sociological theories of the late 19th century such as Social Darwinism provided a basis for asking what the laws of evolution of human society were. The current modernization theory originated with the ideas of German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920) regarding the role of rationality and irrationality in the transition from traditional to modern society. Weber's approach provided the basis for the modernization paradigm as

popularized by Harvard sociologist Talcott Parsons (1902–1979), who translated Weber's works into English in the 1930s and provided his own interpretation.

After 1945 the Parsonian version became widely used in sociology and other social sciences. By the late 1960s opposition developed because the theory was too general and did not fit all societies in quite the same way.

There are many different versions of modernization theory. This lesson will discuss the opposing views of the Marxist and capitalist versions, a Western version, and a present-day version of modernization theory.

Marxist vs. Capitalist

Early theories were greatly affected by the political climate between the United States and the Soviet Union. During the Cold War era (1947-1991), two versions of modernization theory were prominent.

Marxist

The Marxist theory of modernization theorized that as nations developed, adopting a communist approach to governing, such as eradicating private property, would end conflict, exploitation, and inequality. Economic development and social change would lead developing nations to develop into a society much like that of the Soviet Union.

Capitalist

The capitalist version of modernization theorized that as nations developed, economic development and social change would lead to democracy. Many modernization theorists of the time, such as W. W. Rostow, argued that when societies transitioned from traditional societies to modern societies, they would follow a similar path. They further theorized that each developing country could be placed into a category or stage of development. Rostow's stages of development are:

- **Traditional** - an agricultural-based society

- **Pre-conditions for take-off** - characterized by an abundance of entrepreneurial activity
- **Take-off** - a period of rapid economic growth
- **Maturation** - economic development slows to a more consistent rate
- **Mass production or mass consumption** - a period in which real income increases

Other modernization theorists, such as Samuel Huntington, argued that social mobilization and economic development were driving forces behind modernization. Increased **social mobilization** meant that individuals and societal groups changed their aspirations. Increased **economic development** meant the capabilities of the newly modern society would change. Huntington argued that these societal changes would inevitably lead to democratization.

Although the Marxist and capitalist versions of modernization held opposing views, both views held that in order for developing countries to modernize the countries needed assistance in economic development and social change.

Communism was deteriorating by the 1970s and democratization had failed to occur in many nations struggling to develop. Many critics declared that the Marxist and capitalist versions of modernization were void.

Modernisation Theory (Development and Underdevelopment)

Historical Context (1940s and 50s)

By the end of WW2 it had become clear that despite exposure to Capitalism many of the countries of the South had failed to develop. In this context, in the late 1940s, Modernisation Theory was developed. Modernisation theory had two major aims

- It attempted to explain why poorer countries have failed to develop, focussing on what cultural and economic conditions might act as **‘barriers’ to development**

- It aimed to provide a **non-communist** solution to poverty in the developing world by suggesting that economic change (in the form of Capitalism) and the introduction of western values and culture could play a key role in bringing about modernisation.

Why countries are underdeveloped? Cultural and economic barriers to development

Modernisation theorists argue that there are a number of cultural and economic barriers that prevent traditional societies from developing.

Cultural barriers are seen as internal to the country – it is essentially their fault for being backward. Western culture, on the other hand, is seen as having a superior culture that has allowed for it to develop.

Traditional Values – prevent economic growth and change.	Modern Values – inspire change and economic growth.
Simple division of labour, less specialised job roles, individuals rely on a few dozen people in their local communities for basic needs to be met.	Complex division of labour, individuals tend to have very specialised jobs and rely on thousands of others for basic needs to be met
Religious beliefs and tradition influence day to day life (resistance to change)	Rational decision making (cost benefit analysis and efficiency) are more important.
Stronger community and family bonds and collectivism	Weaker community and family bonds means more individual freedom.

Affective relationships	Meritocracy –people are more motivated to innovate and change society for the better.
Patriarchy	Gender equality

Economic barriers to development

These are barriers which may make developing countries unattractive to investors.

- Lack of infrastructure
- Lack of technology
- Lack of skills in the work force
- Political instability
- Lack of capital in the country

Modernisation Theory 2: How countries should develop

Rostow believed that an initial injection of aid from the west in the form of training, education, economic investment etc. would be enough to jolt a society into economic growth overcoming these cultural barriers.

Rostow suggested that development should be seen as an evolutionary process in which countries progress up 5 stages of a development ladder

Rostow's five stage model of development

Stage 1 – Traditional societies whose economies are dominated by subsistence farming. Such societies have little wealth to invest and have limited access to modern industry and technology. Rostow argued that at this stage there are cultural barriers to development (see sheet 6)

Stage 2 – The preconditions for take off.

The stage in which western aid packages brings western values, practises and expertise into the society. This can take the form of:

- Science and technology – to improve agriculture
- Infrastructure – improving roads and cities communications
- Industry – western companies establishing factories

These provide the conditions for investment, attracting more companies into the country.

Stage 3 - Take off stage.

The society experiences economic growth as new modern practices become the norm. Profits are reinvested in infrastructure etc. and a new entrepreneurial class emerges and urbanised that is willing to invest further and take risks. The country now moves beyond subsistence economy and starts exporting goods to other countries

This generates more wealth which then trickles down to the population as a whole who are then able to become consumers of new products produced by new industries there and from abroad.

Stage 4 - The drive to maturity.

More economic growth and investment in education, media and birth control. The population start to realise new opportunities opening up and strive to make the most of their lives.

Stage 5 - The age of high mass consumption.

This is where economic growth and production are at Western levels.

Variations on Rostow's 5 stage model

Different theorists stress the importance of different types of assistance or interventions that could jolt countries out their traditional ways and bring about change.

- **Hoselitz** – education is most important as it should speed up the introduction of Western values such as universalism, individualism, competition and achievement

measured by examinations. This was seen as a way of breaking the link between family and children.

- **Inkeles** – media – Important to diffuse ideas non traditional such as family planning and democracy
- **Hoselitz** – urbanisation. The theory here is that if populations are packed more closely together new ideas are more likely to spread than amongst diffuse rural populations.

Criticisms of Modernisation Theory

The below shows the Criticisms of Modernisation Theory in one by one:

2. The Asian Tiger economies combined elements of traditional culture with Western Capitalism to experience some of the most rapid economic growth of the past 2 decades.
5. Ignores the ‘crisis of modernism’ in both the developed and developing worlds. Many developed countries have huge inequalities and the greater the level of inequality the greater the degree of other problems: High crime rates, suicide rates, health problems, drug abuse.
4. Ethnocentric interpretations tend to exclude contributions from thinkers in the developing world. This is a one size fits all model, and is not culture specific.
5. The model assumes that countries need the help of outside forces. The central role is on experts and money coming in from the outside, parachuted in, and this downgrades the role of local knowledge and initiatives. This approach can be seen as demeaning and dehumanising for local populations. Galeano (1992) argues that minds become colonised with the idea that they are dependent on outside forces. They train you to be paralysed and then sell you crutches. There are alternative models of development: See sheet no...

6. Corruption (Kleptocracy) prevents aid of any kind doing good, Much aid is siphoned off by corrupt elites and government officials rather than getting to the projects it was earmarked for. This means that aid creates more inequality and enables elites to maintain power
7. There are ecological limits to growth. Many modernisation projects such mining and forestry have lead to the destruction of environment.
9. Social damage – Some development projects such as dams have lead to local populations being removed forcibly from their home lands with little or no compensation being paid.

Some Marxist theorists argue that aid and development is not really about helping the developing world at all. It is really about changing societies just enough so they are easier to exploit, making western companies and countries richer, opening them up to exploit cheap natural resources and cheap labour. Joseph Stiglitz notes that those countries that followed alternative models of development ignoring western advice are now competing with the west, China and India are two examples

‘Check your progress’

3. According to Rostow, how many types of developmental stages exist?
4. What are the Two Major Aims of Modernization?

3.3. Dependency

Dependency theory is the notion that resources flow from a "periphery" of poor and underdeveloped states to a "core" of wealthy states, enriching the latter at the expense of the former. It is a central contention of dependency theory that poor states are impoverished and rich ones enriched by the way poor states are integrated into the "world system".

The theory arose as a reaction to modernization theory, an earlier theory of development which held that all societies progress through similar stages of development,

that today's underdeveloped areas are thus in a similar situation to that of today's developed areas at some time in the past, and that, therefore, the task of helping the underdeveloped areas out of poverty is to accelerate them along this supposed common path of development, by various means such as investment, technology transfers, and closer integration into the world market. Dependency theory rejected this view, arguing that under-developed countries are not merely primitive versions of developed countries, but has unique features and structures of their own; and importantly, are in the situation of being the weaker members in a world market economy. Dependency theory no longer has many proponents as an overall theory though some writers have argued for its continuing relevance as a conceptual orientation to the global division of wealth.

One alternative model on the left is Dependency theory. It emerged in the 1950s and argues that the underdevelopment of poor nations in the Third World derived from systematic imperial and neo-colonial exploitation of raw materials. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modernization_theory_-_cite_note-28 Its proponents argue that resources typically flow from a "periphery" of poor and underdeveloped states to a "core" of wealthy states, enriching the latter at the expense of the former. It is a central contention of dependency theorists such as Andre Gunder Frank that poor states are impoverished and rich ones enriched by the way poor states are integrated into the "world system". Dependency models arose from a growing association of southern hemisphere nationalists (from Latin America and Africa) and Marxists. It was their reaction against modernization theory, which held that all societies progress through similar stages of development, that today's underdeveloped areas are thus in a similar situation to that of today's developed areas at some time in the past, and that, therefore, the task of helping the underdeveloped areas out of poverty is to accelerate them along this supposed common path

of development, by various means such as investment, technology transfers, and closer integration into the world market.

History

Dependency theory originates with two papers published in 1949 – one by Hans Singer, one by Raúl Prebisch – in which the authors observe that the terms of trade for underdeveloped countries relative to the developed countries had deteriorated over time: the underdeveloped countries were able to purchase fewer and fewer manufactured goods from the developed countries in exchange for a given quantity of their raw materials exports. This idea is known as the Prebisch–Singer thesis. Prebisch, an Argentine economist at the United Nations Commission for Latin America (UNCLA), went on to conclude that the underdeveloped nations must employ some degree of protectionism in trade if they were to enter a self-sustaining development path. He argued that import-substitution industrialisation (ISI), not a trade-and-export orientation, was the best strategy for underdeveloped countries.https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dependency_theory_-_cite_note-3 The theory was developed from a Marxian perspective by Paul A. Baran in 1957 with the publication of his *The Political Economy of Growth*.https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dependency_theory_-_cite_note-4 Dependency theory shares many points with earlier, Marxist, theories of imperialism by Rosa Luxemburg and Vladimir Lenin, and has attracted continued interest from Marxists. Some authors identify two main streams in dependency theory: the Latin American Structuralist, typified by the work of Prebisch, Celso Furtado, and Aníbal Pinto at the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLAC, or, in Spanish, CEPAL); and the American Marxist, developed by Paul A. Baran, Paul Sweezy, and Andre Gunder Frank.

Using the Latin American dependency model, the Guyanese Marxist historian Walter Rodney, in his book *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, described in 1972 an Africa that

had been consciously exploited by European imperialists, leading directly to the modern underdevelopment of most of the continent.^[5]

The theory was popular in the 1960s and 1970s as a criticism of modernization theory, which was falling increasingly out of favor because of continued widespread poverty in much of the world. It was used to explain the causes of overurbanization, a theory that urbanization rates outpaced industrial growth in several developing countries.https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dependency_theory - cite note-Shandra-6

The Latin American Structuralist and the American Marxist schools had significant differences but agreed on some basic points:

Both groups would agree that at the core of the dependency relation between center and periphery lays [lies] the inability of the periphery to develop an autonomous and dynamic process of technological innovation. Technology – the Promethean force unleashed by the Industrial Revolution – is at the center of stage. The Center countries controlled the technology and the systems for generating technology. Foreign capital could not solve the problem, since it only led to limited transmission of technology, but not the process of innovation itself. Baran and others frequently spoke of the international division of labour – skilled workers in the center; unskilled in the periphery – when discussing key features of dependency.

Baran placed surplus extraction and capital accumulation at the center of his analysis. Development depends on a population's producing more than it needs for bare subsistence (a surplus). Further, some of that surplus must be used for capital accumulation – the purchase of new means of production – if development is to occur; spending the surplus on things like luxury consumption does not produce development. Baran noted two predominant kinds of economic activity in poor countries. In the older of the two, plantation agriculture, which originated in colonial times, most of the surplus goes to the landowners, who use it to emulate

the consumption patterns of wealthy people in the developed world; much of it thus goes to purchase foreign-produced luxury items –automobiles, clothes, etc. – and little is accumulated for investing in development. The more recent kind of economic activity in the periphery is industry—but of a particular kind. It is usually carried out by foreigners, although often in conjunction with local interests. It is often under special tariff protection or other government concessions. The surplus from this production mostly goes to two places: part of it is sent back to the foreign shareholders as profit; the other part is spent on conspicuous consumption in a similar fashion to that of the plantation aristocracy. Again, little is used for development. Baran thought that political revolution was necessary to break this pattern.

In the 1960s, members of the Latin American Structuralist School argued that there is more latitude in the system than the Marxists believed. They argued that it allows for partial development or "dependent development"—development, but still under the control of outside decision makers. They cited the partly successful attempts at industrialisation in Latin America around that time (Argentina, Brazil, Mexico) as evidence for this hypothesis. They were led to the position that dependency is not a relation between commodity exporters and industrialised countries, but between countries with different degrees of industrialisation. In their approach, there is a distinction made between the economic and political spheres: economically, one may be developed or underdeveloped; but even if (somewhat) economically developed, one may be politically autonomous or dependent. More recently, Guillermo O'Donnell has argued that constraints placed on development by neoliberalism were lifted by the military coups in Latin America that came to promote development in authoritarian guise (O'Donnell, 1982).

The importance of multinational corporations and state promotion of technology were emphasised by the Latin American Structuralists.

Fajnzylber has made a distinction between systemic or authentic competitiveness, which is the ability to compete based on higher productivity, and spurious competitiveness, which is based on low wages.https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dependency_theory - cite note-
[9](#)

The third-world debt crisis of the 1980s and continued stagnation in Africa and Latin America in the 1990s caused some doubt as to the feasibility or desirability of "dependent development".https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dependency_theory - cite note-10

The *sine qua non* of the dependency relationship is not the difference in technological sophistication, as traditional dependency theorists believe, but rather the difference in financial strength between core and peripheral countries—particularly the inability of peripheral countries to borrow in their own currency. He believes that the hegemonic position of the United States is very strong because of the importance of its financial markets and because it controls the international reserve currency – the US dollar. He believes that the end of the Bretton Woods international financial agreements in the early 1970s considerably strengthened the United States' position because it removed some constraints on their financial actions.

"Standard" dependency theory differs from Marxism, in arguing against internationalism and any hope of progress in less developed nations towards industrialization and a liberating revolution. Theotonio dos Santos described a "new dependency", which focused on both the internal and external relations of less-developed countries of the periphery, derived from a Marxian analysis. Former Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso (in office 1995–2002) wrote extensively on dependency theory while in political exile during the 1960s, arguing that it was an approach to studying the economic disparities between the centre and periphery. **Cardoso summarized his version of dependency theory as follows:**

- there is a financial and technological penetration by the developed capitalist centers of the countries of the periphery and semi-periphery;
- this produces an unbalanced economic structure both within the peripheral societies and between them and the centers;
- this leads to limitations on self-sustained growth in the periphery;
- this favors the appearance of specific patterns of class relations;
- these require modifications in the role of the state to guarantee both the functioning of the economy and the political articulation of a society, which contains, within itself, foci of inarticulateness and structural imbalance.

The analysis of development patterns in the 1990s and beyond is complicated by the fact that capitalism develops not smoothly, but with very strong and self-repeating ups and downs, called cycles. Relevant results are given in studies by Joshua Goldstein, Volker Bornschier, and Luigi Scandella.

With the economic growth of India and some East Asian economies, dependency theory has lost some of its former influence. It still influences some NGO campaigns, such as Make Poverty History and the fair trade movement.

3.4. World-System Theory

World-systems theory (also known as world-systems analysis or the world-systems perspective)^[1] is a multidisciplinary, macro-scale approach to world history and social change which emphasizes the world-system (and not nation states) as the primary (but not exclusive) unit of social analysis.

"World-system" refers to the inter-regional and transnational division of labor, which divides the world into core countries, semi-periphery countries, and the periphery countries.^[2] Core countries focus on higher skill, capital-intensive production, and the rest of the world focuses on low-skill, labor-intensive production and extraction of raw materials.

This constantly reinforces the dominance of the core countries. Nonetheless, the system has dynamic characteristics, in part as a result of revolutions in transport technology, and individual states can gain or lose their core (semi-periphery, periphery) status over time. This structure is unified by the division of labour. It is a world-economy rooted in a capitalist economy. For a time, certain countries become the world hegemon; during the last few centuries, as the world-system has extended geographically and intensified economically, this status has passed from the Netherlands, to the United Kingdom and (most recently) to the United States.

Background

Immanuel Wallerstein has developed the best-known version of world-systems analysis, beginning in the 1970s. Wallerstein traces the rise of the capitalist world-economy from the "long" 16th century (c. 1450–1640). The rise of capitalism, in his view, was an accidental outcome of the protracted crisis of feudalism (c. 1290–1450). Europe (the West) used its advantages and gained control over most of the world economy and presided over the development and spread of industrialization and capitalist economy, indirectly resulting in unequal development.

Though other commentators refer to Wallerstein's project as world-systems "theory", he consistently rejects that term. For Wallerstein, world-systems analysis is a mode of analysis that aims to transcend the structures of knowledge inherited from the 19th century, especially the definition of capitalism, the divisions within the social sciences, and those between the social sciences and history. For Wallerstein, then, world-systems analysis is a "knowledge movement" that seeks to discern the "totality of what has been paraded under the labels of the human sciences and indeed well beyond". "We must invent a new language," Wallerstein insists, to transcend the illusions of the "three supposedly distinctive arenas" of society, economy and politics. The trinitarian structure of knowledge is grounded in another,

even grander, modernist architecture, the distinction of biophysical worlds (including those within bodies) from social ones: "One question, therefore, is whether we will be able to justify something called social science in the twenty-first century as a separate sphere of knowledge." Many other scholars have contributed significant work in this "knowledge movement"

World-systems theory traces emerged in the 1970s. Its roots can be found in sociology, but it has developed into a highly interdisciplinary field. World-systems theory was aiming to replace modernization theory, which Wallerstein criticised for three reasons:

4. its focus on the nation state as the only unit of analysis
5. its assumption that there is only a single path of evolutionary development for all countries
6. Its disregard of transnational structures that constrain local and national development.

There are three major predecessors of world-systems theory: the Annales School, the Marxist tradition, and the dependence theory. The Annales School tradition (represented most notably by Fernand Braudel) influenced Wallerstein to focusing on long-term processes and geo-ecological regions as unit of analysis. Marxism added a stress on social conflict, a focus on the capital accumulation process and competitive class struggles, a focus on a relevant totality, the transitory nature of social forms and a dialectical sense of motion through conflict and contradiction.

World-systems theory was also significantly influenced by dependency theory, a neo-Marxist explanation of development processes.

Other influences on the world-systems theory come from scholars such as Karl Polanyi, Nikolai Kondratiev and Joseph Schumpeter (particularly their research on business cycles) and the concepts of three basic modes of economic organization: reciprocal,

redistributive, and market modes, which Wallerstein reframed into a discussion of mini systems, world empires, and world economies).

Wallerstein sees the development of the capitalist world economy as detrimental to a large proportion of the world's population. Wallerstein views the period since the 1970s as an "age of transition" that will give way to a future world system (or world systems) whose configuration cannot be determined in advance.

World-systems thinkers include Oliver Cox, Samir Amin, Giovanni Arrighi, Andre Gunder Frank, and Immanuel Wallerstein, with major contributions by Christopher Chase-Dunn, Beverly Silver, Volker Bornschier, Janet Abu Lughod, Thomas D. Hall, Kunibert Raffer, Theotonio dos Santos, Dale Tomich, Jason W. Moore and others. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World-systems_theory - cite note-TB-2 In sociology, a primary alternative perspective is World Polity Theory, as formulated by John W. Meyer.

Dependency theory

World-systems analysis builds upon but also differs fundamentally from dependency theory. While accepting world inequality, the world market and imperialism as fundamental features of historical capitalism, Wallerstein broke with orthodox dependency theory's central proposition. For Wallerstein, core countries do not exploit poor countries for two basic reasons.

Firstly, core capitalists exploit workers in all zones of the capitalist world economy (not just the periphery) and therefore, the crucial redistribution between core and periphery is surplus value, not "wealth" or "resources" abstractly conceived. Secondly, core states do not exploit poor states, as dependency theory proposes, because capitalism is organised around an inter-regional and transnational division of labor rather than an international division of labour.

During the Industrial Revolution, for example, English capitalists exploited slaves (unfree workers) in the cotton zones of the American South, a peripheral region within a semiperipheral country, United States.

From a largely Weberian perspective, Fernando Henrique Cardoso described the main tenets of dependency theory as follows:

- There is a financial and technological penetration of the periphery and semi-periphery countries by the developed capitalist core countries.
- That produces an unbalanced economic structure within the peripheral societies and between them and the central countries.
- That leads to limitations upon self-sustained growth in the periphery.
- That helps the appearance of specific patterns of class relations.
- They require modifications in the role of the state to guarantee the functioning of the economy and the political articulation of a society, which contains, within itself, foci of inarticulateness and structural imbalance.

Dependency and world system theory propose that the poverty and backwardness of poor countries are caused by their peripheral position in the international division of labor. Since the capitalist world system evolved, the distinction between the central and the peripheral nations has grown and diverged. In recognizing a tripartite pattern in division of labor, world-systems analysis criticized dependency theory with its bimodal system of only cores and peripheries.

Immanuel Wallerstein

The best-known version of the world-systems approach was developed by Immanuel Wallerstein.¹ Wallerstein notes that world-systems analysis calls for an interdisciplinary historical social science and contends that the modern disciplines, products of the 19th century, are deeply flawed because they are not separate logics, as is manifest for example in

the *de facto* overlap of analysis among scholars of the disciplines.^[1] Wallerstein offers several definitions of a world-system, defining it in 1974 briefly: a system is defined as a unit with a single division of labor and multiple cultural systems.

He also offered a longer definition: 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 remold it to its advantage. It has the characteristics of an organism, in that it has a life-span over which its characteristics change in some respects and remain stable in others. One can define its structures as being at different times strong or weak in terms of the internal logic of its functioning.

In 1987, Wallerstein again defined it: not the system of the world, but a system that is a world and which can be, most often has been, located in an area less than the entire globe. World-systems analysis argues that the units of social reality within which we operate, whose rules constrain us, are for the most part such world-systems (other than the now extinct, small minisystems that once existed on the earth). World-systems analysis argues that there have been thus far only two varieties of world-systems: world-economies and world empires. A world-empire (examples, the Roman Empire, Han China) are large bureaucratic structures with a single political center and an axial division of labor, but multiple cultures. A world-economy is a large axial division of labor with multiple political centers and multiple cultures. In English, the hyphen is essential to indicate these concepts. "World system" without a hyphen suggests that there has been only one world-system in the history of the world.

Wallerstein characterises the world system as a set of mechanisms, which redistributes surplus value from the periphery to the core. In his terminology, the *core* is the developed, industrialized part of the world, and the *periphery* is the "underdeveloped",

typically raw materials-exporting, poor part of the world; the *market* being the means by which the *core* exploits the *periphery*.

Apart from them, Wallerstein defines four temporal features of the world system. *Cyclical rhythms* represent the short-term fluctuation of economy, and *secular trends* mean deeper long run tendencies, such as general economic growth or decline. The term *contradiction* means a general controversy in the system, usually concerning some short term versus long term tradeoffs. For example, the problem of underconsumption, wherein the driving down of wages increases the profit for capitalists in the short term, but in the long term, the decreasing of wages may have a crucially harmful effect by reducing the demand for the product. The last temporal feature is the *crisis*: a crisis occurs if a constellation of circumstances brings about the end of the system.

In Wallerstein's view, there have been three kinds of historical systems across human history: "mini-systems" or what anthropologists call bands, tribes, and small chiefdoms, and two types of world systems, one that is politically unified and the other is not (single state world empires and multi-polity world economies). World systems are larger, and are ethnically diverse. Modernity is unique in being the first and only fully capitalist world economy to have emerged around 1450 to 1550 and to have geographically expanded across the entire planet, by about 1900. Not being political unified, many political units are included within the world system loosely tied together in an interstate system. Efficient division of labor is the unifying element of the different units, and it is also a function of capitalism, a system based on competition between free producers using free labor with free commodities, 'free' meaning available for sale and purchase on a market. More specifically, it can be described as focusing on endless accumulation of capital; in other words, accumulation of capital in order to accumulate more capital. Such capitalism has a mutually dependent relationship with the world economy since it provides the efficient division of labour, the

unifying element of the world economy, through the process of accumulating wealth. Likewise, such capitalism is dependent on the world economy since the latter provides a large market and a multiplicity of states, enabling capitalists to choose to work with states helping their interests.

Research questions

World-systems theory asks several key questions:

- How is the world system affected by changes in its components (e.g. nations, ethnic groups, social classes, etc.)?
- How does it affect its components?
- To what degree, if any, does the core need the periphery to be underdeveloped?
- What causes world systems to change?
- What system may replace capitalism?

Some questions are more specific to certain subfields; for example, Marxists would concern themselves whether world-systems theory is a useful or unhelpful development of Marxist theories.

World-systems analysis argues that capitalism, as a historical system, has always integrated a variety of labor forms within a functioning division of labor (world economy). Countries do not have economies but are part of the world economy. Far from being separate societies or worlds, the world economy manifests a tripartite division of labor, with core, semiperipheral and peripheral zones. In the core zones, businesses, with the support of states they operate within, monopolise the most profitable activities of the division of labor.

There are many ways to attribute a specific country to the core, semi-periphery, or periphery. Using an empirically based sharp formal definition of "domination" in a two-country relationship, Piana in 2004 defined the "core" as made up of "free countries"

dominating others without being dominated, the "semi-periphery" as the countries that are dominated (usually, but not necessarily, by core countries) but at the same time dominating others (usually in the periphery) and "periphery" as the countries dominated. Based on 1998 data, the full list of countries in the three regions, together with a discussion of methodology, can be found.

The late 18th and early 19th centuries marked a great turning point in the development of capitalism in that capitalists achieved state society power in the key states, which furthered the industrial revolution marking the rise of capitalism. World-systems analysis contends that capitalism as a historical system formed earlier and that countries do not "develop" in stages, but the system does, and events have a different meaning as a phase in the development of historical capitalism, the emergence of the three ideologies of the national developmental mythology (the idea that countries can develop through stages if they pursue the right set of policies): conservatism, liberalism, and radicalism.

Proponents of world-systems analysis see the world stratification system the same way Karl Marx viewed class (ownership versus nonownership of the means of production) and Max Weber viewed class (which, in addition to ownership, stressed occupational skill level in the production process). The core nations primarily own and control the major means of production in the world and perform the higher-level production tasks. The periphery nations own very little of the world's means of production (even when they are located in periphery nations) and provide less-skilled labour. Like a class system with a nation, class positions in the world economy result in an unequal distribution of rewards or resources. The core nations receive the greatest share of surplus production, and periphery nations receive the smallest share. Furthermore, core nations are usually able to purchase raw materials and other goods from non-core nations at low prices and demand higher prices for their exports to

non-core nations. Chirot (1986) lists the five most important benefits coming to core nations from their domination of periphery nations:

6. Access to a large quantity of raw material
7. Cheap labour
8. Enormous profits from direct capital investments
9. A market for exports
10. Skilled professional labor through migration of these people from the non-core to the core.

According to Wallerstein, the unique qualities of the modern world system include its capitalistic nature, its truly global nature, and the fact that it is a world economy that has not become politically unified into a world empire.

Core Nations

Are the most economically diversified, wealthy, and powerful (economically and militarily)

- Have strong central governments, controlling extensive bureaucracies and powerful militaries
- Have stronger and more complex state institutions that help manage economic affairs internally and externally
- Have a sufficient tax base so state institutions can provide infrastructure for a strong economy
- Highly industrialised and produce manufactured goods rather than raw materials for export
- Increasingly tend to specialise in information, finance and service industries
- More often in the forefront of new technologies and new industries. Examples today include high-technology electronic and biotechnology industries. Another example would be assembly-line auto production in the early 20th century.

- Has strong bourgeois and working classes
- Have significant means of influence over non-core nations
- Relatively independent of outside control

Throughout the history of the modern world system, there has been a group of core nations competing with one another for access to the world's resources, economic dominance and hegemony over periphery nations. Occasionally, there has been one core nation with clear dominance over others. According to Immanuel Wallerstein, a core nation is dominant over all the others when it has a lead in three forms of economic dominance over a period of time:

4. ***Productivity dominance*** allows a country to produce products of greater quality at a cheaper price, compared to other countries.
5. Productivity dominance may lead to ***trade dominance***. Now, there is a favorable balance of trade for the dominant nation since more countries are buying the products of the dominant country than buying from them.
6. Trade dominance may lead to ***financial dominance***. Now, more money is coming into the country than going out. Bankers of the dominant nation tend to receive more control of the world's financial resources.

Military dominance is also likely after a nation reaches these three rankings. However, it has been posited that throughout the modern world system, no nation has been able to use its military to gain economic dominance. Each of the past dominant nations became dominant with fairly small levels of military spending and began to lose economic dominance with military expansion later on. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World-systems_theory_-_cite_note-kennedy1987-26 Historically, cores were found in Northwestern Europe (England, France, and The Netherlands) but were later in other parts of the world (such as the United States, Canada, and Australia).

Peripheral nations

- Are the least economically diversified
- Have relatively weak governments.
- Have relatively weak institutions, with tax bases too small to support infrastructural development.
- Tend to depend on one type of economic activity, often by extracting and exporting raw materials to core nations.
- Tend to be the least industrialized.
- Are often targets for investments from multinational (or transnational) corporations from core nations that come into the country to exploit cheap unskilled labor in order to export back to core nations
- Have a small bourgeois and a large peasant classes⁺
- Tend to have populations with high percentages of poor and uneducated people.
- Tend to have very high social inequality because of small upper classes that own most of the land and have profitable ties to multinational corporations.
- Tend to be extensively influenced by core nations and their multinational corporations and often forced to follow economic policies that help core nations and harm the long-term economic prospects of peripheral nations.

Historically, peripheries were found outside Europe, such as in Latin America and today in sub-Saharan Africa.⁺

Semi-peripheral nations

Semi-peripheral nations are those that are midway between the core and periphery. Thus, they have to keep themselves from falling into the category of peripheral nations and at the same time, they strive to join the category of core nations. Therefore, they tend to apply protectionist policies most aggressively among the three categories of

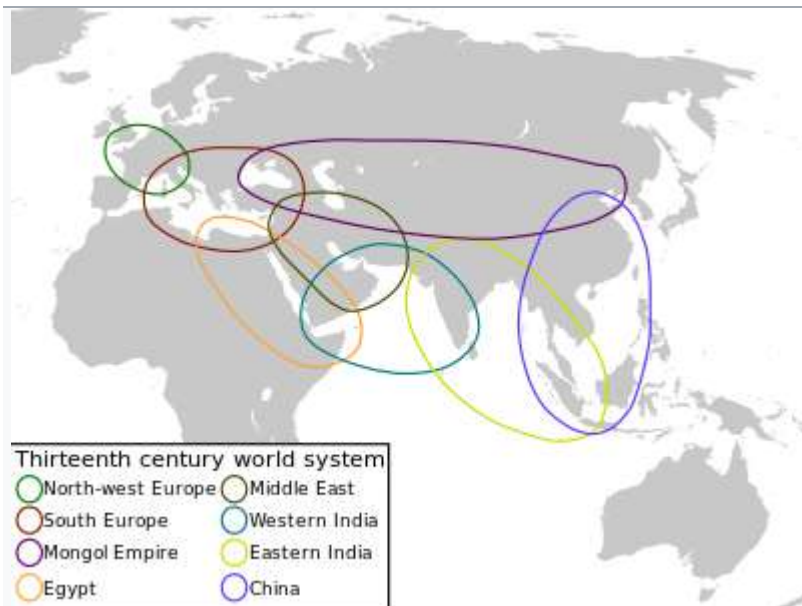
nations. They tend to be countries moving towards industrialization and more diversified economies. These regions often have relatively developed and diversified economies but are not dominant in international trade. They tend to export more to peripheral nations and import more from core nations in trade. According to some scholars, such as Chirot, they are not as subject to outside manipulation as peripheral societies; but according to others (Barfield), they have "peripheral-like" relations to the core. While in the sphere of influence of some cores, semiperipheries also tend to exert their own control over some peripheries. Further, semi-peripheries act as buffers between cores and peripheries and thus "partially deflect the political pressures which groups primarily located in peripheral areas might otherwise direct against core-states" and stabilise the world system.

Semi-peripheries can come into existence from developing peripheries and declining cores. Historically, two examples of semiperipheral nations would be Spain and Portugal, which fell from their early core positions but still managed to retain influence in Latin America. Those countries imported silver and gold from their American colonies but then had to use it to pay for manufactured goods from core countries such as England and France. In the 20th century, nations like the "settler colonies" of Australia, Canada and New Zealand had a semiperipheral status. In the 21st century, nations like Brazil, Russia, India, Israel, China, South Korea and South Africa (BRICS) are usually considered semiperipheral.

External areas

External areas are those that maintain socially necessary divisions of labor independent of the capitalist world economy.

Interpretation of world history



The 13th century world-system

Before the 16th century, Europe was dominated by feudal economies.^[6] European economies grew from mid-12th to 14th century but from 14th to mid 15th century, they suffered from a major crisis.^{[3][6]} Wallerstein explains this crisis as caused by the following:

5. stagnation or even decline of agricultural production, increasing the burden of peasants,
6. decreased agricultural productivity caused by changing climatological conditions (Little Ice Age),
7. an increase in epidemics (Black Death),
8. optimum level of the feudal economy having been reached in its economic cycle; the economy moved beyond it and entered a depression period.

As a response to the failure of the feudal system, Europe embraced the capitalist system. Europeans were motivated to develop technology to explore and trade around the world, using their superior military to take control of the trade routes. Europeans exploited

their initial small advantages, which led to an accelerating process of accumulation of wealth and power in Europe.

Wallerstein notes that never before had an economic system encompassed that much of the world, with trade links crossing so many political boundaries. In the past, geographically large economic systems existed but were mostly limited to spheres of domination of large empires (such as the Roman Empire); development of capitalism enabled the world economy to extend beyond individual states. International division of labor was crucial in deciding what relationships exist between different regions, their labor conditions and political systems. For classification and comparison purposes, Wallerstein introduced the categories of core, semi-periphery, periphery, and external countries. Cores monopolized the capital-intensive production, and the rest of the world could provide only workforce and raw resources. The resulting inequality reinforced existing unequal development.

According to Wallerstein, there have only been three periods in which a core nation dominated in the modern world-system, with each lasting less than one hundred years. In the initial centuries of the rise of Europe, Northwestern Europe constituted the core, Mediterranean Europe the semiperiphery, and Eastern Europe and the Western hemisphere (and parts of Asia) the periphery. Around 1450, Spain and Portugal took the early lead when conditions became right for a capitalist world-economy. They led the way in establishing overseas colonies. However, Portugal and Spain lost their lead, primarily by becoming overextended with empire-building. It became too expensive to dominate and protect so many colonial territories around the world.

The first nation to gain clear dominance was the Netherlands in the 17th century, after its revolution led to a new financial system that many historians consider revolutionary. An impressive shipbuilding industry also contributed to their economic dominance through more exports to other countries. Eventually, other countries began to copy the financial methods

and efficient production created by the Dutch. After the Dutch gained their dominant status, the standard of living rose, pushing up production costs.

Dutch bankers began to go outside of the country seeking profitable investments, and the flow of capital moved, especially to England. By the end of the 17th century, conflict among core nations increased as a result of the economic decline of the Dutch. Dutch financial investment helped England gain productivity and trade dominance, and Dutch military support helped England to defeat France, the other country competing for dominance at the time.



Map showing the British Empire in 1921

In the 19th century, Britain replaced the Netherlands as the hegemon.[As a result of the new British dominance, the world system became relatively stable again during the 19th century. The British began to expand globally, with many colonies in the New World, Africa, and Asia. The colonial system began to place a strain on the British military and, along with other factors, led to an economic decline. Again there was a great deal of core conflict after the British lost their clear dominance. This time it was Germany, and later Italy and Japan that provided the new threat.

Industrialization was another ongoing process during British dominance, resulting in the diminishing importance of the agricultural sector. In the 18th century, Britain was Europe's leading industrial and agricultural producer; by 1900, only 10% of England's population was working in the agricultural sector.

By 1900, the modern world system appeared very different from that of a century earlier in that most of the periphery societies had already been colonised by one of the older core nations. In 1800, the old European core claimed 35% of the world's territory, but by 1914, it claimed 85% of the world's territory, with the Scramble for Africa closing out the imperial era. If a core nation wanted periphery areas to exploit as had done the Dutch and British, these periphery areas had to be taken from another core nation, which the US did by way of the Spanish–American War, and Germany, and then Japan and Italy, attempted to do in the leadup to World War II. The modern world system was thus geographically global, and even the most remote regions of the world had all been integrated into the global economy. As countries vied for core status, so did the United States. The American Civil War led to more power for the Northern industrial elites, who were now better able to pressure the government for policies helping industrial expansion. Like the Dutch bankers, British bankers were putting more investment toward the United States. The US had a small military budget compared to other industrial nations at the time.

The US began to take the place of the British as a new dominant nation after World War I. With Japan and Europe in ruins after World War II, the US was able to dominate the modern world system more than any other country in history, while the USSR and to a lesser extent China were viewed as primary threats. At its height, US economic reach accounted for over half of the world's industrial production, owned two thirds of the gold reserves in the world and supplied one third of the world's exports.

However, since the end of the Cold War, the future of US hegemony has been questioned by some scholars, as its hegemonic position has been in decline for a few decades. By the end of the 20th century, the core of the wealthy industrialized countries was composed of Western Europe, the United States, Japan and a rather limited selection of other countries. The semiperiphery was typically composed of independent states that had not achieved

Western levels of influence, while poor former colonies of the West formed most of the periphery.

Criticism

World-systems theory has attracted criticisms from its rivals; notably for being too focused on economy and not enough on culture and for being too core-centric and state-centric. William I. Robinson has criticized world-systems theory for its nation-state centrism, state-structuralist approach, and its inability to conceptualize the rise of globalization. Robinson suggests that world-systems theory doesn't account for emerging transnational social forces and the relationships forged between them and global institutions serving their interests these forces operate on a global, rather than state system and cannot be understood by Wallerstein's nation-centered approach.

According to Wallerstein himself, critique of the world-systems approach comes from four directions: the positivists, the orthodox Marxists, the state autonomists, and the culturalists. The positivists criticise the approach as too prone to generalization, lacking quantitative data and failing to put forth a falsifiable proposition. Orthodox Marxists find the world-systems approach deviating too far from orthodox Marxist principles, such as by not giving enough weight to the concept of social class. The state autonomists criticize the theory for blurring the boundaries between state and businesses. Further, the positivists and the state autonomists argue that state should be the central unit of analysis. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World-systems_theory - [cite note-IW-1](#) Finally, the culturalists argue that world-systems theory puts too much importance on the economy and not enough on the culture. In Wallerstein's own words:

In short, most of the criticisms of world-systems analysis criticize it for what it explicitly proclaims as its perspective. World-systems analysis views these other modes of analysis as defective and/or limiting in scope and calls for unthinking them.

One of the fundamental conceptual problems of the world-system theory is that the assumptions that define its actual conceptual units are social systems. The assumptions, which define them, need to be examined as well as how they are related to each other and how one change into another. The essential argument of the world-system theory is that in the 16th century a capitalist world economy developed, which could be described as a world system. The following is a theoretical critique concerned with the basic claims of world-system theory: "There are today no socialist systems in the world-economy any more than there are feudal systems because there is only one world system. It is a world-economy and it is by definition capitalist in form."

Robert Brenner has pointed out that the prioritization of the world market means the neglect of local class structures and class struggles: "They fail to take into account either the way in which these class structures themselves emerge as the outcome of class struggles whose results are incomprehensible in terms merely of market forces."^[31] Another criticism is that of reductionism made by Theda Skocpol: she believes the interstate system is far from being a simple superstructure of the capitalist world economy: "The international states system as a transnational structure of military competition was not originally created by capitalism. Throughout modern world history, it represents analytically autonomous level world capitalism, but [is] not reducible to it."

A concept that we can perceive as critique and mostly as renewal is the concept of coloniality (Anibal Quijano, 2000, *Nepantla, Coloniality of power, eurocentrism and Latin America* Issued from the think tank of the group "modernity/coloniality" (es:Grupo modernidad/colonialidad) in Latin America, it re-uses the concept of world working division and core/periphery system in its system of coloniality. But criticizing the "core-centric" origin of World-system and its only economical development, "coloniality" allows further conception of how power still processes in a colonial way over worldwide populations

(Ramon Grosfogel, "the epistemic decolonial turn" 2007): "by "colonial situations" I mean the cultural, political, sexual, spiritual, epistemic and economic oppression/exploitation of subordinate racialized/ethnic groups by dominant racialized/ethnic groups with or without the existence of colonial administration". Coloniality covers, so far, several fields such as coloniality of gender (Maria Lugones), coloniality of "being" (Maldonado Torres), coloniality of knowledge (Walter Mignolo) and Coloniality of power (Anibal Quijano).

‘Check your progress’

6. Who developed World System Theory?
7. Which countries fall under Core Nation?

3.5.Uneven Development

In examining the general character of the process of capitalist development as it has appeared historically across many different countries over a long period of time, one of its most striking characteristics is the phenomenon of uneven development. Specifically, the process is marked by persistent differences in levels and rates of economic development between different sectors of the economy. This differentiation appears at many levels and in terms of a multiplicity of quantitative and qualitative indices (Kuznets, 1966; Maddison, 1982; Mueller, 1990; Pritchett, 1997; Salter, 1966). Relevant measures which sharply identify the phenomenon include the level of labour productivity in different sectors, the level of wages, occupational and skill composition of the labor force, the degree of mechanization and vintage of production techniques, rates of profit, rates of growth, and the size structure of firms. This phenomenon appears regardless of the level of aggregation or disaggregation of the economy, except for the extreme case of complete aggregation – in which case, structural properties of the economy are made to disappear. For example, it appears at the level of comparing the broad aggregates 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. It appears

on a regional level within national economies as well as on a global scale between different national economies. In this latter context, one form that it takes is the continued differentiation between underdeveloped and advanced economies, usually identified as the problem of underdevelopment. These disparities appear from observing the economy as a whole at any given moment and over long periods of time. While the relative position of particular sectors may change from one period to another, nevertheless there is always a definite pattern of such differentiation. We may say, therefore, and certainly it is an implication of these observations, that these disparities are continually reproduced by the process of development. Uneven development, in this sense, is an intrinsic or inherent property of the economic process. Far from being merely transitory, it appears to be a pervasive and permanent condition. Now, it is an equally striking fact that, when we examine the theoretical literature on economic growth, we find the completely opposite picture. In particular, the dominant conception of the growth process that has motivated the postWorldWar II literature is constructed in terms of uniform rates of expansion in output, productivity and employment in all sectors of the economy. In this sense, it is largely a literature of steady state growth, whether presented in multisectoral or aggregative models (Burmeister and Dobell, 1970; Harris, 1978). Some notable and relevant exceptions, including Haavelmo (1954), Leon (1967), Nelson and Winter (1982), Pasinetti (1981), Salter (1965), explicitly examine aspects of the problem of persistent differentiation posed here. The recent flurry of work in endogenous growth theory seeks to incorporate some relevant elements of the problem into the neoclassical conception of the growth process (Aghion and Howitt, 1998). However, much of existing economic theory predicts that, given enough time, many of the features of differentiation which we observe empirically would tend to wash out as a result of

the operation of competitive market forces (Harris, 1988). Such differentiation should therefore be viewed only as a transitory feature of the economic process.

Thus, on the one side, we find a historical picture of uneven development as a persistent phenomenon, and on the other, a theory which essentially negates and denies this fact. It is possible to go some of the way towards bridging this gap. Accordingly, I consider here a strategy for analysis of uneven development that breaks through the narrow limits of the existing steadystate theory and advances towards a historically and empirically relevant theory.

The Analytics of Uneven Development It is necessary to start by recognizing the intrinsic character of the individual firm as an expansionary unit of capital with a complex organization. Various efforts have been made to develop a theory of the firm on this basis. (See, for instance, Penrose, 1959; Baumol, 1967; Marris, 1967, and Winter 1968/2006.) In this conception, growth is the strategic objective on the part of the firm. This urge to expand is not a matter of choice. Rather, it is a necessity enforced upon the firm by its market position and by its existence within a world of firms where each must grow in order to survive. It is reinforced also by sociological factors. It is this character of the firm which constitutes the driving force behind the process of expansion of the economy. In the aggregate, the global economy is conceived to consist of an ordered system of firms (an interlocking network of individual circuits of capital) and its sectors (classified variously as industries, regions, national economies) likewise to be clusters of the firms that are the component units of this system. In this system, it is firms which compete, not industries, not regions, not national economies, not 'north' versus 'south'. The state sets the rules and jointly determines the external conditions (externalities) within which the firms operate. This is a crucial starting point because it establishes the idea of growth as the outcome of a process which is driven by active agents, not by exogenous factors.

In particular, in the context of the capitalist economy, growth is the outcome of the self directed and selforganizing activity of firms, each seeking to expand and to improve its competitive position in relation to the rest. Once this principle is recognized it becomes possible to move towards an understanding of the problem of uneven development. The imperative of growth impels the firm constantly to seek out new investment opportunities wherever they are to be found. Such opportunities may lie within a wide range: in existing product lines, in new products and processes, in new geographical spaces and natural resource frontiers, or in the takeover of existing firms. However, at the core of this movement, viewed historically over the long term, are the invention, innovation and diffusion of new technologies that give rise to new products and services (Freeman, 1982; Landes, 1969, 1999; Marx, 1906, Ch. XV; Mokyr, 1990, 2002). The emergence of growth centres or leading sectors is a reflection of this underlying process. It is a consequence of the effort on the part of many firms to create or to rush into those spheres in which a margin of profitability exists that allows them to capture new profit and growth opportunities. It may be conceived to take the form of a 'swarm' (Schumpeter, 1934, p. 223) or 'contagion' (Baumol, 1967, p. 101), marked by both entry and exit of firms. Such spheres are opened up, typically through complementary 'macroinventions' and 'microinventions' (Mokyr, 1990, p. 13) and in a sporadic and discontinuous pattern, as a consequence of the ongoing investment and innovative activity of firms and the competitive interactions among them. It is this 4 constant flux, consisting of the emergence of new growth centres, their rapid expansion relative to existing sectors, and the relative decline of others, which shows up in the economy as a whole as uneven development

Uneven and combined development (or unequal and combined development) is a Marxist concept https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uneven_and_combined_development -

[cite note-1](#) to describe the overall dynamics of human history. It was originally used by the Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky around the turn of the 20th century, when he was analyzing the developmental possibilities that existed for the economy and civilization in the Russian empire, and the likely future of the Tsarist regime in Russia. It was the basis of his political strategy of permanent revolution, which implied a rejection of the idea that a human society inevitably developed through a uni-linear sequence of necessary "stages". Also before Trotsky, Nikolay Chernyshevsky and Vasily Vorontsov proposed a similar idea. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uneven_and_combined_development - [cite note-4](#) The concept is still used today by Trotskyists and other Marxists concerned with world politics.

Origin

Trotsky's concept was originally inspired by a series of articles by Alexander Helphand (better known as "Parvus") on "War and Revolution" in the Russian journal Iskra in 1904. At first, Trotsky intended this concept only to describe a characteristic evolutionary pattern in the worldwide expansion of the capitalist mode of production from the 16th century onwards, through the growth of a world economy which connected more and more peoples and territories together through trade, migration and investment. His focus was also initially mainly on the history of the Russian empire, where the most advanced technological and scientific developments co-existed with extremely primitive and superstitious cultures.

In the 1920s and 1930s, Trotsky increasingly generalised the concept of uneven and combined development to the *whole* of human history, and even to processes of evolutionary biology, as well as the formation of the human personality - as a general dialectical category.

The concept played a certain role in the fierce theoretical debates during the political conflict between the supporters of Joseph Stalin and Trotsky's Left Opposition, a debate which ranged from the historical interpretation of the Russian revolution and economic

strategies for the transition to socialism, to the correct understanding of principles of Marxism.

Explanation of the concept

Different countries, **Trotsky** observed, developed and advanced to a large extent *independently* from each other, in ways which were *quantitatively* unequal (e.g. the local rate and scope of economic growth and population growth) and *qualitatively* different (e.g. nationally specific cultures and geographical features). In other words, countries had their own specific national history with national peculiarities.

At the same time, all the different countries did not exist in complete isolation from each other; they were also interdependent parts of a world society, a larger totality, in which they all co-existed together, in which they shared many characteristics, and in which they influenced each other through processes of cultural diffusion, trade, political relations and various “spill-over effects” from one country to another.

Sociologically speaking, this had five main effects:

- a more backward, older or more primitive country would adopt parts of the culture of a more advanced, or more modern society, and a more advanced culture could also adopt or merge with parts of a more primitive culture – with good or bad effects.
- Cultural practices, institutions, traditions and ways of life belonging to both very old and very new epochs and phases of human history were all combined, juxtaposed and linked together in a rather unusual way, within one country.
- In turn, this meant that one could not really say that different societies all developed simply through the same sort of *linear* sequence of necessary developmental stages, but rather that they could adopt/utilize the results of developments reached elsewhere, without going through all the previous evolutionary stages which led up to those results. Some countries could thus “skip”, “telescope” or “compress” developmental stages which

other countries took hundreds of years to go through, or, very rapidly carry through a modernization process that took other countries centuries to achieve.

- Different countries could both *aid* or *advance* the socio-economic progress of other countries through trade, subsidies and contributing resources, or *block* and *brake* other countries as competitors from making progress by preventing the use of capital, technology, trading routes, labour, land or other kinds of resources. In Trotsky's theory of imperialism, the domination of one country by another does not mean that the dominated country is *prevented* from development altogether, but rather that it develops mainly according to the requirements of the dominating country. For example, an export industry will develop around mining and farm products in the dominated country, but the rest of the economy is not developed, so that the country's economy becomes more unevenly developed than it was before, rather than achieving balanced development. Or, a school system is set up with foreign assistance, but the schools teach only the messages that the dominating country wants to hear.
- The main tendencies and trends occurring at the level of world society as a whole, could be also found in each separate country, where they combined with unique local trends – but this was a locally specific “mix”, so that some world trends asserted themselves more strongly or faster, others weaker and slower in each specific country. Thus, a country could be very advanced in some areas of activity, but at the same time comparatively retarded in other areas. One effect was that the response to the same events of world significance could be quite different in different countries, because the local people attached different "weightings" to experiences and therefore drew different conclusions.

According to Trotsky, the unequal and combined development of different countries had an effect on the class structure of society.

- For example, the Russian empire in 1917 was largely a peasant society composed of many different nationalities and governed by an absolutist state headed by the Czar; popular democracy did not exist.
- A process of industrialization had begun in the main cities since Peter the Great (for example, the Putilov steel works established in Petrograd - where the February 1917 revolution began, with a strike - was the largest in the world at the time). But this urban industrialization process relied mainly on the investment of foreign capital from France, Britain and other countries, and was limited to some urban areas and regions
- The Russian bourgeoisie which developed under the tutelage of the Czarist state lacked much power, and was politically weak. The bourgeoisie was unable to establish political democracy. At the same time, a militant industrial working class developed in the main cities, concentrated in large factories and plants.
- In this way, the archaic culture of primitive peasant production and a semi-feudal state *combined* with the culture of modern industrial society.

Trotsky believed that this would shape the unique character of the Russian revolution. Namely, the Russian bourgeoisie was politically too weak and too dependent on the Czarist state to challenge its autocratic rule, and therefore the revolution against Czarist rule would be spearheaded by the revolt of urban workers.

Thus, the political and modernizing tasks normally associated in Europe with the leadership of the rising bourgeoisie, such as fighting for popular democracy and civil rights against absolutism, land ownership reform, industrializing the country, and national self-determination for oppressed nationalities, would have to be carried out in the Russian empire under the leadership of *working-class* parties, in particular the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party which had been outlawed (although there were several other socialist, nationalist and liberal parties).

In the chaos towards the end of the First World War, in which Russian soldiers fought against the imperial German army, this political assessment proved largely correct. The provisional government established by the February revolution in 1917 collapsed and the October revolution, in which the Russian Marxists played a dominant role, destroyed Czarist state power completely. Thereafter, the Russian bourgeoisie was largely expropriated; most businesses then fell under state ownership.

A new stage in Trotsky's understanding of uneven and combined development in world history was reached in his analyses of fascism and populism in Germany, France, Spain and Italy. Trotsky makes it clear, the human progress is not a linear, continuously advancing process of bourgeois modernization - progress can also be reversed or undone, and ancient cults, superstitions or barbarous traditions can be revived, even although nobody previously thought that was possible.

Rudolf Hilferding's Theory

Around the time that Trotsky settled in Vienna as a journalist in exile, after escaping from Siberia a second time, the Austro-Marxist Rudolf Hilferding wrote his famous book *Finance Capital* (first published in 1910) in which Hilferding mentions an idea very similar to Trotsky's. The passage occurs in chapter 22 on "the export of capital and the struggle for economic territory". It has never been proved whether Hilferding was influenced in any way by what Trotsky had written, although it is known they corresponded with each other, but Hilferding's own analysis of "the latest phase of capitalist development" certainly influenced a whole generation of socialist leaders. In any case similar notions were widespread among socialists throughout Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe at this time. Among other things, Hilferding states:

The export of capital, especially since it has assumed the form of industrial and finance capital, has enormously accelerated the overthrow of all the old social relations, and

the involvement of the whole world in capitalism. Capitalist development did not take place independently in each individual country, but instead capitalist relations of production and exploitation were imported along with capital from abroad, and indeed imported at the level already attained in the most advanced country. Just as a newly established industry today does not develop from handicraft beginnings and techniques into a modern giant concern, but is established from the outset as an advanced capitalist enterprise, so capitalism is now imported into a new country in its most advanced form and exerts its revolutionary effects far more strongly and in a much shorter time than was the case, for instance, in the capitalist development of Holland and England.

Hilferding's insight was rarely noticed by English-speaking Marxists. His book *Finance Capital*, which went out of print several times, was never translated into English until 1981 (i.e. 70 years later). After the publication of Lenin's classic interpretation of imperialism as the highest (and final) stage of capitalism in 1917, most Marxist writers based their analyses of imperialism on Lenin's book. Even though, on several occasions throughout the book, Lenin cites Hilferding approvingly, by the time that Hilferding became Finance Minister in Germany in 1923, the Marxist–Leninists regarded him as a reformist renegade, and his analyses were no longer trusted or taken seriously

Contemporary application

The idea of uneven and combined development, as formulated by Trotsky, as well as Lenin's "law" of uneven economic and political development under capitalism are still being used today, especially in academic studies of international relations, archaeology, anthropology and development economics, as well as in discussions of the Trotskyist movement. Such International relations schools as the world-systems theory and dependency theory have been both influenced by *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and Trotsky's writings on the subject.

3.7 . SUMMARY

- From this unit we have become familiar about the Marxist Theory of Modernization
- Modernization Theory, its aims, cultural and economic barriers in development and its criticisms were also discussed
- The unit also discussed about the Rostow Model of five different stages in detail
- Dependency Theory of A.G. Frank and World-System Theory of Emanuel Wallerstein (how countries are interlinked and dependent on each other)
- Uneven Development Theory given by Trotsky and Rudolf Hilferding's (Unequal distribution of resources and wealth)

3.8.KEY TERMS

Modernization“‘Modernization’ can be understood as the process of becoming modern”.

It broadly covers two aspects that are, advancement in ‘science’ and ‘technology’, however. It also attached to various other socio-cultural aspects.

Modernization Theory: Modernization theory is a theory used to explain the process of modernization that a nation goes through as it transitions from a traditional society to a modern one.

Marxist theory of modernization : The **Marxist theory of modernization** theorized that as nations developed, adopting a communist approach to governing, such as eradicating private property, would end conflict, exploitation, and inequality.

Dependency theory is the notion that resources flow from a "periphery" of poor and underdeveloped states to a "core" of wealthy states, enriching the latter at the expense of the former. It is a central contention of dependency theory that poor states are impoverished and rich ones enriched by the way poor states are integrated into the "world system".

World-System Theory : "World-system" refers to the inter-regional and transnational division of labor, which divides the world into core countries, semi-periphery countries, and the periphery countries.^[2] Core countries focus on higher skill, capital-intensive production, and the rest of the world focuses on low-skill, labor-intensive production and extraction of raw materials. This constantly reinforces the dominance of the core countries.

Uneven Development : the process is marked by persistent differences in levels and rates of economic development between different sectors of the economy. This differentiation appears at many levels and in terms of a multiplicity of quantitative and qualitative indices.

Core nations-Developed countries

Peripheral nations – Developing and under- developed countries

3.10. ANSWER TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

- Five
- It attempts to explain why poorer countries have failed to develop and it aims to provide a non-communist solution to poverty in the developing world
- Immanuel Wallerstein
- Developed countries

Now you will be able to give answer to the following problems

- Explain Modernization and Modernization Theory.
- It attempts to explain why poorer countries have failed to develop and it aims to provide a non-communist solution to poverty in the developing world.
- Note down Rostow’s five stage model of development.
- Critical analysis of Modernisation Theory.
- Able to describe Dependency Theory.

- Explain World System Theory in relevance manner.
- Understand the concepts of Peripheral, Semi-peripheral and Core Nation.

3.11. Questions And Exercises

Short-Answer Questions

1. What is Modernization?
2. Define Dependency Theory
3. Describe Marxist Theory of Modernization.
4. Define Economic barriers to development
5. Criticisms of modernization theory.
6. What do you mean by Peripheral Nation?
7. Define Semi-Peripheral Nation.

Long-Answer Questions

4. Discuss uneven Development according to Trotsky and Rudolf Hilgerding's Theory.
5. Describe the World System Theory of Immanuel Wallerstein.
6. Explain Rostow's Five Stages Model of Development.

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UNIT 5: DEVELOPEMENT AND NORTHEAST INDIA

5.0. Introduction

5.1. Unit Objectives

5.2. Northeast India Development Policies

5.2.1. Philosophy, Culture and Social Parameters

5.2.2. Establishment of North Eastern Council

5.2.3. M DONER

5.2.4. Issues of Tribal Development and Ethnic identity

5.2.5. Look East Policy

5.3. Summary

5.4. Key Terms

5.5. Answer to 'Check your Progress'

5.6. Questions and Exercises

5.7. Further reading

5.0. INTRODUCTION

As the main objective behind the introduction of this paper is to make understand the holistic approach of development to the students. This paper may make the students to understand the concept of development in sociological perspective and thereby to appreciate the development as an integrated process. By keeping in mind the major themes this chapter is solely focussed on the Development issues with special reference to the Northeast India. As the Northeast India comprised of eight states namely Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura, Meghalaya and Sikkim. The present chapter will focus on the developmental issues like Northeast India Development Policies which further includes sub-areas like Philosophy, Culture and Social Parameters, Establishment of North Eastern Council, DONER, Issues of Tribal Development and Ethnic identity, Look East Policy and Philosophy, Culture & Social Parameters. So in below the above mentioned issues are highlight in elaborate manner.

5.1. UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this chapter you will be able to deals with the following topics:

1. Understand the issues of Northeast India Development Policies.
2. Able to acknowledge the Issues of Tribal Development and Ethnic identity in Northeast India.
3. Also able to grasp the notion of Philosophy, Culture and Social Parameters, North Eastern Council, DONER and Look East Policy, etc. in context to Northeast India.

5.2. NORTHEAST INDIA DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

5.2.1. Philosophy, Culture and Social Parameters

A) Philosophy

Worldview of Tribes as Philosophy: The claim that there exists tribal philosophy is premised on the claim that every tribe has a distinctive worldview consisting of beliefs,

values, and emotions etc. This argument is a slippery slope. Every human being has a worldview consisting of beliefs, values, and emotions (Agarwala-2016). If philosophy is taken as the worldview then every individual and every people have a worldview. That is one of the dictionary meanings of philosophy. But when we talk of department of philosophy in the Universities and courses to be taught in them, the expression ‘philosophy’ is used in a technical sense and not in the popular dictionary sense of belief systems or worldviews of an individual or a people. Departments of philosophy in all universities world over use the criterion of technical sense of philosophy to design its course and do not include the worldview of man in the street qua the belief system of man on the street.

Two systems of thought of hills tribes: The NEHU Journal, Vol XIV, No. 2, July-December 2016, ISSN. 0972 - 8406 While the views of Thales, Parmenides, Heraclitus and others are included in the courses of classical Greek philosophy one does not find the worldview or the system of belief, values and emotions present in Homeric epics in a course of philosophy. Even if one talks of ‘philosophy of Homer’ to trace lineage of the classical Greek Philosophy as found in Plato and others, one still recognizes that philosophy originated with Thales and he is the father of Western philosophy, and Homeric ideas remain a mere fertile ground from which sprang the saplings of Western philosophy in Thales and others. The fit place for studies of ideas of Homer is philology and not philosophy. The tribal worldview has yet to be presented as articulated as the worldview of Homer and its presentation is lagging much behind. One has yet to see a single article, which can be called even a philological study of a tribal idea or even a history of a tribal idea, what to speak of the entire world view of any tribe of the North-Eastern region. What the scholars studying the tribes and their worldviews present is only a descriptive anthropological study of belief systems of tribes without rising to the sophistication of philosophical discussion of ideas. Even if one goes by the standard of anthropological study of worldviews of tribes, for

example standard set in Rosaldo, Renato: 1980, 1986, and Rosaldo, Michelle: 1980 in their study of the Ilongot, a tribe in Northern Luzon, or standard set in Geertz: 1973; 1974; 1983 in the practice of symbolic anthropology of natives of Java, Bali and Morocco etc.,

The available philosophical study of the belief system of tribes of North-East India does not even meet that anthropological standard. It is, therefore, too early and premature to demand inclusion of study of worldviews in the courses of philosophy in Departments of Philosophy. When there are Department of Anthropology, Culture Studies, Departments specially devoted to study of the specific tribes, like Department of Khasi Studies, Garo Studies, Mizo Studies, Tenemiya Studies etc. then instead of strengthening, sharpening, refining studies of worldviews and systems of beliefs, values and emotions of tribes in these Departments to meet standards of presentation of such studies accepted by the experts in the subject, to demand study of world views of tribes in philosophy on the strength of nativity or proximity is nothing but advocacy for mere second hand reproduction of studies in anthropology, sociology, culture studies, and tribal studies. Binod Kumar Agarwala 3 The NEHU Journal, Vol XIII, No. 1, January-June 2015 ISSN. 0972 - 8406 Mythos throbbing in the Logos It is argued that 'mythos throbbing in the logos' is philosophy. One of the conditions of mythos throbbing alive in the logos, is that the logos has emerged from the mythos itself, but when a mythos is coupled with a logos which is alien, like the sociological theoretical logos of 'identity' couples with the original myths of a people, it drains away their vitality and turns them into fossil or dead relics of the past, to be used as mere instruments. The coming of Christianity has led to reading of Christian ideas in the local vocabulary. The word 'blei' in Khasi cannot be translated as 'God' nor omniscience be attributed to any of the 'bleis' as they are many and come with gender distinction, and the myth of sending of the people of seven huts to the world to rule it cannot be interpreted as creation myth of the type one finds in Genesis in the Old Testament, rather it is more of a migration myth. That shows

that what is presented under the rubric of tribal philosophy is not really tribal philosophy. When tribal myths are coupled with alien logos, without proper examination of the latter's presuppositions and their suitability for the former, then the essence of tribal thought reflected in myths is lost altogether. Myths in Philosophy One may argue: if myths of tribal culture do not contain abstract philosophical truths, then how does one account for the presence of so many myths in Plato's philosophical dialogues, including the grand myth of the ideal city in words in the Republic? Is there any difference between the tribal myths as they are told in the tribal culture and philosophical myths as used by the philosophers? The answer is in the affirmative. The philosophical myth turns out not to be tribal myth at all, at least in significant respects. It is, rather, a counter image of the tribal myth. Philosophical myth is the philosophers' attempt to appropriate and to contain, i.e., to limit myth proper of folklore, even though this attempt can never fully succeed, owing to the divorce of language from reality itself, and yet philosophy must perforce use language. The philosopher tries to make philosophical myths to be intrinsically univocal, in response to the proliferation of meanings in myths of folklore that make philosophers – most notably Plato – so uncomfortable. The philosopher does this by tying Philosophical myth to demonstrative argument, to which it is in principle subordinated, unlike the tribal myths, which stand alone. The philosophers use myth self-consciously to raise second-order questions about language and reality, which does not happen in tribal myths.

B) Culture

North east India, one of the most beautiful region of India, also known as the “Seven Sisters”. It includes Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura states. North east is connected to the rest of the country by a narrow stretch of land between Bhutan and Bangladesh, and surrounded by extremely sensitive frontier with Chinese-occupied Tibet and a 1600 km long border with Myanmar.

The North East is a magnificent & tragic tapestry of people, events & nature. You can be touched by its rivers, rain & mist, overwhelmed by the seeming gentleness of its people & stirred by its powerful & evocative history. There are not less than 220 ethnic tribes in the eight states comprising the region with a population of about forty million people. There are communities with kin in the neighbouring countries.

There are sensitive and complex problems that have defied solution for as long as independent India has existed. The population is about three percent of the national figure. Its people are an anthropologist's delight & an administrator's nightmare. A settlement in a district that satisfies one group will alienate a handful of communities in another part of the same district, not to speak of the state. There are special laws, constitutional provisions such as the Sixth Schedule & Article 371A which seek to protect the traditions, land & rights of various hill communities.

North Eastern India has been facing increasing challenges as it copes with pressures emanating from its ethnic diversity. And increasing mobilisation for economic and political space by more and more socio-economic groups is causing turbulence in an environment of limited resources and constrained capabilities of redistribution of wealth. Thus, the fear of identity is further compounded by a social security factor, which essentially boils down to protecting the land from outsiders and in some cases within the region from other ethnic groups.

Cultural of the North Eastern States

Assam

The people of Assam inhabit a multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic and multi-religious society. They speak languages that belong to three main language groups: Indo-Aryan, Austro-Asiatic, and Tibeto-Burman. The large number of ethnic and linguistic groups, the

population composition and the peopling process in the state has led to it being called an “India in miniature”.

Culture of Assam: The culture of Assam is traditionally a hybrid one, developed due to cultural assimilation of different ethno-cultural groups under various politico-economic systems in different periods of pre-history and history. With a strong base of tradition and history, the modern Assamese culture is greatly influenced by various events those took place in the British Assam and in the Post-British Era. The language was standardised by the American Missionaries with the form available in the Sibsagar District (the nerve centre of the Ahom politico-economic system). A renewed Sanskritisation was increasingly adopted for developing Assamese language and grammar. A new wave of Western and northern Indian influence was apparent in the performing arts and literature. Assamese culture in its true sense today is a ‘cultural system’ composed of different sub-systems. It is more interesting to note that even many of the source-cultures of Assamese culture are still surviving either as sub-systems or as sister entities. In broader sense, therefore, the Assamese cultural system incorporates its source-cultures such as Bodo (Boro) or Khasi or Mishing (Micing) but individual development of these sub-systems are today becoming important. However, it is also important to keep the broader system closer to its roots. Some of the common cultural traits available across these systems are:-

- (a) Respect towards areca-nut and betel leaves.
- (b) Respect towards particular symbolic cloth types such as Gamosa, Arnai.
- (c) Respect towards traditional silk and cotton garments.
- (d) Respect towards forefathers and elderly.
- (e) Great hospitality.
- (f) Bamboo culture.

Nagaland

Nagaland is almost entirely inhabited by the Naga tribes except some Kukis, Kacharis, Garos, Mikris, Benglas, and Assamese etc. in the plains sector. Originally, the Nagas were not known by the names of the tribes as they are known now, but by the name of a group of villages. Gradually they have settled down to the tribe names as are found now, but still then the process of amalgamation or separation is still going on. According to the census report, there are 16 Naga tribes and four non-Naga tribes inhabiting Nagaland.

Society: The people are simple, straight-forward, hard-working and honest people with a high standard of integrity. They possess a strong sense of self respect and rarely submitted to anyone who roughshod over them. A hallmark of their character was their hospitality and cheerfulness. The Naga tribals have an egalitarian society, and the village is a closely knit unit consisting of households of different clans.

The Village: They traditionally live in villages. The village is a well-defined entity with distinct land demarcation from neighboring villages. Each has a dialect of its own and as such there is a strong sense of social solidarity within it. The people in it are held together by social, economic, political and ritual ties. The villages have their own identity but not in isolation as there are interdependent relationships with neighboring villages. The impact of modernization is slowly but steadily eroding the centrality of villages as a social unit as large commercial towns are rapidly coming up in every region of the Naga hills. This is bringing about drastic changes in the values, lifestyles and social setup of the people.

The Family: The family was the basic unit of the Naga society. Marriages were usually monogamous and fidelity to the spouse was considered a high virtue. Marriage within the same clan is not permitted and it amounts to incest. Incestuous couples used to be ostracized from the villages. The family was the most important institution of social education and social control. There used to be a deep respect for parents and elders. Material inheritance,

such as land and cattle, is passed on to the male offspring with the eldest son receiving the largest share.

Status of Women: In the classless, caste-less Naga society, women have traditionally enjoyed a high social position, with a pivotal role in both family and community affairs. However, being a patriarchal society with strong warrior tradition, it is considered an honor to be born as a man. The traditional culture and customs expect a Naga woman to be obedient and humble; also expect her to perform the roles of wife, mother, child bearer, food producer and household manager. She also supplements the household income by weaving colorful shawls, an activity which is done exclusively by women. Women are highly respected and given a great deal of freedom, however, they are traditionally not included in the decision-making process of the clan or the village.

Social and Cultural Heritage: The cultural traditions of the Nagas include features which are common to all the tribes like head hunting, common sleeping house for unmarried men which are taboo to women, a sort of trial marriage, or great freedom of intercourse between the sexes before marriage, disposal of dead on raised platforms, the simple loom for weaving cloth etc. Life in Nagaland is replete with festivals throughout the year as all the tribes have their own festivals, which they greatly cherish. They regard their festivals sacrosanct and participation in them is compulsory. Most of these festivals revolve round agriculture, which is still the mainstay of the Naga society. Over 85% population of Nagaland is directly dependent on agriculture.

Manipur

Manipur is a place where different waves of races and culture met through the ages, which ultimately mingled together. The main population of the people is of Manipuries known as Meities. The Meitei speak Manipuri language, which is in Kuki chin group. They are divided into seven endogamous groups locally known as 'Salai'. The general

characteristics of the Meiteis are of Mongoloid type small eyes, fair complexion, rudimentary beards etc. generally they are thin built with well-developed limbs. The men among them do not exceed 5'7" in height and women on an average about 4" shorter than their counterparts.

Society: The society is patrilineal though the women bear the major yoke of labour. Women share the responsibilities of earning and are not confined only to household duties. The household is a true social unit and the head of the family has to perform certain religious duties. Their families consist of man, his wife and unmarried children. They practice both types of marriage by engagement and elopement. Though monogamy is the usual rule, there being more women than men, the practice of polygamy is also not uncommon. Meitei women have always enjoyed high economic and social status in Manipur, and today they work in nearly every social and economic sphere of society. In particular, they control traditional retail, including the Meitei markets and the trade in vegetables and traditional clothing. The Meitei people are well-known for their sporting prowess, hockey and polo are traditional and the Meitei form of martial art, thang ta, has recently been recognised as one of the official forms of international martial arts.

Culture: Agriculture is the main stay of the people. About 88% of the total working population in the hills and about 60% of the working population in the valley depend entirely on the agriculture and allied pursuits like animal husbandry, fisheries and forestry. The people of Manipur have inherent love of performing art with lyrical beauty and rhythm. Their rich culture and tradition are also reflected in their handloom, tasteful clothes and in finer workmanship of handicrafts. Weaving among them is a traditional art of women and finds an easy market. They are deeply sensitive and their unique pattern of life with inherent love of arts is reflected in their dance and music. Their dances, whether folk or classical or modern, are devotional in nature.

Tripura

The Tripuri people are the original inhabitants of the Kingdom of Tripura in North-East India and Bangladesh. The Tripuri people through the Royal family of the Debbarmas ruled the Kingdom of Tripura for more than 2000 years till the kingdom joined the Indian Union in 1949. The Tripuris live on the slopes of hills in a group of five to fifty families.

Society & Culture: The indigenous Tripuri people comprise various hill tribal communities who migrated to this land in successive waves in the ancient past. Each community had its own elementary social and administrative organization starting from the village level and up to the chieftainship of the whole tribe. The tribes enjoy their traditional freedom based on the concept of self-determination. The Tripuri people have a rich historical, social and cultural heritage which is totally distinct from that of the mainland Indians, their distinctive culture as reflected in their dance, music, festivals, management of community affairs, dress and food habit has a strong base.

Mizoram

Historians believe that the Mizos are a part of the great wave of the Mongolian race spilling over the eastern and southern India centuries ago. Mizo comprises of 5 major tribes and 11 minor tribes known under the common name Awzia. Mizos are of Mongoloid origin, speaking a dialect of Tibeto- Burman origin. The Mizos came under the influence of the British missionaries in the 19th century and today the majority of the Mizos are Christians by faith. The literacy rate is the second highest in the country. The people are mostly non-vegetarian and their staple food is rice. The Mizos are a close- knit society with no class distinction and discrimination on grounds of sex, status or religion. They are hospitable, sociable and love music, singing and dancing. Mizos are agriculturists & all their activities revolve around this cultivation and their festivals are connected with such agricultural operations.

Society and Cultural: A gregarious and close- knit society, they evolved some principles of self-help and co- operation to meet social obligations and responsibilities. Constructive social works were executed through voluntary community works. Every family was expected to contribute labour for the welfare of the community. The Mizos are a distinct community and the social unit was the village. Around it revolved the life of the Mizo. The Mizos have been enchanted to their new- found faith of Christianity with so much dedication and submission that their social life and thought- process have been altogether transformed and guided by the Christian church organisations directly or indirectly and their sense of values has also undergone drastic change. No class distinction and no discrimination on grounds of sex are not seen in Mizo society. 90% of them are cultivators and the village exists like a big family. Birth of a child, marriage in the village and death of a person in the village or a community feast arranged by a member of the village are important occasions in which the whole village is involved.

Arunachal Pradesh

There are 26 major tribes and a number of sub tribes living in the state. Most of these communities are ethnically similar having derived from an original common stock but their geographical isolation from each other has brought amongst them certain distinctive characteristics in language, dress and customs.

Society and Culture: The whole population of Arunachal can be divided into four cultural groups on the basis of their socio- politico religious affinities. For about 35% of the population of Arunachal Pradesh, agriculture is the main occupation. Festivals are an essential part of the socio- cultural life of the people. The festivals are usually connected with agriculture and are associated with ritualistic gaiety either to thank God or to pray for bumper harvest.

[Arunachal Pradesh](#) culture is varied and changes from one place to another. Although most tribes in Arunachal Pradesh descend from the same Mongoloid stock, they have developed indigenous cultural identities over the years. The culture of Arunachal Pradesh, despite their variance, can be divided into three broad cultural groups. Culture in Arunachal Pradesh manifests themselves in the rituals, belief systems and the festivals of each group:

The Buddhist Culture of Arunachal Pradesh

Arunachal Pradesh culture has a strong presence of Buddhism. The Mahayana sect of Buddhism is practiced by the inhabitants of certain groups. These largely agrarian communities live in villages which abound in Buddhist style buildings and houses. Their religious fervor is notable, especially exhibited in their adherence to the ancient script that they carried all the way from their original homeland. The groups that follow this culture at Arunachal Pradesh are:

- Monpas
- Sherdukpens
- Inhabitants of the West Kemang region

The Animist Culture

This branch of Arunachal Pradesh culture adheres to a unique mix of animism and ancestor worship. The sun and the moon are seen to be the original ancestors of these groups. The festivals and the rituals are held on special solar and lunar occasions. The rituals involve athletic displays of physical skill and animal sacrifice is not uncommon. Some of the ethnic people who adhere to this form of culture at Arunachal Pradesh are:

- Nyishi
- Galo
- Mishmis
- Mijis

- Adis
- Tangsas

The Vaishnavite Culture:

The third prominent cultural group in Arunachal Pradesh follow a very basic and rudimentary form Vaishnavism. They live in villages, which are governed by a strict code of hierarchy, with the head of the village still occupying a significant position. The groups follow this brand of Arunachal Pradesh cultures are:

- Noctes
- Wanchos

The Christian

Many of Arunachalee are now converted into Christianity. Which reflect the secularistic viewpoint? Henceforth, its reflect one's own choice of Religious beliefs and practices.

However, Community living with strict adherence to local beliefs, custom and social norms have been the hallmark of Arunachal tribes who are yet to come out of a primitive lifestyle.

While efforts are on by the state government to provide modern education and usher in social infrastructure to improve their lifestyle, extra care is also being taken to preserve their tribal heritage and expand their numbers as they add vibrancy to the state.

- Major festivals observed in the state are Mopin, Solung, Nyokum, Lossar, Si-Donyi, Boori-boot, Dree, Reh, Sipong Yong, Chalo-loku and Kshyatsowai.

Sikkim

Sikkim is a [state](#) in northeastern [India](#). It borders [Tibet](#) in the north and northeast, [Bhutan](#) in the east, [Nepal](#) in the west, and [West Bengal](#) in the south. Sikkim is also located close to India's [Siliguri Corridor](#) near [Bangladesh](#). Sikkim is the [least populous](#) and [second smallest](#) among the Indian states.

Modern Sikkim is a [multiethnic](#) and [multilingual](#) Indian state. The [official languages](#) of the state are [English](#), [Nepali](#), [Sikkimese](#) and [Lepcha](#).https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sikkim_-_cite_note-langoff1-2 Additional official languages include [Gurung](#), [Limbu](#), [Magar](#), [Mukhia](#), [Newari](#), [Rai](#), [Sherpa](#) and [Tamang](#) for the purpose of preservation of culture and tradition in the state. [English](#) is taught in schools and used in government documents. The predominant religions are [Hinduism](#) and [Vajrayana Buddhism](#).

Society and Cultural: Sikkim's Nepalese majority celebrate all major Hindu festivals, including [Tihar](#) (Diwali) and [Dashain](#) (Dashera). Traditional local festivals, such as [Maghe Sankranti](#) and Bhimsen Puja, are popular.https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sikkim_-_cite_note-FOOTNOTEChoudhury200635-126 [Losar](#), [Saga Dawa](#), [Lhabab Duechen](#), [Drupka Teshi](#) and [Bhumchu](#) are among the Buddhist festivals celebrated in Sikkim. During the Losar (Tibetan New Year), most offices and educational institutions are closed for a week.

Sikkimese Muslims celebrate [Eid ul-Fitr](#) and [Muharram](#).https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sikkim_-_cite_note-128 [Christmas](#) has been promoted in Gangtok to attract tourists during the off-season.

The majority of Sikkim's residents are of [Nepali](#) ethnic origin. The [native Sikkimese](#) consists of the [Bhutias](#), who migrated from the Kham district of Tibet in the 14th century, and the [Lepchas](#), who are believed to have migrated from the Far East. [Tibetans](#) reside mostly in the northern and eastern reaches of the state. Migrant resident communities include [Bengalis](#), [Biharis](#) and [Marwaris](#), who are prominent in commerce in [South Sikkim](#) and [Gangtok](#)

According to 2011 census, 57.8% follow [Hinduism](#) making it the state's majority religion. [Buddhism](#) is followed by 27.4% of the population while [Christianity](#) by 9.9%. It is practised mainly by ethnic [Nepalis](#). There are many [Hindu](#) temples throughout the state

Meghalaya

Meghalaya is a state in northeastern India. The name means "*the abode of clouds*" in [Sanskrit](#). Meghalaya covers an area of approximately 22,430 square kilometers, with a length to breadth ratio of about 3:1. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Meghalaya> - [cite note-ibef-6](#)

Meghalaya demographics or population, as it commonly known, contains most of the tribal people housed within the territory of Meghalaya. Some of the important tribes that constitute the demographics of Meghalaya are Garo, Khasi and Jaintia. The Khasi and Jaintia tribes have the traits of Proto Austroloid Monkhmer race whereas the Garos have come from Bodo family of the Tibeto-Burmar race.

Society and Culture: Other than those mentioned above, there are many other tribes in Meghalaya. Two of them being the Bhoi and the War who reside generally in the southern and northern part of the central highland. Another tribe is Lyngams in the west of the Khasi and Jaintia hills.

The Meghalaya religion is based on the fear and dread of the supernatural powers. Although, traditionally the religion of Meghalaya is not animistic; yet the religion in Meghalaya celebrates a presiding God, known as 'Dakgipa Rugipa Stugipa Pantugipa' or 'Tatora Rabuga Stura Pantura'.

The religion at Meghalaya is basically monotheistic, yet has many polytheistic stages. In fact, the genesis of the religion shows that it was purely monotheistic; gradually it became polytheistic.

Moreover, the Garos believe in the creation of the universe, earth, living beings, seas, heavenly bodies, rain, storm, thunder, wind- this constitute the essence of the religion in Meghalaya. Besides, the nature worship, the religion of Meghalaya also constitutes many lesser gods and many ceremonies and festivities are attached to it. In the recent years, most of

the Garos have turned Christians. Yet, talking about the religion of the Garo clan in Meghalaya, it can be said that the religion is a combination of Hinduism and Pantheism. The Garos, like the Hindus and the Buddhists, believe in the 'Spirit of Man': this incarnation is based on sin. Some of the important deities of Meghalaya are Tartar-Robunga, Choradubi, Saljong, Goers, Susine, etc.

Summary of Characteristics of People of the NE States

Having seen the characteristics of the social, cultural & other factors pertaining to the people of insurgency effected North Eastern states, it is imperative that the peculiarities be summarized. It is difficult to profile such a vast & diverse anthropology, however for the ease of the study, certain basic similarities could be clubbed together & a basic framework of behavioural & attitudinal pattern could be listed as under:-

- a. People have a strong affinity to their race, ethnicity & have strong inclination for preservation of the same.
- b. In the rural areas, where people reside in their particular ethnic group, there are stringent rules, customs & traditions to be followed & flouting them is taken very seriously.
- c. As the people belong to the lesser developed part of the country, their basic culture & beliefs are intact & there is less proliferation of modernity in their values.
- d. They have strong values regarding respect to the elders, women and could go to great extent to preserve their honour.
- e. They are basically agrarian community, hardworking, innocent & socially active within their own community.
- f. They have rich cultural heritage bonds which gives them a sense of exclusivity & belongingness.

- g. The various societies are religious and secular.
- h. The division of societies is not based on caste system. It is based on ethnicity, & in a particular tribe, everybody is treated as equal.
- i. Women have a pivotal & important role to play in their communities. Few of the societies are male dominated but most of them have equal status for women in the respective society.
- j. Education & awareness is on an increase & over a period of times have reached even the remote areas.
- k. The languages / dialects spoken are specific to a tribe & it does not have any semblance with most of the languages of rest of the country.

C) Social parameters:

Implications of disparity on social stability India's North-Eastern region have tremendous strategic importance. The longest international border – a total of more than 5000 km, has turned the region into a geo-politically sensitive one. The region, as a whole, has only about 2% of its boundaries attached to the 'mainland India' and around 98% border with Bhutan (650 km), China (1000 km), Nepal, Myanmar(1450 km) and Bangladesh (1640 km). More than that, the Northeast India is emerging as a gateway for cross border trade. The importance of the region has further increased with the international proposal to set up a South Asia Development Triangle that connects India through its Eastern and Northeastern corridor with Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh. Through this Triangle, India's connectivity will be further extended to Myanmar, Thailand, Laos and the Southwestern part of China (Neogi). The existing Burma Road and the proposed Trans-Asian Highway and railway can facilitate such connectivity. India – especially its NorthEast will, then, have access to a larger market. While on the one hand the potentials for economic development of the nation and also for improving the country's external relations with its neighbours are centered around the region,

on the other hand because of such proximity to the long international border, many parts of which is still lacking effective manning and monitoring, and also because of the hilly terrain and dense forest covering over 80% of the land surface, the region is penetrated time and again by the insurgency activities and communal conflicts. Over the past decade, the insurgency activities have increased many folds in Assam, Nagaland Manipur. A number of studies have already pointed to the link between poverty and such extremist activities. The results in Alesina et al suggest that it is the poor economic conditions that increase the probability of political rebellion. The economic variables often become the root cause of civil war and when compared with political variables, the economic ones are found to have more negative impact on such destabilizing forces .A study on African countries also found the increasing probability of civil war as and when the economic growth faces negative exogenous shock. Thus, all these studies point to the fact that inadequate development can cause social destabilization in any region.

The existence of disparity increases the gap between the privileged and unprivileged. This, in turn, generates grudges among one community against the other, which results in communal violence. Though the region is dominated by the tribal population, whose mongoloid origins are associated with similar food habits and life-styles across all the tribes, the gap erects psychological wall between these two groups. As a result, in recent years the incidence of inter-tribe conflict has increased. For instance, communal clashes between Bodo and Muslim community in Assam.

In the era of globalization, when different communities and cultures coexist, as an offshoot of such practice, competitive attitude of people leads to forceful display of the superiority of one culture over the other. This, infact, disturbs their peaceful coexistence. As a result, conflict over the area of domination surfaces. Today, the demand for a separate Bodoland by the Bodo people, for Greater Nagaland by the Nagas or the demand of the

Kamtapuris to have a separate state or the demands of ULFA in Assam and Meiti communities of Manipur are the outcome of such ill effects. Besides the effects of globalization, the persistent regional imbalance also creates panic among the communities to get control over the limited economic resources. It again leads to communal violence. The case of Karbi-Anlong in Assam, where clashes between Dimasas and Karbis left almost 50,000 people displaced (Internal Displacement Monitoring Center, 2006). The root cause of the clash had been the demand of the United Peoples' Democratic Solidarity, a Karbi militant organization for removal of a designated camp of Dima Haram Dogo, a Dimasa militant outfit based in Karbi-Anlong. The demand for inclusion of common land into their respective proposed homelands led the clashes to escalate further. Urge to get control over the prosperous capital town and its nearby locations in Arunachal Pradesh results, recently, in frequent clashes between Nyishi and Apatani tribes, who had been living peacefully in the neighbouring localities since a very long time. The course of uneven development and the instance of associated ethnic unrests were again noticed when it was proposed to construct Tipaimukh dam in Hmar region, reactions from within Hmar community were not uniform. While one section welcomed the decision, the other section was skeptical regarding the rehabilitation and loss of agricultural land. The non-Hmar community, however, reacted more vigorously. The people of Zeliangrong Naga villages, which were expected to be the worst affected, opposed the dam construction. They felt it was the development of one community at the cost of others. Similar is the case of Thengal Kachari tribe of Assam. Unfortunately, inspite of their tribal identity, they were never enumerated separately as scheduled tribe community. Not getting proper recognition, soon they started to demand for an autonomous council and get their demand approved. The long standing border disputes between Assam and Mizoram has also originated out of economic necessity. The problem started during the colonial period, when the land consisting of both sides of the border of the

present two states was acquired by the colonial rulers for plantations. The present state of inequality in opportunities for livelihoods also works as a destabilizing force in the society. Given that still over 60% of the population in this region depends on agriculture for their livelihoods, the uneven distribution of irrigation facilities across the states and also within the states leads to differences in the land productivities. The competition to get control over the fertile lands is again a source of intratribe conflict often found in the states like Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur Mizoram and Nagaland. Taking a look at the data on irrigated land reveals that a low proportion of gross sown area, in the entire region has irrigation facility. Out of that in 2005, Manipur has the highest proportion of 38%, followed by 27% in Nagaland and 22% in Meghalaya. The other states have much lower irrigation facility available. Disparity to this extent can lead the underdevelopment to a vicious circle where unequal distribution of development generates communal conflicts, which in turn, hampers any further development activity.

Northeast India Development Policies

North-East India is situated at the eastern most region of the India. The North-East India comprised of eight states of India, viz- Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura, Meghalaya and Sikkim. These eight North-eastern regions represent the georraphical and political administrative division of India. The NorthEastern region comprises an area of 262,230 square kilometres (101,250 sq. mile) which constitute the 8 percent (%) of the total geographical area of the country. The region shares international boundary of 5,182 kilometres (3,220 miles) with several neighbouring countries. It share 1,640 kilometres (1,020 miles) international border with China in the north, with Myanmar in the Eastern part (1,596km/992m), with Nepal in the West (455km/283m), with Bhutan in the Nort-West, with Bangladesh in in South-West (97km/60m). . These states are only connected to the “mainland” of India through the so-called chicken neck. This small channel constitutes

only about 1% of the region's borders, thus, the region is surrounded by thousands of kilometers of international border.

Check you progress

- Which article of the Indian Constitution protects the traditions, land and rights of various hill communities of Arunachal Pradesh?

5.2.2. Establishment of North Eastern Council

North Eastern Council (NEC) was constituted as a statutory advisory body under the NEC Act 1971 (84 of 1971) and came into being on the 7th November, 1972 at Shillong. During its inauguration, the then Hon'ble Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi had announced, "I should like to assure you that the suggestions made by the Council and the projects drawn up by it will be considered with particular attention by the Planning commission and also the various Ministries of the Government of India. I can assure you that any worthwhile idea that it might propose as being of tangible benefit to the region will not suffer for want of funds."

Introduction The North Eastern Council (NEC) was constituted in the year 1971 by an act of Parliament and with it marked the beginning of a new chapter of concerted and planned efforts for rapid socio-economic development of the North eastern Region. Over the last 45 years, NEC has been instrumental in removing the basic bottlenecks of connectivity, capacities etc. that stood in the way of development of the region. NEC has funded various projects across all sectors of the economy of the North Eastern states. Construction of 10,500 kms of roads, installation of 694 MW of power generating capacity and 2540 kms of transmission and distribution lines have been carried out with NEC funding, apart from the improvement of infrastructure of airports in Guwahati, Dibrugarh, Jorhat, Imphal and Umroi in collaboration with the Airport Authority of India. Besides, NEC has also assisted and promoted many iconic institutes such as Regional Institute of Medical Sciences, Imphal, North East Police Academy, Shillong, North Eastern Electrical Power Corporation Ltd,

Shillong, B Barooah Cancer Institute, Guwahati, North East India Regional Institute of Science and Technology, Itanagar, Regional Institute of Paramedical and Nursing Sciences, Aizawl etc.

Goals of the NEC: The goals of North Eastern Council are given below:

- a) Preparation of integrated and holistic regional perspective plans to achieve specific short-term and long-term objectives, by taking into account the aspirations, needs and sensitivity of the people of the region.
- b) Identifying the strengths of the region and focusing on the opportunities for accelerating the pace of socio-economic development in the NER through participatory planning and implementation.
- c) Synergizing and building convergence in the efforts of Central/State Government/other stakeholders for balanced development of the region.
- d) Evolving a coordinated common approach for all agencies working for the development, public order and security in the region.
- e) Evolving and aiding in the formulation of innovative and appropriate policies and strategies suited for the region for its all-round rapid development.

Function of the Division North Eastern Council :

The Transformation & Development Department is nodal department for Assam. NEC is generally funding projects for infrastructure development having regional character. NEC Cell of T&D department is working as a coordinating Deptt. For this purpose, with various Depts. Line deptts. Submit proposals to T&D Deptt. After verification, T&D Deptt. Forwards it to NEC, Shillong for consideration. After sanction, NEC releases 1st installment on 90:10 basis. After getting U/C of 1st installment, through Transformation and Development Department, NEC releases next installment.

Function of the Cell:

- To consider and scrutinize the Five Year Plan as well as Annual Plan proposals submitted by different departments and recommended the selected proposal to NEC, Shillong with the approval of the government.
- To consider and scrutinize the DRP (detail project report) as well as SFC (standing finance committee) memorandum/EFC (economics finance committee) memorandum / PIB (public invest board) memorandum and to forward the same, if found satisfactory.
- To collect and compile the QPR (quarterly progress report) for physical and financial progress of NEC Schemes under implementation and to forward the same to NEC, Shillong and Govt. of India.
- To arrange review meeting with different departments from time to time to assess the progress of the schemes under implementation.
- To prepare draft speech for the Hon'ble Chief Minister in connection with the Council's Meetings (held at least twice a year). Also to prepare draft views on Agenda Notes for the council meetings as well as steering committee meetings and other meetings arranged by NEC.
- To initiate follow up action as per decision of such meetings to prepare/compile the following reports:
 - Position of submission of audit certificates/utilization certificate by the concerned department.
 - Position of release of fund by NEC as well as State Finance departments.
 - Proposals submitted to NEC under Annual Plan/Five year plan.
 - Budget proposals for submission to state finance (budget) department for making necessary budget provision in the state budget of relevant year.
 - Other reports as required from the time to time.

- To consider and scrutinize various proposals for financial assistance under different NEC programmes submitted by Autonomous Bodies/Trust/NGO/Industrial Un

Role North Eastern Council (NEC)

The Council was initially set up as an advisory body but now sanctioned as a Regional planning body since 2002. They now discuss any matter in which the North Eastern States have a common interest and decide the action to be taken on any such matter. This was done so as to take care of the economic and social planning of these states, as well as to provide mediation in the event of inter-State disputes.

Funding

The funding of the Council mainly lies with the Central Government, with historically 56% contributed by the state governments and the rest by the central govt departments.^[4] 3 year plan issued in 2017, envisages an annual budget of INR2500 crore, 40% from the government and the rest 60% from the Non-Laspable Central Pool of Resources (NLCPR).¹

Impact

The distribution of financial resources spent has been 47% towards transport and communication, 14% in agriculture, 11% in human resource development and education, 9% in power, 4% in health, 3% in tourism and 3% in industries for fiscal year 2017.^[4] The Council has demonstrated considerable achievements, mostly in the provision of electricity, education, highways and bridges development in the North-Eastern States. The Council has also taken up major highway and bridge building projects and funds several engineering and medical colleges. The council has funded projects producing around 250 megawatts of electricity to reduce the region's dependency on the States of West Bengal and Odisha.

Role and functioning of North Eastern Council in Five Year Plan wise

The North Eastern Council (NEC) is not a constitutional body, but a statutory organization established under the North Eastern Council Act, 1971, as amended in 2002.

Initially, NEC was an Advisory Body for North Eastern Region (NER). Now NEC is mandated to function as a Regional Planning Body for the North Eastern Region. The Council comprises Governors and Chief Ministers of constituent States and three members nominated by the President.

While formulating the regional plans for the North Eastern Region, it is mandated to give priority to schemes and projects, benefitting two or more States, provided that in case of Sikkim, the Council shall formulate specific projects and schemes for that State including the review of implementation of such project and schemes.

To fulfil its mandate, the NEC has been implementing various projects in different sectors. Over the years, NEC has achieved construction of 10500 kms. of roads, supported installation of 695 MW of power plants, construction of transmission and distribution lines, improvement in infrastructure of 5 major airports and construction of new airport in Tezu, Arunachal Pradesh. A major livelihood programme has transformed the lives of over 120000 women in the NER.

As the NEC was set up in 1971, the fund allocations made to the NEC since the 4th Five Year Plan (1973-74) is as under:

The fund allocation made to the NEC since the 4th Five Year Plan (1973-74)(Rs. in crore)

Plan	Approved Outlay	Actual Allocation	Percentage
4th Five Year Plan (1973-74)	0.33	0.33	100.00
5th Five Year Plan (1974-75 to 1977-78)	65.11	65.11	100.00
Rolling Plan (1978-79 to 1979-80)	35.85	35.85	100.00
	47.00	47.00	100.00
6th Five Year Plan (1980-82 to 1984 -85)	417.15	417.15	100.00
7th Five Year Plan (1985-86 to 1989-90)	811.05	835.00	102.95
Rolling Plan (1990-91 to 1991-92)	202.00	202.00	100.00
	219.50	219.50	100.00

8th Five Year Plan (1992-93 to 1996-97)	1588.00	1452.00	91.44
9th Five Year Plan (1997-98 to 2001-02)	2079.00	2055.02	98.85
10th Five Year Plan (2002-03 to 2006-07)	2511.5	2511.50	100.00
11th Five Year Plan (2007-08 to 2011-12)	3248.00	3247.00	99.97

The funds to the tune of Rs.4500.00 crore, including Rs.1000.00 crore for North Eastern Road Sector Development Scheme (NERSDS), have been approved for allocation to the NEC during 2017-18 to 2019-20. The funds amounting to Rs.1096.36 crore and Rs.1156.00 crore have been allocated for financial years 2017-18 and 2018-19 respectively.

Some sectors have been identified as priorities like Bamboo; Piggery; Regional Tourism; Higher Education, Tertiary Healthcare & Special Intervention in backward areas; Livelihood project; Science & Technology Interventions in NER; Survey & Investigation and NER Promotion.

This information was provided by the Union Minister of State (Independent Charge) Development of North-Eastern Region (DoNER), MoS PMO, Personnel, Public Grievances & Pensions, Atomic Energy and Space, Dr Jitendra Singh in written reply to a question in Rajya Sabha today.

Check your progress

1. Which statutory body was established in the year, 1971 to ensure growth and development of the northeastern region?

5.2.3. MDONER

The Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region is responsible for the matters relating to the planning, execution and monitoring of development schemes and projects in the North Eastern Region. Its vision is to accelerate the pace of socio-economic development of the Region so that it may enjoy growth parity with the rest of the country.

The Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region is a Government of India ministry, established in September 2001, which functions as the nodal Department of the Central Government to deal with matters related to the socio-economic development of the eight States of Northeast India, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura and Sikkim. It acts as a facilitator between the Central Ministries/ Departments and the State Governments of the North Eastern Region in the economic development including removal of infrastructural bottlenecks, provision of basic minimum services, creating an environment for private investment and to remove impediments to lasting peace and security in the North Eastern Region.

The current, Minister of Development of North Eastern Region is Jitendra Singh (Minister of state, Independent Charge)

Function/Responsibilities of MDoNER:

MDONER is responsible for the matters relating to the planning, execution and monitoring of development schemes and projects in the NE region. The Department of Development of North Eastern Region (DoNER) was created in 2001 and was accorded the status of a full-fledged ministry on May 2004. The ministry is mainly concerned with the creation of infrastructure for economic development of North-Eastern region.

Main activities/functions of the DoNER.

- Non Lapsible Central Pool of Resources (NLCPR)^[4]
- North Eastern Council (NEC)
- Coordination with the Central Ministries and the State Governments of the NE states.
- Capacity Building
- Advocacy and Publicity
- International Cooperation
- Enterprises of the Department

Organisational Structure

The ministry has following organisations functioning under it:

- North Eastern Council (NEC)
- North Eastern Development Finance Corporation Ltd.(NEDFi)
- North Eastern Regional Agricultural Marketing Corporation Limited (NERAMAC)
- The Sikkim Mining Corporation Limited. (SMC)
- North Eastern Handlooms and Handicrafts Development Corporation (NEHHDC)

Major achievements of Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region

(Press Information Bureau Government of India Ministry for Development of North-East Region-18-December-2018)

1. Flow of Funds to North Eastern Region: The trend of budgetary allocation to MDoNER in the last few years reflects an increase of 51% allocation in BE 2018-19 compared against actual of 2015-16. MDoNER was allocated Rs. 1986.80 crore (Actual), Rs. 2495.84 crore (Actual), Rs.2682.45 crore (RE) and Rs. 3000.00 crore (BE) for the years 2015-16, 2016-17, 2017-18 and 2018-19 respectively. The trend of allocation to North Eastern Region amongst the various Ministries/Departments (including both Central Sector and Centrally Sponsored Schemes) in the last few years has shown an increase of 65% in BE 2018-19 as compared against BE 2015-16. Non-Exempt Union Ministries made budgetary allocation of Rs. 29669.22 crore (RE), Rs. 32180.08 crore (RE), Rs. 40971.69 crore (RE) and Rs. 47994.88 crore (BE) for the years 2015-16, 2016-17, 2017-18 and 2018-19 respectively.
2. 10% Gross Budgetary Support (GBS): MDoNER, being the nodal Ministry, monitors and keeps track of expenditure under mandatory 10% GBS by non-exempted Ministries/Departments, since inception. As per information received from 51 non-exempted Ministries/ Departments, as on date, under 10% GBS, the actual

expenditure in NER has been of Rs. 38845.26 crores as against RE allocation of Rs 40971.69 crores for the year 2017-18 for 54 non-exempted Ministries/Departments. As per PFMS data, the expenditure till 28th December, 2018 is Rs. 19960.66 crores (consisting of release against Central Sector scheme, Centrally Sponsored Schemes and Other Grants/Loans/Transfer to NER states) against the earmarked allocation (BE) of Rs. 47994.88 crore for the entire year.

3. Establishment of an Industrial Corridor in North Eastern Region: Government of Assam proposed for establishment of an Industrial Corridor in the North-Eastern Region (NER) from Dawki (on Indo-Bangladesh Border) Shillong via Guwahati to Nagoan and from Golaghat via Dimapur via Imphal to Moreh (on Indo-Myanmar Border). In view of the Asian Development Bank's (ADB's) engagement in the NER, Ministry of Finance has requested ADB for undertaking the feasibility study for the proposed North East industrial Corridor and to draw up scope and terms of reference for the study in consultation with Department of Industrial Policy and Promotion (DIPP), Ministry of DoNER and the States concerned.
4. NITI Forum for North East: NITI Forum for North East has been constituted under the chairmanship of Vice Chairman, NITI Aayog and co-chairmanship of Minister of State (IC), DoNER. The members of the forum include CEO, NITI Aayog, Chief Secretaries of North Eastern States, Secretaries of key Ministries/ Departments, retired bureaucrats, economists and academicians. The terms of reference of the Forum, inter alia, include identification of various constraints on the way for accelerated, inclusive but sustainable economic growth in the North East Region of the country and to recommend suitable interventions for addressing identified constraints.

The first meeting of NITI Forum for North East was held under the chairpersonship of Hon'ble Vice-Chairman NITI Aayog and co-chairpersonship of Hon'ble Minister of State (Independent Charge), Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region on 10.04.2018 in Agartala, Tripura. Subsequently, second meeting of NITI Forum for North East was held on 04.12.2018 in Guwahati, Assam. In the recently concluded 2nd Meeting, panel discussions were held in five key sectors, namely, Tourism, Pisciculture, Bamboo, Dairy, and Tea.

5. North East Special Infrastructure Development Scheme (NESIDS): The Guidelines for administering newly formulated scheme NESIDS has been circulated to all NE States. Since approval of NESIDS on 15.12.2017 with outlay of Rs. 1600 crore, projects worth of Rs. 1458.12 crore have already been selected for funding in a short span of one year. Out of these selected projects, 10 Projects worth of Rs. 473.11 crore have been sanctioned so far with token release of Rs.10.00 lakh for completing tender formalities. The average size of the sanctioned projects under NESIDS have increased to 47.00 crore from Rs. 3-5 crore under the erstwhile NLCPR projects. Major projects sanctioned under NESIDS are :-

Sl. No.	Project	Cost (Rs. in crore)
1.	Construction of three lane Road over Bridge at Jorhat in replacement of Railway LC gate No. ST-58 on Naali, Jorhatin Assam	77.00
2.	Alternate Gravity Water Supply Scheme of Aizawl, Mizoram	119.00
3.	Construction of two lane balanced cantilever bridge over river Kanaka at KayumDzongu in North Sikkim	88.54

Check your progress

3. What is M DONER?

5.2.4. Issues of Tribal Development and Ethnic Identity

Tribal Development

Diversity is also a characteristic of the tribal population of the northeastern region of India. However, tribes of this region may be divided broadly into hill-dwelling and valley-dwelling with distinct economic problems. The economic problems of the valley-dwelling tribes are not basically different from those of the Indian peasantry in general. Because of their long exposure to the national economy, polity and society, they have retained very little of their indigenous economic and political practices and institutions.

The strategy of tribal development also requires defining in clear terms the contents of development for the tribals. These are bound to be different from the national contents. Economic development for the tribals, and also for the north-eastern region, as I have defined elsewhere, it is a persistent rise in per capita income in real terms emanating from increased domestic factor productivity without accentuating economic disparities. This must be achieved while minimizing the adverse effects on future resource availability and ecology and without jeopardizing, ethnic identity.

Development, whether tribal or otherwise, is a value loaded term as it signifies a process of change in the desired direction. It is an indivisible whole, although for the sake of convenience it is decomposed into economic, political, cultural, educational, spiritual and the like. A harmonious, balanced progress in different spheres of individual and societal life is needed. Lop-sided progress in one sphere is often at the expense of progress in another (others). When this happens, overall development, which we want to maximize, becomes a casualty.

Economic Inequality

Tribal people mostly live and earn through the hills and forest areas. Along with agriculture, they also depend on waving and rearing of woolly animals. Most hill communities in the

north-east practised shifting cultivation and their socio-political life was regulated by customary laws and practices. However, over the decades due to market penetration, several hill communities have taken to settled cultivation, and community ownership over means of production was gradually replaced by individual ownership, leading to economic inequalities. Laws exist to protect the locals against outsiders, but they could not stop class differences growing within. Today, among the hill communities, some are millionaires while most others do not even have an acre of land to cultivate. Interestingly, the neo-rich tribal elite are vociferous in asserting indigenous rights, not so much to benefit the poorest their own interest and keep promote their own interests and keep the exploited poor under control. Privatization of communal lands is often the result of president promotion of commercial horticultural and other crops, as well as due to rising land values near towns and along highways. However, the emerging tribal elite have not much entrepreneurial talent to establish industry, and much investment is only in real estate.

A. Problem of Geographic separation

The first and the most important reason is its physiography: first, it is a hilly region covered by the Eastern Himalayan Range, the Naga Hills, the Garo Hills, etc.. Owing to this, the development in the communication systems is not very good. Besides this, this region has two massive rivers: the Brahmaputra and the Barak River. This is another reason for poor communication. The bridges take years to be built, and it is a very costly and slow affair.

B. Problem of insurgency movements

It is an ugly but true fact. **Insurgency in Northeast India is** rampant. Some of the Insurgent Groups in North East India are:

- Nagaland- NSCN-IM, NSCN-K
- Manipur- Peoples Liberation Army, PREPAK

- Assam- ULFA,NDFB,KLNLF,UPDS.
- Tripura-National Liberation Front Of Tripura, All Tripura Tiger Force
- Meghalaya-ANVC,HNLC
- Arunachal Pradesh- NSCN-IM, NSCN-K.

Insurgency & Ceasefire

1. The basic ingredient of insurgency i.e. popular support is drying up in the region.
Insurgency is active in Manipur, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, etc..
There are around 50 insurgent groups only in Manipur.
2. Ceasefire and Suspension of Operations with militant groups allows them to indulge in extortion and kidnapping, which in turn help them in maintaining their clout over the people of the region.
3. There exists deep nexus between all the insurgent groups in the Northeast. The CPI (Maoist) is also in touch with the North east insurgents primarily to source weapons. Arms were given by the United Liberation Force of Asom (ULFA) to the CPI (Maoist) in West Bengal.
4. The biggest challenge to the North East is extortion carried out by various insurgent groups. Extortion has become meticulously organised activity in the region and is one of the major sources of funds for the militant

C. Conflict and the Reasons for conflict in North East India need to be change and address:

- Historical reasons – loosely administered under British India.
- Tensions between these states and the central government.
- Tensions between tribal people, who are natives of these states, and migrant peoples from other parts of India.
- Geographical reasons – not well connected with present Indian mainland.

- Developmental reasons – Poorly developed due to lack of fund from Center/States.
- Environmental reasons.
- Military reasons – AFSPA (Armed Forces Special Power Act).
- Foreign Policy – Look easy policy and market changes bought.
- External support – China and Myanmar.

D. Demographic Anarchy

The biggest challenge we are grappling with is the demographic anarchy prevalent in our region. Two negative aspects of our demography are prominent. On the one hand, ingress of migrants and immigrants has crossed the saturation level and the inflow is continuing without any form of resistance or hindrance. On the other hand, depletion of indigenous population is conspicuous and easily palpable. Migrants and immigrants constitute around 45 % of our total regional population. This is beyond the manageable limit and our absorptive capacity. Our leadership has to find out a way out from the impending catastrophe, which we are going to face in the near future.

E. Economic (under-) development

Next, the most dangerous challenge posing against us is the problem of development of economic underdevelopment. Our NE region is rich in minerals and natural resources. Peoples were also hard working. But we are unbelievably poor. Our Society is modernized only in consumption and luxury, not in production. This disparity between income and aspiration engenders many psychological, moral, social and political problems. We have become psychologically disintegrated and morally degenerated and politically bankrupt. These conditions churn out social anomie. This economic problem, along with the concomitant social anomie, has been fabricated by wrong economic policy practiced in this part of India for more than 60 years.

F. Globalization

Next, the most gigantic challenge threatening our existence is the phenomenon called globalization. If viewed from utilitarian outlook, experts claim, all countries gain something from this process. But in our specific condition, globalization is going to be a curse for us. With India's 'Look East' policy, now renamed as 'Act East' policy, which heralded the tectonic shift of India's west-oriented stance towards east-oriented posture, our status will be reduced to that of passive spectators, while outsiders will hog the stage. Considering our present level of development, it is impossible for us to successfully compete with MNCs and foreign entrepreneurs in business and trade. So, globalization is **not** going to be an opportunity for us as it has been for other countries. A fitting response against this looming catastrophe is a must for our survival.

G. Indiscriminate or unsustainable exploitation of natural resources and imminent environmental catastrophe

In connection with the question of economic development, another dangerous challenge is the indiscriminate mining and excessive exploitation of the natural resources in the NE region. The peoples of the region face threats to their survival on account of development projects undertaken by the government in collaboration with MNCs and international financial institutions like the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. For examples, the Subansiri lower dam and the Tipaimukh dam pose as Democles' sword for Peoples of the lower riparian states. In Meghalaya, a large expanse of land is now unusable after open-pit coal mining. Uranium mining, which is most damaging to the environment, is also being carried out in the state. Petroleum deposits in Manipur and Mizoram are of enormous size. Production will be huge. So will the disaster also. Besides, oil fields are contributing their own share of damage to the environment.

H. Social Dis-organization

Now, we have arrived at the dreaded condition of social anomie. A society, that has insufficient productive forces, makes its members capability-poor. A society of ‘capability-poor’ people is also poor in cultural capital. And if the standard of living of such a society is much higher than what its productive forces can afford, such an economic condition creates moral degeneration and, consequently, loss of character. Then such society loses all organizational capacity. There is trust deficit among the people. A trust-deficit society becomes anomic and dis-organized. Unity becomes impossible. As a result, social movements die a natural death. Our society has arrived at such a condition. Our civil society is so dis-organized, undeveloped and weak that it may be safely supposed to have died. This is one of the most fatal challenges we are posed against.

I. Governance Deficit

Due to critical level corruption in our society, governance is almost non-existent or it has become sheer mis-governance. Our people elect MPs and MLAs, but their leadership is not accepted. Such elected representatives are taken simply as source of money and favour, not as repository of ideas and visionaries for the future. They are hated or feared, not loved or respected. This deficit in governance is a big challenge. Without good institutions, development is impossible. Without leadership, social development and unity are a far cry.

J. Policy Paralysis

Our education system, including both formal and informal, fails miserably. We have become a nation of (educated) illiterates. There is no hope of ameliorating the condition. Losing hope in the effectiveness of our education system, well-to-do families send out their children to some Indian mainland cities for education. It gives a big economic blow to our society. On the other hand, it is a brain drain from our society, as good students get

employment opportunities there and do not return home. At home there is no employment opportunity. Thus, education system failure is a big problem we should tackle for national survival. Social policy is also very conspicuous by its absence in the official policy recipe. Society is degenerating, but there is no policy to stop this slide.

K. AFSPA and HR Violations

The Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958 has been in force in some parts of the NE region since its enactment in 1958. This was described as ‘a lawless law’ by an MP from Manipur during the parliamentary debate on the enactment of this Act. This is really a ‘lawless’ Act. This is against the prevailing norms of any legal system in the present world. It is said that the Act is soft on the insurgents, but very hard on the public. Our people are now cowed into cowering through prolonged intimidation by Indian security forces. Norbert Elias, in his book, *The Civilizing Process*, states that fear is the most important mechanism through which the structures of society are transmitted to the individual psychological functions. If this contention is true at least to a small degree and Union Government’s objective is to transform our people from a community having ‘no loyalty to mother India’ to a community that conforms in toto, the Act is a grand success.

L. Substance Addiction

Drug abuse is also a powerful challenge our society is struggling against. It is generally accepted that more than 30% of our youths are narcotic drug abusers. Starting from No. 4, heroin and opium to cannabis and tobacco, all kinds of drugs are available in abundance in Manipur and some parts of the NE, more easily in towns and cities. The union government seldom does anything effectively except hollow propaganda and advertisement. In league with drug addiction, the pandemic of HIV/AIDS has spread with gusto in our region. Manipur is the highest affected state in the NE region. Nagaland is next. Mizoram is also not far behind. This is a big challenge confronting our society.

M. Fragmentation of the body politic on ethnic lines

One of the biggest challenges posing against the NE is the fragmentation of the population of the region along ethnic lines. The region has more than 220 communities, with an equal number of languages. *These communities are mobilized and amalgamated into some larger ethnic groups* claimed to be nations or nationalities in the narratives of the ethnic communities. But there are clashes of these nationalisms and overlapping territorial claims. Such territorial claims and counter-claims create irreconcilable contradictions among the communities. If this issue cannot be addressed successfully by our leadership, hostilities will continue, compromising the real political strength of the region. If the region is not amalgamated into a unified political entity, our future is bleak.

N. Negligence by the Central Government:

The floods that affect millions in North East India fail to gather attention of the National Media, let alone Central Government. 1.8 Million People were affected by the floods of 2016 alone, but we still fail to get the required aid and attention.

O. Border issues

1. The international borders in the North east are extremely porous. Thus, cross border infiltration of militants, and smuggling of arms are rampant in the region.
2. China has differing claim in Arunachal Pradesh. Along the westernmost corner, Chinese claim line lay 20 kms south and in the eastern most extreme of Arunachal Pradesh it lay 30 km south.
3. International boundaries in the North East have not crystallised into lines separating sovereign countries on the ground

P. Lack of big Industries and factories:

1. However, the Northeast will not attract big industries because the region is resource deficit, and does not have economies of scale to match. Moreover, the security situation in the whole of the region has not improved uniformly.
2. The North East Council (NEC) and the Ministry for the Development of the North East Region (DoNER) have become fund disbursing agencies instead of strategic planning agencies. At present approximately Rs. 11,000 crore is lying idle with the Ministry of DoNER
3. However, the Northeast will not attract big industries because the region is resource deficit, and does not have economies of scale to match. Moreover, the security situation in the whole of the region has not improved uniformly.
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Q. Political

1. It is important to understand the culture and psyche of the people of North East while framing policy alternatives.
2. The perceived threat to the political identity of the Assamese people from the illegal migrants from Bangladesh lies at the core of the Assam problem. The indigenous people of Assam feel that in future the illegal migrants will become the majority population and they will lose political power.
3. The ceasefire agreements and peace negotiations have resulted in reducing the violence levels and given the civil societies of the region space to talk.

4. One of the ways to contain insurgency in the region is to delegate powers to the ethnic minorities through the Autonomous District Councils so that they can fashion their own development.
5. The implementation of Sixth Schedule in Assam has not benefited the tribal communities of the state. Following the 73rd and 74th amendments, the Central and state governments are providing huge amounts of financial resources to the Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRI) and municipalities. Since, the scheduled areas do not fall under the purview of the PRI and municipalities, they do not receive any share of these funds and as a result they lose out.

R. Look East Policy

1. The North East still remains inward looking focussing primarily on internal conflicts. There is no discussion on the benefits that could accrue to the region from the Look East Policy.
2. If the North East Region is opened up there is a fear of being swamped by cheap Chinese goods, which would spell disaster for the local manufacturing units.
3. Apprehensions exist that the development of communication links could result in developing strong links between the people of the North east with the people of China, Myanmar and ASEAN countries, which would undermine the unity and integrity of India

S. Adverse Impact on Women-

Privatisation has started increasing the vulnerability of women. For instance, as per Naga customary law, women have no land, property, or inheritance rights. There are instances that if they try to assert possession over land, they are branded as witches and are accused of causing harm to communities. These women are physically and mentally tortured. There is evidence of some being buried and even burnt alive. Cases of witch-hunting have mainly been reported from the Goalpara, Bongaigaon, Kokrajhar, Nalbari and Dhubri districts.

Control Over resources, personal enmity with powerful members of the community and the prevalence of superstitions are some of the factors responsible for witch hunting.

T. Absence of Land Records-

Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Meghalaya, hill areas of Manipur and some tribal tracts of Assam have no written land records system, nor any payment of land revenue. Absence of land records has increased insecurity of tenure of the poor due to rising tenancy and landlessness, increasing concentration of land ownership in the hands of a few, and declining output from shifting cultivation. The structural condition under which land is cultivated (open access or 'free for all') combined with the fact that the elite are able to corner most government funds, has intensified poverty and inequality in these states. Privatisation of land by the elite through enclosure of commons can hardly be viewed as positive step because its impact on agrarian relations is retrograde. Cohesive social relations therefore co-exist with increasing economic disparities.

U. Poor Capacity to Spend Funds-

Though, the ADCs have constitutional status with certain amount of autonomy in dealing with subjects, they are not backed by adequate funding arrangement. This has made these Councils ineffective in dealing with the allocated subjects resulting in discontentment. The Central Government has been trying to address these issues by providing ad-hoc grants to the Councils under special packages or by earmarking funds in the Plan allocations of the State. However, due to poor spending capacity of the Councils, as well as of the state governments, overall expenditure remains poor. For instance, at least 10 percent of the Central Ministries Budget is earmarked for the development of North Eastern States, and unspent balance is transferred to a non-lapsable pool. However, in actual practice, release against the total available funds in the pool is not satisfactory. The states are not able to send good proposals

to the administrative Ministry, or are not able to spend well with the result that outcomes are not satisfactory.

V. Activate Planning Departments-

Such delays can be avoided and procedures completed expeditiously if the state governments strengthen their Planning Departments. The hard reality is that planning departments have poor capacity to prepare good proposals for external aid or even for getting more funds from GOI, and thus lose out on external or central assistance.

An energised Planning Department would keep in view, the needs and aspirations of the tribal's and within the broad framework of the long term development strategies and priorities envisaged for the State, the Department would formulate Annual and five year plans, undertake regular monitoring and review of the implementation of Plan Programmes, and effect necessary adjustments in the Plans both in terms of physical content and resource allocation so as to ensure optimum realization of the plan objectives.

Other Systemic Issues

Not only tribal regions, but the entire North-East Region with the exception of Sikkim is characterized by low per-capita income, lack of private investment, low capital formation, inadequate infrastructure facilities, and geographical bottlenecks. The region is primarily disadvantaged on account of connectivity. Power is a big constraint; micro-hydel power and other resources of renewable energy need to be explored in the region. Its own tax collection and internal resources are quite meagre rendering the region totally dependent on central devolution. Local tribal elite prefer to invest in landed property and shy from risky ventures.

In addition to stepping up overall investment by GOI, states must also improve governance and delivery. For instance, Assam's per capita plan outlay for 2014-15 was Rs. 5,775 whereas with similar poor population Chhattisgarh's per capita plan outlay was Rs 12,807.

Besides these states must improve monitoring of outcomes and hold government staff accountable for results. Thus according to the state governments, the percentage of severely malnourished children in the north-eastern states is much less than 1 percent, whereas a survey done by UNICEF have reported a much higher figure varying from 3.5 percent in Meghalaya and Tripura. There is an urgent need to reconcile the two sets of figures. Process reforms are needed so that field data is authentic, reliable and tallies with the evaluated data.

To significant reduce, let alone eliminate with the next decade or so, the growing gap between growth rates in the country and the tribal pockets of North East India calls for a massive improvement in delivery and governance, and not only increase in the flow of financial resources to the region. It is no longer the availability of financial resources, but the capacity of institutions and individuals in the North East to make effective use of available resources that is proving the critical constraint to growth. Institution-building calls for strengthening State departments and agencies, as well as promoting fruitful partnerships between civil society and state Governments. Strengthening of institutions of local self government is particularly important.

Recommendations to Solve North East India Problems

Insurgency

Thorough background check of all insurgents groups should be carried out before the central government enters into any Ceasefire or Suspension of Operations Agreements with the insurgents.

Political

1. Political solutions to the Assam problem should be discussed openly as widely as possible to avoid backlash from the tribal and the minority population of the state.

2. A system of work permit should be issued so that the illegal Bangladeshi migrants do not end up as Indian citizens.
3. The Autonomous District Councils should be empowered.
4. Governance should be improved in a step by step manner. Strict supervision by senior officials should be initiated to improve the delivery system of the government.

Development

1. The Ministry of the Development of the North East region (DoNER) be merged with the North East Council (NEC) for better strategic planning and coordination of various developmental projects in the region.
2. Focus of the Ministry of DoNER and NEC should be on investment in mega-projects which will make big difference to the development of the region.
3. Institutional capacities in the North east should be developed urgently.
4. Pragmatic land use policy should be formulated for attracting industries in the region. Micro, small and medium enterprises should be encouraged.
5. Local tourism should be promoted. Tourists residing in the eight North Eastern states should be encouraged to travel within the region.
6. Niche tourism or high end tourism should be encouraged. Medical and higher education tourism should be encouraged.
7. The North east should become a single economic unit without disturbing the political boundaries of the states. No internal traffic barriers in the region. Exclusive five year plan for the North east focusing on development of infrastructure.

5.2.5 Look East Policy

1. Greater awareness about the Look East Policy and its benefits to the North East should be generated among the policymakers and the intelligentsia of the region.

2. Ties with Myanmar should be deepened by exploiting Myanmar's anxieties about China as well as existing deep civilization and spiritual ties.
3. The North East region must be included in the India-ASEAN Vision for trade and cooperation. Development Plan for the North East should factor India-ASEAN strategic cooperation.
4. Integrated and bottom up approaches are required for integration of the North east in the Look East Policy. The North East should formulate plans as to how it can engage with the ASEAN. Better coordination of efforts by all the Northeastern states should be ensured.
5. Visa offices of Bangladesh and Myanmar should be located in the North East.
6. Centres/Departments for the studies of neighbouring countries like Myanmar, Bangladesh, Tibet, Bhutan and Nepal in Universities should be set up in universities to understand India's neighbours better.

Border Issues

1. Special economic zones along India-Bangladesh border, especially in Meghalaya and Assam should be set up.
2. States should focus more on the development and security of the border areas.
3. Sentiments of the people of Arunachal Pradesh should be taken into consideration by the central government while discussing the frameworks for resolution of the border dispute with China.
4. Matching infrastructure and military capability should be build to ensure peace and enable negotiations from a position of strength

B) Ethnic Identity

North East India is a politically vital and strategically vulnerable region of India [1] which consists of eight states namely Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram,

Nagaland and Tripura and Sikkim. This region is surrounded by four foreign countries, namely China, Myanmar, Bangladesh and Bhutan. It is virtually a land-locked area since it is connected with the rest of India through a narrow, thirty-kilometre corridor of foot hills land in North Bangle. Such unparalleled location of the region has invariably converted the North East India into an isolated pocket, where a feeling of alienation and separation find it easy.

It is pertinent to understand the concept of ethnicity. Ethnicity is often identified with the ideas of primordialism based on descent, race, kinship, territory, language, history, etc. It is also related to the memory of a golden age which is closely linked to a sense of collective destiny. Ethnicity is defined as “the sense of collective belonging to a named community of common myths or origin and shared memories, associated with an historic homeland” (Smith, 1999: 262). Ethnicity also refers to some form of group identity related to a group of persons who accept and define themselves by a consciousness of common descent or origin, shared historical memories and connections (Chazan, Mortimer, Ravenhall and Rothchild, 1988: 35). Ethnicity can be classified into two groups - instrumental ethnicity which emanates from material deprivation – and symbolic ethnicity based on one’s anxiety to preserve one’s cultural identity (Noyoo, 2000: 57). Ethnicity entails a subjective belief in common ancestry. Ethnic membership is based on group identity and often identities would be invented or constructed. In certain cases, ethnic identity is intrinsically connected with language. Language is very often becomes a maker of cultural differences.

Ethnic conflict has become a common phenomenon in India, since independence wherein ethnic factor has played central role in the Indian Politics for gaining political power. Political parties have been dually using ethnicity for their own political gains. On one hand, culture, language and ethnic sentiments are politicized by the political parties to ignite ethnic conflicts. And on the other hand, the technique of politicization is used to resolve ethnic violence. Political parties use ethnic conflicts in real or imagined sense to appeal to pride,

historic achievements and current injustices to win elections and gain power. The political parties and ethnic leaders greatly use racial-ethnic identity questions, culture and linguistic questions to appeal to their respective fellow ethnic groups. The political parties nominate those individuals as ethnic leaders who enjoy high standing in their ethnic constituencies such as Chandrababu Naidu in Andhra Pradesh, Late Jayalalitha in Tamil Nadu and Prafulla Kumar Mahanta in Assam. The communal ethnic group had led to the organization of different sub-national political identity movements on the basis of language and culture within the region of North East India. Politicisation at one time, inhibits the growth of ethnic consciousness among the ethnic groups regarding their own rights and existence, but at the same time its extremity in politics worsens the situations therefore increasing the politics of identity crisis and subnationalism in Assam. In northeast India, the demand for separate identity is very high for which various ethnic, linguistic and religious groups undertook numerous movements such as identity movements, autonomy movements, secessionist movements etc.

Introduction Ethnic conflict in its outmost form is looked as large scale violence, sweeping insurgency and ultimate civil war resulting in massive death, devastation, agony and affliction. Such type of perpetuated condition may intensely undermine and derange the social order leading to political-economic break down .The concern of ethnic conflict in Indian society has touched different parts of India. The usage of the term “us versus them” connoting one community against another or community against state has accelerated the concern of ethnic violence. This ethnic conflicts and insurgency is however said to be motivated by politically constructed antagonism in India especially Assam. North East India is home to large number of ethnic groups who came from different directions at different historical times. These groups belong to different racial stocks, speak different languages and have varied socio-cultural traditions. However the alienation of ethnic people in different

socio-economic and political sphere led to the emergence of ethnic assertion and ethnic conflict in northeastern region. In Northeast India various ethnic groups are now posing serious threat to the political stability and national integrity of India for the sake of preservation of their own distinct identity. Moreover ethnicity is highly politicized and it has become an instrument of politics. In politics, organization or mobilization of people is very important. Unless people are not organized they will not be able to share the fruits of politics and hence they will remain economically underdeveloped. On the other hand organization or mobilizations on the ground of ethnic symbol are very easy. Thus ethnic groups play a very important role in Politics. The northeastern region witnessed the issue of ethnic conflict and therefore is called conflict ridden area. The ethnic clashes that took place on the basis of ethnicity were KukiNaga ethnic clashes (1992-1998), Meities Muslims (1993), Kuki-Paite (1997-1998), and Chaksesangs-Tangkhuls (1995-1996). The tension of ethnic conflict emerged through the feeling of deprivations and unreturned expectations towards communities concerned. This insight is normally associated with the feelings of political, social, economical and cultural insecurities and apathy. In Assam, ethnic violence took place in linguistic form in post independent period. The first riot on language started in 1960-61 before and after passing of the Official Language Bill by the state assembly. The second riot of language movement out broke in 1972, when Gauhati University and Dibrugarh University decided to introduce Assamese as the medium of instruction in the collegiate level. This resulted in violent inter-ethnic clashes between ethnic Assamese and Hindu Bengalis leading to massive deaths and destructions in the state. Assam, having a favorable economic growth and development has attracted economic opportunities resulting in mass migration from Bangladesh o India, especially Assam. This led to the immense flooding of people from Bangladesh and ultimately International Journal of Advanced Educational Research 293 threatening the job, employment, identity and language of native Assamese making the state

overcrowded. Despite of accusations of Assamese leaders against the central government as well as dominating political parties for ignoring the Assamese demands, the conditions of migration is still unfavorable. These shades of ignorance of demand resulted in numerous “sons of soils movements” in Assam since 1970s. The flow of foreigners within Assam has increased the tension and conflict between Assamese and Bengali Muslims in the mid of 1980’s. This tensions has taken the shape of more violence under the leadership of the NDFB (National Democratic Front Of Bodoland) and the ULFA (United Liberation Front of Assam). Apart from linguistic issues of ethnic violence, the state has also underwent through another form of ethnic violence between Bodo and Santhals (early 1996), Karbi- Kuki and Dimasahamr(2003), Karbi- Dimasa (2005), Garo-Rabha (2011), Bodo-Muslim (2008 and 2012) and so on..

The Key Issues Behind the Ethnic Identity in North East India

North east India is rich in diverse ethnic groups having peculiar historical and structural background passing from one generation to another. Therefore for the preservation and the upliftment of their ethnical and cultural uniqueness the groups have been consistently involved in conflict like situation. Following shows some important issues that contribute to ethnic movement in North-East India:

Historical Legacy

Historically Northeast India was never a part of Indian Union. Before the arrival of Britishers this region was rule by Raja’s or Maharaja’s. It was from 1826 that the region came under British control. Therefore after Independence of India various ethnic groups started to develop a sense of regional or separate tendency due to their past history.

Economic Underdevelopment

The uneven growth of development as well as underdevelopment in tribal as well as plain areas of North East region of India. It is however asserted that the national mainstream has

ignored the North East status vehemently in terms of providing sufficient economic resources for their development. It is alleged that despite of contributing a large sum of national earning through exporting natural resources they are not getting enough for their development in return for it. Consequently the ethnic groups such as Karbi, Kuki, Dimasa, Bodo, Naga, Mizu are in continuous conflict and disappointment with the national mainstream sometimes leading to the demand of autonomous status.

The attitude of the people

The attitude of the people of plain areas towards the people of hill tribes of east Assam has been perceived to be discriminatory and big brotherly in nature. Therefore a condition of unlikeness and conflict aroused between plains people and hills people on the basis of differences in language and culture leading to the foundation of separate states like Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya, etc.

Linguistic identity crisis

Assamese language was imposed on the tribal people of North East India through the implementation of Assam State Language Bill (1960). The bill has ensured the safeguard of Assamese identity based on Assamese language. This imposition of Assamese language has threatened the identity of hill people and was therefore afraid of being dominated by people having Assamese identity. The bill has bothered the hill elites as they were linguistically different from Assamese speaking people. These disturbances led to the separation of Nagaland in 1963 by reducing the territorial size of Assam. Likewise, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh got separated on the basis of language.

Illegal Immigration

The continuous inflow of foreigners to the North East India has led to the politics of identity movement by ethnic groups. The national as well as international migration in North East India since British colonial period to present time has increased the insecurity level of local

inhabitants. Despite of taking certain measures for the deportation of the foreigners, the risk of demographic imbalance, economic scarcity, political havoc and unemployment remain a common occurrence. The insecurity of various ethnic groups for losing their distinctive identity has resulted in ethnic violence and conflicts.

Developmental Projects

The displacement of the tribal people due to globalization and developmental projects has evicted them from their own inhabited area. They face major loss in terms of their land, livelihood, and identity without receiving any compensation or any alternative for acquisition and requisition of their land. Education among various ethnic International Journal of Advanced Educational Research 294 groups has brought consciousness and awareness regarding their backwardness and deprivation in respect of social, economic and cultural context. To preserve their ethnic identity numerous movements have been undertaken by the aboriginal people of North east India. Besides the emergence of educated middle class elite, poverty, and unemployment, attitude of the government are also responsible for the emergence of ethnic assertion and conflict in this region.

Ethnicity and politics

Language, culture and religion are directly connected with the emotions of the people so these issues are being used as an instrument of politics. In Assam, Bodo, Missing, Tea Tribes etc are organized and mobilized to create ethnic conflicts in order to preserve distinct linguistic identity. Political deprivation among various groups of north east tribes has resulted into a feeling of regionalism among ethnic groups instead of nationalist feeling. They thought that without political power, economic development is not possible. Therefore they are trying to involve in politics. Like language, religion is also very sensitive issue and politicians are not far from doing politics under the banner of religion. Besides the fear of losing own cultural identity, socio economic and political deprivation, various ethnic groups started

secessionist movement and some become insurgent. Therefore it can be said that identity assertion of the ethnic people and politics on the basis of ethnic symbols are the two sides of the same coin in northeastern region.

Nativism and Nationalism

Nativism is a policy, an attitude, a revolution aimed at reviving, preserving and practicing an indigenous culture. According to the great anthropologist Ralph Linton, nativism is the result of culture contact. He has proved on the basis of his studies of Native American communities, that whenever a culture is under threat from another more aggressive culture, weaker one's awareness of its native values is expressed in many ways. Nationalism, on the other hand is a political ideology which binds the nation together. Where the native is tied to his space by the love for his land and culture, the nationalist is tied by politics with culture at the backdrop. In the context of Northeast India, the ethnic communities who have been staying here acknowledge themselves as the natives of the place and adhere to the love of the land. Their nativity reflects their love for a simple life as contrasting the modern lifestyle. These communities have flourished in the lap of nature and the dense foliage of the valley. With immigration and increase in population, the forests have reduced considerably and hence the habitation of such ethnic communities has been perturbed. What happened centuries back in the case of America is reflected in the northeast Indian situation. The manner in which the European turned Americans went on pushing the natives towards the frontiers till there was no more land for them; the immigrants in the northeast India also pushed the natives to reside finally in dense forests as there was no more land for them.

Northeast India's Multi-Ethnicities

Dominant Issues and Problems Neha Jain Volume-III, Issue-II September 2016 280 In the national sphere both the natives Americans and the Northeast Indian native communities have been declined a say. With the immigration came a sense of alienation due to a vast gap

in the culture of the immigrants. The immigrants were more involved in the social sphere and dominated the socio-economic processes. The ethnic communities faced intense crisis and as a result, found themselves distanced from the national social sphere. The spirit of nationalism calls for love for the nation but these communities have love for land and the nation has alienated them leaving in them a sense of annoyance for the nation. The native Americans have been extremely repressed, marginalized and subdued whereas the Americans are the richest, most popular and wealthiest people; both inhabiting the same zone. Similarly, in the same nation, some ethnicities are popular while the native communities are ignored in India. The question here is not just of ethnic identity but the importance of national freedom over individual freedom. Before being a representative of a particular cultural group, every person is an individual; then is individual freedom retained in a nationally sovereign nation? Is national recognition dependent on being „like“ the other ethnic communities in the mainland nation? In a nation like India which is enormously diverse, there seems to be a tendency of homogenizing the diversity on the name of unity among the diversity. And again, there are some communities which are more equal, important than others. The multi-ethnicities in northeast India are represented as such there is an element of weirdness and strangeness in them which would evoke a sense of attraction among the outsiders for the region.

Insider-Outsider Model

In some parts of the northeast, the issue of ethnic identity assertion is related to migration that resulted in a sense of exclusion. This region since Independence witnessed migration of Bangladeshis, Nepalese; migrant workers from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, people from Rajasthan and other parts that came for business. The „insider“ and „outsider“ syndrome crippled the social, political, economic and cultural life of the native communities. In Tripura, the indigenous population became landless and land alienation led to Bengali migration. The native community was reduced to minority and the migrant Bengalis emerged as the

dominant force. The threat to their survival due to illegal migration created further social exclusion. Apart from creating a feeling of „us“ and „them“, it led to the alienation of natural resources and cultural specificities of ethnic groups leading to identity crisis. The material existence of tribal communities was threatened by the influx of migration, occupation of key government jobs by non-natives leading to their further exclusion. The phenomenon of ethnic extremism is further activated by declining jobs opportunities in the government sector. Ethnic communities feel in terms of “us” and “them” in the process of generating ethnic consciousness. This feeling emerges out of one group or community realizes its relative deprivation in comparison with others. The frustration of the unemployed youth was utilized by the extremist organizations to serve their interests. The demands of the extremist groups are varying from autonomy to secessionism. They often challenge the sovereignty and integrity of the nation-state. The assertion of ethnic identity and the accompanying extremist tendencies are related to the feeling of losing one’s own identity, marginalization and exploitation by others.

This Northeast India’s Multi-Ethnicities

Dominant Issues and Problems Neha Jain Volume-III, Issue-II September 2016 281 situation marks a sharp parallel with what happened in America with the Native Americans. They were pushed towards the frontiers until there was no space more and were finally dispossessed of their land by the outsider European who claimed to be American in the true sense of the term. There is another perspective in which the insider-outsider model can be viewed in Northeast India: the etic-emic approach. The terms were coined by linguist Kenneth Pike in 1954 from terms phonemic and phonetic arguing that the phonemic sounds voice the insider while phonetic voice the outsider objective tones. The emic approach studies what an insider thinks about his/her culture, it takes into account the perception of culture from within. It analyses the discourse that arouses from within by the natives. This perception is often one-sided and

pro-cultural as the subject is involved and cannot be objective or neutral. The etic approach studies how the outsider looks at the insider from outside. In the mainland India, the people of northeast are referred to as “dog-eaters”, “tribals”, “chinkys”, and other such derogatory terms. The people are not just humiliated but tortured, attacked and killed also. As per the reports published by the Home Ministry, the crime on the northeastern people outside Northeast has increased by 270% in the last three years.

Perception of Hill Tribes towards people of plain areas

The hill tribes of east while Assam has developed a perception that not only the national mainstream has discriminated against them but also the big brotherly attitude and treatment of plain men of Assam also contributed in this respect. Such perception lead to the conflict between plains people and the hill’s people on the basis of lingo-cultural distinctiveness and this ended with the formation of separate states like Nagaland, Mizoram, and Meghalaya etc.

The Orient Northeast

In case of the Northeast India, the ethnic identities are a result of differences among the multi-ethnicities on the lines of language, culture and recognition. These differences take the turn of violent conflicts when the governance is not as per expectation. The attitude of the govt. since independence has neglected and ignored the needs and existence of these communities. Furthermore, they have tried to include them in the national identity without protecting their individual ethnic interests. Here comes, the problem of homogenization of the multi-ethnicities into a single block. The term “Northeast” conjures an image of a regional ethnic identity, a unification of shared identity. But in reality, every single state of northeast is in itself multi-ethnic and diverse. The block representation of the region not only induces a sense of separatism and alienation among the Northeasterners, it also distances the region from the mainland nation. North East India is strategically important. It has natural frontiers on three sides and a political boundary on the fourth. It has common frontiers with

four political communities, China in the North, Bhutan in the West, Bangladesh in the East and Myanmar (formerly Burma) in the South. There is huge geo-economic potential in the region as it is the gateway to east and South-east Asia. The entire land mass of the North East is now connected to the rest of India by a 22 kilometer link along the Siliguri Corridor; more than 99 per cent of the borders of the North East abut other countries. No other part of India occupies such a strategic position as the North East. The region is conceived of as an unexplored block and is posted across the world and its immediate neighbors as an unexplored paradise. With respect to the Look East policy, the Northeast India is not only homogenized to mix it with the national cultural milieu but represented as a package with consumerist policies. The block representation not only suppresses the individualism, the uniqueness of every part, in an attempt of homogenization, it induces the Northeast India's Multi-Ethnicities: Dominant Issues and Problems Neha Jain Volume-III, Issue-II September 2016 282 fear of marginalization and identity crisis in minds of the native communities. The representation echoes the once orientalized India. The Orient today is the Northeast represented in ethnic colors which symbolize mysticism and exotism to attract the world. This isolated geopolitical space is again gendered and termed as the Northeast "Sisters"- a direct parallel to the Mother India. The terms like „unexplored northeast“, „slice of paradise“ and like designate the region. This region has a long history and a cultural memory of its natives; secondly this region has a long past of immigrants who now have a legacy here, the coming generations of these immigrants have the feeling of nativity towards their land; thirdly this region has so many ethnicities when all the states combined that it itself is a multicultural and diverse space. The issue is that with such a diverse milieu, how can the valley be termed as unexplored? Again, posted as a tourist destination, the representations are always of a so perfect nature and the region is appended as a beautiful part of India. Are the natives and the multi-ethnicities of the region given place in the larger mainland? Are the

Northeastern people treated equal to the other Indians? The multi-ethnicities are all classified as one in most representations and the block is homogenized. For the people of the mainland, the Assamese, Bengali, Bodo, Khasi all are “chinkis”. In this respect again, there are two perspectives: the etic and the emic.

The etic perceives the land from outside as an outsider; the emic perceives it from within as an insider. In a multiethnic space, the emic also looks at the other ethnic community as an outsider. Where the world is on its way to forming a global culture, a mono-cultural situation, India tags herself with “unity in diversity” and attempts to homogenize all the multi-ethnicities. In this task, some people become more equal than others and the differences among the ethnicities intensify due to discrimination.

In a nation where there are 1652 languages and infinite number of ethnicities and communities surviving together, is it justified to ask for the religious scripture like the Geeta of a particular community to be made a compulsory subject in schools?

The epics Ramayana and Mahabharata are not just legends but are Indian tradition and they have as many versions as many communities are there. So, is it justified to prioritize any one version and impose it on all? Very recently, the tourism department of India, with respect to the Act East Policy, has proposed to make the Bollywood actors, Priyanka Chopra and John Abraham brand ambassadors of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh resp. the focus has now shifted from merely “looking” to “acting” and hence, actors are employed for the cause of promotion.

The question is if the region is a commodity put forward for sale with the aid of celebrity. While the promotion has potential to bring the region in highlights, the obvious thought is what such treatment aims at. Does it intensify the crisis of population and environment while serving the profit motive and consumerist policies of the tourism department?

5.2.5. India's Look East policy

India's Look East policy is an effort to cultivate extensive economic and strategic relations with the nations of Southeast Asia in order to bolster its standing as a regional power and a counterweight to the strategic influence of the People's Republic of China. Initiated in 1991, it marked a strategic shift in India's perspective of the world. It was developed and enacted during the government of Prime Minister Narsimha Rao (1991–1996) and rigorously pursued by the successive administrations of Atal Bihari Vajpayee (1998–2004) and Manmohan Singh (2004–2014). Currently Prime Minister Narendra Modi is taking policy to next level as Act East Policy Background

Ever since the Sino-Indian War of 1962, China and India have been strategic competitors in South and East Asia. China has cultivated close commercial and military relations with India's neighbour Pakistan and competed for influence in Nepal and Bangladesh. After Deng Xiaoping's rise to power in China in 1979 and the subsequent Chinese economic reform, China began reducing threats of expansionism and in turn cultivated extensive trade and economic relations with Asian nations. China became the closest partner and supporter of the military junta of Burma, which had been ostracised from the international community following the violent suppression of pro-democracy activities in 1988. In contrast, during the Cold War India had a relatively hesitant relationship with many states in Southeast Asia as such diplomatic relations were given relatively low priority.

India's "Look East" policy was developed and enacted during the governments of prime ministers P.V. Narasimha Rao (1991–1996) and Atal Bihari Vajpayee (1998–2004). Along with economic liberalisation and moving away from Cold War-era policies and activities, India's strategy has focused on forging close economic and commercial ties, increasing strategic and security cooperation and the emphasis of historic cultural and ideological links. India sought to create and expand regional markets for trade, investments

and industrial development. It also began strategic and military cooperation with nations concerned by the expansion of China's economic and strategic influence.

Relations with China

While India and China remain strategic rivals, India's "Look East" policy has included significant rapprochement with China. In 1993, India began holding high-level talks with Chinese leaders and established confidence-building measures. In 2006, China and India opened the Nathu La pass for cross-border trade for the first time since the 1962 war. On 21 November 2006 Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and the Chinese President Hu Jintao issued a 10-point joint declaration to improve ties and resolve long-standing conflicts. Trade between China and India increases by 50% each year, and is set to reach the \$60 billion target set for 2010 by both Indian and Chinese governments and industrial leaders. However, China's close relations with Pakistan, skepticism about India's integration of Sikkim, and Chinese claim over Arunachal Pradesh have threatened the improvement in bilateral relations.^[18] India's providing asylum to the political-cum-spiritual leader, the 14th Dalai Lama also causes some friction in bilateral ties.

Chinese commentators have been critical of India's Look East policy. A People's Daily editorial opined that the Look East policy was "born out of [the] failure" of India's trying to play the Soviet Union and the United States against each other for its own benefit during the Cold War, and that trying to do the same with China and Japan by strengthening its ties with the latter would also fail.[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Look_East_policy_\(India\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Look_East_policy_(India))
- cite note-20 A columnist at the China Internet Information Center criticized the Look East policy as being borne out of a misguided "fear of China" and as reflecting "a lack of understanding of the PLA's strategic ambitions".[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Look_East_policy_\(India\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Look_East_policy_(India)) - cite note-21

Participation in supranational organisations

India has developed multilateral organisations such as, the Mekong-Ganga Cooperation and BIMSTEC, forging extensive cooperation on environmental, economic development, security and strategic affairs, permitting the growth of influence beyond South Asia and without the tense and obstructive presence of Pakistan and China that has stalled its efforts in the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation. India became a sectoral dialogue partner with ASEAN in 1992, in 1995 was given an advisory status, a member of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific, a member of the ASEAN Regional Forum in 1996, and a summit level partner (on par with China, Japan and Korea) in 2002 and World cup 2002. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Look_East_policy_\(India\) - cite_note-C-5](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Look_East_policy_(India) - cite_note-C-5) The first India-ASEAN Business Summit was held in New Delhi in 2002. India also acceded to ASEAN's Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia in 2003.

In many cases, India's membership to these forums has been a result of attempts by the region to balance China's growing influence in the area. Notably, Japan brought India into ASEAN+6 to dilute the ASEAN+3 process, where China is dominant, while Singapore and Indonesia played a significant role in bringing India into the East Asia Summit.

Look-East transport connectivity

Part of this policy, India has been developing several Look-East connectivity multi-model transport projects with the nations of ASEAN.

Look-East transport connectivity

Commerce with South and East Asian nations accounts for almost 45% of India's foreign trade. Myanmar and ASEAN nations are part of India's Look East policy. India is part of ASEAN+6, Asia Cooperation Dialogue, Asian Clearing Union, Asian Development Bank, Bangladesh Bhutan India Nepal Initiative, BIMSTEC, East Asia Summit, Mekong-Ganga Cooperation, SAARC, South Asia Subregional Economic Cooperation, United

Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, Asian Highway Network and the Trans-Asian Railway network.

Discussions are also proceeding on reopening the World War II-era Stilwell Road linking India's Assam state with China's Yunnan province through Myanmar.

India–Myanmar–Thailand Trilateral Highway

India–Myanmar–Thailand Trilateral Highway, also known as the East-West Economic Corridor, is a 3,200 km (2,000 mi) from India to Vietnam highway under upgrade under India's Look East policy, that will connect Moreh, India with Mae Sot, Thailand via Myanmar.

It is AH1 of Asian Highway Network. The road is expected to boost trade and commerce in the ASEAN–India Free Trade Area, as well as with the rest of Southeast Asia. India has also proposed extending the highway to Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam.

India and ASEAN have plans to extend this route to Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam as this connectivity will generate annually, an estimated US\$70 billion in incremental GDP and 20 million in incremental aggregate employment by 2025, and India has offered US\$1 billion line-of-credit for this project (c. Dec 2017).

Imphal-Moreh-Mandalay National Highway upgrade

Imphal-Moreh-Mandalay Highway currently exists. In May 2017, the Indian Ministry of Road Transport and Highway stated that it would spend an estimated ₹7,500 million (equivalent to ₹7.9 billion or US\$110 million in 2018) to upgrade roads and highways in North East India in order to boost the region's connectivity with Myanmar and Bangladesh. Among these projects, the Ministry plans to widen the 108 km (67 mi) Imphal-Moreh highway in Manipur which currently serves as an important trade route between India and Myanmar. This would provide the Manipur's capital city of Imphal with direct access to the trilateral highway

Zokhawthar-Mandalay road strengthening

Mizoram-Kalemyo Highway is a road widening and strengthening project planned by India. In May 2017, the Indian Ministry of Road Transport also plans to construct a 120 km (75 mi) highway linking Zokhawthar-Rikhawdar (also called "Rih") near Champhai, a border town in Mizoram, with the trilateral highway at Kalemyo. This will serve as a second route providing direct connectivity from Mizoram to the trilateral highway.

Mago-Thingbu to Vijaynagar Border Road

The Mago-Thingbu-Vijaynagar Border Highway, also known as Arunachal Frontier Highway, in Arunachal Pradesh India is a 2,000-kilometre-long (1,200 mi) road proposed to be built along the McMahon Line (international border between India and China) by the Government of India at the cost of INR40,000 crore (approx. US\$6.5 billion as per 2014 prices).

Currently, along the alignment of this proposed road there is "little habitation" and there are only "small stretches of minor roads". An assessment by the Ministry of Defence (India) in 2013 found that of the 503 stretches on the borders planned to be completed by 2022, only 17 are complete now. Work is underway on just 50.

In 2014 October, Kiren Rijiju, Union Minister of State for Home Affairs of India was trying to expedite the project along with another proposed highway East-West Industrial Corridor Highway, Arunachal Pradesh https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/India%E2%80%93Myanmar_barrier_-_cite_note-BR7-27 in Arunachal Pradesh https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/India%E2%80%93Myanmar_barrier_-_cite_note-BR2-30 as he said "I am proposing to undertake this road along with another in the foothill areas of Arunachal Pradesh state from Bhairabkunda in Assam located at the tri-junction of Bhutan, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh to Ruksin in East Siang

district of Arunachal Pradesh state which will serve as an industrial corridor for the people residing in the foothill areas of the state".

Manipur-Mandalay bus service from 2018

Manipur-Mandalay bus service is pending subject to the signing of motor vehicle agreement. In September 2017, Indian ambassador to Myanmar announced that an Imphal-Mandalay India-Myanmar bus service will commence from 2018 after India and Myanmar sign the motor vehicle agreement.

Imphal-Kalay-Mandalay flight

Imphal-Kalay-Mandalay flight is a proposed air service. In September 2017, Indian ambassador to Myanmar also proposed that a flight service from Imphal in Manipur to Mandalay via stopover in Kalay (Kalaymyo) in Sagaing Division of Myanmar could be started under UDAN regional connectivity scheme. It was proposed to DoNER in 2012 and a successful trail run was conducted in December 2015.

Tinsukia-Myitkyina railway

Tinsukia-Myitkyina railway is a proposed new railway link between the existing rail stations at Tinsukia-Doom Dooma in Assam state of India and Myitkyina in Kachin State of Myanmar, by laying new rail track via Shin Bway Yang and Sumprabum. Indian Railway uses broad gauge (1,676 mm or 5 ft 6 in) and Myanmar, Thailand, Vietnam and Malaysia use narrow gauge (1 meter). In December 2017, India offered a US\$1 billion line of credit to build connections to ASEAN nations.

Imphal-Kalaymyo railway

Imphal-Kalaymyo railway is a proposed new railway link between the existing rail stations at Imphal in Manipur of India and Kalay in Myanmar. Indian Railway uses broad gauge (1,676 mm or 5 ft 6 in) and Myanmar, Thailand, Vietnam and Malaysia use narrow

gauge (1 meter). In December 2017, India offered a US1 billion line of credit to build connections to ASEAN nations.

Aizawl-Wuntho Railway

Aizawl-Wuntho railway is a proposed new railway link between the existing railway station at Wuntho in Myanmar and by extending the under construction Bairabi–Sairang line via Aizawl–Champhai in Mizoram of India to Wuntho in Myanmar which currently goes further north up to Myitkyina towards China–Myanmar border. These are to be taken up with assistance of India's 1 billion line of credit for connections to ASEAN nations.

Aizawl-Kalaymyo railway

Aizawl-Kalaymyo railway is a proposed new railway link between the existing railway station Kalay in Myanmar and by extending the under construction Bairabi–Sairang line via Aizawl–Champhai in Mizoram of India to Kalay in Myanmar. These are to be taken up with assistance of India's 1 billion line of credit for connections to ASEAN nations.

Aizawl-Kyauktaw-Sittwe railway

Aizawl-Kyauktaw-Sittwe railway is a proposed new railway link between the existing Kyauktaw-Sittwe railway in Myanmar and by extending the under construction Bairabi–Sairang line via Aizawl–Lunglei–Lawngtlai in Mizoram of India to Sittwe Port in Myanmar developed by India. Kyauktaw to Minbu is an under construction railway to link Sittwe with the exiting Myanmar railway network. These are to be taken up with assistance of India's 1 billion line of credit for connections to ASEAN nations.

India-Myanmar-Thailand railway

India-Myanmar-Thailand railway is a proposed new railway link, parts of which already exist, by constructing missing links between Aizawl and Imphal to Myanmar railway network and by linking existing railway lines in southern Myanmar to the Thailand rail network in 2 locations:

- Mongnai existing railway east in Myanmar to Chiang Mai in north-west Thailand
- Kyauk Shat or Dawei to Nam Tok near Bangkok

India-Myanmar-Thailand-Laos railway

India-Myanmar-Thailand-Laos railway is a proposed new railway link, parts of which already exist, by constructing missing links between Aizawl and Imphal to Myanmar railway network and Myanmar-to-Thailand to connect railway in Laos. Laos only has one railway station in the whole nation, located 20 km east of Vientiane, that was built by State Railway of Thailand during 2007-09 by extending its metre-gauge network across the Thai-Lao Friendship Bridge from Thanaleng Railway Station in Thailand. Test trains began running on July 4, 2008, and Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn of Thailand formally inaugurated the line on March 5, 2009. There is also an under-construction (2017) Keng Tung railway line in east Myanmar that can be extended to Laos in future.

Laos-Vietnam railway: In 2012, an agreement for the construction of 220-kilometre \$5 billion line, from Savannakhet in south Laos to Port of Vũng Ang in Vietnam, via Mu Gia Pass and Tan Ap (intersects Vietnam railway network), was awarded to a Malaysian company "Giant Consolidated Limited" to complete the construction from 2013 to 2017. By December 2016, installation of corridor posts along the proposed railway right-of-way was completed. In future, Savannakhet is planned to be connected to the existing railway in Thailand at Khon Kaen or Ubon Ratchathani.

India-Myanmar-Thailand-Cambodia-Vietnam railway

India-Myanmar-Thailand-Cambodia-Vietnam railway is a proposed new railway link, parts of which already exist, by constructing missing links between Aizawl and Imphal to Myanmar railway network, to Thailand, to Combodia to connect Vietnam Railways. Cambodia has existing rail link with Thailand at Poipet (Krung Poi Pet) though train services is currently suspended (2017) and Phnom Penh-Hoa Lu-Dĩ An connection with Vietnam is

under construction (2017), while there is no current or planned rail connection to Laos. Indian Railway uses broad gauge (1,676 mm (5 ft 6 in)) and Myanmar, Thailand, Vietnam and Malaysia use meter gauge (1,000 mm (3 ft 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in)).

India-Myanmar-Thailand-Malaysia-Singapore railway

India-Myanmar-Thailand-Malaysia-Singapore railway is a proposed new railway link as part of the Trans-Asian Railway, parts of which already exist, by using existing metre-gauge connections of Thai railway network to railway network in Malaysia (at Palang Besar in north west and Tumpat in north east Malaysia) and Kuala Lumpur–Singapore high-speed rail (being constructed between 2017-26^[42]). Two rail crossings along the Malaysian-Thai border are:

- Padang Besar, Malaysia-Padang Besar, Thailand: Both the Malaysian and Thai towns where the crossing is located are known by the same name. This crossing connects to Malaysia's West Coast trunk line and Thailand's main southern line to Bangkok via Hat Yai. Both Malaysian and Thai customs, immigration and quarantine formalities are conducted at Malaysia's Padang Besar railway station.
- Rantau Panjang-Sungai Kolok: On the Malaysian side, this bridge crossing is on a branch line which is connected to Malaysia's East Coast line. In Thailand, the crossing is connected to the Su-ngai Kolok branch line which links up with the main southern line at Hat Yai. The crossing is currently not in use (January 2018).

India-Bangladesh Sabroom-Cox Bazar railway

This will extend the existing Sabroom in south Tripura on the border of Bangladesh to Khagrachari-Rangamati-Bandarban district headquarters in the tribal areas of Chittagong Hill Tracts, joining the existing Chittagong-Satkania track at Satkania and proceeding further on the new track to the Cox's Bazar which is one of the official port for transit to India.

India-Bangladesh Baraiya-Zokhawtar railway

This will extend the existing Sabroom in south Tripura on the border of Bangladesh to Baraiya (southwest Tripura)-Chagga naiya (Bangladesh)-Manu Bazar (South Tripura)-Sabroom-Khargachari-Magrum-Nunsri Lunglei-Aizawl-Zokhawtar-Kalemo.

India-Bangladesh Bandarban-Tuiping railway

Route for this will be Bandarban (Bangladesh)-Tuiping (Mizoram)-Niawhtlang (Mizoram-Burma border)-Gangaw (Myanmar).

India-Bangladesh Shillong-Sylhet railway

Route for this will be Shillong and Dawki in India to Sylhet in Bangladesh.

India-Bangladesh Dhubri-Jaria railway

Route for this will be Dhubri, Tura, Barengapara and Durgapur in India to Jaria in Bangladesh.

Act East Policy

Under the leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi the new government of India has made its relations with East Asian neighbours a foreign policy priority at a time when the United States has engaged in a "pivot to Asia". The Indian Foreign Minister Sushma Swaraj proposed a new outlook calling it Act East policy, following on from the Look East policy which was introduced during the government of Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao and seriously implemented during the following administrations of Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Manmohan Singh.

From the very beginning the Modi government made it clear that India would focus more and more on improving relation with ASEAN and other East Asian countries as per India's *Look East Policy* which was formulated during Narasimha Rao's government in 1992 for better economic engagement with its eastern neighbours, but the following government successfully turned it into a tool for forging strategic partnership and security cooperation with countries in that region in general and Vietnam and Japan in particular. In her recent

visit to Hanoi, Sushma Swaraj has stressed the need for an *Act East Policy*, which she said should replace India's over two decade-old *Look East Policy* emphasizing a more proactive role for India in this region.

Check your progress

4. What do you mean by India's Look East Policy?

5.3. SUMMARY

- The tribal philosophy is premised on the claim that every tribe has a distinctive worldview consisting of beliefs, values, and emotions etc.
- North east India, is also known as the “Seven Sisters”. It includes Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura states. They have varied culture.
- The North Eastern Council (NEC) was constituted in the year 1971 by an act of Parliament to draw concerted and planned efforts for rapid socio-economic development of the North eastern Region.
- The Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region (MDoNER) is responsible for the matters relating to the planning, execution and monitoring of development schemes and projects in the North Eastern Region. Its vision is to accelerate the pace of socio-economic development of the Region so that it may enjoy growth parity with the rest of the country.
- India's Look East policy is an effort to cultivate extensive economic and strategic relations with the nations of Southeast Asia in order to bolster its standing as a regional power and a counterweight to the strategic influence of the People's Republic of China.

5.4. KEY TERMS

- **Northeast India:** The Northeast India comprised of eight states namely Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura, Meghalaya and Sikkim.
- **Society:** society refers to the group of people. It can be explained as a web of human relationships where people interact with one another in various ways.
- **Philosophy:** the study of the fundamental nature of knowledge, reality, and existence, especially when considered as an academic discipline. And in other way we can understand it as a theory or attitude that acts as a guiding principle for behaviour.
- **Culture:** it can be simply defined as a social behavior, and norms found in human societies, as well as the knowledge, beliefs, arts, laws, customs, capabilities and habits of the individuals in his or her groups.
- **NEC:** North Eastern Council (NEC) is a statutory advisory body constituted under the NEC Act 1971 and came into being on the 7th November, 1972 at Shillong. The eight States of Northeast India viz. Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura and Sikkim, are members of the council, with their respective Chief Ministers and Governors representing them.
- **DONER:** The **Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region** is a Government of India ministry, established in September 2001, which functions as the nodal Department of the Central Government to deal with matters related to the socio-economic development of the eight States of Northeast India, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura and Sikkim.
- **Ethnic Identity:** It refers to the ethnic group with which an individual most closely associates. Identifying one's ethnic identity is not as simple as checking a box according to one's skin color. On the contrary, ethnic identity is a complex and multifaceted part of the development of an individual

- **Look East Policy:** is an effort to cultivate extensive economic and strategic relations with the nations of Southeast Asia in order to bolster its standing as a regional power and a counterweight to the strategic influence of the People's Republic of China. Initiated in 1991, it marked a strategic shift in India's perspective of the world

5.5. ANSWER TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. 371H
2. North Eastern Council (NEC)
3. Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region (MDONER) is a Government of India Ministry which acts as a nodal department to deal with socio-economic department in the North Eastern States.
4. India's Look East Policy is an effort to cultivate extensive economic and strategic relations with the Nations of South East Asia in order to bolster its standing as a regional power and a counterweight to the strategies influence of the People's Republic of China.

Now you will able to give answers the following

5. The Northeast India comprised of eight states namely Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura, Meghalaya and Sikkim.
6. Society refers to the group of people. It can be explained as a web of human relationships where people interact with one another in various ways.
7. Philosophy the study of the fundamental nature of knowledge, reality, and existence, especially when considered as an academic discipline. And in othe way we can understand it as a theory or attitude that acts as a guiding principle for behaviour.
8. Culture can be simply defines as a social behavior, and norms found in human societies, as well as the knowledge, beliefs, arts, laws, customs, capabilities and habits of the individuals in his or her groups.

9. North Eastern Council (NEC) is a statutory advisory body constituted under the NEC Act 1971 and came into being on the 7th November, 1972 at Shillong. The eight States of Northeast India viz. Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura and Sikkim, are members of the council, with their respective Chief Ministers and Governors representing them.
10. DONER: The Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region is a Government of India ministry, established in September 2001, which functions as the nodal Department of the Central Government to deal with matters related to the socio-economic development of the eight States of Northeast India, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura and Sikkim.
11. Ethnic Identity can be understood as the ethnic group with which an individual most closely associates. Identifying one's ethnic identity is not as simple as checking a box according to one's skin color. On the contrary, ethnic identity is a complex and multifaceted part of the development of an individual

5.6. QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What do you know by Northeast India?
2. Define Social Parameters.
3. Define ethnicity.
4. Describe ethnic identity.
5. What do you know about NEC?
6. Explain DONER.

Long- Answer Questions

1. Give a detail account on the 'North East India Development Policies' initiated by Government of India.

2. Elaborately discuss the North Eastern Council (NEC) along with its key objective and function.
3. Briefly analyze the issue of 'tribal development' and 'ethnic identity' in North East India.
4. Critically analyze the issue of Look East Policy.

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UNIT 1 THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE EMERGENCE OF SOCIOLOGY AUGUSTE COMTE

Structure

- 1.0 Introduction
- 1.1 Unit Objectives
- 1.2 Emergence and Development of Sociology
- 1.3 Auguste Comte
- 1.4 Positivism
- 1.5 Law of three stages
- 1.6 Hierarchy of Sciences
- 1.7 Summary
- 1.8 Key Terms
- 1.9 Answer to ‘check your Progress’
- 1.10 Questions and Exercises
- 1.11 Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Auguste Comte introduced the actual development of sociology as a discipline. Therefore Auguste Comte is often described as the “father of sociology”. It was Comte who coined the term “sociology”. He advocated that just as the natural laws that apply to the natural world, we can also formulate social laws that can be applied to the study of society to make it scientific. Sociology is the study of human society. According to Comte, a stable social order rested on a consistent form of thought. He came up with the term “social physics” which shows his inclination towards developing a science of the society along the lines of the natural sciences like physics. In different societies or periods of history,

furthermore, a person's way of thinking, of knowing their world, was responsible for producing the kind of society in which they lived.

In this unit, you will learn about the socio-economic development of the emergence of sociology and sociological theories propounded by Auguste Comte.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Identity the intellectual context for sociology and the emergence of sociology.
- Discuss positivism as explained by Comte
- Explain the law of three stages as propounded by Comte
- Examine hierarchy of sciences as given by Comte

1.2 EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

The development of sociology has a long history and can trace their origins to a mixture of common human knowledge and philosophy. Sociology emerged as a scientific discipline in the early 19th century, as a fundamentally new type of society emerged based on new principles of social organization and new ideas of enlightenment. This led to a change in the mind-sets of people. Sociologists hoped not only to understand what held social groups together, but also to develop an antidote to the social breakdown. In terms of science, sociology pertains to social groups and their hierarchies or forms of organization. It combines functions which are inclined to maintain or modify these forms of organization and their inter-group network. Sociology is concerned with interaction itself. A social group is a system of social interaction.

Sociology is interested in social relationships, not because they are economic, political, religious, legal or educational, but because they are social at the same time. Further, in sociology we do not study everything that happens in a society or under social conditions, but we study culture, social relationships, their specific forms, varieties and patterns. We study the combination of relations, how they build up smaller or greater systems and how they respond to changes and changing demands or needs.

Auguste Comte introduced the term 'Sociology' in the year 1839. He was a French philosopher and sociologist. Comte attempted to combine all the faculties of mankind, including history, psychology and economics. His own pattern of sociology was typical of the 19th century; he put across the theory that every man had experienced the same distinct historical stages and that the success of this progress was the solution to every social ill. He believed that sociology would lead to the further development of social sciences.

Peter Berger argued that 'sociology is a distinctive way of thinking, a particular awareness of the nature of social life, an unwillingness to accept the superficial and the apparently obvious'.

Emile Durkheim was a pioneer in demonstrating scientific methodology in sociology. In his most acclaimed work, 'Rules of Sociological Method (1897)', he emphasized the methodology that he has described in his study, 'Suicide' (1897).

1.2.1 Socio-Economic Factors

There is a profound effect on shaping the intellectual fields. We will briefly discuss some of the significant social conditions of the 19th century and early 20th century, which were of the supreme significance in the development of sociology.

Political Revolutions

The long series of political revolutions ushering in the French Revolution of 1789 and then carrying over through the 20th century was the immediate factor responsible for the rise of sociological theorizing. These revolutions have enormous impact on many societies resulting in many positive changes. However, what caught the awareness of many early theorists were not the positive consequences, but the negative effects of these changes. These thinkers were disturbed by the resulting chaos and disorder, especially in France. They had a common desire to reinstate the social order. Some of the more intense thinkers of the age literally wanted a return to the peaceful and comparatively orderly days of the middle ages. However, more sophisticated thinkers felt that social change had made such a return almost impossible. These thinkers tried to find new bases of order in societies which had been changed by the political revolutions.

French Revolutions

The French revolution of 1789 was a revolution which challenged the existing society and successfully dismantled the old social order. The revolution also strengthened the state and represents the will of the people, thereby, replacing the existed political and cultural climate dominated by the monarchy and the church. The abolishment of all religious order falls into Comte's theory that throughout history society has traversed through three discrete stages: theological, metaphysical and scientific. He believed that a country with religious order meant a theological approach that deemed the condition of society to be the God's will. The monarchy had always justified its position of power by emphasizing that the right to rule derives from God. In practice it meant that kings are answerable for their actions to God alone. By abolishing the monarchy and religious order, the revolution marked the move away from Comte's 'theological' stage.

In France, the citizens were provided new legal rights, a comprehensive centralized education system and a new inheritance system. These changes challenged the preceding traditional model, and hence provided to the individual citizens a different perspective of society. The study of this new perspective and the introduction of individual rights heralded the beginning of sociology as a discipline. It also confirmed the French revolution's tremendous influence on the field. Karl Marx, one of the major philosophical, economic and sociological personalities of modern times, was tremendously influenced by the revolution of 1789. He expected that other similar revolutions elsewhere against feudal or oppressive societies will follow. When Marx's ideas ultimately were put into practice after the Russian revolution in October 1917, Leon Trotsky wrote an analysis of this event in terms of the French revolution. Therefore it proves how this event still has relevance when studying social uprisings presently. There was a greater stress on the state as opposed to an established monarchy and church system. Consequently, a new social movement called nationalism came into existence because some of the thinkers replaced allegiance to god and the monarchy with an allegiance to the state.

Nationalism had given rise to several uprisings since the French revolution (particularly National Socialism in Germany during the 1930's) and again gave people another perception of the society they are part of. It is pertinent because Nationalism is studied in depth in social scientific fields like anthropology and sociology presently.

The Industrial Revolution

Industrial revolution was at least as important as the French revolution in the shaping of sociological theory. It swept through many western societies, mostly in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The industrial revolution did not involve a single event but various interrelated developments which ended up transforming the western world from a basically agricultural to a tremendously industrial occupation available in the mushrooming factories. These factories themselves were transformed by a long series of technological innovations and improvements. Huge economics bureaucracies came into being to provide various services required by industry and the upcoming capitalist economic system. In this economy, a free marketplace was most appropriate wherein the various products of an industrial system could be exchanged. Within this system, a few profited greatly while the majority worked long hours for low wages. A reaction against the industrial system and against capitalism in general followed and led to the labour movement as well various radical movements aimed at overthrowing the capitalist system.

The Rise Of Socialism

According to some sociologists, they favoured socialism as a solution to industrial problems while most of them, were personally and intellectually opposed to it. On the one side Karl Marx was an active supporter of the overthrow of the capitalist system and its replacement by a socialist system. Although, he did not develop a theory of socialism per se, he spent a great deal of time criticizing various aspects of capitalist society.

Max Weber and Emile Durkheim, although opposed to socialism but they recognized the problems within capitalist society, they sought social reform within capitalism rather than the social revolution argued for by Marx. They feared socialism more than they did capitalism. This fear played a far greater role in shaping sociological theory than did Marx's support of the socialist alternative to capitalism. In fact, as we will see, in many cases sociological theory developed in reaction against Marxian and, more generally, socialist theory.

Urbanization

Partly as a result of the industrial revolution, a large number of people in the 19th century and

20th centuries were uprooted from their rural home and moved to urban settings. This massive migration was caused, in large parts, by the jobs created by the industrial system in the urban areas. However, it presented many difficulties for those people who had to adjust to urban life. In addition, the expansion of the cities produced a seemingly endless list of urban problems like; overcrowding, pollution, noise, traffic and so forth.

The first major school of American sociology, the Chicago school, was in large part defined by its concern for the city and its interest in using Chicago as a laboratory in which to study urbanization and its problems.

Religious Change

Social change brought on by political revolutions, the industrial revolution and urbanization had a profound effect on religiosity. Many early sociologists came from religious backgrounds and some were professionally involved with religion to improve social lives. They brought to sociology the same objectives as they had in their religious life. For such thinkers sociology was transformed into a religion. For others, their sociological theories bore an unmistakable religious imprint. Durkheim wrote one of his major works on religion. A large portion of Weber's work also was devoted to the religions of the world. However, Marx's orientation was far more critical.

The Growth Of Science

When sociological theory was being developed, there was an increasing emphasis on science in society as whole. As science was acquiring enormous prestige, those associated with most successful sciences (physics, biology and chemistry) were accorded honoured places in society. Sociologists (especially Comte and Durkheim) from the beginning were preoccupied with science, and many wanted to model sociology after the successful physical and biological sciences. However, a debate soon developed between those who wholeheartedly accepted the scientific model and those (such as Weber) who thought that distinctive characteristics of social life made a wholesale adaptation of scientific model difficult.

The Enlightenment And The Founding Of Sociology In France

Many observers believe that the Enlightenment constitutes a critical development in terms of the later evolution of sociology. Reason became the God of these philosophers who were enormously inspired by the scientific achievements of the preceding centuries. Truth became the central goal of the intellectuals of this age; but not the truth founded on revelation, traditions or authority. Instead, it was the reason and observation that were to be the twin pillars of truth. The prevailing institutions were contrary to human nature and thus inhibited of their growth and development. Unreasonable institutions prevented men from realizing their potential. Therefore, these thinkers raise constant war against the irrational and criticism became their major weapon.

They fought what they considered to be superstitions, bigotry or intolerance; they struggled against censorship and demanded freedom of thought; they attacked the prerogatives of the feudal classes and their restraint upon the industrial and commercial classes; and finally, they tried to secularize ethics. They were very knowledgeable about the positive intellectual achievements up to their time, but they were also critical, sceptical and secular. Basically, it was their faith in reason and science which provided source from an impetus to their work and led them to become humanitarian, optimistic and confident.

The 18th century thinkers have lost faith in the closed and self-sufficient metaphysical systems of the preceding centuries; they have lost patient with the philosophy confined to definite immutable axioms and deduction from them. Investigations and inquiries are emphasized, enlightenment thought is not merely reflective, nor is it satisfied to deal with solely with axiomatic truths. It attributes to thought a creative and critical function. Philosophy is no longer merely a matter of abstract thinking; it acquires practical function of criticizing existing institutions to show that they are unreasonable and unnatural. It demands that these institutions and the entire old order be replaced by a new one that is more reasonable, natural and hence necessary.

And the fulfilment of the new order is the demonstration of its truth. Enlightenment thinking, then, is as a negative and critical as well as a positive side. It is not so much the particular doctrines, axioms and theorems which landed a new original quality; rather, it is the process of criticizing, doubting and tearing down as well as building up. The unity of the 'negative' and 'positive' tendencies which eventually split and after the French revolution they manifest themselves as separate and conflicting philosophical principles.

1.3 AUGUSTE COMTE (1789-1857)

Isidore Auguste Marie François Xavier Comte, better known as Auguste Comte, was a philosopher, founder of the discipline of sociology, and of the doctrine of positivism. He was a French philosopher born in Montpellier, France, in 1798, just after the French Revolution. The French Revolution led him to take deep interest in the way that society moulded itself and the laws that it followed. Through his philosophical exploration of society, Comte would change the way the world viewed society, philosophy, and even science. Therefore, he is sometimes regarded as the first philosopher of science in the modern sense of the term.

Though Comte did not originate the concept of sociology or its area of study, he is credited with coining the term and he greatly extended and elaborated the field. Comte divided sociology into two main fields, or branches: social statics, or the study of the forces that hold society together; and social dynamics, or the study of the causes of social change.

Strongly influenced by the utopian socialist Henri Saint-Simon, Comte developed the positive philosophy in an attempt to remedy the social malaise of the French Revolution, calling for a new social doctrine based on the sciences. Comte was a major influence on 19th-century thought, influencing the work of social thinkers such as Karl Marx, John Stuart Mill, and George Eliot. His concept of sociologie and social evolutionism, though now out dated, set the tone for early social theorists and anthropologists such as Harriet Martineau and Herbert Spencer, evolving into modern academic sociology presented by Emile Durkheim as practical and objective social research. Comte's social theories culminated in the "Religion of Humanity", which influenced the development of religious humanist and secular humanist organizations in the 19th century. Comte likewise coined the word altruisme (altruism).

Comte's work has two aims: first, to provide a philosophical foundation for sociology (or "social physics"), and second, to provide an organizational scheme for all of "positive" knowledge (mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, and biology). He understood human intelligence as capable of comprehending and applying three distinct methods, which were mutually exclusive. Comte strongly believed that positivism, as applied to all branches of social analysis, would reduce the revolutionary fervour that gripped society in his day and contribute to political and social stability.

The other theme of this work is the place of sociology among the other sciences. Comte, who coined the term "sociology," defined sociology as the supreme science, or the branch of science that unifies and interacts with all the other sciences. By defining sociology as the last and the unifying science, Comte declared that human society and its functioning were also subject to the positivist approach, and could be studied in the same way as the natural sciences. Often called the father of modern sociology, August Comte formulated laws of scientific classification into which the social sciences could have equal footing with the natural sciences.

1.4 POSITIVISM

Auguste Comte is the founder of positivism as a philosophy and philosophical tradition and is therefore credited with coining the word "positivism,". By "positive" and "the positive spirit," Comte meant that quality or spirit which concerns: the actual and observable, rather than the imaginary; the knowable and empirically verifiable rather than the inherently unknowable; things which can be made precise rather than the things which will always remain vague; the useful rather than the fruitless; and things whose validity is relative and as yet-not-entirely understood rather than things whose validity is absolute, which are allegedly complete and finished, and are allegedly entirely understood by pure theory. Moreover, the positive mind sees the world in terms of relations and regularities, rather than the world as undergirded by a fundamental substance or metaphysical substratum. Comte's aim here is to explain how the several sciences are unified while respecting the diversity in their methods and subject matters. According to him, the sciences develop in a historical progression, in which the sciences whose methods are the most general in applicability and whose target entities are the simplest and easily handled develop first. Then scientific attention moves to a domain whose target entities are less simple, in which the more general methods of the first can be fruitfully deployed, but in which success also requires

the creation and use of methods which would be of no use in the simpler science.

Auguste Comte embraced the philosophical and political movement and applied a different form of method depending on the science where a positive method was applied; for example, in astronomy, a positive method was regarded as observation, in physics as experimentation, and in biology as a comparison. The term positivism was used to express the scientific approach to the world. Positivism classifies into three categories of identifiable scientific methods, which were understood to be unitary and positivistic. In addition, another characteristic of positivism was the elimination of metaphysics from philosophy. Three basic principles of positivism exist. The first principle indicated that science was the only valid knowledge, and facts were the only possible objects of knowledge. Secondly, philosophy did not possess a method different from science. The third principle specified the task of philosophy was to find the general principles common to all the sciences. The principles of positivism served as a guide for human conduct and as the basis of social organization. Positivism, consequently, denied the existence or intelligibility of forces or substances that went beyond facts and laws ascertained by science. Further, positivism opposed any metaphysics and, in general, any procedures of investigation that were not reducible to a scientific method. With the principles of positivism in mind, the belief followed that metaphysics could not be removed from science. The positivist approach, therefore, expressed the view that all true knowledge was science, and everything was measurable. In addition, associated with positivism was reductionism in the same way that societies related to number and mental events to chemistry. As a result, positivism constituted a negative approach became in refining ambiguous concepts in theory.

Positivism is an epistemological concept, meaning that it tries to define the limits of what humans can 'know' and 'do'. The work's second biggest contribution is Comte's thesis that human knowledge-making will progress from the physical, mechanical realm to the social realm. He believed that most physical phenomena are strictly external to human bodies, minds, and societies, rendering them the starting point for empirical knowledge-seeking. He contends that, as science advances, it will gradually find tools for looking inward towards the ultimate object of science—humans themselves.

So, positivism is a view about the appropriate methodology of social science, emphasizing empirical observation. It is also associated with empiricism and holds that the view that knowledge is primarily based on experience via the five senses, and it is opposed to

Metaphysics; roughly the philosophical study of what is real, on the grounds that metaphysical claims cannot be verified by sense experience. Positivism was developed in the 19th century by Auguste Comte, who coined the term “sociology.” A new science is thus born. In this way, we move from the most simple, general science to the most complex and particular science--from mathematics, to astronomy, to physics, to chemistry, to biology, to "sociology". Sociology, the science that Comte founded, was conceived by him as the Queen of the sciences. It would be the most complex and particular science, both using all the other sciences and also coordinating their endeavours, so as to best benefit humanity.

THE POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY OF AUGUSTE COMTE

The Positive Philosophy, which develops an early notion of sociology by Auguste Comte: the analytical framework and methodology for understanding how societies evolve and organize. The concept of scientific positivism was Comte's main contribution. Positivism represents a scrupulous commitment to empirical study, under the assumption that scientific observation will furnish progressively precise knowledge about the way the world works. His philosophy divides into two stages. The former is that of the ‘*Course*’, which presents the positivist theory of knowledge, science, and social science. Like Saint-Simon, it argues for the replacement of politics and its inefficient discords and dissensions; politics should be replaced by administration by technocratic elites. The later philosophy combines the former with the political theory and religion advocated in the ‘*System*’ and other later works. The later philosophy adds a Religion of Humanity to the overall philosophy. It defends republicanism, but accepts authoritarian rule by elites when this will best contribute to progress toward socialism. Invoking scientific politics, it claims that authoritarian rule in its name is better than a democratic government, which of its nature will not sufficiently guide itself by the light of science.

Auguste Comte had two distinct aims in writing *The Positive Philosophy*, where his first and special aim was to put the study of society on a positive foundation like those on which the natural sciences rested. The second and general aim was to review the natural sciences in order to show that they are not independent of one another but are ‘all branches from the same trunk.’ His two aims are inseparable.

Comte divided the study of society into two parts, following a distinction that he believed runs through all the sciences; social statics and social dynamics. Social statics seems not to have interested him especially. He maintained that in its broader aspects, at least, it was deducible from human physiology, which demands that people live in society, that they form families, and that they obey political authorities. On these grounds, he held that woman is inferior to man and bound to subservience, and that some people and races are constitutionally suited to obey and others to command.

Positivism is a way of thinking is based on the assumption that it is possible to observe social life and establish reliable, valid knowledge about how it works. This knowledge can then be used to affect the course of social change and improve the human condition. It also argues that sociology should concern itself only with what can be observed with the senses and that theories of social life should be built in a rigid, linear, and methodical way on a base of verifiable fact. It has had relatively little influence on contemporary sociology, however, because it is argued that it encourages a misleading emphasis on superficial facts without any attention to underlying mechanisms that cannot be observed.

The thoughts of Auguste Comte continue in many ways to be important to contemporary sociology. Comte's positivism firstly focus on the search for invariant laws governing the social and natural worlds which has influenced profoundly the ways in which sociologists have conducted sociological inquiry. Comte argued those sociologists (and other scholars), through theory, speculation, and empirical research, could create a realist science that would accurately copy or represent the way things actually are in the world. Further, he also argued that sociology could become a 'social physics'. For instance, a social science on a par with the most positivistic of sciences, physics. He believed that sociology would eventually occupy the very pinnacle of a hierarchy of sciences. Comte also identified four methods of sociology, which includes the methods of observation, experimentation, comparison, and historical research.

However, Comte also used the term positivism in a second sense; that is, as a force that could counter the negativism of his times. In his view, most of Western Europe was mired in

political and moral disorder that was a consequence of the French Revolution of 1789. Positivism, in Comte's philosophy, would bring order and progress to the European crisis of ideas. Comte's positivist philosophy has an important role in shaping modern sociologists because the general perspective today is that theories and ideas in sociology should be based on scientific studies. It's the general belief that true knowledge is only found through science. In short, Comte's idea of positivism is definitely a product of the final stage of society, the scientific stage. Comte's positivist philosophy has an important role in shaping modern sociologists because the general perspective today is that theories and ideas in sociology should be based on scientific studies. It's the general belief that true knowledge is only found through science. Therefore, in short, Comte's idea of positivism is definitely a product of the final stage of society, the scientific stage.

Comte believed that positivism could both advance science (theory) and change the ways people live their lives (practice). He argued that the upper classes of his time were far too conservative to advocate positivistic change. Women and the members of the working class, however, were well situated to advocate positivism and help to implement its programs of change. He viewed the working class as agents of positivistic change because of their ties of affection to their families, respect for authority, exposure to misery, and propensity for self-sacrifice. His thought of positivism as a counter-force against communism, although the latter could provide a foundation for the former. Comte thought that women would support his positivist program for change largely because women, in his view, were more affectionate, altruistic, and feeling than men. He tended to view men as superior in intellectual and practical matters, and thus better suited to planning and supervising change, while women are better suited to moral matters.

1.5 LAW OF THREE STAGES

Auguste Comte was interested in the generic traits that are found in all human societies as in the

laws that govern the transition of a society from one condition to another. This is what he intended by the term “social dynamics.” His work was to be nothing less than a science of history. History compiled many facts but had been unable to contribute anything of importance to understanding humankind’s condition because, like the data of meteorology, its facts needed a law to become significant. Comte thought that he had discovered that law; he called it the “law of the three stages.”

Positivism as a term is usually understood as a particular way of thinking. For Comte, additionally, the methodology is a product of a systematic reclassification of the sciences and a general conception of the development of man in history: the law of the three stages. Comte was convinced that no data can be adequately understood except in the historical context. Phenomena are intelligible only in terms of their origin, function, and significance in the relative course of human history. He held that there is no Geist, or spirit, above and beyond history which objectifies itself through the vagaries of time. Comte represents a radical relativism: ‘Everything is relative; there is the only absolute thing.’ Positivism absolutizes relativity as a principle which makes all previous ideas and systems a result of historical conditions. The only unity that the system of positivism affords in its pronounced anti metaphysical bias is the inherent order of human thought.

Therefore, the law of the three stages, attempts to show that the history of the human mind and the development of the sciences, which follow a determinant pattern, parallels to the growth of social and political institutions. According to Comte, the system of positivism is grounded on the natural and historical law that ‘by the very nature of the human mind, every branch of our knowledge is necessarily obliged to pass successively in its course through three different theoretical states: the theological or fictitious state; the metaphysical or abstract state; finally, the scientific or positive state.’ These three stages of laws describe what he thought was a kind of intellectual progression common to all human thought. These stages are the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive.

- **In the theological stage**, in Comte's view the starting point of human thought, assigns creation to supernatural agents: the world was created by God (or gods). According to this law, in the first, or *theological*, stage, people invent gods in order to explain the world to

them, and in so doing, they create the conditions that make possible the specifically human kind of society. Belief in gods gives people some purpose in living beyond the satisfaction of mere bodily wants. At first, the gods are merely tribal fetishes, which do not demand much by way of social organization. As these are exchanged for astral deities, and eventually for a single god, discipline and order are imposed on the whole community. Authority characteristically comes to be vested in priesthood. A military caste arises, with responsibility for defence, and agricultural labour becomes the foundation of the economy. From the sociological point of view, it is a happy, prosperous condition. A common faith and goal give coherence and strength to the community. In the first phase, society was ruled by the supernatural, and religion (or another prime force) was seen as the prime explanation for the world. In this phase, people relied on superstition and authority rather than using reason and observation. The first is the theological phase, where natural phenomena are seen as the results of divine power(s). The theological method was a “point of departure” necessary for subsequent human understanding.

The positive method is the “fixed and definitive state” of understanding, while the metaphysical method is just a transitional state.

- **In the metaphysical stage**, is a transitory stage, in which the role of God is replaced by abstract ideas (examples include the Reformation, the Renaissance, and the Enlightenment). This "negative state" is finally replaced. In the second phase, people began to question their reliance on religion or superstition and turned to another abstract idea (such as revolution) as their guiding force. This phase was short. Next is the metaphysical stage, where intellect and reason overturn the previous stage. The second, or metaphysical phase sees these as manifestations from vital forces or takes natural processes to be imperfect imitations of eternal ideas
- **In the final, positive stage**, in which the question of first causes is replaced by understanding fundamental laws that govern these principles. In the second phase, people began to question their reliance on religion or superstition and turned to another abstract idea (such as revolution) as their guiding force. This phase was short and prepared society to enter the third phase, in which people are guided by positivism and the reliance on observation and reason. People in this phase are no longer guided by a single idea but by the laws of nature.

Therefore, one theme of this work is the evolution of human society along three phrases. The final stage is the positive stage, where unassailable truths or realities are generally accepted. The people will uphold these truths, governed by a managerial class and guided by a spiritual class: the positive philosophers. The positive phase is the last in the sequence, and consists of scientific inquiry, as governed by the scientific method. In this phase, one seeks explanations that are descriptive laws; generalizations over several instances that are based on a foundation of positive facts. This phase forms the basis of Comte's idea of positivism (Positivism). For Comte, it was a rejection of metaphysics in favour of scientific reason. Even his view on the arts shows this preference; he believed that the arts enforced the truths of science. It is important to note that Comte's positivism was different in many ways to logical positivism. He rejected the idea that there are universal criteria that can be used to distinguish scientific statements from non-scientific ones, and also discarded the reductionist ideal of the logical positivists

The final important thing to know about Comte's theories in sociology is that he believed the general approach of the field should be positivism. For him, 'positivism' is the belief that societies have their own scientific principles and laws, just like physics or chemistry. Positivism assumes there are truths about society that can be discovered through scientific studies and that our understanding of society should be based on evidence and actual data.

1.6 HIERARCHY OF SCIENCES

The hierarchy of the sciences, according to Comte is intimately connected with the law of three stages. Just as mankind progresses only through determinant stages, each successive stage building on the accomplishments of its predecessors, so scientific knowledge passes through similar stages of development. But, different sciences progress at different rates. Hence, he examines six fundamental sciences—mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology, sociology—in turn. It provides a way to do justice to the diversity of the sciences without thereby losing sight of their unity. This

(Check Your Progress)
1. Who introduced the term 'sociology' and when?
2. How did the French Revolution help French citizens?
3. Why Weber and Durkheim opposed socialism?
4. What was the key to the period of Enlightenment?

classification also makes Comte the founder of the philosophy of science in the modern sense. According to him, 'Any kind of knowledge reaches the positive stage early in proportion to its generality, simplicity, and independence of other departments.' Therefore, astronomy, the most general and simple of all natural sciences, develops first. In time, it is followed by physics, chemistry, biology, and finally, sociology. Each science in this series depends for its emergence on the prior developments of its predecessors in a hierarchy marked by the law of increasing complexity and decreasing generality.

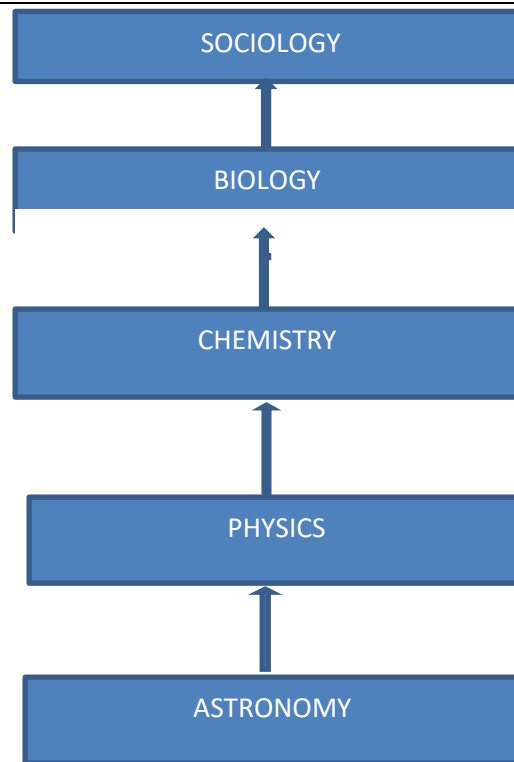
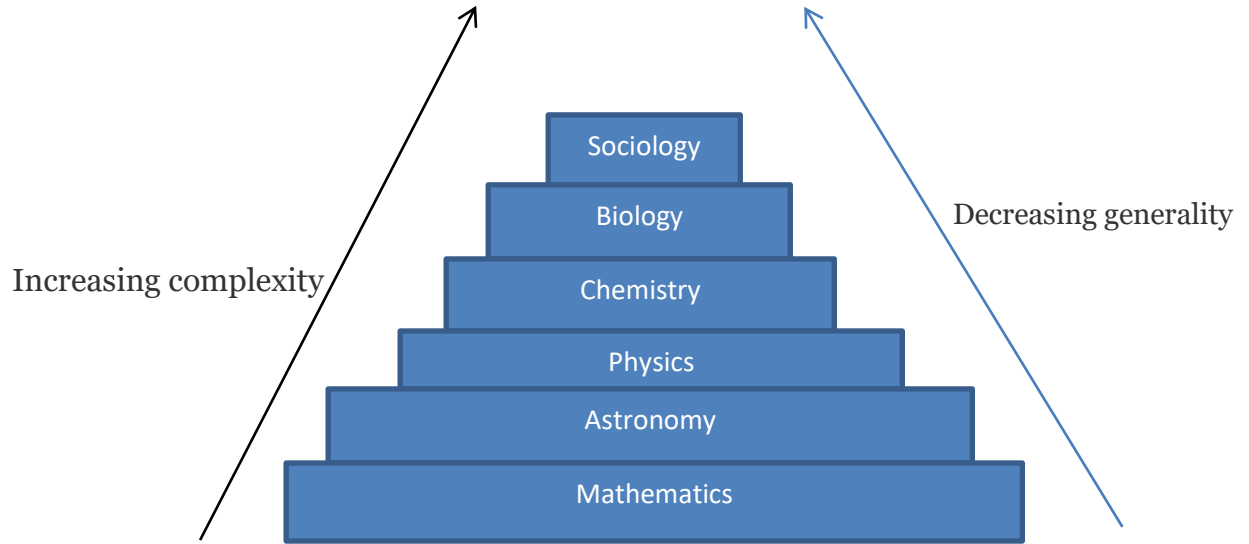


Fig.1 Hierarchy Of Sciences

The most independent and complex of all sciences are the social sciences. These developed after the other distinct sciences emerged and definitely helped in the completion of the modern, positive method. The sciences that evolved prior to the social sciences had just prepared the groundwork. The general sense of the natural law developed through the social sciences. This was possible as social science employs all the resources that physical sciences did, and also uses the historical method which investigates by gradual filtration, unlike other methods that investigate by comparison. The chief phenomenon in sociology that is the gradual and continuous influence of generations upon each other would be misguided or unnoticed for want of the necessary key historical analysis. Sociology, like all other later sciences, also depended on the special methodological characteristics. It mostly depended on biology which, in turn, developed from the study of organic wholes. Sociology also shared this emphasis on organic unity with biology. If the society is divided into parts, sociology would fail to study it. The society can only be studied when it is treated as a whole consisting of various sub-parts. The parts of this whole are, however, treated by physical sciences better than by sociology.

Fig: 1.2 Hierarchy of Sciences



Check Your Progress

5. Define Comte's definition on sociology?

6. What do you understand by Comte's Positivism?

7. Which is the third stage of the evolution of human mind?

8. Highlights six fundamental sciences that Comte explained?

According to August Comte, he maintained that the growth of several established sciences showed that not only human thought in general had passed through the three stages, but also that particular subjects had developed in the same way. Therefore, it was possible to arrange the sciences systematically with:

1. The order of their historical emergence and development,
2. The order of their dependence upon each other.
3. Their decreasing degree of generality and the increasing degree of complexity of their subject matter.

1.7 SUMMARY

- Sociology is a new academic discipline which is interested in social relationships, not because they are economic, political, religious, legal or educational, but because they are social at the same time
- Social settings have an immense effect on shaping intellectual and specifically sociology which not only derived from that setting but takes the social settings as its subject matter.
- The French Revolution of 1789 was the immediate factor responsible for the rise of sociological theorizing. These revolutions had enormous impact on many societies resulting in many positive changes.
- In western societies, the industrial Revolution had a great impact in transforming the western world from a basically agricultural to a tremendously industrial system.
- There was an increasing emphasis on science in society as whole, when sociological theory was being developed. As science was acquiring enormous prestige, those associated with most successful sciences (physics, biology and chemistry) were accorded honoured places in society.
- According to Comte, a stable social order rested on a consistent form of thought. He saw his own thought as leading to the establishment of a more stable, industrial order. He saw

this relationship between thought and practices as a natural rather than a causal one and saw thought as evolving naturally toward the kind of philosophy which he was formulating and recommending

- The subject matter of sociology is society. It studies the structure of the society and the set of rules governing its functions.
- Sociology tries to explore these principles which help society to stay integrated and in order. According to him it is highly important that the law of sociology should be scientific
- The method of sociology includes observation as well as experimentation. Observation must be guided by a theory of social phenomena.
- Each branch of knowledge passes through three stages, theological or fictitious, metaphysical or abstract, and scientific or positive.
- Social statics is concerned with the present structure of the society. It studies the current laws rule and present condition of the society
- Social dynamics observed as to how the present social laws are affecting the society. It is also evaluates the social structure. Social statics also studies the correlation between various social facts.

1.8 KEY TERMS

- **Society:** A society can be best explained as a web of social relationships. It can also be said that a society is a group of people with common territory, interaction, and culture.
- **Urbanization:** It is a population shift from rural to urban areas, “ the gradual increase in the proportion of people living in urban areas”, and the ways in which each society adapts to the change
- **Industrial revolution:** The Industrial Revolution was the transition to new manufacturing processes in the period from about 1760 to sometime between 1820 and 1840.
- **Socialism:** Socialism is a social and economic system characterised by social ownership of the means of production and co-operative management of the economy, as well as a political theory and movement that aims at the establishment of such a system
- **Fetishism:** A belief that there is some living spirit in non-living objects

- **Polytheism:** Stages where man had classified god and every natural force had a presiding deity
- **Monotheism:** Belief that one god is supreme and that he is responsible for the maintenance of order and system in the world.

1.9 ANSWER TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. Auguste Comte introduced the term ‘sociology’ in the year 1839. He was a French philosopher and sociologist.
2. The French citizens were provided new legal rights, a comprehensive centralized education system and a new inheritance system. These changes challenged the preceding traditional model, and hence provided to the individual citizens a different perspective of society.
3. Weber and Durkheim, although opposed to socialism but they recognized the problems within capitalist society, they sought social reform within capitalism rather than the social revolution argued for by Marx.
4. Reason became the God of these philosophers who were enormously inspired by the scientific achievements of the preceding centuries. Truth became the central goal of the intellectuals of this age; but not the truth founded on revelation, traditions or authority. Instead, it was the reason and observation that were to be the twin pillars of truth.
5. Comte, who coined the term "sociology," defined sociology as the supreme science, or the branch of science that unifies and interacts with all the other sciences. By defining sociology as the last and the unifying science, Comte declared that human society and its functioning were also subject to the positivist approach, and could be studied in the same way as the natural sciences.
6. Positivism is an epistemological concept, meaning that it tries to define the limits of what humans can ‘know’ and ‘do’. The work's second biggest contribution is Comte's thesis that human knowledge-making will progress from the physical, mechanical realm to the social realm. He believed that most physical phenomena are strictly external to human bodies, minds, and societies, rendering them the starting point for empirical knowledge-seeking. He contends that, as science advances, it will gradually find tools for looking inward towards the ultimate object of science—humans themselves.
7. The positive phase is the last in the sequence, and consists of scientific inquiry, as governed by the scientific method. In this phase, one seeks explanations that are descriptive laws;

generalizations over several instances that are based on a foundation of positive facts. This phase forms the basis of Comte's idea of positivism (Positivism).

8. He examines six fundamental sciences—mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology, sociology—in turn. It provides a way to do justice to the diversity of the sciences without thereby losing sight of their unity. This classification also makes Comte the founder of the philosophy of science in the modern sense

1.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short- Answer Questions

1. Highlights Comte's early life.
2. Define sociology as a definite science?
3. What are the various stages in the theological state?
4. What do you understand by social dynamics?

Long-Answer Question

1. Discuss sociology as a scientific study of society?
2. Analyse the hierarchy of science.
3. What do you understand by human progress?

1.11 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 2 KARL MARX

Structure

2.0 Introduction

2.1 Unit Objectives

2.2 Dialectical Materialism

2.3 Historical Materialism

2.4 Theory of Capitalism

2.5 Class and Class Conflict

2.6 Alienation.

2.7 Summary

2.8 Key Terms

2.9 Answer to 'check your Progress'

2.10 Questions and Exercises

2.11 Further Reading

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Here we will deal with one of the founders, namely, Karl Marx. He was an economist, sociologist, revolutionary and a radicalist. His ideas were full of sociological insights. Karl Heinrich Marx (1818-1883), was a famous German economist and social philosopher of the 19th century. He was a brilliant agitator and polemicist, a profound economist, a great sociologist, an incomparable historian and a revolutionary propounded materialist interpretation of history and showed the way for transition to communism. Marx and his close friend Friedrich Engels (1820-1895) sought to replace utopian socialism by scientific socialism for the analysis of social problems and finding their solution. The solution came in the form of an elaborate philosophy which is now recognized as Marxism. His most important works, apart from his Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of

1844, include: Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right, The Poverty of Philosophy, The Class Struggle in France and A contribution to the Critique of Political Economy. Like Hegel, for Marx, the study of history was of crucial significance. He borrowed his dialectical method from Hegel's dialectical idealism but modified it in a fundamental way.

Marx applied the Dialectics to explain the material conditions of life. In the process of doing so he denounced the Hegelian philosophy of dialectical idealism and gave the Marxian theory of society and history called as the Dialectical Materialism. Historical materialism is the scientific core of Marx's sociological thought. His analysis factors and structure framework opinions on human nature, which is also the starting point for his critical analysis of the contradictions inherent within the capitalist structure. He also stated that there is a disagreement exists between our human nature and work in the capitalist system. Workers get alienated from their labour because it does not belong to them, but rather to the capitalist owners. Marx, believed that in every society, be it pre-capitalist or capitalist, the economic system consisting of relations of production allow some people to dominate the labour power of some other people. This is the essence of exploitation and exploitative nature of society.

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the contribution of Marx and his tradition towards sociology as a discipline.
- Explain the concepts of dialectical materialism
- Explain Marx's Materialistic conception of history
- Analyse the theory of Alienation as given by Marx
- Discuss theory of class struggle
- Describe the theory of Capitalism

2.2 DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

Dialectical materialism is the world outlook of the Marxist-Leninist party. It is an approach to the phenomena of nature, its method of studying and apprehending them, is Dialectical, while its interpretation of the phenomena of nature, its conception of these phenomena, its theory, is materialistic.

Dialectics comes from the Greek '*dialego*', to discourse, to debate. Dialectics, in ancient times was the art of arriving at the truth by disclosing the contradictions in the argument of an opponent and

overcoming these contradictions. In ancient times, there was a philosopher who believed that the disclosure of contradictions in thought and the clash of opposite opinions was the best method of arriving at the truth. This dialectical method of thought, later extended to the phenomena of nature, developed into the dialectical method of apprehending nature, which regards the phenomena of nature as being in constant movement and undergoing constant change, and the development of nature as the result of the development of the contradictions in nature, as the result of the interaction of opposed forces in nature.

Marx never used the term Dialectical Materialism himself, although Marxists consider Dialectical Materialism as the theoretical source of several strands of Marxism. Joseph Dietzgen first used the term in 1887 and it was Georgi Plekhanov-the father of Russian Marxism who used the term that it became a part of common usage in Marxian analysis. Marx and Engels usually refer to Feuerbach as the philosopher who restored materialism to its rights. However, this does not mean that the materialism of Marx and Engels is identical with Feuerbach's materialism. In fact, Marx and Engels took from Feuerbach's materialism its 'inner kernel,' developed it into a scientific-philosophical theory of materialism and cast aside its idealistic and religious-ethical encumbrances. Although, Feuerbach was fundamentally a materialist, objected to the name materialism. Engels more than once declared that "in spite of" the materialist "foundation," Feuerbach "remained... bound by the traditional idealist fetters," and that "the real idealism of Feuerbach becomes evident as soon as we come to his philosophy of religion and ethics." (Marx and Engels, Vol. XIV, pp. 652-54.)

Marx and Engels dialectical method usually refer to Hegel as the philosopher who formulated the main features of dialectics. Though, the dialectics of Marx and Engels is identical with the dialectics of Hegel but they took Hegelian dialectics its 'rational kernel,' 'only, casting aside its Hegelian idealistic shell, and developed dialectics further so as to lend it a modern scientific form. Hegel had tried to explain the mechanism of social change through dialectical method. Marx sought to combine Hegel's dialectical method with his own philosophy of materialism.

"My dialectic method," says Marx, "is not only different from the Hegelian, but is its direct opposite. To Hegel, ... the process of thinking which, under the name of 'the Idea,' he even transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurgos (creator) of the real world, and the real world is only the external, phenomenal form of 'the Idea.' With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind and translated into forms of thought." (Marx, Afterword to the Second German Edition of Volume I of *Capital*.)

Therefore, the term dialectical originally referred to the process whereby ideas are formed and clarified in the course of intellectual debate. A proposition, or 'thesis', is first advanced, and then challenged by a counter-proposition, or 'antithesis'. Since both are apt to be partly true, the normal outcome of their encounter is a revised proposition, or 'synthesis', that combines the valid elements of the two. Hegel believed that social institutions only reflect the ideas behind them, and that it is the movement of ideas, through the dialectical process, which is responsible for the development of social institutions. Hegel saw nation-state as the highest state of social evolution, as the embodiment of the truth, 'the march of God on earth' –the perfect form of social institutions. While Marx adopted Hegel's mechanism of social change – the framework of 'thesis', 'antithesis' and 'synthesis' –he refused to recognize the 'idea' or consciousness as the real force behind social evolution. Instead, Marx believed, the social institutions are shaped by the material conditions of human life, which are determined by the mode of economic production in society. Thus Marx sought to replace Hegel's 'dialectical idealism' by his own 'dialectical materialism'.

The principal features of the Marxist dialectical method are as follows:

i) Nature Connected And Determined

Dialectics, unlike metaphysics does not regard nature as an accidental agglomeration of things, of phenomena, unconnected with, isolated from, and independent of, each other, but as a connected and integral whole, in which things, phenomena are organically connected with, dependent on, and determined by, each other. Therefore, the dialectical method holds that no phenomenon in nature can be understood if taken by itself, isolated from surrounding phenomena, as much as any phenomenon in any realm of nature may become meaningless to us if it is not considered in connection with the surrounding conditions, but divorced from them; and that, vice versa, any phenomenon can be understood and explained if considered in its inseparable connection with surrounding phenomena, as one conditioned by surrounding phenomena.

ii) Nature is a State of Continuous Motion and Change

Dialectics holds that nature is not a state of rest and immobility, stagnation and immutability, but a state of continuous movement and change, of continuous renewal and development, where something is always arising and developing, and something always disintegrating and dying away. Therefore, the dialectical method requires that phenomena should be considered not only from the standpoint of their interdependence and interconnection, but also from the standpoint of their development, their change, their movement, their coming into being and going out of being. The dialectical method regards as important

primarily not that which at the given moment seems to be durable and yet is already beginning to die away, but that which is arising and developing, even though at the given moment it may appear to be not durable, for the dialectical method considers invincible only that which is arising and developing.

According to Engels, dialectics "takes things and their perceptual images essentially in their interconnection, in their concatenation, in their movement, in their rise and disappearance." (Marx and Engels, Vol. XIV,' p. 23.)

iii) Natural Quantitative Change Leads to Qualitative Change

Dialectics does not regard the process of development as a simple process of growth, where quantitative changes do not lead to qualitative changes, but as a development which passes from insignificant and imperceptible quantitative changes to open' fundamental changes' to qualitative changes; a development in which the qualitative changes occur not gradually, but rapidly and abruptly, taking the form of a leap from one state to another; they occur not accidentally but as the natural result of an accumulation of imperceptible and gradual quantitative changes. Therefore, dialectical method holds that the process of development should be understood not as movement in a circle, not as a simple repetition of what has already occurred, but as an onward and upward movement, as a transition from an old qualitative state to a new qualitative state, as a development from the simple to the complex, from the lower to the higher.

iv) Contradictions Inherent in Nature

Dialectics holds that internal contradictions are inherent in all things and phenomena of nature, for they all have their negative and positive sides, a past and a future, something dying away and something developing; and that the struggle between these opposites, the struggle between the old and the new, between that which is dying away and that which is being born, between that which is disappearing and that which is developing, constitutes the internal content of the process of development, the internal content of the transformation of quantitative changes into qualitative changes. Therefore, the dialectical method holds that the process of development from the lower to the higher takes place not as a harmonious unfolding of phenomena, but as a disclosure of the contradictions inherent in things and phenomena, as a 'struggle' of opposite tendencies which operate on the basis of these contradictions.

According to Lenin, "dialectics is the study of the contradiction *within the very essence of things*." (Lenin, *Philosophical Notebooks*, p. 265.) And further: "Development is the 'struggle' of opposites." (Lenin, Vol. XIII, p. 301.)

Comparative study of Hegel and Marx		
The issue	Hegel's view	Marx's View
Philosophical Basis	Idealism	Materialism
Path of Development	Dialectical	Dialectical
Medium of Progress	War among Nations	Class conflict
Final Stage of Development	Supremacy of the Nation State	Classless and stateless society

Engels sought to define dialectics as 'the science of the general

laws of motion and development of nature, human society and thought'. He identified three laws of dialectics which can be illustrated with suitable examples from the material world; hence they exemplify the laws of dialectical materialism:

i) The Law of Transformation

The law transformation states that constant quantitative growth leads to changes in quality by 'leaps' in the environment, resulting in the production of a totally new variety of creature. This is the way in which 'quantitative development becomes qualitative change. In the process of transformation, the rendering null and void of quality affecting quantity is also permitted.

For example, the transformation of quantity into quality and vice versa- At certain temperatures (quantity), water is converted into ice or steam (change in quality); water, ice and steam could be identified as changes in the quality of the same thing with changes in temperature (quantity). This law has many similarities to the theory of evolution. Marxian analysis suggests that creatures in the course of quantitative growth are in addition essentially able to 'leap' to new appearances and stages of realism.

(ii) The Law of Opposites

Marx and Engels believed that everything in reality is a combination of opposites. For instance, the interpenetration of opposites; Hard and soft are opposite of each other, but in the material world they interpenetrate into each other; iron is hard, but it can be moulded into different shapes which shows that it is also soft; a flower is soft but it can stay in its shape which shows that it is also hard.

Engels' conclusion is that everything 'contains two mutually incompatible and exclusive but nevertheless equally essential and indispensable parts or aspects'. The essential idea is that this coming together of opposites in the natural world is the trait which makes every unit auto-dynamic in nature. It also ensures a nonstop drive for movement and transformation. As Hegel stated, 'contradiction in nature is the root of all motion and of all life'.

(iii) Law of Negation

This is the basic principle of progress. According to the law of negation, there is a predisposition in the environment towards continuously raising the numerical amount of all things. Marx and Engels states that to organize, to move forward or to replicate a superior number, creatures are inclined in the direction of negating themselves. The nature of opposing forces is such that it is inclined to negate the thing itself, at the same time this negation results in divergence in every part and gives them movement. Consequently, creatures progress because of this energetic course of beginning and obliteration. This law can also be framed as the sequence of thesis, antithesis and synthesis.

For example, every stage of social development contains the seeds of its own decay; its decay is followed by a higher stage of development until a perfect society is evolved. In the material world, when we sow a seed, it sprouts. In this process, the seed is destroyed. The seed-bud which appears is the negation of the seed. Then it grows into plant. In this process, the seed-bud is destroyed. The plant is the negation of the seed-bud. Thereafter ear of corn grows on it and the plant dries and decays. The ear of corn is the negation of the plant. It reproduces seed in larger quantity and better quality. This is symptom of progress. Application of the laws of dialectics in social life is demonstrated through the principle of historical materialism.

Hence, it is easy to understand how immensely important is the extension of the principles of the dialectical method to the study of social life and the history of society, and how immensely important is the application of these principles to the history of society and to the

practical activities of the party of the proletariat. If there are no isolated phenomena in the world, if all phenomena are interconnected and interdependent, then it is clear that every social system and every social movement in history must be evaluated not from the standpoint of "eternal justice" or some other preconceived idea, as is not infrequently done by historians, but from the standpoint of the conditions which gave rise to that system or that social movement and with which they are connected.

2.3 HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

The Basic Concepts of 'Historical Materialism' was the most systematic attempt at that time to provide an account of the Marxist conception of history, purged of all historicist and human assumptions. Marx's theory, which he called 'historical materialism' or the 'materialist conception of history', is based on Hegel's claim that history occurs through a dialectic, or clash, of opposing forces. Hegel was a philosophical idealist who believed that we live in a world of appearances, and true reality is an ideal. Marx accepted this notion of the dialectic, but rejected Hegel's idealism because he did not accept that the material world hides from us the 'real' world of the ideal; on the contrary, he thought that historically and socially specific ideologies prevented people from seeing the material conditions of their lives clearly.

Marx had both an empirical theory of history and a speculative philosophy of history. The former, which has come to be known as historical materialism, is a set of macro sociological generalizations about the causes of stability and change in societies. The latter, largely of Hegelian inspiration, offers a scheme for interpreting all historical events in terms of their contribution to realizing the end of history – in both senses of that term. Communism is both the goal of history and the point at which it comes to rest. Although there may be development and change in communism, it will not involve qualitative transformations of the social structure.

Historical materialism is the extension of the principles of dialectical materialism to the study of social life, an application of the principles of dialectical materialism to the phenomena of the life of society, to the study of society and of its history. The speculative conception involves a division of history into three stages: pre class society, class society, and post class society. In a different terminology, the stages are referred to as primitive unity, alienation, and unity-with-differentiation. Historical materialism is an investigation of the middle stage, the historical class societies. Not unsurprisingly, the speculative, teleological thinking impinges on the empirical part of the theory,

and especially on the view that the successive sets of property relations in history are nothing but instruments for promoting technical change and thus, ultimately, for preparing communism. A major gap, or flaw, in Marx's theory of history is that he does not provide a plausible mechanism to connect the thirst for surplus labour with the development of the productive forces.

Marx's theory of historical materialism is contained in 'The Preface to A contribution to the Critique of Political Economy' (1959). Here, he says that the actual basis of society is its economic structure. For Marx economic structure of society is made of its relations of production. The legal and political superstructure of society is based on relations of production. Marx says that relations of production reflect the stage of society's force of means of production. Here, you have come across terms, such as, relations of production, forces of means of production and superstructure.

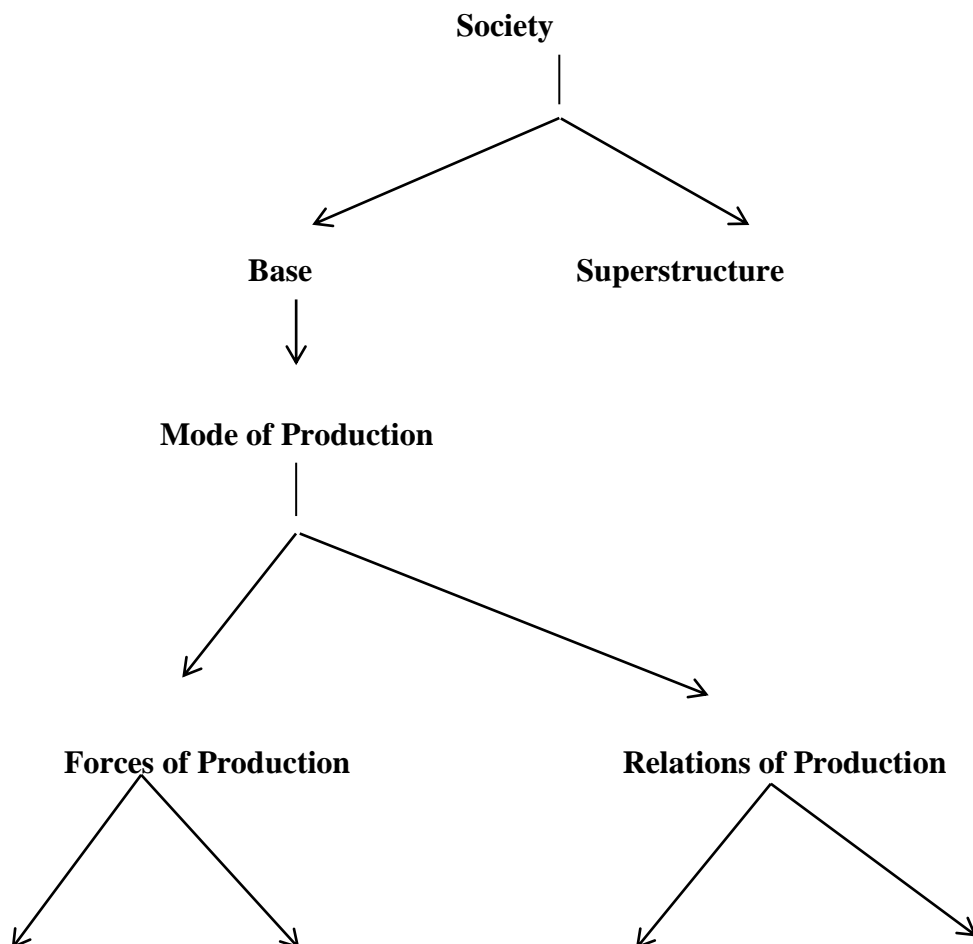
Marx explain historical materialism by saying that social relations over and above individuals that as a general principle, the production of material requirements of life, which is a very basic necessity of all societies, compels individuals to enter into definite social relations that are independent of their will. This is the basic idea of Marx's theory of society. According to Marx, there are social relations who impinge upon individuals irrespective of their preferences and elaborates that an understanding of the historical process depends on our awareness of these objective social relations i.e. Infrastructure and Superstructure Secondly, every society has its infrastructure and superstructure. For him, social relations are defined in terms of material conditions which he calls infrastructure. The economic base of a society forms its infrastructure. Any changes in material conditions also imply corresponding changes in social relations. Forces and relations of production come in the category of infrastructure.

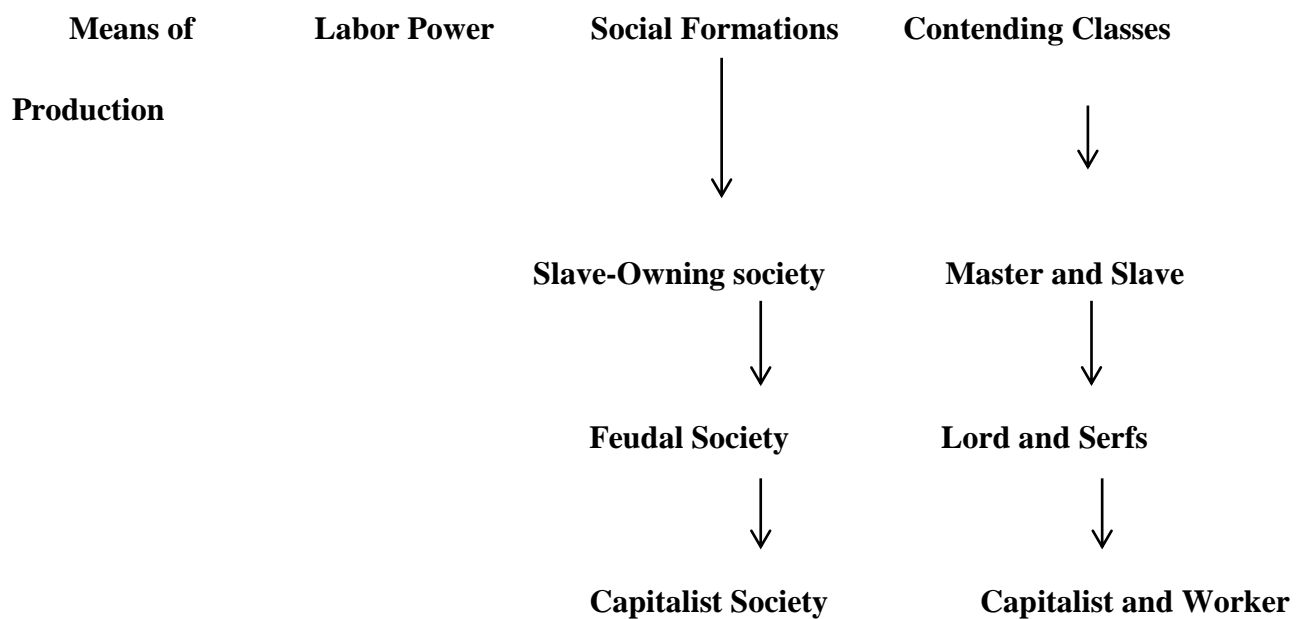
Marx's historical development is described based on the concept of historical materialism. As the process of material production holds the key to man's social life, changes in this process are responsible for all historical development. According to Marx, the mode of production in a given society constitutes its 'base' (or 'substructure') and its 'superstructure' which are shaped according to the changing character of the base. 'Mode of Production' comprise of 'forces of production' and 'relations of production'. Forces of production comprise of two elements: (i) means of production; and (ii) labour power. Relations of production are constituted by the pattern of economic ownership of means of production. At every stage of history, owners of means of production constitute the dominant class and those left with labour power only constitute the dependent class. The reason behind the changes in the mode of production as Marx answer is, at a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come in conflict with the existing relations

of production within which they have been at work. Man's constant search for improvement of production leads to the development of forces of production. Means of production are improved by the scientific discoveries and invention of new techniques and implements while labour power is developed by the acquisition of new knowledge, education and training. The development of the forces of production leads to the contradiction between the forces of production and the relations of production. The intensification of this contradiction ushers in a stage when the existing relations of production are no longer compatible with the level of development of forces of production. It results in the breakdown of the existing mode of production along with its superstructure.

An outline of Historical Materialism

(Process of Historical Development) Society





This process of historical development can also be explained by the dialectical method. According to the dialectic concept, the established order is the thesis which inevitably produces its own antithesis in the form of new mode of production. In other words, as a result of some new invention or discovery, the productive forces come into conflict with the existing relations of production. As a result of the clash between the existing social relations and the new productive forces, a new revolutionary class emerges which overthrows the existing order in a violent revolution. According to the dialectical logic, every stage of social development which falls short of perfection contains the seeds of its own decay. Marx saw his contemporary capitalist society as an imperfect stage because it was marked by the division of society into antagonistic classes –the bourgeoisie (dominant) and proletariat (dependent). It was, therefore, doomed due to interplay of its inherent contradictions. The forces of capitalism had heralded a new era of progress by destroying the feudal system. But Marx saw capitalism itself as a transitory phase. Thus class-conflict was inevitable during the capitalist stage of historical development, and another revolution was in store. Marx, therefore, anticipated a more profound revolution –the socialist revolution –by which the rising proletariat would displace the middle class from power as the middle class has displaced the older feudal class.

According to the dialectic concept, perfection comes through a very long process of conflict between antagonistic elements. Society, since its inception, has always been subject to internal stresses and strains. Unsatisfied needs are, therefore, the result of the defective modes of production. But as man's knowledge of truth is also imperfect, he has always imagined another world where all his needs would be met. Here, religion comes into existence. Though, in reality, religion is no more than the shadow cast by a defective economic system which will disappear with the removal of those defects. Marx dubbed religion as 'the opium of the people'.

Further according to Marx, the forces of production appear to be the capacity of a society to produce. This capacity to produce is essentially a function of scientific and technical knowledge, technological equipment, and the organisation of labour. The relations of production arise out of the production process but essentially overlap with the relations in ownership of means of production. Relations of production should not be entirely identified with relations of property. At certain points in time, Marx speaks in terms of transformation of society from one stage to another. In explaining the process of transformation, Marx has given us a scheme of historical movement. Marx constructs, in broad terms, a historical sequence of the main types of society, proceeding from the simple, undifferentiated society of 'primitive communism' to the complex class society of modern capitalism. He provides an explanation of the great historical transformations which demolish old forms of society and create new ones in terms of infrastructural changes which he regards as general and constant in their operation. Each period of contradiction between the forces and the relations of production is seen by Marx as a period of revolution.

Therefore in general Historical Materialism conditioned by the mode of production of material life. On the basis of this logic, Marx tries to construct his entire view of history. He says that new developments of productive forces of society come in conflict with existing relations of production. When people become conscious of the state of conflict, they wish to bring an end to it. This period of history is called by Marx the period of social revolution. The revolution brings about resolution of conflict. It means that new forces of production take roots and give rise to new relations of production.

Thus, for Marx, it is the growth of new productive forces which outlines the course of human history. The productive forces are the powers society uses to produce material conditions of life. For him, human history is an account of development and consequences of new forces of material production. This is the reason why his view of history is given the name of historical materialism. In a nutshell, this is the theory of historical materialism. Therefore in brief, we can say

that Marx's theory of historical materialism states that all objects, whether living or inanimate, are subject to continuous change. The rate of this change is determined by the laws of dialectics.

Aspects of Historical Materialism and Modes of Production

Marx mode of production is the most important of all human activity. Society comes into existence primarily for the purpose of economic production. A perfect society will secure all the necessities of life to the satisfaction of all its members.

The history of society is reflected in the history of development and the law governed during the successive modes of production. This succession passes through six consecutive modes of production. They are as follows:

Primitive society

Primitive society is the first and the lowest form of organization of people. It existed for thousands of years. In this stage, the relations of production and the production forces were not very developed and men made use of primitive implements. Everything was done on communal basis. The people tilled the communal land together with common tools and lived in a common dwelling, sharing produces equally. The productive forces developed slowly. With the growth of the productivity, the clan began to break into families. The family became the owner of the means of production. Thus, private property arose and with it, social inequality. This resulted in the antagonistic classes like the masters and slaves.

Slave Society

The relation of masters to slaves is considered as the very essence of slavery. In this system of production the master has the right of ownership over the slave and appropriates the products of the slave's labour. The slave is not allowed to reproduce. Exploitation operates according to the following modalities: the slaves work the master's land and receive their subsistence in return. The master's profit is constituted by the difference between what the slaves produce and what they consume. But what is usually forgotten is that beyond this, the slaves are deprived of their own means of reproduction. The reproduction of slavery depends on the capacity of the society to acquire new slaves, that is, on an apparatus which is not directly linked to the capacities of demographic reproduction of the enslaving population. The rate of accumulation depends on the number of slaves acquired, and not directly on their productivity. Ownership of objects spread to ownership of men because slaves helped to increase the inflow of objects. In this way, the slave and

master classes came into being in society and consequently, master and slave morality grew. This increased dissatisfaction which, in its turn, led to class conflict. Slaves revolted against masters for equal rights.

Feudal Society

In Feudal society, there were two conflicting classes – Serfs and Lords. Lords were superseded by kings or emperors. The serfs laboured and the lords or kings benefited. In order to give sanction to the authority of kings and lords, religion was resorted to. As time passed, the masters did concede some rights to slaves. Though the slaves possessed some ownership over land, a major portion of the yield still went to the master. It was the inception of ‘Lordship society’. Religious ethics like the concepts of Heaven and Hell came into being. God was recognized as the religious emperor under who lay many gods and goddesses. The serf was taught to pray to this god and to rest satisfied with his lot, which was allocated to him by god. It was god who had vested authority in the king. Also, there were lords authorized by the king. Thus, to obey their orders was the duty of the public. There was a vast difference in the status of the ruler and the ruled.

Capitalist Society

Conflict became more intense in the age of lordship system and on the other side, steam was discovered in the forces of production and factories derived power from steam engines. The Lords abandoned their dukedoms and entered the industrial field. They created the capitalist or owner class. They joined hands with businessmen and white-collared middle class people. The serfs went on to become the labour class. Thus, society was again stratified into two layers or classes- the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. In the bourgeois and proletariat morality too, there is a tremendous conflict as in all conflicting classes. The policy of the bourgeois is one of exploitation. They have nothing to do with the problems of the proletariat. Resorting to secular orders, laws of action and religion, they preach lessons of humbleness and patience to the labourers.

Socialist Society

As class consciousness is built up, it leads to revolution against the capitalists and if it is successful, socialism is gained. In socialism, production is directed by the elected councils of the workers. The means of production are transferred from the hands of capitalists to that of the workers. He called this change the ‘dictatorship of the proletariat’. Economically, each worker is paid according to the amount of labour he contributes to society.

Communist Society

According to Marx, the communist society is the future society aimed at by all forms of development and revolution in society. This is best defined by the party Programme in USSR as, 'Communism is a classless social system with one form of public ownership of the means of production and full social equality of all members of society under it, the all-round development of people will be accompanied by the growth of the, productive forces through continuous progress in science and technology; all the springs of cooperative wealth will flow more abundantly, and the great principle, 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs' will be implemented. Communism is a highly organized society of free, socially conscious working people in which public self-government will be established, a society in which labour for the good of society will become life's prime want of everyone, a necessity recognized by one and all, and the ability of each person will be employed to the greatest benefit of the people'.

In other words, there are forces which bring about the change. You can call it the stage of antithesis. The actual nature of change, i.e., the stage of synthesis, will be, according to Marx, determined by the interaction of these two types of forces. Before explaining in some detail further connections which Marx makes to elaborate this theory, it is necessary to point out that different schools of Marxism provide differing explanations of this theory. We are here confined to a kind of standard version in our rendering of historical materialism. We should keep in mind that materialistic conception of history is not a rough and ready formulation for explaining different forms of social organisation. Let us now

Marx presented a comprehensive and incisive critique of capitalism that had become well established in Europe as a consequence of the Industrial revolution. The most important influence on Marx's work was of Hegel's philosophy, which pervaded the intellectual climate of Germany at the time when Marx came to maturity. G.W.F.Hegel (1770-1831), was a famous German philosopher, who believed that 'idea' or 'consciousness' was the essence of the universe. Against this view of Hegel, Marx held that the ultimate cause which determines the whole course of human history is the economic development of society and thus gave the theory of Historical Materialism. Historical materialism, also known as the materialist conception of history, is the scientific core of Marxist theory. Marx and Engels considered it to be a 'scientific' method that distinguished them from other strands of socialist thought because they believed that it was derived not from philosophy or dogma, but from the observations of real conditions. At the outset, historical materialism implies that all types of social relations prevailing at any stage of historical

development are determined by the economic conditions. Marx's argument in this behalf begins with the simple truth that the survival of man depends upon his efficiency in the production of material things.

(Check your progress)

1. With what Marx and Engels replace Utopian?
2. What are empirical theory of history and a speculative philosophy of history according to Marx?
3. What is Historical Materialism?

2.4 THEORY OF CAPITALISM

According to Marx's study of the genesis of capitalist production provides an analysis of the process that broke up feudal class relations, giving rise to a capitalist class enjoying private ownership of the means of production.

For Karl Marx, capitalism is quintessentially a class system distinguished by the specific form in unpaid surplus labor is appropriated from the direct producers. According to him, capitalist society is like a specific historical category. It is a society working on a machine technique of which the economic structure possesses peculiar distinguishing marks. It is a society producing for the market, in which the means of production belong to a special class purchasing labour power and which is in opposition to its antipodes, deprived of the means of production and selling its labour power. Only in the combination of these conditions do the means of production become capital, the decisive mass of products and labour power, value, labour, the producer of surplus value. In such conditions social production is capitalist production, the process of the self-increase of capital. Therefore, capitalism is the system of private ownership of the means of production, deprives human beings of this essential source of self-worth and identity. The worker approaches work only as a means of survival and derives none of the other personal satisfactions of work because the products of his labor do not belong to him. These products are instead expropriated by capitalists and sold for profit.

For Marx, the idea of the *means of production* is a crucial economic category. The means of production include nearly everything needed to produce commodities, including natural resources, factories, and machinery. In a capitalist economy, as opposed to a communist or socialist economy, the means of production are privately owned, as when a businessperson owns a factory. Therefore,

the members of the capitalist economy find themselves divided into two distinct classes: those who own the means of production (the *bourgeoisie*) and those workers who do not (the *proletariat*).

In capitalism, the worker, who is alienated or estranged from the products he creates, is also estranged from the process of production, which he regards only as a means of survival. Estranged from the production process, the worker is therefore also estranged from his or her own humanity, since the transformation of nature into useful objects is one of the fundamental facets of the human condition. The worker is thus alienated from his or her 'species being'—from what it is to be human. Finally, the capitalist mode of production alienates human beings from other human beings. Deprived of the satisfaction that comes with owning the product of one's labor, the worker regards the capitalist as external and hostile. The alienation of the worker from his work and of the worker from capitalists forms the basis of the antagonistic social relationship that will eventually lead to the overthrow of capitalism.

He also talks about commodity which is an item produced to satisfy wants and needs. Commodities comprise goods and services. According to Marx, the more specific meaning of the term commodity is applied to goods only. It is used to describe a class of goods for which there demand is, but which is supplied without qualitative differentiation across a market. He criticized the inhumanity and exploitation of capitalism.

According to Marx, capitalist production is the generalised form of commodity production, when labour power also becomes a commodity which gives an absolutely original appearance to the whole economic structure. Commodity production in general has an extremely important peculiarity, unknown in any form of natural economy. This peculiarity lies in the fact that the social connection between the different commodity producers is formed through exchange. The social character of labour in this divided social whole, of which the agents are formally independent of one another, is not recognised by the subjects participating in economy

Karl Marx contends two decisive events of capitalism. The first is the abolition of all types of personal dependence that is, serfdom. Labour, etc 'If the individual is to sell his labor power as a commodity, explains Marx, 'he must have it at his disposal, must be the untrammelled owner of his capacity for labour, i.e. of his person'. He describes labor and its benefits to the people. It shows the economic relationship between a worker and an employer, where the worker sells their labor under a formal or informal employment. It usually occurs in a labor market where wages are market determined. He argued that profit reflects social relations, not the real productivity of capital.

According to Marx, the wage labourer is a person whose primary means of income is from selling of his or her labour. It is described as follows. ‘The second essential prerequisite of capitalist production is “that the labourer, instead of being in the position to sell commodities in which his labour is incorporated, must be obliged to offer for sale as a commodity that very labour power, which exists only in his living self.”’ .

The forces of production are technology and work patterns that men and women use to exploit their environment to meet their needs. These forces of production are expressed in relationships between men, which are independent of any particular individual and not subject to individual will and purposes. The ‘force of production,’ would be industrialism while capitalism would be a ‘relation of production.’ By relations of production, he means the social relationships people enter into by participation in economic life. The relations of production are the relations men (and women) establish with each other when they utilize existing raw materials and technologies in the pursuit of their production goals. Therefore, Marx describes the relation between means of production and property as; ‘Capitalism is a historically specific mode of production the way in which the productive power is owned and controlled, combined with the corresponding social relations between individuals based on their connection with the process of production in which capitalism has become the dominant mode of production.’

Therefore, according to Marx capitalism was a system of power which includes both economic and political and coerces and exploits workers.

2.5 CLASS AND CLASS CONFLICT

One of the most powerful sociological explanations of social conflict is that of Karl Marx, who posited a class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie intrinsic to capitalist, industrial society. This notion is powerful in being dynamic, intuitively persuasive, and appearing to fit well with history.

It is important to recognize that Marx viewed the structure of society in relation to its major classes, and the struggle between them as the engine of change in this structure. Conflict was not deviant within society's structure, nor were classes' functional elements maintaining the system. The structure itself was a derivative of and ingredient in the struggle of classes. Therefore, Marx defined class by the ownership of property and such ownership vests a person with the power to exclude others from the property and to use it for personal purposes. Thereby, there are three

great classes of society in relation to property; the bourgeoisie, who own the means of production such as machinery and factory buildings, and whose source of income is profit, the landowners whose income is based on rent and, the proletariat, who own their labor and sell it for a wage. Therefore, class is determined by property, not by income or status and are determined by distribution and consumption, which itself ultimately reflects the production and power relations of classes. Thus, class is a theoretical and formal relationship among individuals.

According to Marx, class conflict is created by the contradictory positions of two groups, the proletariat and the capitalists, is at the heart of capitalism. Because these represent groups in conflict, Marx called them classes. For Marx, every historical period had its own class formations. Because capitalists are continually accumulating capital while also competing with other capitalists, Marx believed that more and more members of society would eventually become proletarians in a process he called proletarianization. Society would then be characterized by a very small number of capitalists exploiting a large number of poor proletarians subsisting on low wages. Marx called this group of proletarians the industrial reserve army. Thus, the normal operation of the capitalist system, through competition and exploitation, produces an ever greater number of workers who will eventually rise up to overthrow the system.

The force transforming latent class membership into a struggle of classes is 'class interest'. Out of similar 'class situations', individuals come to act similarly. They develop a mutual dependence, a community; a shared interest interrelated with a common income of profit or of wages. From this common interest classes are formed, and for Marx, individuals form classes to the extent that their interests engage them in a struggle with the opposite class. At the beginning, the interests associated with land ownership and rent is different from those of the bourgeoisie. But as society matures, capital (i.e., the property of production) and land ownership merge, as do the interests of landowners and bourgeoisie. Finally the relation of production, the natural opposition between proletariat and bourgeoisie, determines all other activities.

Marx saw the development of class conflict, the struggle between classes was initially confined to individual factories. Eventually, given the maturing of capitalism, the growing disparity between life conditions of bourgeoisie and proletariat, and the increasing homogenization within each class, individual struggles become generalized to coalitions across factories. Increasingly class conflict is manifested at the societal level. Class consciousness is increased, common interests and policies are organized, and the use of and struggle for political power occurs. Classes become political forces. The distribution of political power is determined by power over production. Capital confers

political power, which the bourgeois class uses to legitimize and protect their property and consequent social relations. Further, the division between classes will widen and the condition of the exploited worker will deteriorate so badly that social structure will collapse and the class struggle is transformed into a proletarian revolution.

There are six elements in Marx's view of class conflict.

- Classes are authority relationships based on property ownership.
- A class defines groupings of individuals with shared life situations, thus interests.
- Classes are naturally antagonistic by virtue of their interests.
- Imminent within modern society is the growth of two antagonistic classes and their struggle, which eventually absorbs all social relations.
- Political organization and Power is an instrumentality of class struggle, and reigning ideas are its reflection.
- Structural change is a consequence of the class struggle.

Marx's emphasis on class conflict as constituting the dynamics of social change, his awareness that change was not random but the outcome of a conflict of interests, and his view of social relations as based on power were contributions of the first level. Therefore, Marx, emphasis on classes, on conflict, on their relations to the state, and on social change was a powerful perspective and is worth developing theory that should not be discarded.

(Check your progress)

4. What are the four modes of production according to Marx?
5. According to Marx, what brings true fulfilment to humans?
6. Explain Marx's characteristic description about the feudal society

2.6 ALIENATION

Alienated labor is one of the central concepts in the young Marx's philosophy, providing an analysis of what is perceived to be an essential feature of the capitalist way of production and how it relates to us as human beings. Moreover, it enables us to see Marx's normative approach, how labor should be characterized in a non-alienated sense.

Marx's claim that under capitalism the relationship between labor and human expression changes, rather than laboring to fulfil their needs or express ideas, workers do so at the demands of capitalists. Workers are alienated from their labor because it no longer belongs to the worker, but rather to the capitalist. The general idea of alienation is that when something is alienated or disconnected. Because the essence of human beings is the species-being, it should be something that is familiar. When it becomes to the extent that we are unable to act in accordance with our species-being, we become disconnected from our own nature. So if work in a capitalist society inhibits the realization of our species-being, then work is to that extent alienating and since we are being alienated from our own nature, alienation is not merely a subjective feeling, but is about an objective reality. Therefore Marx emphasized that in a capitalist society the nature of the economy and the system of production create an atmosphere which ultimately results in alienation. So workers are alienated from their species-being under capitalism mainly in four ways

1. ***Workers are alienated from the products of their labor:*** Workers are alienated from their productive activity, in that they no longer labor to satisfy their own needs. Capitalists need not do any labor themselves – simply by owning the means of production, they control the profit of the firm they own, and are enriched by it. But they can only make profit by selling commodities, which are entirely produced by workers. Thus, the products of the worker's labor strengthen the capitalists, whose interests are opposed to that of the proletariat. Workers do this as laborers, but also as consumers: Whenever laborers buy commodities from capitalists that also strengthen the position of the capitalists. This again stands in opposition to the workers' species-being. Humans produce in response to our needs; but for the proletariat at least, strengthening the capitalist class is surely not one of those needs.

2. ***Workers are alienated from the act of labor:*** Workers are alienated from the product of their labor, which now belongs to the capitalist. Instead of finding expression in producing, workers turn to consuming to express themselves because capitalists own the firms that employ workers, it is they, not the workers, who decide what commodities are made, how they are made, and in what working conditions they are made. As a result, work is often dreary, repetitive, and even dangerous. Such work may be suitable for machines, or beings without the ability to consciously and freely decide how they want to work, but it is not suitable for human beings. Enduring this for an extended period of time means that one can only look for fulfilment outside of one's work; while "the activity of working, which is potentially the source of human self-definition and human freedom, is degraded to a necessity for staying alive.

3. ***Workers are alienated from the Producers:*** The cooperative nature of work is destroyed through the organization of the labor process, alienating workers from their fellow workers. Additionally, workers often must compete against one another for work and pay. Marx argued that capitalism eventually confines labor to the position of a commercial commodity. This means that social relationships are ignored while human beings under the system strive to attain endurance or betterment. The competitive nature of capitalism eventually creates conflicts and disputes. This can cause high levels of alienation and resentment among the masses. The basic structure of the capitalist system is such that it can cause deterioration in social structures and relationships since workers must compete for scarce resources in order to survive.

4. ***Workers are alienated from other human beings.*** Workers are alienated from their human potential, as the transformative potential of labor is lost. In a capitalist economy, workers must compete with each other for jobs and raises. But just as competition between businesses brings down the price of commodities, competition between workers brings down wages. And so it is not the proletariat who benefits from this competition, but capitalists. This is not only materially damaging to workers, it estranges them from each other. Humans are free beings and are able to not only transform the world themselves, but to cooperate in order to transform the world in more sophisticated and helpful ways. As such, they should see each other as allies, especially in the face of a capitalist class who seeks to undermine worker solidarity for its own benefit. But under capitalism workers see each other as opposing competition.

Finally Marx argued that the workers were unable to attain self-actualization in the capitalist environment. This is because capitalism seeks to create rules and regulations that will ultimately create bad conditions for workers. Therefore, one may find great inspiration in the idea that true fulfillment can come from creative and meaningful work. Yet most people's actual experience of work in capitalist economies is characterized by tedium, apathy, and exhaustion. Marx's theory of alienation provides a conceptual framework for understanding the nature and cause of these experiences, and assures us that these subjective experiences are about an objective reality.

Commodity Fetishism and Class

The domination of commodities in our society is so pervasive that it seems to be an inevitable, natural state of affairs. Everything we produce and all our achievements appear as commodities.

According to Marx, the wealth of societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails appears as an immense collection of commodities. Capitalism is the first system of

generalised commodity production, in which the commodity has become 'a universal category of society as a whole'. The dominance of commodity production has implications for how we experience the world we have created. In every society human beings have laboured to create objects which help them fulfil their needs. Therefore, Marx began his analysis of commodities under capitalism by asserting that 'a commodity is an external object, a thing which through its qualities satisfies human needs of whatever kind', regardless of whether that need comes from stomach or the imagination. Commodities must have a use value and at the same time, they also need to have an exchange value.

Alienation and commodity fetishism shape all relationships in society. Those who possess wealth also inhabit a world beyond their control, in which relationships are reified. Their individuality is submerged by the dictates of capitalism - as Marx wrote, the instinct to enrich himself, which 'in a miser is a mere idiosyncrasy, is, in the capitalist, the effect of the social mechanism, of which he is but one of the wheels'. The huge productive forces owned by the ruling class may bring them riches beyond our imaginings, but they cannot control the vast economic forces of the system or even plan any section of it accurately. The capitalists are caught in a contradiction that 'capital is a social force, but it is privately, rather than collectively, owned so its movements are determined by individual owners necessarily indifferent to all the social implications of their activities'.

The capitalist has constantly to compete in order to keep up with his competitors and while his actions may be perfectly sensible for the individual firm, when generalised across society they cause the economic recessions which can destroy many firms. Economic crises are irrefutable proof that the system is more powerful than any individual capitalist. This explains why crises are such a massive blow to the confidence and ideology of the ruling class. The capitalist may like to believe that his daring, entrepreneurial spirit creates his wealth, but in reality he 'rides a wave another has created'. The class struggle, which he cannot prevent, brings home forcibly how dependent he is on the labour of his employees, and, like economic crises, is a wounding blow to the outlook of the ruling class.

(Check Your Progress)

7. What is Alienation according to Marx?
8. Does Marx believe that Alienation can be overcome?

2.7 SUMMARY

- Karl Marx never used the term Dialectical Materialism as the theoretical source of several strands of Marxism, although many Marxists consider so. Joseph Dietzgen first used the term in 1887 but however, it was only after Georgi Plekhanov, the father of Russian Marxism used the term that it became a part of common usage in Marxian analysis. The German philosopher, revolutionary, economist, sociologist and leader, Karl Marx founded modern scientific socialism, a system of society in which no property is held as private.
- Dialectics is a method of thinking and interpreting the world of both nature and society. It refers to the societal and economic transformation born of material forces. The concept of dialectical material suggests that all historical growth and change results from the struggle of opposites.
- Historical materialism is the extension of the principles of dialectical materialism to the study of social life, an application of the principles of dialectical materialism to the phenomena of the life of society, to the study of society and of its history. The speculative conception involves a division of history into three stages: pre class society, class society, and post class society
- Historical materialism, also known as the materialist conception of history, is the scientific core of Marxist theory. Marx and Engels considered it to be a 'scientific method' that distinguished them from other strands of socialist thought because they believed that it was derived not from philosophy or dogma, but from the observations of real conditions.
- The history of society is reflected in the history of development and the law governed during the successive modes of production. This succession passes through six consecutive modes of production. They are as follows: primitive, slave, feudal, capitalist, socialist and communist society.
- According to Marx, capitalist society is like a specific historical category. It is a society working on a machine technique of which the economic structure possesses peculiar distinguishing marks. It is a society producing for the market, in which the means of production belong to a special class purchasing labour power and which is in opposition to its antipodes, deprived of the means of production and selling its labour power.
- Marx defined class by the ownership of property and such ownership vests a person with the power to exclude others from the property and to use it for personal purposes. Thereby, there are three great classes of society in relation to property; the bourgeoisie who own the means of production such as machinery and factory buildings, and whose source of income

is profit, the landowners whose income is based on rent, and the proletariat who own their labor and sell it for a wage.

- Class is determined by property, not by income or status and are determined by distribution and consumption, which itself ultimately reflects the production and power relations of classes. Thus, class is a theoretical and formal relationship among individuals.
- The general idea of alienation is that when something is alienated or disconnected. Because the essence of human beings is the species-being, it should be something that is familiar. When it becomes to the extent that we are unable to act in accordance with our species-being, we become disconnected from our own nature. So if work in a capitalist society inhibits the realization of our species-being, then work is to that extent alienating and since we are being alienated from our own nature, alienation is not merely a subjective feeling, but is about an objective reality.
- Marx's theory of alienation provides a conceptual framework for understanding the nature and cause of these experiences, and assures us that these subjective experiences are about an objective reality.
- Marx began his analysis of commodities under capitalism by asserting that 'a commodity is an external object, a thing which through its qualities satisfies human needs of whatever kind', regardless of whether that need comes from stomach or the imagination. Commodities must have a use value and at the same time, they also need to have an exchange value.
- According to Marx, the more specific meaning of the term commodity is applied to goods only. It is used to describe a class of goods for which there demand is, but which is supplied without qualitative differentiation across a market. He criticized the inhumanity and exploitation of capitalism.
- Surplus value can be defined as the value produced over and above the actual value of a commodity.
- Marx describes the relation between means of production and property as 'Capitalism is a historically specific mode of production the way in which the productive poverty is owned and controlled, combined with the corresponding social relations between individuals based on their connection with the process of production in which capitalism has become the dominant mode of production.'

2.8 KEY TERMS

- **Commodity:** The products which are produced with the labour of the workers and exchanged in the market are called commodities. It has two values: use value and exchange value.
- **Mode of Production:** The actual relationship between the relations of production and the forces of production.
- **Forces of Production:** Raw materials, tools, techniques, etc. which are required in production process.
- **Relations of Production:** Social Relationships that directly or indirectly arise out of the production of material conditions of life.
- **Surplus-Value:** Marx refers surplus-value to the new value of a particular product created by a working class individual that is in excess of their own labour costs

2.9 ANSWER TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. Marx and his close friend Friedrich Engels (1820-1895) sought to replace utopian socialism by scientific socialism for the analysis of social problems and finding their solution.
2. Marx had both an empirical theory of history and a speculative philosophy of history. The former, which has come to be known as historical materialism, is a set of macro sociological generalizations about the causes of stability and change in societies. The latter, largely of Hegelian inspiration, offers a scheme for interpreting all historical events in terms of their contribution to realizing the end of history – in both senses of that term.
3. Marx's theory, which he called ‘historical materialism’ or the ‘materialist conception of history’, is based on Hegel's claim that history occurs through a dialectic, or clash, of opposing forces. Hegel was a philosophical idealist who believed that we live in a world of appearances, and true reality is an ideal. Marx accepted this notion of the dialectic, but rejected Hegel's idealism because he did not accept that the material world hides from us the ‘real’ world of the ideal; on the contrary, he thought that historically and socially specific ideologies prevented people from seeing the material conditions of their lives clearly.
4. For Marx, bringing fulfilment and meaning to the lives of human beings is entirely dependent on the development and exercise of their essential human powers, whose focus is labour or production.
5. Marx does believe that alienation can be overcome in a modern, complex and industrialized society. But he is not necessarily committed to denying that there might be causes of alienation

other than those specifically identified by his theory. The main burden of Marx's message is that capitalist social relations are the most pervasive and obvious cause of alienation, which must be abolished first, before lesser or more hidden causes can be dealt with.

6. In this kind of society, though the slaves possessed some ownership over land, a major portion of the yield still went to the master. It was the inception of 'lordship society'. In this society, too, there were two conflicting classes- serfs and lords. Lords were superseded by Kings or emperors. The serfs laboured and the lords or kings benefited. In order to give sanction to the authority of kings or lords, religion was resorted to.

7. According to Marx, Alienation is the transformation of people's own labour into a power which rules them as if by a kind of natural or supra-human law. Therefore Marx emphasized that in a capitalist society the nature of the economy and the system of production create an atmosphere which ultimately results in alienation.

8. For Marx, bringing fulfilment and meaning to the lives of human beings is entirely dependent on the development and exercise of their essential human powers, whose focus is labor or production

2.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short – Answer Questions

1. Write a brief biography of Karl Marx.
2. What was the basic difference between the mind-sets of Engel and Marx?
3. What is dialectical materialism?
4. State and explain the modes of production.

Long – Answer Questions

1. Discuss the criticism garnered by Marx's dialectical materialism.
2. Give a detailed assessment of Marx's conception of historical materialism.
3. Discuss Marx's explanation of Slavery?.
4. How are capitalism and alienation related? Elaborate.
5. 'Marxian outlook of class portrays the person as a location of conflict.' Explains.

2.11 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 3 EMILE DURKHEIM

Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Unit Objectives
- 3.2 Early Life of Emile Durkheim
- 3.3 Rules of Sociological Methods
- 3.4 Division of Labour
- 3.5 Theory of Suicide
- 3.6 Sociology of Religion
- 3.7 Summary
- 3.8 Key Terms
- 3.9 Answer to 'check your Progress
- 3.10 'Questions and Exercises
- 3.11 Further Reading

3.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we shall try to understand the contributions made by Emile Durkheim to sociology. Emile Durkheim is regarded as one of the founding fathers of Sociology and his academic base led to the legitimization of sociology in France. He was a French sociologist, social psychologist and philosopher. Durkheim was preoccupied with the acceptance of Sociology as a science. He was concerned about social disorder and therefore his ideas and works laid great emphasis on social order. He advocated social reforms to bring about social order. Durkheim also refined positivism which was originally put forward by August Comte and was also a major proponent of structural functionalism. Durkheim's major Sociological works includes The Division of Labour in Society, Rules of Sociological Method, Suicide, and The Elementary Forms of Religious Life.

In his famous work The Rules of the Sociological Method, Durkheim talked about social facts which he viewed and considered as things that exist outside the individual. Studying of social facts as things reflects Durkheim's scientific approach. At the same time the social facts are referred to as coercive of the individual because they put a pressure on the

individual to act and behave ways established in the society. He differentiated between the two basic types of social facts; material and non-material. Both of these occupied a place of causal priority in his theorizing but material social facts were not the most important large scale forces, whereas his main focus was on non-material social facts. He dealt with a number of them, including collective conscience, collective representations and social currents. Therefore, according to Durkheim, to be scientific, sociology should study social facts.

The study of suicide was taken by Durkheim and his supporters as the evidence that sociology has a legitimate place in the social sciences. Durkheim's study of suicide is a good illustration of the significance of non-material social facts in his work. In his basic causal mode, changes in non-material social facts ultimately cause differences in suicide rates. He differentiates four types of suicide; Egoistic, altruistic, anomic and fatalistic suicide. Here he tried to show how each is affected by different changes in social currents. Therefore, it was argued that if sociology could explain an act like suicide as individualistic, then it certainly could be used to explain other, less individual aspects of social life.

Further, Durkheim in his analysis of primitive religion, sought to show the roots of religion in the social structure of society. It is society that defines certain things as sacred and others as profane. He demonstrated the social sources of religion in his analysis of primitive totemism and its roots in all social structures of the clan. Totemism was seen as a specific form of the collective conscience manifested in a primitive society. Its source, as well as the source of all collective products, lies in the process of collective effervescence. Therefore, Durkheim in the end argued that religion and society are one and the same; two manifestations of the same general process.

3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Provide a brief biography of Emile Durkheim
- Understand the contribution of Durkheim in sociological theory.
- Discuss the concepts of social facts, suicide, division of labour, religion and the rules as proposed by Durkheim.

3.2 EARLY LIFE OF EMILE DURKHEIM

David Emile Durkheim was born on April 15, 1858, in Epinal, capital town of the department of Vosges, in Lorraine to Melanie and Moise, a rabbi of Epinal, and the Chief Rabbi of the Vosges and Haute-Marne. Expected to become a devout rabbi, he began his education in a rabbinical school, but at an early age, he decided not to follow his family's rabbinical path, and changed school. He entered the Ecole Normale Supérieure in 1879, at his third attempt. At the Normale, he was guided by Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, a classicist with a social scientific outlook, and wrote his Latin dissertation on Montesquieu and read August Comte and Herbert Spencer.

He wanted schooling in scientific methods and in the moral principles required to direct the social life. He did not opt for a traditional academic career in philosophy, and instead, strived to acquire the scientific training for contributing to the moral guidance of society. Even though he was interested in scientific sociology, there were no specific fields of sociology at that time. So between 1882 and 1887, he taught philosophy in a number of provincial schools.

In 1882, Durkheim passed his aggregation; the competitive examination required for admission to the teaching staff of state senior secondary schools, or lycées and soon began to teach philosophy. In 1885 he left for Germany, studied Sociology in Marburg, Berlin and Leipzig and by the following year completed the draft of his 'The Division of Labour in Society', his doctoral dissertation. His articles on German social science and philosophy, which were influenced by the work of Wilhelm Wundt, a German psychologist, philosopher and a founding father of modern Psychology made him famous in France. He was appointed with the official title, *Charge d'un Cours de Science Sociale et de Pedagogie* at University of Bordeaux in 1887 to teach the University's first social science course. By 1896, he had become a full professor at Bordeaux. In 1893, he published his French doctoral thesis, 'The Division of Labour In Society', as well as a thesis on 'Montesquieu'.

He reformed the French school system and introduced the study of social science in its curriculum. In 1897, he founded *L'Année Sociologique*, the first French social science journal which aimed to publish and publicize the works of a growing number of students and collaborators who developed the sociological program and he published 'Suicide' (1897), a case study offering a model of what the sociological monograph might look like. By 1902, he realised his ambition of attaining a prominent position in Paris by Emile Durkheim and

becoming the chair of education at the Sorbonne. In 1906, he was named as ‘the professor of the science of education and sociology’.

In 1912, he published ‘The Elementary Forms of Religious Life’, which analysed religion as a social phenomenon. When World War I began, he devoted himself to the cause of national defence, organised committees for the publication documents on the war, to be sent to neutral countries to undermine German propaganda.

By 1916, he became disillusioned about the consequence of a possible German defeat and the advantage it would give the conservative clerical party in France and became conscious of his Jewish origin. Durkheim died on 15th November, 1917, as a celebrated figure in French intellectual circles. Conversely, it was only after twenty years later, with the publication of Talcott Parsons ‘*The Structure of Social Action*’ (1937) that his work became a significant influence on American sociology.

3.3 RULES OF SOCIOLOGICAL METHOD (1895)

Durkheim’s “The Rules were written in 1895”, which represent to develop a systematic sociology and he was interested in that which held society together. In his conceptualization of a social fact, he is arguing against social contract theorists, such as Hobbes and Rousseau, who saw all of life in contractual terms. On their view, individuals were constrained by society, but deliberately so people designed the constraints to guide society through the repression of individual will with a strong state.

Social contract theorists posit an initial agreement among people that binds society together. Thus social life springs from individual choices. In his work on social facts, Durkheim is also arguing against thinkers like Spencer who see society in functional terms, such that the social end was the cause of an event. In general the ‘ways of acting, thinking, and feeling exists outside the individual.’ The key elements are that they constrain to individuals who go against them. The type of sanction is usually social stigmatization, etc. but it can also be material (prison, fines, etc.) depending on the formality of the rule.

According to Durkheim conceived of sociology as the scientific study of a reality sui generis, a clearly defined group of phenomena different from those studied by all other sciences, biology and psychology included. It was for these phenomena that Durkheim reserved the term social facts, i.e., ‘a category of facts which present very special

characteristics; they consist of manners of acting, thinking, and feeling external to the individual, which are invested with a coercive power by virtue of which they exercise control over him'. Therefore 'A social fact is every way of acting, whether fixed or not, capable of exercising on the individual an external constraint; or again, every way of acting which is general throughout a given society, while at the same time existing in its own right independent of its individual manifestations'. Since these facts consisted of actions, thoughts, and feelings, they could not be confused with biological phenomena; but neither were they the province of psychology, for they existed outside the individual conscience. It was to define the proper method for their study that Durkheim wrote 'The Rules of Sociological Method (1895)'.

Social Facts

Durkheim was particularly concerned to distinguish social facts, which he sometimes described as 'states of the collective mind,' from the forms these states assumed when manifested through private, individual minds. This distinction is most obvious in cases like those treated in *The Division of Labour*, e.g., customs, moral and legal rules, religious beliefs, etc., which indeed appear to have an existence independent of the various actions they determine. It is considerably less obvious, however, where the social fact in question is among those more elusive 'currents of opinion' reflected in lower or higher birth, migration, or suicide rates; and for the isolation of these from their individual manifestations, he recommended the use of statistics, which cancel out the influence of individual conditions by subsuming all individual cases in the statistical aggregate.

He agreed that human being still depend on collective mind in some part based on their psychological and biological constitution, as well as for their particular circumstances, he reserved for them the term 'socio-psychical,' suggesting that they might remain of interest to the sociologist without constituting the immediate subject matter of sociology. Although, it might still be argued, of course, that the external, coercive power of social facts is derived from their being held in common by most of the individual members of a society; and that, in this sense, the characteristics of the whole are the product of the characteristics of the parts. But there was no proposition to which Durkheim was more opposed. The obligatory, coercive nature of social facts is repeatedly manifested in

individuals because it is imposed upon them, particularly through education; the parts are thus derived from the whole rather than the whole from the parts.

The main essential trait of social facts is their external coercive power. Durkheim first suggested that they could be recognized by the existence of some predetermined legal sanction or, in the case of moral and religious beliefs, by their reaction to those forms of individual belief and action which they perceived as threatening. But where the exercise of social constraint is less direct, as in those forms of economic organization which give rise to anomie, their presence is more easily ascertained by their 'generality combined with objectivity'. He also insisted that social facts were not simply limited to ways of functioning (e.g., feeling, thinking, acting, etc.), but also extended to ways of being (e.g., the nature, number, and relation of the parts of a society, the nature and extent of its communication networks, etc., the size and geographical distribution of its population.).

He defined two types of social facts, Constraints and Social Currents. Constraints based on social organization like; Legal, and moral constraint. On the other hand, social currents are based on the Moments of enthusiasm crowd behaviour, etc. These consist of riots, thug activity at sporting events, mass hysteria, the feeling of spirit in a call-and-answer preaching church, etc. The characteristic of 'social facts' are that they are; external to the individual, constrain to the individual and are general throughout the social unit.

Social Facts are external to the individual because; they are immutable to changes by any individuals, we don't choose the types of 'social facts' we get to live under, they differ from physical fact in that while slow to change, they do change. They are not necessary across all of time and space. They are constraint to the individual because of normative pressure, Legal, Linguistic and cultural and Physical (Opportunity for interaction). And also, general because they need not be uniform, not everyone conforms to a rule after all and most importantly, they cannot be defined only through universality. If everybody does something, but each for individual reasons then it is not social. Besides, socialization and education are keys to the transmission of social facts according to Durkheim.

Therefore, Durkheim's 'social fact' proved to be a conveniently elastic concept, covering the range from the most clearly delineated features of social structure (e.g., population size and distribution) to the most spontaneous currents of public opinion and enthusiasm.

(Check Your Progress)

1. State the two types of sanctions
2. What was the name of Durkheim's French Doctoral thesis?
3. State the different rules of sociological Method as mentioned by Durkheim?

3.4 DIVISION OF LABOUR

The Division of Labour, which was the first published book of Emile Durkheim in 1893, is a classic of intellectual analysis by him. The division of labour explains the relation between individuals and the collectively and the manner in which the multiplicity of individuals achieve the social coherence. He postulates that Division of labour basis on social solidarity. Solidarity means the solidity of the organisation. It is the characteristic trait of a society. The concept of solidarity explains social differentiation or the division of labour in society which makes individuals interdependent and affects social integration among them. This sociological analysis of him is based on his interest in social fact; on his acceptance of the functional character of society and of the supremacy of the whole on the part.

Durkheim employs his evolutionary functionalism to examine the changing bases of social solidarity in The Division of Labour. According to him, the primitive society is characterised by mechanical solidarity based upon the conscience collective and the advanced society is characterised by organic solidarity based upon division of labour. The concept of division of labour includes an organic and mechanical solidarity that sub-ordinates the individuals. The concept moves on to describe the supplanting of this subordination by the use of voluntary or organic solidarity in which the individual is influenced by a comprehension of social values. It is also true that society is characterised by an increasing degree of functional organisation, 'Social harmony comes essentially from the division of labour. It is characterised by a co-operation which is automatically produced through the pursuit by each individual of his own interests. It suffices that each individual consecrate himself to a special function in order by the force of events, to make himself solidary with others.'

The difference between mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity is due to the nature of social differentiation. Durkheim felt that the intensified struggle for existence

produced the specialisation and division of labour which permit the same resources to support more people. Society undergoes structural and functional differentiation, as different individual activities are grouped into different institutions specialising in their respective functions. Individuals and institutions relate to one another on the basis of the complementary differences which make them mutually dependent on one another. The collective conscience becomes weaker and more abstract, permitting the development of greater individuality and freedom.

Social existence means collectively. It is based on solidarity which is of two types;

1. Mechanical solidarity – Repressive Law (penal laws) – With These laws, some loss or violent sanctions are inflicted on the agent
2. Organic solidarity – Restitutive Law (civil, commercial, administrative law) – With these laws sanctions involves a judgement in terms of damages done by the rule violator and a fine that ‘restores’ the loss of the innocent victims.

Mechanical Solidarity

Mechanical solidarity is a society characterised by unified because all people are generalists. The bond among people is that they are all engaged in similar activities and have similar responsibilities. Mechanical solidarity is solidarity of resemblance which belongs to the same group or same collectively they resemble each other, feel the same emotion and cherish the same values. According to Durkheim, the mechanical solidarity prevailed to the extent that; ‘ideas and tendencies common to all members of the society are greater in number and intensity than those which pertain personality to each member’. Therefore, he suggested solidarity which comes from likeness “is at its maximum when the collective conscience completely envelops our whole conscience and coincides in all points with it.” This solidarity can grow only in inverse ratio to personality and thereby, individual differences are minimized. Collective conscience in mechanical solidarity is strong and it refers to “the sum total of beliefs and sentiments common to the average of the member of the society. This prevails mostly in primitive societies. In mechanical solidarity Repressive law prevails. It prevails at its core underlie the harsh justice and severe punishments which perpetuate the similarities underlying mechanical solidarity.

Organic Solidarity

Organic solidarity in contrast to mechanical solidarity, is heterogeneous society where the likeness and the resemblance is missing, the coherent unity of the collectively is expressed by differentiation; the solidarity that exists is organic solidarity. Such a society is characterised by an advanced form of division of labour. According to Durkheim, increasing density of population is the major key of development of division of labour. This is especially witnessed in the modern industrial societies. The individuals are no long similar. They may be differentiated in terms of thinking, emotions and values. They have no collective conscience. The organic solidarity is characterised by specialisation and individualism. It is also characterised by the weakening of collective conscience and repressive law. The collective conscience becomes weaker and more abstract, permitting the development of greater individuality and freedom. Repressive law is largely replaced by restitutive law which calls not for revenge but rather for the return of things to the conditions which would have prevailed had the legal offences, not occurred.

Therefore, these two forms of solidarity correspond to two extreme forms of social organisation. Mechanical solidarity form the archaic societies whereas, modern industrial societies characterised by complex division of labour are dominated by organic solidarity. Thus, the course of social evolution is marked by a transition from small, simple, homogeneous tribal societies integrated by likenesses and a powerful concrete collective conscience to large modern differentiated industrial societies integrated by the interdependence of individuals and structures created by the division of labour

Basic of Distinction between organic and mechanical solidarity

Basic of Difference	Mechanical Solidarity	Organic Solidarity
Morphological features	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Low level of population -Low material and moral density -Little interdependence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -High volume of population -High moral density -Greater interdependence
Type of norms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Repressive law -Penal law 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Restitutive law -Co-operative law, civil, criminal commercial and

		administrative
Formal features of conscience collective	-High volume -High determinateness -Collective authority	-Low volume -Low determinateness -More room for individual initiative
Basic of Difference Content of conscience collective	-Highly religious -concrete and specific	-Secular and human oriented -Abstract and general

According to Durkheim, social life is derived from a similarity of minds and from the division of labour. The division of labour gives birth to regulations and laws which determine the nature and relations of the divided functions. Therefore According to Durkheim, division of labour can only be explained in terms of three social factors: the volume, the material density and the moral density of the society. The Volume of society; refers to the size of population, the material density; refers to the number of individuals on a given ground surface and the Moral density; refers to the intensity of communication between individuals. With the formation of cities and the development of transport and communication, the condensation of society multiplies intra-social relations. Thus the growth and condensation of societies and the resultant intensity of social intercourse necessitate a greater division of labour.

Durkheim studied division of labour as a social institution and not as an economic institution as it generally taken to be. Durkheim says, ‘But if the division of labour produces solidarity, it is not only because it makes each individual an exchanges; as the economists say, it is because it creates among man an entire system of rights and duties which link them together in durable way.’ Therefore, he took it to be an institution which produces morality in and of it by subjecting individuals to the duties of their specialised existence. The moral effect of the division of labour he showed is felt by the people by complementing each other. Beside, when dissimilar join hands, unity comes out of diversity. It is felt in friendship

patterns and in the development of the family. Ultimately, it brings about social co-ordination and leads to solidarity.

In division of labour he reacted against the view that modern industrial society could be based simply upon agreement between individuals motivated by self-interest and without any prior consensus and agreed that the kind of consensus in modern society was different from that in simpler social systems. But he saw both of these as two types of social solidarity. The measurement of social solidarity is the intensity of collective conscience and it forms the sum total of belief and sentiment common to the member of society. Collective conscience persists through successive generations and keeps them united. Therefore he was concerned with the social implications of increased specialisation and argued, as specialisation increases, people are increasingly separated, values and interests become different, norms are varied, and sub-cultures are formed.

(Check Your Progress)

4. How does Durkheim justify punishment for a crime?
5. State the two types of Solidarity?

3.5 THEORY OF SUICIDE

Durkheim's theory of 'suicide' is related in various ways to his study of the division of labour. It is also linked with the theory of 'social constraint'. Durkheim has established the view that there are no societies in which suicide does not occur. Rejecting most of the accepted theories of suicide, Durkheim on the basis of his monographic studies claims suicide as primarily social phenomena in terms of the breakdown of the vital bond of life. Durkheim in his classical study of 'Le Suicide' which was published in 1897 demonstrates that neither psycho-phatic factor nor heredity nor climate nor poverty, nor unhappy love nor other personal factors motivate along form sufficient explanation of suicide.

His aim was not only to provide an account of suicide, but also to illustrate how his methodology could be applied to even the most individual of acts. Durkheim in his book showed as to what extent the individual actions are determined by the collective reality. Durkheim demonstrated that the taking of one's life, apparently the most individual and

personal of acts, was socially patterned. He showed that social forces existing outside the individual shaped the likelihood that a person would commit suicide.

Durkheim's initial definition indeed followed common usage, according to which a 'suicide' is any death which is the immediate or eventual result of a positive (e.g., shooting oneself) or negative (e.g., refusing to eat) act accomplished by the victim himself and here Durkheim immediately ran into difficulties, for this definition failed to distinguish between two very different sorts of death: the victim of hallucination who leaps from an upper story window while thinking it on a level with the ground; and the sane individual who does the same thing 'knowing' that it will lead to his death. The obvious solution i.e., to restrict the definition of suicide to actions 'intended' to have this result was unacceptable to him for at least two reasons. First, he consistently tried to define social facts by easily ascertainable characteristics, and the intentions of agents were ill-fitted to this purpose. Second, the definition of suicide by the end sought by the agent would exclude actions e.g., the mother sacrificing herself for her child in whom death is clearly not 'sought' but is nonetheless an inevitable consequence of the act in question, and is thus a 'suicide' by any other name.

This distinctive characteristic of suicides, therefore, is not that the act is performed 'intentionally', but rather that it is performed 'advisedly' the agent knows that death will be the result of his act, regardless of whether or not death is his goal. This criterion is sufficient to distinguish suicide, properly so called, from other deaths which are either inflicted on oneself unconsciously or not self-inflicted at all.

Therefore, we can define suicide as a positive or negative act performed by the victim himself and will strives to produce the result directly or indirectly in the form death. An example of a 'positive act' would be to shoot oneself in the temple or to hang one. And an example to show that suicide is committed in a negative act would be to remain in a burning building or to refuse all nourishment so as to starve oneself to death. According to his definition, we can also take an example of a hunger strike, carried out until that as suicide. The distinction between directly and indirectly corresponds to the comparisons between positive and negative. Death is produced directly if a gunshot is put in the temple ; but if someone refuses to eat anything or if someone deliberately stays in a burning building, then this negative act would be about the desired results, that is death, indirectly or in the near future.

The study of suicide also deals both with a pathological aspects of the modern societies and with a phenomenon eliminating the most striking way the relations of the individual, to the collectively. Individuals are determined by the collective reality as anxiously shown by Durkheim. An extraordinary force is now being related to this phenomenon of suicide, since the fact of taking one' own life is considered to be most supremely individual. According to Durkheim, if he found that the society is governed by this phenomenon than he would have proved it with the truth of his own thesis by the very case unfavourable to it. He says that it is a society which governs the solidary act of desperate individuals who wants to end his life at any cost. The concept of suicide is not only recognised as such, but taking an example of an officer who lets himself be blown up rather than surrender and can be considered as suicide. Suicide can be regarded as an instance of voluntary death surrounded by glory and aura of heroism.

The suicide rate is relatively constant when its frequently is studied in a given population. And its characteristics can be found in a region, or a province, or a whole society. According to Durkheim analysis, suicide rate can be termed as a social phenomenon. The distinction between relation of the social phenomenon (the suicide rates) and the individual phenomenon (suicide) is the most important thing from the point of view of theory. According to Durkheim, suicide is neither an individual act nor a personal action. It is caused by some power which is over and above the individual or super individual. He viewed "all classes of deaths resulting directly or indirectly from the positive or negative acts of the victim itself who knows the result they produce" Having defined the phenomenon Durkheim dismisses the psychological explanation. Many doctors and psychologists develop the theory that majority of people who take their own life are in a pathological state, but Durkheim emphasises that the force, which determines the suicide, is not psychological but social. He concludes that suicide is the result of social disorganisation or lack of social integration or social solidarity

Types of Suicide

Emile Durkheim classified different types of suicides on the basis of different types of relationship between the actor and his society.

- **Egoistic suicide:**

According to Durkheim, when a man becomes socially isolated or feels that he has no place in the society he destroys himself. This is the suicide of self-centred person who lacks altruistic feelings and is usually cut off from main stream of the society. Protestantism concedes greater freedom of thought to the individual because it has fewer commonly accepted beliefs and practices. Indeed, it was this possession of a common, collective credo that, for Durkheim, was the essence of religious society itself, and that distinguished it from those merely temporal bonds which unite men through the exchange and reciprocity of services, yet permit and even presuppose differences; and, precisely to the extent that Protestantism lacked such a credo, it was a less strongly integrated church than its Roman Catholic counterpart.

Durkheim then suggested that this explanation is consistent with at least three other observations. First, it would account for the still lower suicide rates of Jews who, in response to the hostility directed against them, established strong community ties of thought and action, virtually eliminated individual divergences, and thus achieved a high degree of unity, solidarity, and integration. Second, of all the great Protestant countries England has the lowest suicide rate; and it also has the most 'integrated' of Protestant churches. And third since knowledge is the natural consequence of free inquiry, we should expect that suicide increases with its acquisition, and Durkheim had little trouble demonstrating that this was the case.

It even confirms the law. Indeed, it proves that if the suicidal tendency is great in educated circles, this is due to the weakening of traditional beliefs and to the state of moral individualism resulting from this; for it disappears when education has another cause and responds to other needs. After developing a statistical measure of the immunity to suicide enjoyed by various groups, Durkheim with an example, was able to show that, while marriage alone has a preservative effect against suicide, this is limited and benefits only men; the larger family unit, on the other hand, provides immunity which husband and wife share. Similarly, when one marital partner dies, the survivor loses a degree of suicidal immunity; but this loss is less a consequence of the severing of the conjugal bond alone than of the more general shock to the family that the survivor must endure. Finally, the immunity to suicide increases with the size of the family, a fact Durkheim attributed to the greater number and intensity of collective sentiments produced and repeatedly reinforced by the larger group.

Suicide thus varies inversely with the degree of integration of the religious, domestic, and political groups of which the individual forms a part; in short, as a society weakens or 'disintegrates,' the individual depends less on the group, depends more upon himself, and recognizes no rules of conduct beyond those based upon private interests. Durkheim called this state of 'excessive individualism' egoism, and the special type of self-inflicted death it produces egoistic suicide.

- **Altruistic suicide:**

This type of suicide occurs when individuals and the group are too close and intimate. Such, suicide resulted from the over integration of the individual into social proof and insufficient individuals. Among primitive peoples, we find several categories of suicide, men on the threshold of old age, women upon the deaths of their husbands, followers and servants upon the deaths of their chiefs, in which the person kills himself because it is his duty. Such a sacrifice, Durkheim argued, is imposed by society for social purposes; and for society to be able to do this, the individual personality must have little value, a state Durkheim called altruism, and whose corresponding mode of self-inflicted death was called obligatory altruistic suicide. Like all suicides, the altruist kills himself because he is unhappy, but this unhappiness is distinctive both in its causes and in its effects.

Altruistic suicides do occur among more civilized peoples among the early Christian martyrs and the French revolutionaries and in contemporary French society, Durkheim insisted, there even exists a 'special environment' in which altruistic suicide is chronic: the army Military suicide thus represents an evolutionary survival of the morality of primitive peoples: 'Influenced by this predisposition,' Durkheim observed, 'the soldier kills himself at the least disappointment, for the most futile reasons, for a refusal of leave, a reprimand an unjust punishment, a delay in promotion, a question of honour, a flush of momentary jealousy, or even simply because other suicides have occurred before his eyes or to his knowledge'.

- **Anomic suicide:**

This type of suicide is due to certain breakdown of social equilibrium, such as, suicide after bankruptcy or after winning a lottery. In other words, anomic suicide takes place in a situation which has cropped up suddenly. But quite aside from integrating its members, a

society must control and regulate their beliefs and behaviour as well; and therefore, Durkheim insisted that there is a relation between a society's suicide rate and the way it performs this important regulative function. Industrial and financial crises, for example, increase the suicide rate, a fact commonly attributed to the decline of economic well-being these crises produce. But the same increase in the suicide rate, he observed, is produced by crisis resulting in economic prosperity; 'Every disturbance of equilibrium,' he insisted, 'even though it achieved greater comfort and a heightening of general vitality, is an impulse to voluntary death.' No living being, Durkheim began, can be happy unless its needs are sufficiently proportioned to its means; for if its needs surpass its capacity to satisfy them, the result can only be friction, pain, lack of productivity, and a general weakening of the impulse to live

For every human beings to be happy, they need aspirations which must be constrained; and since these needs and aspirations are the products of a reflective social consciousness, the purely internal, physiological constraints enjoyed by animals are insufficient to this purpose. This regulatory function must thus be performed by an external, moral agency superior to the individual in other words, by society. And since the constraints thus applied are borne unequally by a society's members, the result is a 'functional' theory of stratification.

Durkheim used the term 'anomie' to describe this temporary condition of social deregulation, and 'anomic suicide' to describe the resulting type of self-inflicted death; but in one sphere of life, he added, anomie is not a temporary disruption but rather a chronic state. Marriage, Durkheim explained, ought to be understood as the social regulation not only of physical instinct, but also of those aesthetic and moral feelings which have become complicated with sexual desire over the course of evolution. Precisely because these new aesthetic and moral inclinations have become increasingly independent of organic necessities, the moral regulation of monogamy marriage has become necessary: 'for by forcing a man to attach himself forever to the same woman,' Further he observed, it assigns a strictly definite object to the need for love, and closes the horizon. Divorce would then be understood as a weakening of this matrimonial regulation, and wherever law and custom permit its 'excessive' practices the relative immunity to self-inflicted death is guaranteed and suicides increase.

- **Fatalistic suicide:**

Durkheim posited two types of suicides can result from an imbalance of regulation. Anomic suicide is rooted in societies with a lack of regulation. Fatalistic suicide is can be found in societies with too much regulation. Stemming from the above analysis of academic communities, one can reason that a lack of individualism in academic communities is partly due to an over-regulation of students in pedagogical settings. Therefore, following Durkheim's reasoning, if suicide (drop-out) does occur in academic communities, is must be fatalistic.

Durkheim describes fatalistic suicide as deriving from 'from excessive regulation'. This type of suicide occurs due to overregulation or excessively regulated, when their futures are pitilessly blocked and passions violently choked by oppressive discipline, and under the overregulation of a society, when a servant or slave commits suicide, when a barren woman commits suicide, some prisoners might prefer to die than live in a prison with constant abuse and excessive regulation. Unlike the other concepts he developed. It is the example of fatalistic suicide. It is the opposite of anomic suicide, and occurs in societies so oppressive their inhabitants would rather die than live on. Durkheim believed that fatalistic suicide was theoretical and probably did not exist in reality. These societies have an overabundance of laws or norms. Although, Durkheim himself wrote very little about fatalistic suicides, he mentioned only briefly that suicides of slaves were expected to fall into this category, as well as childless wives in the west. Durkheim found fatalistic suicide hardly relevant for the west. His moral position led him to emphasize the social effects of under regulation or anomic suicide following from the decline of importance of social norms due to processes of modernization.

In society, there are different types of suicide distinguishable by their causes. Therefore, there are different species of moods or dispositions through which these types are expressed. In actual experience, however, these types and species are not found in their pure, isolated state; on the contrary, different causes may simultaneously afflict the same individuals, giving rise to composite modes of suicidal expression. Egoism and anomie, for example, have a special 'affinity' for one another -the socially detached egoist is often unregulated as well (though usually introverted, dispassionate, and lacking in those aspirations which lead to frustration), while the unregulated victim of anomie is frequently a poorly integrated egoist (though his boundless aspirations typically prevent any excessive introversion). Similarly, anomie may be con joined with altruism - the exasperated infatuation

produced by anomie may coincide with the courageous, dutiful resolution of the altruist. Even egoism and altruism, contraries though they are, may combine in certain situations - within a society undergoing disintegration, groups of individuals may construct some ideal out of whole cloth, devoting themselves to it to precisely the extent that they become detached from all else.

Finally, Durkheim found no relation whatsoever between the type of suicide and the nature of the suicidal acts by which death is achieved. Admittedly, there is a correlation between particular societies and the popularity of certain suicidal acts within them, indicating that the choice of suicidal means is determined by social causes. But the causes which lend one to commit suicide in a particular ways Durkheim insisted are quite different from those which lead one to commit suicide in the first place; the customs and traditions of a particular society place some instruments of death rather than others at one's disposal, and attach differing degrees of dignity even to the various means thus made available. While both are dependent on social causes, therefore, the mode of suicidal act and the nature of suicide itself are unrelated.

(Check Your Progress)

6. Mention the types of Suicide?
7. What is negative and positive suicide?
8. How suicide is related to psychology of individual?

3.6 SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION

The sociological theory of religion, which Durkheim developed in his book “The Elementary Forms of Religious Life”, was inspired by Marx’s celebrated idea that the social existence of men determines their social consciousness. Durkheim, the founder of functionalism, spent much of his academic career studying religions, especially those of small societies. The Totemism or primitive kinship system of Australian aborigines as an “elementary” form of religion primarily interested him. This research formed the basis of Durkheim’s this book which is certainly the best-known study on the sociology of religion. Durkheim viewed

religion within the context of the entire society and acknowledge its place in influencing the thinking and behaviour of the members of society.

Durkheim does not, however, keep himself limited to socio-economic relationships. He goes beyond socio-economic relationships to include other social relations. So, Durkheim presented what is probably the most influential interpretation of religion from a functionalist perspective. Durkheim came up with the following definition of religion, “A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden – beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them”.

Durkheim argued that all societies divide the world into two basic categories: **the sacred** and **the profane**:

- **The profane** refers to mundane ordinary life: like our daily normal routines. For examples, things like our eating time, jobs etc.
- **The sacred** refers to anything which transcends the humdrum of everyday life: which typically take the form of collective representations which are set apart from society (spiritual places such as churches or mosques are the most obvious examples of ‘sacred’ spaces.)

For Durkheim, Religion is the collective practice of marking off and maintaining distance between the sacred and the profane, which is typically done through rituals, such as those associated with the daily or weekly visit to the church or mosque: prayer is an obvious example of an ‘occasional (sacred) ritual’ is marked out from ordinary mundane (or profane) life. Importantly for Durkheim, anything can be sacred (or rather, a society can determine that anything is sacred); there is nothing in any object or action that makes it inherently sacred: anything can be sacred: not only churches, mosques, and religious books, but in some cultures, trees, or even rocks may be regarded as sacred.

Durkheim believed that in order to understand the role of religion in society, the relationship between sacred symbols and what they represent must be discovered. Durkheim argues that all societies divide the world into two categories: ‘the sacred’ and the ‘profane’.

More simply this means the distinction between the sacred and the non-sacred. Religion, according to him, is based on this distinction. It is 'a unified system of beliefs and practices related to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden'. He insists that 'sacred things' do not simply mean those personal things which are called gods or spirits.

According to Durkheim, anything can be 'sacred' such as a piece of wood, a rock etc. This is not the particular quality of the wood or the rock which makes it sacred. Sacred things are considered to be sacred simply because they are symbols of something. Durkheim, therefore, says that to understand the role of religion in society, the relationship between these symbols and that which they represent must be established. He argues that if one can study the most rudimentary forms of social existence and the thought forms which accompany them, then perhaps one can understand the relationship or connection between the symbol(i.e., collective existence) and that which the symbol represents (i.e., collective representations). Therefore, Durkheim set out in search of its most primitive, elementary form. In doing so, he rejected animism and naturism as the most elementary form of religion by critically examining both. Negating both the theories, he found that the most fundamental and primitive cult is Totemism. It is for this reason that the various primitive groups of Australia and North America form the basis of his study.

Totemism

Durkheim considers the religion of Australia aborigines, which he calls Totemism, as the simplest and most basic of religion. It is most commonly found among aboriginal peoples, such as the Australian aborigines, and North West Native American Indians, who have clan, based societies. Durkheim used the totemic religion of Australian aborigines to develop his theory of religion. Aboriginal society was divided into a number of clans, and members of the clan had certain obligations that had to be fulfilled – such as mourning the death of other clan members or helping seek vengeance if another member was wronged by someone external to the clan. Each clan was also exogenous – people had to marry someone outside of the clan.

The totemic object among these people is connected not only with religion but also with clan membership. Aboriginal society is divided into several clans. Each clan had a totem, typically an animal or a plant which was represented by drawings or carvings made on

wood or stone, typically linked to a 'creation myth' that explained the origins of that clan and linked current members into that history. The totem served to distinguish the clan from all other clans. To clan members, the totem was as sacred object, nothing less than 'the outward and visible form of the totemic principle or god' – their animal plant was sacred and the totemic representation just as sacred if not more so. According to Durkheim's worshipping the totem, clan members are actually worshipping society, and thus individuals are reminded that society is more important than the individual, which is essential in Functionalist theory because individuals are dependent on society.

The totem is, however, more than this. It is a sacred symbol. The totem is the outward expression of the totemic principle or god. The totem being thus a religious or sacred object inspires respect and awe. Especially is this true when the otherwise scattered parts of the clan come together periodically on a ceremonial occasion. It is then that an excitement is bred which lifts the individual out of himself. It is a minor case of creative synthesis. The totem is only an object; yet it is symbolic of a reality unseen. The 'images of the totemic beings are more sacred than the beings themselves'. This fact makes it evident that the totem has a special symbolic significance. Because it symbolises the moral unity of the clan as a whole, it is sacred and eventually transforms itself into a divinity.

Durkheim argues that if the totem 'is at once the symbol of the god and of the society, is that not because the god and the society are only one'. Thus, he suggests that in worshipping god, men are in fact worshipping society. Society is the real object of religious veneration. The reason why humankind needs a totem to worship rather than just literally worshipping society (or the clan in the case of Aborigines) is because the clan is too complex a thing for people to conceptualise – religious symbols are just much simpler entities to worship.

According to Durkheim, he argues that, 'Primitive man comes to view society as something sacred because he is utterly dependent on it'. Society is more important and powerful than the individual. Further, he also argues that 'it is easier for him to visualise and direct his feelings of awe toward a symbol than towards so complex a thing as a clan'. He sees this as a situation in which religion 'ceases to be an inexplicable hallucination and takes a foothold in reality.

In the Australian tribes studied by Durkheim, the totem is represented in various ways. Each totem has its emblem or blazon. In almost all clans, there are objects such as pieces of wood, stones, etc. which bear a figurative representation of the totem. Ordinary objects which are referred to as Churinga are transfigured once they bear the emblem of the totem. They share the sacred quality that is associated with the totem, a phenomenon which we can easily understand by observing ourselves. In modern societies, the flag may be regarded as the equivalent of the Churinga of Australian aborigines. The flag of a collectively shares the sacred quality which we attribute to the religious order, i.e., either proscriptive or prescriptive practices. The members of the clan must abstain from eating or touching the totem or the objects which shares the sacred quality of the totem. Or, they must display with regard to the totem some explicit form of respect. In this way, there is formed in the Australian societies a division into two fundamental categories of the whole of reality; the sacred and the profane.

For Durkheim, the 'sacred and the profane have always and everywhere been conceived by the human mind as two distinct classes, as two worlds between which there is nothing in common'. There is a logical chasm between the two domains and it is precisely the totality of sacred beliefs and practices which constitutes a religion.

Durkheim's ideas on religion are influential. These have, however, been subjected to several criticisms, it is argued that he was wrong in accepting Totemism as a religion. He is also criticized on the ground that religion does not imply worship of society. It is pointed out that Durkheim's ideas are more relevant to pre-literate, simple societies in which 'there is a close integration of culture and social institutions' and in which 'work, leisure, education and family life tend to merge, and where members share a common belief and value system'. Durkheim's ideas are not wholly applicable to modern societies 'which have many sub-cultures, social and ethnic groups, specialised organizations and a range of religious beliefs, practices and institutions'. He ignores the fact that in more complex societies religious beliefs and practices vary from one stratum to another and that these strata have conflicting conceptions of the 'same' religious doctrine. It is also striking that he fails to see the negative, alienating consequences of religion.

Bronislaw Malinowski on religion, Durkheim found that people tend to separate religious symbols, objects, and rituals, which are sacred, from the daily symbols, objects, and routines of existence referred to as the profane. Sacred objects are often believed to have

divine properties that separate them from profane objects. Even in more-advanced cultures, people still view sacred objects with a sense of reverence and awe, even if they do not believe that the objects have some special power. Durkheim also argued that religion never concerns only belief, but also encompasses regular rituals and ceremonies on the part of a group of believers, who then develop and strengthen a sense of group solidarity. Rituals are necessary to bind together the members of a religious group, and they allow individuals to escape from the mundane aspects of daily life into higher realms of experience. Sacred rituals and ceremonies are especially important for making occasions such as births, marriages, times of crisis and deaths.

Durkheim's theory of religion exemplifies how functionalists examine sociological phenomena. According to Durkheim, people see religion as contributing to the health and continuation of society in general. Thus, religion functions to bind society's members by prompting them to affirm their common values and beliefs on a regular basis.

Durkheim predicted that religion's influence would decrease as society modernizes. He believed that scientific thinking would likely replace religious thinking, with people giving only minimal attention to rituals and ceremonies. He also considered the concept of "God" to be on the verge of extinction. Instead he envisioned society as promoting civil religion, in which, for example, civic celebrations, parades, and patriotism take the place of church services. If traditional religion were to continue, however, he believed it would do so only as a means to preserve social cohesion and order.

(Check Your Progress)

9. What is Animism?
10. Define Totemism?
11. What is Religion according to Durkheim?

3.7 SUMMARY

- Emile Durkheim differentiated between the two basic types of social facts; material and non-material. Both of these occupied a place of causal priority in his theorizing but material social facts were not the most important large scale forces, whereas his main focus was on non-material social facts.

- In 1897, he founded L'Aannée Sociologique, the first French social science journal which aimed to publish and publicize the works of a growing number of students and collaborators who developed the sociological program and he published 'Suicide' (1897), a case study offering a model of what the sociological monograph might look like. By 1902, he realised his ambition of attaining a prominent position in Paris by Emile Durkheim and becoming the chair of education at the Sorbonne. In 1906, he was named as 'the professor of the science of education and sociology'.
- He agreed that human being still depend on collective mind in some part based on their psychological and biological constitution, as well as for their particular circumstances, he reserved for them the term 'socio-psychical,' suggesting that they might remain of interest to the sociologist without constituting the immediate subject matter of sociology.
- According to Durkheim, the types of 'social facts' we get to live under, they differ from physical fact in that while slow to change, they do change. They are not necessary across all of time and space. They are constraint to the individual because of normative pressure, Legal, Linguistic and cultural and Physical. And also, general because they need not be uniform, not everyone conforms to a rule after all and most importantly, they cannot be defined only through universality. If everybody does something, but each for individual reasons then it is not social. Besides, socialization and education are keys to the transmission of social facts according to Durkheim.
- Society is characterised by an increasing degree of functional organisation, 'Social harmony comes essentially from the division of labour. It is characterised by a co-operation which is automatically produced through the pursuit by each individual of his own interests. It suffices that each individual consecrate himself to a special function in order by the force of events, to make himself solidary with others.'
- The main feature of 'mechanical solidarity' is resemblance. Durkheim feels that there is hardly any difference between individuals in a mechanical solidarity- based society. The members of this solidarity not only experience the same emotions, they also treasure the same values and consider the same things sacred. Therefore, they resemble each other.
- Therefore, Durkheim's 'social fact' proved to be a conveniently elastic concept, covering the range from the most clearly delineated features of social structure (e.g.,

population size and distribution) to the most spontaneous currents of public opinion and enthusiasm.

- The division of labour explains the relation between individuals and the collectively and the manner in which the multiplicity of individuals achieve the social coherence. He postulates that Division of labour basis on social solidarity. Solidarity means the solidity of the organisation. It is the characteristic trait of a society. The concept of solidarity explains social differentiation or the division of labour in society which makes individuals interdependent and affects social integration among them.
- The study of suicide also deals both with a pathological aspects of the modern societies and with a phenomenon eliminating the most striking way the relations of the individual, to the collectively. Individuals are determined by the collective reality as anxiously shown by Durkheim.
- Durkheim used the term 'anomie' to describe this temporary condition of social deregulation, and 'anomic suicide' to describe the resulting type of self-inflicted death; but in one sphere of life, he added, anomie is not a temporary disruption but rather a chronic state. Marriage, Durkheim explained, ought to be understood as the social regulation not only of physical instinct, but also of those aesthetic and moral feelings which have become complicated with sexual desire over the course of evolution.
- According to Durkheim, anything can be 'sacred' such as a piece of wood, a rock etc. This is not the particular quality of the wood or the rock which makes it sacred. Sacred things are considered to be sacred simply because they are symbols of something. Durkheim, therefore, says that to understand the role of religion in society, the relationship between these symbols and that which they represent must be established.
- Religion is a group phenomenon, for it is a group which gives a religion its specific character and unity. Moreover, the religion unifies the group, literally, it binds men together. In this way, Durkheim emphasises his general thesis that religious ideas are derived from society and serve to bind the members of a society together. This essential and positive function of religion-viz. solidifying a society-explains why it is a ubiquitous and permanent institution.
- Durkheim set out in search of its most primitive, elementary form. In doing so, he rejected animism and naturism as the most elementary form of religion by critically examining both.

Negating both the theories, he found that the most fundamental and primitive cult is Totemism. It is for this reason that the various primitive groups of Australia and North America form the basis of his study.

- Durkheim also argued that religion never concerns only belief, but also encompasses regular rituals and ceremonies on the part of a group of believers, who then develop and strengthen a sense of group solidarity. Rituals are necessary to bind together the members of a religious group, and they allow individuals to escape from the mundane aspects of daily life into higher realms of experience. Sacred rituals and ceremonies are especially important for making occasions such as births, marriages, times of crisis and deaths.
- In modern societies, the flag may be regarded as the equivalent of the Churinga of Australian aborigines. The flag of a collectively shares the sacred quality which we attribute to the religious order, i.e., either proscriptive or prescriptive practices. The members of the clan must abstain from eating or touching the totem or the objects which shares the sacred quality of the totem

3.8 KEY TERMS

- **Totemism:** A belief in totem or in kinship through common affiliation to a totem
- **Positivism:** A doctrine contending that sense perceptions are the only admissible basis of human knowledge and precise thought.
- **Animism:** The belief in the existence of individual spirits that inhabit natural objects and phenomena
- **Mass Hysteria:** is a phenomenon that transmits collective illusions of threats, whether real or imaginary, through a population in society as a result of rumours and fear.
- **Churinga:** A sacred amulet of the native Australians
- **Socio-centrism:** The tendency to believe that one's ethnic or cultural group is centrally important, and that all other groups are measured in relation to one's own.

3.9 ANSWER TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The two types of sanctions are; Repressive and Restitutive.

2. In 1893, he published his French doctoral thesis, 'The Division of Labour In Society', as well as a thesis on 'Montesquieu'.

3. Rules for the observation of social facts, rules for the distinction of normal from the pathological, rules for the constitution of social types, rules for the explanation of social facts and rules for demonstration of sociological proof.

4. He rejected the classic explanations of punishment wherein the functions of punishments are to check the guilty act and stop it from occurring again. It is Durkheim's belief that the point and meaning of punishment is not to scare. Instead, the rationale is to render satisfaction to the common consciousness. For Durkheim, an act committed by an individual member of the collective offends the collective consciousness, which needs to be compensated. The compensation comes in the form of punishment of the guilty, which satisfies the collective. Sociologically speaking, Durkheim's analysis of punishment could be considered rather accurate.

5. The two types of solidarity are the mechanical and organic solidarity according to Durkheim.

6. According to Durkheim, there are mainly four types of suicides; Egoistic, Altruistic, Anomic and Fatalistic.

7. We can define suicide as a positive or negative act performed by the victim himself and which strikes to produce a result directly or indirectly in the form of death. An example of a 'positive act' would be to shoot oneself in the temple or to hang one. And an example to show that suicide is committed in a negative act would be to remain in a burning building or to refuse all nourishment so as to starve oneself to death.

8. Psychological explanation is dismissed by Durkheim. However, he says that there is psychological predisposition to suicide, and this predisposition can be explained in psychological or psychopathological terms. Individuals suffering from brain disorders are more likely to kill themselves under certain given circumstances. Nonetheless, it is the social force that determines the suicide, not psychological forces as per Durkheim.

9. As per animism, religious beliefs are considered to be held within spirits. These spirits are the transfiguration of the experience men have about their two-fold nature of body and soul.

10. Durkheim considers the religion of Australia aborigines, which he calls Totemism, as the simplest and most basic of religion. It is most commonly found among aboriginal peoples, such as the Australian aborigines, and North West Native American Indians, who have clan, based societies.

11. Religion is the collective practice of marking off and maintaining distance between the sacred and the profane, which is typically done through rituals, such as those associated with the daily or weekly visit to the church or mosque: prayer is an obvious example of an 'occasional (sacred) ritual' is marked out from ordinary mundane (or profane) life.

3.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short – Answers Questions

1. Write a brief note on the early life of Durkheim.
2. Name the sociologists by whom Durkheim was influenced. Discuss various elements of this influence.
3. What is the difference between mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity? Describe with examples.
4. What is the difference between repressive and restitutive law as defined by Durkheim?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Describe how Durkheim relates to sociology as a science.
2. What is collective consciousness? Discuss its effects on the law.
3. Explain the four types of suicides as described by Durkheim.
4. Describe the theoretical importance of religion in the elementary forms of religious life.

3.11 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 4 MAX WEBER

Structure

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Unit Objectives
- 4.2 Social Action
- 4.3 Verstehen
- 4.4 Ideal Types
- 4.5 Power, Authority and Legitimacy
- 4.6 Protestant Ethics and Spirit of Capitalism
- 4.7 Summary
- 4.8 Key Terms
- 4.9 Answer to 'check your Progress'
- 4.10 Questions and Exercises
- 4.11 Further Reading

4.0 INTRODUCTION

Max Weber was one of the important German social thinkers of his time and his contributions to sociological theories are acclaimed worldwide. Max Weber was born on April 21, 1864 in Erfurt, Germany. He was the eldest of seven children of a Prussian family. He was an avid reader and at the young age of fourteen he wrote letters embellished with references to Homer, Virgil, Cicero and Livy and thereby demonstrated his intellectual smartness.

He is often cited with Karl Marx and Emile Durkheim as having laid the foundation of the classical tradition of Sociology. They are also said to be the three founders of Sociology. He was influenced by Marx but at the same time he was also strongly critical of some of the major ideas of Marx. He rejected Marx's idea of materialist conception of history and he did not stress much on class struggle. He also wrote extensively on many subjects and his writings have influenced a wide cluster of

sociological theories. He continues to be an influential theorist and many sociologists are indebted to Weber. His theoretical ideas are rooted in empirical and historical research. Therefore he is also known as a Historical Sociologist.

In this unit, you will get an insight into Max Weber's focus on social action, Verstehen, ideal type and theory of authority, power and religion. According to Weber, ideas and values play equally important role as economic aspects. He was also concerned with the changes in the social life. According to Weber, capitalism is one of the factors that have led to social development. He is of the view that capitalism had existed in several societies prior to its advent in the West but it was the modern capitalism of the West that was well established and developed which was never seen before. In the context of the rise of modern capitalism in the West, Weber identified a link between religion and capitalism which was explained in his work *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. He studied the religions of different parts of the world and found out that the rise of Protestantism was a significant factor in the rise of modern capitalism in the West.

According to Weber, he identified that the impact of science and bureaucracy in social development led to the introduction of modern technology that has transformed the society from being traditional to modern. Further, he also analyse three structures of authority- legal, traditional and charismatic. In the context of legal authority, we deal with his famous ideal typical bureaucratic and show how he used that tool to analyse traditional and charismatic authority. Of particular interest is Weber's work on charisma. Not only did he have a clear sense of it as a structure of authority, but he was also interested in the process by which such a structure is produced.

Although his work on social structure such as authority is important, it is at the cultural level, in his work on the rationalization of the world, that Weber's most important sights lie. Weber's thought on rationalization and various other issues are illustrated in his work on the relationship between religion and capitalism. At one level, this comprises a series of studies of the relationship between ideas (religious ideas) and the development of the spirit of capitalism and, ultimately, capitalism itself. At another level, it is a study of how the West developed a distinctive rational religious system (for example, Confucianism, Taoism, Hinduism) that inhibits the growth of a rational economic system. It is this kind of majestic

sweep over the history of many sectors of the world that helps give Weberian theory its enduring significance.

4.1UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Know about Max Weber and understand his work
- Discuss his important contributions.
- Explain the theories of Social Action and ideal types of action as propounded by Max Weber.
- Examine authority and legitimacy from the perspective given by Max Weber
- Explain the concept of power as explained by Max Weber
- Describe the theory of protestant ethics and capitalism as given by Max Weber.

4.2 SOCIAL ACTION

According to Weber, the task of sociological analysis involved ‘the interpretation of action in terms of its subjective meaning; (1921/1968, 8). More specific example of Weber’s thinking on action is found in his discussion of economic action, which he defined as ‘a conscious, primary orientation to economic provision, but the belief that it is necessary’ (1921/1968, 64). Weber embedded his analysis in mental processes and the resulting meaningful action, was careful to point out that it is erroneous to regard psychology as the foundation of the interpretation of action in sociology (1921/1968). Weber seemed to be making essentially the same point made by Durkheim in discussing at least some non- material social facts. That is, sociologists are interested in mental processes, but this is not the same as psychologists’ interest in the mind, personality and so forth.

Although Weber implied that he had a great concern with mental processes, he actually spent little time on them. Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills have called attention to Weber’s lack of concern with mental processes: ‘Weber sees in the concept of personality a much abused notion referring to a profoundly irrational centre of creativity, a centre before which analytical inquiry come to a halt’ (1958:55). Schutz (1932/1967) was quite correct when he pointed out that though Weber’s work on mental processes is suggestive; it is hardly

the basis for a systematic micro-sociology. However, it was the suggestiveness of his work that made him relevant to those who developed the theories of individuals and their behaviour, symbolic interactionism, phenomenology and so forth

Weber's action theory was to focus on individuals and patterns and regularities of action and not on the collectivity. Action in the sense of subjectively understandable orientation of behaviour exists only as the behaviour of one or more individual human beings' (Weber' 1921/1968:13). Social Action refers to failure or acceptance of the past, present and the future behaviour of others. Social action can be motivated by revenge for past attacks, defence against the present, or measures of defence against future. Money is regarded as a form of exchange and can also give a platform for social action in the exchange process.

Not every kind of an action is social. Overt action can also not be considered as social, because it sometimes deals with inanimate objects. Subjective attitudes are considered as social because they are oriented towards the behaviours of others. Not every type of contact in human interaction is social in nature, for example a mere collision of two cyclists can be considered as a natural event but on the other hand if the two cyclists started hitting each other, or blow comments or it might get into a healthy friendship than it will be considered as social action. There are some actions which are influenced by a crowd, for example when the rain starts pouring everybody puts up their umbrella, this action is influenced by crowd and membership. This action cannot be termed as social because this was a mere influence of the crowd.

There are typical modes of action which are repeated over a period of time and have the appropriate subjective meaning and have an influence on human destiny. 'Usage' is important in the social orientation of action. Usage will be called 'custom' when the actual performance rests on familiarity. Usage also includes fashion or mode when there is the novelty of behaviour. Custom refers to rules which do not have an external sanction. There are similarities, uniformities and continuities in the attitudes towards action. The process of rationalization of action involves unthinking of ancient customs and deliberate adaptation of situations to self-interest. The stability of action rests on the mere fact that if a person is not able to adapt with the majority of the people but somehow he/she has to conform with it, also the person might end up involving himself with the risk of damaging his own self interests.

4.3 VERSTEHEN

Verstehen is a German term that means to understand, perceive, know, and comprehend the nature and significance of a phenomenon. To grasp or comprehend the meaning intended or expressed by another. Weber used the term to refer to the social scientist's attempt to understand both the intention and the context of human action.

It is agreed by historians that the philosophers from the German-speaking world identified, defined, and pioneered a type of knowledge largely overlooked by the others (Hausheer, 1996). After a couple of readings from a few texts, the writer has compiled a brief history of the Verstehen since it was first introduced in the 1860's by *Erhebung der Geschichte zum Rangeiner Wissenschaft*, a book on methodological study that introduces new approach to research and writing. In the book, written by Johann Gustav Droysen, he stated the distinction between the method of natural sciences and human sciences, which is: *erklären* (explanation) versus Verstehen (understanding) (Udehn, 2001).

Verstehen later on used by Wilhelm Dilthey in 1984. He described the approach as a first-person participatory perspective that agent share on their individual experience as well as their culture, history, and society (Dilthey, 1991). The fact that the meaning of mental appearances are so fundamentally important to the subjects identity, this view has motivated Dilthey to defend the view that natural and mental phenomena are different from one another (Dilthey, 1991). Moreover, according to him, verstehen is contrasted with the external objectivising third-person perspective of explanation (*erklären*) in which human agency, subjectivity, and its products are analysed as effects of impersonal natural forces in the natural sciences and social structures in sociology (Dilthey, 1991). Thus, the only way to acquire scientifically respectable knowledge of a phenomenon is to gain.

In 1920, Max Weber has made further study on Verstehen. He introduced interpretive understanding where it is a systematic interpretive process in which an outside observer of a culture relates to its subject on their own terms and point of view rather than interpreting them in the researcher's own culture (Macionis & Gerber, 2010). "We can accomplish something which is never attainable in the natural sciences, namely the subjective understanding of the action of the component individuals," Weber said in his book, *Economy and Society* (Gingrich, 1999).

The literal translation of the word Verstehen is 'understanding' in its noun form, or "(to) understand" in verb form. By itself, Verstehen is an extremely common word in German, as much as 'understanding' is in English.

According to Max Weber, the word is a particular meaning with its own parameters. The first step to Verstehen is, thus to understand what he who coined the term meant when he called on others to understand (Verstehen) the word Verstehen. One way to approach Verstehen is to consider the levels of knowledge implicit in the German language. He suggested that human individuals cannot be quantified. Therefore Weber in his work, *Economy and Society* (1978) writes: All interpretation of meaning, like all scientific observations, strives for clarity and verifiable accuracy of insight and comprehension. The basis for certainty in understanding can be either rational, or it can be of an emotionally empathic or artistically appreciative quality. Empathic or appreciative accuracy is attained when, through sympathetic participation, we can adequately grasp the emotional context in which the action took place. On the other hand, many ultimate ends or values toward which experience shows that human action may be oriented often cannot be understood completely, though sometimes we are able to grasp them intellectually. The more radically they differ from our own ultimate values, however, the more difficult it is for us to understand them empathically. Depending upon the circumstances of the particular case we must be content either with a purely intellectual understanding of such values or when even that fails, sometimes we must simply accept them as given data (Weber, 1978, 5-6).

Verstehen, in research can be defined as a systematic interpretive process in which an outside observer (a third person) attempts to relate it and make it understandable by others (Elwell, 2005). The theory of Verstehen stands for the general methodological approach that the subject matter of the social sciences is typically different from natural sciences, and as such the techniques of the physical sciences cannot be applied to the study of social sciences. The subject matter of the former is frequently identified as purposive behaviour directed towards ends, conscious and unconscious. But, motives, dispositions and goals cannot be publicly observable in the sense certain physical and bodily movements can be (Elwell, 2005). Rose to prominent as a German concept, Verstehen embodies a complete understanding of something. It is a way of approaching hermeneutics (interpretation) that takes its view from the personal and complete understanding of the subject (Little, 2007). Of course one will never comprehensively understand the phenomena he or she seeks, but by placing oneself as the third person, objective view of things can be made (Bransen, 2001).

Through the actor's point of view, this approach requires the actor as a subject and it implies that an individual is seen to create the world by organizing their own understanding of it and giving it meaning instead of seeing human as the product of external forces. This is how Verstehen can be very useful in interpreting a set of data.

4.4 IDEAL TYPES

Weber used Ideal Types extensively in his works like Economic and Social Organisation, The city and Sociology of Religion. His investigation of the consequences of types of social action and a study of how these types of action come into conflict and create tensions for specific individuals and pointed out that in many traditional societies individuals live highly routinized lives wherein every day ceremonies are generally seen as ends in themselves.

An ideal type is not an ideal thing in the sense that it is something admirable, something worth striving for. You might very well construct an ideal type of fascism and that does not mean that you find fascism an attractive ideology. Weber suggests that historians and sociologists try to get a grip on the chaotic and stillborn reality that they are confronted with, by constructing models in which they include some aspects of the subject matter that they study as being characteristic. And by omitting many other aspects that may be found in the world out there but that they consider to be not essential. Weber stresses time and time again, that the ideal typical representation is not reality, itself. The real world out there is muddier, less transparent, and more chaotic. So in our ideal types, we simplify, we streamline, reality. And this, he says, is in fact what social scientists have always done in the past, but they were not reflexively aware of their own methodological trick. For instance, Karl Marx did not analyse the really existing capitalist system, he analysed his own ideal typical representation of capitalism. And the error that he and many other social scientists made was that, he believes that his model was actually empirical reality.

Max Weber now presents his own classification of the four ideal types of social action. It can be classified into four types such as;

- **Rational Purposeful Action:**

This action may be rationally expedient if it is based on logical or scientific grounds. This action entails a complicated plurality of means and ends. The ends of action (for example

goals, values) are either taken as means to the fulfilment of other ends, or are treated as if they are set in concrete. In this way action becomes purely instrumental. It can be translated as goal-rational or means ends, rational. This social action is motivated by the desire to reach in the most efficient way, an end result that can also be defended with rational arguments. In a calculating systematic way, the means are selected that will lead to that goal.

However much you would like to achieve that goal, you should at all times keep your emotions under control because they may lead you away from where you want to go. Always keep a cool head. That could be the motto of the engineer who designs a bridge or the general at the eve of a battle studying his maps. For example, if we compare two individuals who are trying to maximize their income over the course of a year, we might find that one person uses far more effective means to achieve this goal than the other. He might cheat on his tax return, take a second job or sell drugs to workmates. We would describe the individuals as more purposively rational than one who acquires and keeps less money.

- **Value-Rational Action:**

Action is rational in relation to a specific value. This action occurs when individuals use rational – that is effective means to achieve goals or ends that are defined in terms of subjective meaning. According to Weber, when individuals are value rational, they make commitments to certain subjective goals and adopt means that are effective in attaining these ends. This value-rational action is ideal typical category consists of social action that seems to be irrational because it is directed at a value that cannot be motivated in rational terms.

This is what Weber calls or value-rational social action. In order to achieve that value, the individual may be just as rational as the person displaying goal rational social action. Most people are not saints or military heroes. And for them, it may be hard to understand. But if you sincerely strive for personal salvation, then you might choose the aesthetic lifestyle of the hermit. Or if you really want to defend your military honour, you may rationally choose a social action that inescapably will result in you losing your life. Those actions can be understood in rational terms and, here means are chosen for their efficiency but the ends are determined by value. For example, when a soldier laying down his life for the country. His action is not directed towards attaining specific material goal like wealth. It is for the sake of certain values like honour and patriotism.

▪ **Affectional Action**

Affective action fuses means and ends together so that action becomes emotional and impulsive. Such action is the antithesis of rationality because the actor concerned cannot make calm, dispassionate assessment of the relationship between the ends of action and the means that supposedly exist to serve these ends. Rather the means themselves are emotionally fulfilling and become ends in themselves. Affectional social action and it is motivated by the emotional state of the actor. When somebody is overcome with anger, he may react in a certain way that maybe he regrets afterwards. But, that was the only possibility at that very moment. This kind of action results from the emotional state of mind of the actor. If someone is teasing a girl in a bus, she may get so irritated that she may slap the offending person. She has been provoked so much that she has reacted violently. In this example, the action is defined not with reference to a goal or system of values, but by the emotional reaction of an actor placed in a given set of circumstances

▪ **Traditional Action**

Traditional action occurs when the ends and the means of action are fixed by custom and tradition. For example, some so-called primitive societies have very strict rites of succession for group leaders. What is important about traditional action is that the ends of action are taken for granted and appear to be natural to the actors concerned because they are unable to comprehend the possibility of alternative ends. This is an action which is guided by customs and long standing beliefs which become second nature or habit. In traditional Indian Society doing 'Pranam' or 'Namaskar' to elders is almost second nature needing no prompting.

Those are the four ideal types of rational action. And one more time, those categories are ideal types, so you will never encounter them in the real world out there, in their pure state. What you will find is a mixture, or at least a slightly contaminated case. The four types in their pristine form only exist in the world of ideas. But, we can observe all kinds of phenomena that more or less approached, more or less come close to the types that Weber has constructed. Now, Max Weber is convinced that the goal-rationality, is gaining territory in modernity. More and more, social action in modern Western societies can be characterized as goal-rational. And we also witness the gradual Marginalization of value-rational, affectional and traditional social action.

(Check Your Progress)

1. Why did Weber frame sociology as a science of social action?
2. Name the four ideal types of action as the building blocks of sociology, suggested by Weber?
3. Weber demarcates three fundamental types of legitimate domination. What are they?

4.5 POWER, AUTHORITY AND LEGITIMACY

Max Weber gave a theory of authority that included three types of authority. He laid down a path towards understanding how authority gets legitimized as a belief system. The English translation of his essay 'The three types of legitimate rule' was published posthumously in 1958. It is the most lucid explanation on the issue.

Weber defined domination (authority) as the chance of commands being obeyed by a specifiable group of people. Legitimate authority is that which is recognized as legitimate and justified by both the ruler and the ruled. Max Weber demarcates three fundamental types of legitimate domination: (i) traditional, (ii) charismatic and (iii) legal or rational. These three forms do not comprise the entirety of dominations types but they represent how it is feasible for some individuals to exercise power over the others. Authority broadens and maintains powers and proves that a study of its origins can show how people get ready to accept this domination as a customary and structured phenomenon. It is noteworthy that these are ideal types, with any real use of power being prone to have aspects of more than one kinds of authority, and may be even other forms of power like the use of force or intimidation. Hence Weber's classification of legitimacy is taken as a basis of a righteous investigation of the nature of authority in the modern-day civilizations.

Traditional Authority

Throughout history traditional authority has existed in various societies. The sanctity of tradition legitimizes the traditional authority. Usually the capability and the right to rule are passed down through heredity. However, it does not assist social change. On the other hand, it tends to be inconsistent and irrational, and perpetuates the status quo. Weber analysed why

this particular form of authority was maintained, and what were the obstructions to the development of more logical or legal forms of authority characteristics of the Western societies. Specifically, Weber focused upon how these traditional forms of authority restricted the development of capitalism in non-western societies.

Weber stated that traditional authority is a means through which inequality gets created and preserved. If there is no challenge to the authority of the traditional leader or group, the leader is expected to stay dominant. Traditional form of authority is derived from an established faith in the sanctity of age-old traditions and the legality of the status of those wielding authority over them. In this kind of authority, the traditional rights of an influential and dominant individual or group are accepted and are not challenged by the subordinate individuals.

Weber stated that traditionalist domination ‘rests upon a belief in the sanctity of everyday routines’ (Gerth and Mills, p.297). Ritzer states that ‘traditional authority is based on a claim by the leaders, and a belief on the part of the followers, that there is virtue in the sanctity of age-old rules and powers’ (p.132). These rights can be (i) religious, sacred or spiritual forms, (ii) well-established and gradually changing culture, or (iii) tribal, family or clan type structures. The types of traditional authority are as follows:

- (i) Gerontocracy or rule by elders.
- (ii) Patriarchy wherein positions are inherited.
- (iii) Patrimonialism or rule by an administration or military force that are entirely personal instruments of the master.
- (iv) Feudalism type of authority was important historically. It is a more routinized form of rule, with ‘contractual relationships between leaders and subordinate’.

Traditional authority is characteristically embodied in feudalism or patrimonialism. In an entirely patriarchal structure, ‘the servants are completely and personally dependent upon the lord’. ON the other hand, in an estate system (i.e., feudalism), ‘the servants are not personal servants of the lord but independent man’ (Weber, 1958:4). However, in both cases the system of authority does not change or evolve. Hence gerontocracy and patrimonialism are the forms of traditional authority. Gerontocracy means the rule by elders, and patrimonialism stand for the rule by someone designated by inheritance. There is still a common idea of everybody being a member of the group, although there is by no means equal distribution of

power. A patrimonial retainer may be supported through: maintenance at his lord's table, allowance from the chief (mainly in kind), rights of land use in lieu of services, and appropriation of property income, fees or taxes by fiefs.

Charismatic Authority

Charismatic authority is possessed by a leader whose vision and mission is capable of inspiring others. Its roots are found in the perceived astonishing characteristics of a person. Weber defined a charismatic leader as the leader of a new social movement, and the one endowed with divine or supernatural powers, e.g., a religious prophet. According to him, charismatic authority subsists on the devotion to the explicit and exceptional heroism, sanctity or commendable character of a person and of the normative patterns of order revealed or ordained by him.

Charisma stands for the quality of an individual personality which is viewed as extraordinary. The followers might view this quality to be endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or exceptional qualities or powers. Whether such powers exists in reality or not is not relevant – the mere fact that followers believe such powers exist is more significant. Weber views charisma as a driving and creative force that rushes through traditional authority and established rules. The singular basis of charismatic authority is the acceptance or recognition of the claims of the leader by the followers. ‘ while it is unreasonable, in that it is not computable or systematic, it can be revolutionary, breaking traditional rule and may even put up a challenge to the legal authority’ (Giddens, p. 160-161).

A particular leader might possess extraordinary characteristics which make him/her a leader. It may relate to an extraordinary gift of a leader, a distinguishing speaking style and acting, or astonishing qualities, for instance personalities like Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Abraham Lincoln, and Hitler and so on. The charismatic leader attains and maintains authority exclusively by proving his mettle in life. If he desires to be a prophet, he should perform miracles; if he wants to be a warlord, he should perform heroic acts. Finally, nonetheless, his divine mission should ‘prove’ itself in that those who devotedly surrender to him must fare well. In case they do not farewell, he is perceptibly not the master sent by the Gods.

Charisma has deficiencies as a long term source of authority. However, it may be really effective during the lifetime of the charismatic leader. If it has to be continued, it

should be transformed into a legal or traditional form of authority. Further, it might be exercised in an illogical way, preventing the development of more rational forms, particularly the ones leading to capitalism. Also, there is a chance that administration of charismatic authority results in the development of legal and rational authority. Charismatic authority gets routinized in various ways. According to Weber, 'orders are traditionalised; the staff or followers change into legal or 'estate like' (traditional) staff, or the meaning of charisma itself may undergo change.'

It would be appropriate to discuss the process of the Routinization of charisma. In basic form, charismatic authority exists just in the process of originating. It turns either rationalised or traditionalized, or a combination of both for the following reasons: ideal or material interests of the followers in the repeated reactivation of the community interests of the administrative staff, followers or disciples of the charismatic leader in maintaining their positions, so that their own standing is established on a day to day basis. Huge masses of people exist; it paves the way for the forces of daily routine.

There is an objective requirement of patterns of order and organization of the administrative staff to fulfil the normal, everyday needs and conditions of running the administration. Further, there is a craving for security, needing legitimization of positions of authority and social prestige and economic advantages held by the followers. Thus, the process of Routinization is not limited to the problem, and does not come to an end when it is solved. The most basic problem is the changeover from the charismatic administrative staff and its administrative mode to one which can tackle everyday circumstances.

Following are the possible types of solutions:

1. Search for new charismatic leader on the basis of criteria that will entitle him for the position of authority.
2. Revelation through oracles, lots, etc. Legitimacy is then dependent upon the technique of selection, which represents a form of legalization.
3. By the leader designating his successor.
4. The designation of a successor by the charismatically qualified staff, and the successor's recognition by the community. The legitimacy may come to depend upon the technique of selection.
5. Hereditary charisma which may lead to either traditionalization or legalization (divine rights, etc.)

6. The charisma transmitted through ritual means from one bearer to another, or created in a new individual, which might become the charisma of office (e.g., the Big Potato, the Pope himself).

In one form, Routinization also appropriates the powers of control and economic advantages by the disciples. Further, it may be either legal or traditional, on the basis of whether or not legislation of some kind is involved.

Rational–Legal Authority

Legal-rational authority gets empowered by a formalistic belief in the content of the law (legal) or natural law (rationality). A specific individual leader does not get entitled to obedience but the people whether charismatic or traditional but a set of uniform principles is put at his/her disposal.

According to Weber, bureaucracy (political or economic) was the best example of legal-rational authority. This kind of authority is commonly found in the modern state, city governments, private and public corporations, and many voluntary associations. Rational-legal authority or legitimate domination resting on ‘rational grounds resting on a belief in the legality of enacted rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issues commands’ (Weber, p.215).

It is stated to subsist upon a faith in the legality patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to the authority under such rules to issue commands. It might also be stated that rational legitimacy identified with legality by Weber is the only kind of legitimacy to survive in the contemporary world. All the bearers of the power of command are legitimated in so far as these correspond with the norms. There are numerous ways through which legal authority may establish. These are:

1. Systems of convention
2. Laws and regulation of evolve in various societies
3. Various principles of legality occurring around

The evolution of law in the West goes on to establish a legal system which ensures that there is a rule of law, written legal codes, legal rights and rules, and the ‘professionalized administration of justice by persons who have received their legal training formally and systematically’(Ritzer,p.129).

As the rational legal system develops in this logical way, authority adopts a legal shape. Those governing or ruling either possess, or seem to possess a lawful legal right to do so. The subordinates within this system recognize the legality of the rulers, with a belief that they possess the lawful right to exercise power. Those with power then use this on the basis of this right of legitimacy.

As the rational legal system develops, there has to be a political system that becomes rationalized in a similar manner. The constitutions, codified documents and established offices, streamlined means of representation, regular elections and political procedures are the basis elements of this systematization. These are developed in opposition to earlier systems like monarchies or other traditional forms, where there are no established sets of rules. This rational-legal form of authority might be challenged by the ones who are in a subordinate position. This opposition is usually not likely to bring about dramatic changes in the system's nature very rapidly.

Weber stated that in future the Rational-legal types of authority will become more and more dominant. A charismatic leader or movement may occupy the scene, but the predominant tendency will be for the organizations to become more routinized, rational and bureaucratic in nature. The legal authority can be interpreted in this sense. In contemporary societies, authority is in big part exercised on the basis of bureaucracies.

Inter-relationships between Traditional, Charismatic and Rational-legal Authority

Weber's theory of authority is very comprehensive and elaborate in nature. Weber and several other political sociologists have denoted various interesting relationships and processes taking place between the different types. The three types of authority may be consolidated by the characteristics that distinguish them from others.

- Charismatic authority is dynamic (unlike tradition) and non-rational (again, unlike legal-rational).
- Traditional authority is impersonal (unlike charisma) and non-rational (unlike legal-rational).
- Legal-rational authority is dynamic (unlike tradition) and impersonal (unlike charisma).

However, Blau (1974) stated that 'traditional authority is un-dynamic, charismatic authority is personal, and legal-rational is rational'. The possibility of retaining a specific type of authority might depend on the ability of that authority system to maintain the features which makes it exceptional and reject the characteristics that make it more beneficial for another type of authority.

Further, it has been observed that a specific kind of authority may lose its power to and hence transition into other kind of authority in the following manner. For instance, revolutionary ideals may be advocated by charismatic leader or the logical pursuit of ends through abstract formal principles can both deteriorate traditional authority. The revolutionary charismatic movements may be crystallized into a traditional order or bureaucratized into a logical formal organization. Ultimately, the illogical forces and powers of tradition or charisma may lessen the position of legal-rational authority. It has also been observed that Weber's three kinds of authority are comparable to his three categories of inequality: (i) class, (ii) status groups and (iii) parties. Traditional authority is the basis for status groups. Charismatic authority depends on a market scheme (like the potential for life chances), and Weber viewed it to be the result of class. Ultimately, parties are the codification of legal-rational authority, particularly in the case of bureaucracies.

Distinction between Power, Authority and Legitimacy

Weber defined authority and power by defining power as any relationship within which one person could impose his will, regardless of any resistance from the other, whereas authority existed when there was a belief in the legitimacy of that power. He also states that what distinguishes authority, from coercion, force and power on the one hand and leadership, persuasion and influence on the other hand, is legitimacy. Therefore, the concepts of power and authority are intimately linked together in political philosophy, where power means or denotes the coercive method employed by those entitled to our obedience while authority implies force exercised or capable of being exercised with the general approval of those concerned. In the political sphere, authority occurs when there is willing, compliance, and power to command and enforce

Thus, the expression 'authority' stands for an abstract concept possessing both sociological and psychological components. Hence it is very difficult to differentiate these concepts. In fact, the ideas of powers, authority and legitimacy are basically interrelated. It is

concern not just in the abstract sense in terms of how these three are related, but also in the concrete since scholars themselves are usually accountable for entangling them. One is defined as the function of the other and vice-versa till the reader doesn't understand where to turn anymore to get help.

(Check Your Progress)

4. Distinction between Power, Authority and Legitimacy?
5. What are the different forms of Traditional Authority?
6. What is traditional authority based on, as compared to rational-legal system?

4.6 PROTESTANT ETHICS AND SPIRIT OF CAPITALISM

Max Weber (1864-1920) published his most famous work, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, in 1904-1905. Weber's writings and theories helped establish the foundations of modern sociology. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* argues that the "spirit" that defines capitalist institutions has its roots in the Protestant Reformation. The Reformation was a sixteenth-century religious movement that led to the creation of Protestantism, beginning with the protests of Martin Luther against the Catholic Church in 1517. Luther argued that people could be saved through faith alone, and this doctrine is one of the basic tenets of Lutheranism. Another Protestant religion that figures prominently in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* is Calvinism. Rooted in the ideas of John Calvin, Calvinism was based on the doctrine of predestination--that individual salvation was preordained by God. Calvinism is an ancestor of modern-day Presbyterianism.

Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* is a study of the relationship between the ethics of ascetic Protestantism and the emergence of the spirit of modern capitalism. Weber argues that the religious ideas of groups such as the Calvinists played a role in creating the capitalistic spirit. Weber first observes a correlation between being Protestant and being involved in business, and declares his intent to explore religion as a potential cause of the modern economic conditions. He argues that the modern spirit of capitalism sees profit as an end in itself, and pursuing profit as virtuous.

Weber's goal is to understand the source of this spirit. He turns to Protestantism for a potential explanation. Protestantism offers a concept of the worldly 'calling,' and gives worldly activity a religious character. While important, this alone cannot explain the need to pursue profit. One branch of Protestantism, Calvinism, does provide this explanation. Calvinists believe in predestination that God has already determined who is saved and damned. As Calvinism developed, a deep psychological need for clues about whether one was actually saved arose, and Calvinists looked to their success in worldly activity for those clues. Thus, they came to value profit and material success as signs of God's favour.

Other religious groups, such as the Pietists, Methodists, and the Baptist sects had similar attitudes to a lesser degree. Weber argues that this new attitude broke down the traditional economic system, paving the way for modern capitalism. However, once capitalism emerged, the Protestant values were no longer necessary, and their ethic took on a life of its own.

Modern economic growth has taken place with a quite different economic and social structure from that which had existed earlier. Economic growth occurred at roughly the same time, or soon after, these areas experienced the rise of Protestant religions. Some may hold this similarity to be of completely different occurrences, but for much such a non-relationship would seem difficult to understand and accept. Weber has pointed to the significance of non-pecuniary (or what some would call non-economic) factors in influencing economic change, at least in conjunction with some appropriate set of conditions. The main key factor for non-pecuniary was based on a particular religion and set of religious codes; to others it was a religious influence, but from a different religion, such as Catholicism or Judaism; while to other scholars it has been some different factor leading to behaviour changes, such as rationalism, individualism, or the development of an economic ethic.

The rise of capitalism in the Western World, Weber explain it that 'the impulse to acquisition, pursuit of gain, of money, of the greatest possible amount of money, has in itself nothing to do with capitalism'; and 'unlimited greed for gain is not in the least identical with capitalism, and is still less its spirit.' The desire for gain has been seen in 'all sorts of conditions of men at all times and in all countries of the earth.' Rather what developed in the West was "the rational capitalistic organization of formally free labor," which was based on "the separation of business from the household" and "rational book keeping," although the basic factor was the presence of free labor.

The ability to calculate, the development of technical capabilities, the creation of systems of law and administration, all have been important to Western culture and their economic usefulness is 'determined by the ability and disposition of men to adopt certain types of practical rational conduct,' unobstructed by spiritual and magical beliefs. Weber also attributed that religion has always had a major impact upon conduct; the particular development of the West is attributed to 'the influence of certain religious ideas on the development of the economic system,'

Several major studies in the sociology of religions in different areas, particularly Asia in order to understand why other religions did not generate the emergence of a modern capitalism were undertaken by Weber. These comparative religious studies have yielded insights into the impact of these different religious systems in China, India, and elsewhere, and their impacts on behaviour. To some scholars, however, it was the political nature and openness to new beliefs and innovations in those countries in northwest Europe that lead to developments in science, business, and political freedom that permitted economic and scientific progress to take place.

Religion of China

Students of economic development in the west had stressed two factors, which, among others, had contributed greatly to the rise of capitalism: the great influx of precious metals and a significant growth in population. Weber observes, however, that in the case of china similar developments were evident.

The Chinese city was fundamentally different from the Occidental one: it did not become a centre in which capitalist relationships and institutions could germinate, for it lacked political autonomy. Unlike the polis of antiquity and the commune of the middle Ages, it had neither political privileges nor military power of its own. The Occidental city became sufficiently strong to repel an army of knights and was not for its survival on any centralized bureaucracy. Political associations of merchant and craft guilds were non-existent in the Chinese 'city', and legal contracts, either economic or political, could not be made. In short, there did not emerge a relatively independent bourgeois class centred in relatively autonomous towns (the fruit of prolonged struggle and revolts).

Revolts were indeed common in the Chinese city but these were to remove specific officials or to change specific practices, not to guarantee the freedom of the city. These

differences between the Occidental and oriental cities can be traced to their different origins. The polis of antiquity was an overseas trading city, whereas in china trade was predominantly inland. And in order to preserve tradition, foreign trade and contact were limited to a single port, canton. Furthermore, industrial development was not centred in the city where it could, as in the west, escape the control of traditional groups and interests. Thus, the economic, political and formal-legal foundations of an autonomous and rational organization of industry and commerce were absent. Control of the rivers, in china as in Egypt and other ancient civilizations, led to some rationalization of the economy but was greatly limited due to religious and other conditions.

River regulation, the basis of imperial authority, was assured not by empirical-rational means alone but by the conduct of the emperor who had to abide by the imperatives of the classical scriptures. If, for example, the dikes broke, this was evidence that he did not have the qualities of qualities of charisma demanded by heaven and therefore had to do public penitence for his sins.

As in all large far-flung states with undeveloped systems of communication, administrative centralization remained negligible; nevertheless, this did not facilitate the growth of autonomous centres of power. The dependence of the central government on its official, and these in turn on provincial assistants, enhanced traditionalism; even the 'money economy contributed to the strengthening of traditional structures.' The officials became in effect 'tax farmers', who extracted what they could from their provincial subjects, gave as little as they dared to their superiors, and kept the rest. They were prebendaries who had a paramount interest in maintaining the existing socioeconomic conditions and hence the profits from their prebends. Thus as the money economy expanded so did prebendalization, a great obstacle to attempts at internal change. To become prebendaries they were dependent on the central government; once they became officials and received their assignments, however, they acquired only a very limited power, for they remained dependent on the indigenous elements of the provinces in which they were strangers.

The sib in China was so powerful that true alienation of land from it was impossible. Land was not unconditionally or permanently sold; rather, the sib always retained the right to repurchase. There were moneylenders and other forms of politically determined capitalism but these did not lead to modern rational, capitalistic enterprise. 'There was no

rational depersonalization of business”, Weber writes, ‘comparable to its unmistakable beginnings in the commercial law of Italian cities’.

In China, the growth of wealth in the form of money led to different results. When officials retired, for instance, they invested their money in landholdings which enabled some of their sons to study so as to pass the state examination and thus become eligible for ‘tax farming’ careers of their own. In this way the whole familial community had a vested interest in the examination system and other traditional institutions. And this community was held together by powerful and rigid kinship bonds. The power of the sib rested to a large degree on the ancestor cult; ancestral spirits acted as mediators between their descendants and God. Cities were mere urban settlements of farmers and ‘there remained only a technical administrative difference between city and village’. A ‘city’ was the seat of the mandarin and was not self-governing; a ‘village’ was a self-governing settlement without a mandarin. And autonomous military power developed in contrast with the west, in the villages and not in the cities.

There were repeated power struggles between the *literati* and the priests, in which the former were always victorious. Yet, ironically, the *literati* constantly availed themselves of the Taoist’s priestly and magical services, affording Taoist heterodoxy a recognized place in religious practice. Not only were magic and animism tolerated, they were systematized and rationalized so that they became a tremendous power in Chinese life. All sciences which had empirical and naturalistic beginnings were completely rationalized as magical and supernatural practices and rituals. The Chinese world, despite its secular and rational-empirical elements, remained enchanted with a magic garden. ‘Demagnification’ of religion, Weber believed, was carried out in the west most consistently and thoroughly by ascetic Protestantism; but the process had begun with the ancient Jewish prophets.

This does not mean he emphasizes, that the puritans did not retain superstitious beliefs; what they did is obvious from their witch trials. Rather, it means that they came to regard ‘all magic as devilish’. For Weber, then, one criterion of the rationalization of religion is the degree to which it has rid itself of magic

‘To be sure’, stated Weber, ‘the basic characteristics of ‘mentality’, in this case the practical attitudes towards the world, were deeply codetermined by political and economic destinies. ‘Yet, in view of their autonomous laws, one can hardly fail to ascribe to these attitudes effects strongly counteractive to capitalist development’.

Religion of India

In India, too, Weber saw many social and cultural conditions which, it would seem, should have given rise to modern rational capitalism. Warfare, finance and politics, for instance, had been rationalized, and the last of these even in quite 'Machiavellian' terms. Many of the older type of capitalist forms had at one time or another been in evidence: state creditors and contractors, tax farmers, etc. Urban development also seemed to parallel that of the west at many points.

In addition, what Weber called rationality was prominent in many aspects of Indian cultural life: the rational number system, arithmetic, algebra, rational science and in general a rational consistency in many spheres, together with a high degree of tolerance towards philosophical and religious doctrines.

The prevailing judicial forms appeared compatible with capitalist development; there existed an autonomous stratum of merchants; handicrafts as well as occupational specialization were developed; and, finally, the high degree of acquisitiveness and high evaluation of wealth were a notable aspect of Indian social life. He regards Indian religion as 'one factor among many' which, he states cautiously, 'may have prevented capitalistic development'.

Since there was no way of quantifying or weighing the elements, all one could do was to make as strong and as cogent a case as possible. If Indian religion had taken another form, e.g., equivalent to that of ascetic Protestantism-then, perhaps, a modern, rational type of capitalism might have developed there too. Since economic, urban, scientific and other developments were somewhat equivalent in India and the West, and modern capitalism emerged autonomously only in the latter civilization, the different religious ethos which took shape there must have made a significant causal contribution to the origin of the modern economic system.

Ultimately, however, Weber sees more operative here than just the protestant ethic; what he sees as really crucial is that despite the rational, scientific elements in the East, and the existence there of economic strata and forms seemingly conducive to the emergence of a modern rational economy, the East remained an enchanted garden. This meant that all the aspects and institutions of Oriental civilizations were permeated and even dominated by the

magical mentality, which became a brake on economic developments in particular and on rationalization of the culture as a whole.

On the other hand, occidental civilization, already in its early stages of development, had undergone significant disenchantment, which has increased almost as a uni-linear development right to the present. This disenchantment or rationalization began with the scriptural prophets; but Christianity, Greek formal logic, Roman law, the medieval papalcuria, cities and states, the renaissance, the reformation, the Enlightenment, the various bourgeois revolutions, etc., all contributed to the process which has made Western civilization, as a whole, fundamentally different from that of East. This is the implicit and occasionally explicit emphasis in these works.

Actually, Weber's studies of the world religions embrace much more than religious phenomena and institutions. In effect, he takes the entire social structure of the society in question into his purview. In the case of India, clearly the caste system was of fundamental importance. The origin of the four main castes or categories-Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras- is shrouded in mystery; more, however, is known about the proliferation of groupings, so that literally thousands of sub-castes crystallized in the course of Indian history. Basing himself on the best Indological sources, Weber sketches the process by which new castes form and other undergo schisms. With the increasing wealth of some strata, numerous tasks were defined by them as 'lower' and unclean so that eventually the native, resident population refused to engage in them. This made room for alien workers, whatever their origin, who moved into these occupations and became a 'guest' people tolerated for the economic function they fulfilled.

They were not at first properly a part of the host village organization; they retained their own community organizations and had full jurisdiction over them. Certain ritual barriers were raised against these guest peoples; Weber calls them a 'pariah people'. Eventually, through a variety of forms of transition, a 'pariah people', having established itself in some of the formerly native Hindu occupations, develops an interest in maintaining its hold over these occupations and demands and receives certain Brahmanical services.

The members of the pariah group, underprivileged anyway, come to prefer a legitimate status to that of an alien people since 'caste organizations, like quasi-trade unions, facilitate the legitimate defence of both internal and external interests of the hope and promise which Hinduism held out to these negatively privileged strata helps to explain 'their

relatively minor resistance in view of what one would expect of the abysmal distance Hinduism establishes between social strata'. Clearly, this is not the place to discuss the caste phenomenon in detail; what interests us here is the role Weber assigned to caste as a factor which may have imposed structural restraints on economic development.

The caste system had essentially negative consequences for economic development; but not, as one might at first expect, primarily because it imposed restrictions and prohibitions on social interaction. Rather, it was because the caste system became totally traditionalistic and anti-rational in its effects.

- That order was quite flexible in the face of the requirements of the concentration of labour in large-scale enterprises; caste proscriptions on interaction with the ritually impure were not the main impediment to industrial development. All the great religions, he suggests, have placed such restrictions on modern economy. It was the traditional, anti-rational 'spirit' of the whole social system which constituted the main obstruction; and this, along with the 'artisan's traditionalism, great in itself, was necessarily heightened to the extreme by the caste order'. The anti-rational spirit became manifest in the prevalence 'of magic and in the role of the Brahmans, whose very power was connected with the increasing significance of magic in all spheres of life'. Other religious developments had significantly modified the character of Indian economic conditions and strata. If, for example, there was an Indian 'bourgeoisie', it was very weak for at least two reasons:
- There was the absolute pacifism of the salvation religions, Jainism and Buddhism, which were propagated, roughly, at the same time as the development of the cities. There was a sort of causal interrelationship between urbanism and the salvation religions.
- There was the undeveloped but established caste system. Both these factors blocked the development of the military power of the citizenry; pacifism blocked it in principle and the castes in practice, by 'hindering the establishment of a polis or commune in the European sense'.

The bourgeoisie as well as the guilds had no independent military organizations and therefore could be repressed whenever a prince found it expedient to do so. The Indian town enjoyed no true self-government or autonomy. Also, apart from the implications which the sacred cow

had for Indian animal husbandry, magico-religious practices retarded technical and industrial development. Often 'tools were worshipped as quasi-fetishes' along with 'other traditional traits'. 'This stereotyping of tools was one of the strongest handicaps to all technical development'. India religion, including Buddhism, had attained a highly technical virtuosity but this resulted in an extreme devaluation of the world.- none of them enjoined the adherent to prove himself or his grace through action or work. Quite the contrary, the highest good was a contemplative flight from the world.

Indian asceticism never translated itself into a 'methodical, rational way of life that tended in its effects to undermine traditionalism and to change the world'. Thus India, like China, remained an enchanted garden 'with all sorts of fetishism, animistic and magical beliefs and practices in rivers, ponds and mountains, highly developed word formulae, finger pointing magic, and the like'. In contrast to the Hebrew prophets, who never made peace with the magicians, the Brahmans (a distinguished, cultivated and genteel stratum like the Mandarins), in the interests of their power position, not only recognized the influence of magic but rationalized it and made numerous concessions to the non-classical magicians; this despite the fact that ideally, according to the classic Vedas, magic was to be suppressed, or at least merely tolerated among the masses.

The general character of Asiatic religion, Weber concluded (on the basis of his studies of China, India, Korea, Ceylon, etc.), was a particular form of gnosis, i.e., positive knowledge in the spiritual realm, mystically acquired. Gnosis was the single path to the 'highest holiness' and the 'highest practice'. This 'knowledge far from becoming a rational and empirical means by which man sought with increasing success to dominate nature became instead the means of mystical and magical domination over the self and the world by an intensive training of body and spirit either through asceticism or, as a rule, through strict, methodological ruled meditation'. It gave rise to redemption aristocracy, for such mystical knowledge was necessarily esoteric and charismatic, hence not accessible or communicable to everyone.

'In Asia generally,' writes Weber, 'the power of a charismatic stratum grew.' The magical, anti-rational world had a profound impact on economic conduct and development could not be doubted, the depth and tenacity of this magical mentality created conditions in which the 'lust for gain' never gave rise to the modern economic system which Weber called as 'rational capitalism'. What was notably absent from Asiatic religion therefore was the

development which in the Occident ultimately broke the hold of magic over the minds of men and gave rise to a 'rational, inner worldly ethic'.

(Check Your Progress)

7. The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism is a study about?
8. What similarities did Weber see between India and the Western countries?
9. What are the distinguishing traits of status groups?
10. What kind of lifestyle is involved in Puritan ascetic?

4.7 SUMMARY

- He was influenced by Marx but at the same time he was also strongly critical of some of the major ideas of Marx. He rejected Marx's idea of materialist conception of history and he did not stress much on class struggle. He also wrote extensively on many subjects and his writings have influenced a wide cluster of sociological theories.
- According to Weber, capitalism is one of the factors that have led to social development. He is of the view that capitalism had existed in several societies prior to its advent in the West but it was the modern capitalism of the West that was well established and developed which was never seen before. In the context of the rise of modern capitalism in the West, Weber identified a link between religion and capitalism which was explained in his work *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.
- Social Action refers to failure or acceptance of the past, present and the future behaviour of others. Social action can be motivated by revenge for past attacks, defence against the present, or measures of defence against future. Money is regarded as a form of exchange and can also give a platform for social action in the exchange process.
- Verstehen later on used by Wilhelm Dilthey in 1984. He described the approach as a first-person participatory perspective that agent have on their individual experience as well as their culture, history, and society.

- In 1920, Max Weber has made further study on Verstehen. He introduced interpretive understanding where it is a systematic interpretive process in which an outside observer of a culture relates to its subject on their own terms and point of view rather than interpreting them in the researcher's own culture.
- Verstehen, in research can be defined as a systematic interpretive process in which an outside observer (a third person) attempts to relate it and make it understandable by others (Elwell, 2005). The theory of Verstehen stands for the general methodological approach that the subject matter of the social sciences is typically different from natural sciences, and as such the techniques of the physical sciences cannot be applied to the study of social sciences.
- Weber stresses time and time again, that the ideal typical representation is not reality, itself. The real world out there is muddier, less transparent, and more chaotic. So in our ideal types, we simplify, we streamline, reality. And this, he says, is in fact what social scientists have always done in the past, but they were not reflexively aware of their own methodological trick.
- Weber demarcates three fundamental types of legitimate domination: (i) traditional, (ii) charismatic and (iii) legal or rational. These three forms do not comprise the entirety of dominations types but they represent how it is feasible for some individuals to exercise power over the others.
- The expression 'authority' stands for an abstract concept possessing both sociological and psychological components. Hence it is very difficult to differentiate these concepts. In fact, the ideas of powers, authority and legitimacy are basically interrelated. It is concern not just in the abstract sense in terms of how these three are related, but also in the concrete since scholars themselves are usually accountable for entangling them. One is defined as the function of the other and vice-versa till the reader doesn't understand where to turn anymore to get help.
- Modern economic growth has taken place with a quite different economic and social structure from that which had existed earlier. Economic growth occurred at roughly the same time, or soon after, these areas experienced the rise of Protestant religions. Some may hold this similarity to be of completely different occurrences, but for much such a non-relationship would seem difficult to understand and accept.

- In the case of India, clearly the caste system was of fundamental importance. The origin of the four main castes or categories-Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras- is shrouded in mystery; more, however, is known about the proliferation of groupings, so that literally thousands of sub-castes crystallized in the course of Indian history.
- The caste system had essentially negative consequences for economic development; but not, as one might at first expect, primarily because it imposed restrictions and prohibitions on social interaction. Rather, it was because the caste system became totally traditionalistic and anti-rational in its effects.

4.8 KEY TERMS

- **Rationalization:** By rationalization, Weber meant the organization of social and economic life on the basis of the principles of efficiency.
- **Social Action:** According to Max Weber, an action is 'social' if the acting individual takes account of the behaviour of others and is thereby oriented in its course.
- **Power:** A measurement of an entity's ability to control its environment, including the behaviour of other entities.
- **Bureaucratization:** Also known as affectual or emotional action, it is a social action caused by an emotion (revenge, love, loyalty, etc.).
- **Protestantism:** One of the major traditions of Christianity that rose as a protest against the Catholic Church.
- **Symbolic interactionism:** Theory that focuses on the relationships among individuals within a society.
- **Routinization:** is the process by which 'charismatic authority is succeeded by a bureaucracy controlled by a rationally established authority or by a combination of traditional and bureaucratic authority.'
- **Traditional Action:** Action which is carried out due to tradition, because they are always carried out in a particular manner for certain situations.
- **Gerontocracy:** Government based on rule by old people.

- **Patrimonialism:** form of political organization in which authority is based primarily on the personal power exercised by a ruler, either directly or indirectly.
- **Patriarchalism:** A form or system of patriarchal government.

4.9 ANSWER TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Weber framed Sociology as a science of social action because he wanted to focus on those actions where he attached subjective meaning to individual action.
2. Weber suggested four ideal types of action as the basic building blocks for sociology :
 - Rational Purposeful action
 - Value-rational action
 - Affectional action
 - Traditional action
3. Weber demarcates three fundamental types of legitimate domination: (i) Traditional, (ii) Charismatic and (iii) Legal or rational. These three forms do not comprise the entirety of domination types but they represent how it is feasible for some individuals to exercise power over others.
4. Weber defined authority and power by defining power as any relationship within which one person could impose his will, regardless of any resistance from the other, whereas authority existed when there was a belief in the legitimacy of that power. He also states that what distinguishes authority, from coercion, force and power on the one hand and leadership, persuasion and influence on the other hand, is legitimacy.
5. Whereas legal authority stems from the legitimacy of a rational-legal system, traditional authority is based on a claim by the leaders, and a belief on the part of the followers that there is virtue in the sanctity of age-old rule and powers. The leader in such a system is not a superior but a personal master. The administrative staffs consist not of officials but mainly of personal retainers.
6. Gerontocracy, primary patriarchalism, patrimonialism and feudalism.
7. Max Weber's The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism is a study of the relationship between the ethics of ascetic Protestantism and the emergence of the spirit of modern capitalism.

8. Weber saw many social and cultural conditions in India which, it would seem, should have given rise to modern rational capitalism. Warfare, finance and politics, for instance, had been rationalized, and the last of these even in quite 'Machiavellian' terms. Many of the older type of capitalist forms had at one time or another been in evidence: state creditors and contractors, tax farmers, etc. Urban development also seemed to parallel that of the west at many points.
9. The status groups are distinguished on the basis of status symbols such as special attire, exclusive clubs and unique lifestyles. Classes are often classified depending on their relation to the means of production and acquisition of goods. Status groups are stratified according to the principle of their consumption of goods as marked by unique lifestyle. While status groups belong to the social order, classes make up the economic framework within a society.
10. The ascetic lifestyle involved hard work, discipline, the avoidance of waste and the rigorous and systematic use of time. This rational and calculative attitude was applied in all aspects of life. In the puritan worldview, eating and sexuality were seen as stimulating the body appetites and, therefore, as things to be controlled. Fasting, the avoidance of non-reproductive sex, and, outside marriage, a life of chastity and celibacy were all seen as means of self-control through which a mastery of the body could be attained.

4.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short- Answer Questions

1. In what way did the differences between his parents affect the early life of Weber?
2. Why is Weber known as 'bourgeois Marx'?
3. State the concept of social action enunciated by Weber.
4. Give a brief note on the transition from tradition to rationality depicted by Weber.
5. What were the features of religions in China and India that stifled the chances of growth of capitalism during the initial phases?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Compare and contrast the four types of social action given by Weber.

2. Compare and contrast different types of authority propounded by Weber.
3. Give a broad overview of the connection between religion and the rise of modern capitalism.
4. Discuss the salient features of Weber's theory of power.
5. Analyse the basic characteristics of Weberian bureaucracy.
6. Elucidate the differences between charismatic authority and legal rational authority.

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