UNIT 36 DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND CHANGE

Structure

36.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you should be able to

● state the link between development, planning and change

● describe the perceptions of different social thinkers on development and change

● define and state the contemporary view on development, planning and change

● describe the approach to and experiences of development planning and change in the Indian context.

36.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we described **social change** in terms of social movements. In this unit, we are going to focus primarily on changes that are brought about through conscious and deliberate planning. Before we proceed to describe the structure of this unit, we want to point out two things. Firstly, we would advise

all students to go through Block 8, units 33 and 34 of the first electric course of Sociology of Bachelor's Degree Programme at IGNOU, the Study of Society, before reading this unit. Units 33 and 34 of Block 8 of that course are on Social Change and Social Development. These units will help you to have a conceptual clarity about the terms change and **development**. Secondly, in this unit, we have described development planning and change under separate headings in order to help you understand the way they have been defined and described in social sciences. We have focused on the link between development planning and change wherever possible.

Coming to the structure of this unit, we have begun the unit by stating the link between development, planning and change. Then we have proceeded to describe the way development and changes have been viewed by sociologists over the years.

We have focused on the perceptions of social thinkers who have viewed development and change as interchangeable and logically related terms. We have also stated the perceptions of thinkers who viewed development and change in the context of **modernisation**. This description of the perceptions of social thinkers will provide background information relating to development and planning in modern times. We then proceeded to define and describe development, planning and change in contemporary times. We can say that all this constitutes the first part.

In the second part we will look at the relevance of development planning and change in the Indian context. We will begin our description by stating the Indian approach to development. We will then describe some of the schemes of development relating to rural India. In our examination of planning in India, we will refer to the approaches of the five-year plans. This will be followed by a description of changes in 'caste', 'rural and urban life' and 'position and role of women' in India. Here again the focus of description is on the changes that have taken place in the above mentioned areas as a result of planned development.

36.2 LINK BETWEEN DEVELOPMENT, PLANNING AND CHANGE

Development, planning and change are interrelated terms. In sociology, development essentially refers to a process of social change, which is planned and desired by a society. Development is a value-laden concept. Social change refers to alterations that occur in the social structure and social relations. It is a value-free or neutral concept. Planning, which simply means arrangement of parts in a certain design or a formulated scheme for getting something done, is an important factor in social change. Planning implies that ways and means are devised and decisions for future actions are chalked out well in advance. All cases of social change cannot be described as development. Only, planned and desired social change can be described as development. Thus, we can see that the three terms are closely inter-linked but have their own specific meaning.

There has been an immense sociological contribution in the area of social change and development. Compared to the contributions in these areas, the role of sociologists in the analysis of planning has been very recent and limited.

In the next section we shall briefly describe the important sociological contributions in the areas of social change and development. This will provide a background for understanding development planning in the context of change.

36.3 PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL THINKERS ON DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE

In the early sociological writings, the terms and notions of development and change are used interchangeably. A clear distinction could either not be made, or if made, they were treated as logically related terms. In many of the early sociological theories of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the notions of 'change', 'development', 'evolution' and 'progress' are sometimes confused or combined in a single term. In the mid twentieth century the terms 'change' and 'development' were primarily viewed in the context of 'modernisation'. Let us now look at the perceptions of some social thinkers on development and social change.

36.3.1 Development and Change as Interchangeable and Logically Related Terms

We will look at the perceptions of thinkers like Comte, Spencer, Durkheim, Weber and Marx.

i) **Auguste Comte:** Auguste Comte tried to understand social changes that occurred in the early years of the industrial revolution as an evolutionary process. Evolution implies gradual transformation or change through a series of stages. The theory of evolution explains that societies pass through a number of stages starting from a simple form and becoming more complex as the process of evolution progresses.

   Auguste Comte put forward the idea of evolutionary change and also related the idea of progressive change through the development of intellect, in particular the scientific thought. He was of the opinion that the human mind, human society and human knowledge all went through a process of development and change, from metaphysical (non-scientific) to positivism (scientific).

ii) **Herbert Spencer:** Herbert Spencer treated human society as a biological organism and, therefore, tried to study 'development' in the sense of change from within. In his opinion, social bodies are like living bodies. Thus, with increase in size, their structural complexity too increases. Spencer propounded an analogy between society and an organism and between social and economic growth.

iii) **Emile Durkheim:** Durkheim conceived society in terms of an evolutionary scheme. He talked about social solidarity. By solidarity he meant the moral beliefs and ideas which defined the commonness underlying social life. Like a social evolutionist, he opined that in pre-industrial societies, mechanical solidarity was based on agreement and identity among people, while in post-industrial societies organic solidarity derived from agreement to tolerate a range of differences, conflicts being moderated through a variety of institutional arrangements. Division of labour was almost absent

in pre-industrial societies, while it is highly specialised and categorical in modern societies.

Durkheim tried to explain social change as the result of changes in the bonds of morality, which he called social solidarity. He also laid emphasis on the processes of social evolution. According to him, alterations in the modes of functioning of societies as organic wholes could be studied scientifically.

iv) **Max Weber:** He examined the question of development and change in the context of his study on capitalism. According to him, culture (people's beliefs and values) is the key element in development. Unlike Durkheim, he tried to find as to what it was in people's religious and ethical beliefs that had enabled societies which started with similar technological endowment to develop and change in quite different ways.

v) **Karl Marx:** Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in contrast to Durkheim and Weber argued that the processes of social change and development were in their nature not gradual and evolutionary; rather they were characterised by conflict of interests among classes in society. They essentially talked about disequilibrium between the productive potential of a society and the distribution of goods and services among its members. Therefore, according to this view, social change arises out of potential struggles and radical breaks in continuity, rather than from gradual evolution. Class struggle has been recognised as the driving force of social change and development.

36.3.2 Development and Change as Modernisation

We will look into the contributions of W. Moore, Mc Clelland and critics of the modernisation theory.

i) **Wilbert Moore** (1951) understood social change as total transformation of a traditional or pre-modern society into a technology-dependent social organisation, generally found in the advanced, economically prosperous and relatively politically stable nations of the western world. He described the general conditions for industrialisation which include change in values, institutions, organisations and motivations. According to the modernisation theory development takes place from within a society and follows essentially the same pattern in all societies. The end-result of development, according to the modernisation theorists, is prosperity and relative political stability.

ii) **David Mc Clelland**(1961), like Max Weber, emphasised that internal factors like the values and motives of the persons provide opportunities to shape their own destiny. Thus, the problems of backwardness, poverty, malnutrition etc. are vitally linked to traditional and non-traditional thought. Therefore, educational programmes and technical aid aimed at increasing the 'need for achievement' of the people of backward areas are needed to solve these problems. Mc Clelland's idea of the need for achievement crystallises this view of the motive force in social change in general and the industrialisation process as a particular case of social change. He concluded that modernisation or development could be achieved through a process of diffusion of culture, ideas and technology.

iii) **Critics of the Modernisation Theory:** A.G. Frank (1967) opined that the modernisation theories are inadequate from the policy point of view, because they fail to define correctly the kinds of social and economic processes at work in the developing countries. Rejecting the western model of development, he asserted that it is not necessary that development would occur in all societies if they adopt the economic policies and parliamentary democracy on the pattern of west.

The modernisation theories could not come true, as experience showed that all developing societies have not followed the path of development of the already developed countries. It is suggested that each society's development problems can be understood only in relation to its place in a world system. This viewpoint raised questions as to whether or not the best path to development is revolution or complete withdrawal from the world system of social, political and economic relations. These thinkers became known as 'Dependency Theorists'. Their theories do not give much weight to the role of culture and ideas in development. They provided a simple and powerful model of the origin and nature of underdevelopment. However, the experience of development of Third World countries and the continuing failure of the developed countries to cater to the needs of all their citizens to achieve their own steady economic growth and development made it apparent that neither Durkheimian nor Weberian theories/traditions explain the process of change adequately.

Barrington Moore (1966) gives an explanation that stands apart from dependency theory. He differs from both Marxism and modernisation theory. He views development primarily as an internal process, the result depending on the relative power of social classes. He argues that there may be different routes to development, such as bourgeois democratic revolution led by a strong indigenous middle class; fascist revolution where middle class with its entrepreneurial skills was weak; capitalism characterised by an authoritarian style; and peasant revolution leading to communism in a situation under which centralised monarchies stifled the impulse to capitalistic development and the way forward depended on an uprising by the mass of peasants led by intellectuals.

Check Your Progress 1

1) State whether the following statements are true or false. Mark a T for true F for false against each statement.

   a) All change is development.

   b) Early sociological theories by Comte, Spencer and Durkheim viewed development and change as interchangeable and/or logically related terms.

   c) According to modernisation theorists the end result of development is prosperity and political stability.

   d) Development refers to unplanned process of social change in modern times.

ii) How did Karl Marx and Friedrich Engles view social change and development? Answers in about five lines.

....

....

....

....

....

iii) Tick mark the correct answer of the following question.

Who among the following viewed human society as a biological organism?

a)   Herbert Spencer

b)   Max Weber

c)   Emile Durkheim

d)   Karl Marx

iv) Write any two criticisms of modernisation theory. Use seven lines for your answer.

....

....

....

....

....

....

....

36.4   CONTEMPORARY VIEW OF DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND CHANGE

We have seen how in many of the early sociological writings, the terms, concepts and notions of development, change, evolution and progress are used interchangeably. In the mid twentieth century development was used in the context of modernisation theory. A clear distinction could either not be made, or if made, they were treated as logically related terms. The general level of abstract ideas and words does not always have a clearly defined meaning. In this situation, it is important not only to define the terms precisely, but also see how they were defined in different periods of time, so that they can be understood by a large number of people.

In the following section, we will state how the terms development, change and planning have been defined and described in sociological writings since the mid twentieth century.

36.4.1 Development

As defined in the Oxford English Dictionary, development means a gradual unfolding; a fuller working out, of the details of anything; the growth of what is in the germ. Thus, we can apply the term to understand the development of a child or of a disease. However, its usage in the last five decades in social sciences has been quite different and complex. It has been used in different ways by different people. Development inevitably means different things for different individuals and social groups. Due to different assumptions made about the nature of the development process, various words are frequently used to describe the process. Areas where development is slow, for instance, the economically backward areas are termed as less developed, developing, underdeveloped, and traditional.

a) **Development as Industrialisation and Technological Advancement**

The term development has been used to make a distinction between the prosperous industrial societies versus the rest of the societies and also to describe the process of industrialisation and modernisation. This usage has several distinctive features and does not take into consideration the general theories like the theory of social evolution. It takes into account only a specific kind of changes, which occur either at the present time or took place in the recent past. Three terms are commonly used to indicate the stage of development: traditional societies, transitional societies, and modern societies. Growth of knowledge and control over nature, which in other words, means development of human powers of production, is treated as the most significant element in the transformation of a society. Technological determinism and industrialisation are the important features of this type of development.

Industrialisation, urbanisation and development are related processes. Increasing urbanisation and rising number of factories and movement of goods and labour from rural areas to urban areas are the inevitable consequences of these processes. Industrialisation, in fact, is a phase of economic development in which capital and labour resources shift both relatively and absolutely from agricultural activities to industry. Industrial production can be contrasted with craft production in terms of its scale; employment of a large number of workers; use of machinery; and the resulting geographical concentrations and production for a large market. Thus, the key elements of an industrial society seem to be the type of technology employed in production, the scale of organisation of labour in relation to that technology, and the extent of specialisation leading to various types of changes in society. With the introduction of new technologies, less labour is required for agricultural production and more for industry. The industries being more concentrated in the urban areas the surplus of rural agricultural labour migrates to the urban areas. The migrated population has to find new ways of earning a livelihood with new rules. These changes, besides technological changes, include changes in the way people come to see themselves and others and changes in the ideological framework. In the process, a contradiction is said to exist between the forces of production, such as technology, technical knowledge, and crafts, and their relationships with production like legal arrangements, social organisations, forms of contracts, forms of distribution, etc. Modernisation theory, building on the ideas of Durkheim and Weber, emphasises that industrialisation involves changes in people's attitudes and expectations as well as in the structure of their

relationships. Planned changes in economic, social, political and other spheres have been more recently defined as development.

b)   **Development as Socio-Cultural Development**

Since the 1960s there is an increasing emphasis by sociologists to look at development from a 'holistic' point of view. This means, defining development not only in terms of industrialisation or economic dimensions but also in terms of socio-cultural dimensions. Until recently, the popular notion was that economic growth was a sufficient and necessary condition to stimulate development in all other sections of society. This has been proved incorrect. Economic advancement of one group of people has not and does not trickle down to all other groups in a society. Also the achievement of high levels of economic advancement by some countries has not helped to solve some of their serious social problems. It is therefore, increasingly being emphasised that the ultimate aim of development is the improvement of the quality of life of every human being in society. Development is multidimensional. It takes into consideration matters like equity, social participation, environmental sustainability, decentralisation, self-reliance, basic human needs satisfaction etc.

Some sociologists emphasise that improvement in quality of life involves psychological, social and moral dimensions apart from political, economic and cultural dimensions. For instance, they point out that an improvement in the psychological quality of life entails the idea of life satisfaction including positive mental health. This requires a proper balance between material and non-material life goals of a people. The improvement in social quality of life means an increase in the strength of family stability, interpersonal bonds and social solidarity. An improvement in the moral quality of life means developing a concern for others and not merely a concern for self. (Sharma 1986: 20). Thus the sociological approach to development looks at this process as alterations that affect the whole socio-cultural matrix of society. Development has come to mean a planned, stimulated movement of all sectors of a social system in the direction of the overall desired goals set by a society. Today Sociology of Development attempts to understand development and experiences of masses in a particular society in respect of their struggle to survive and change. One of the important aspects of Sociology and Development is to understand how transition occurs in society from one stage to another.

36.4.2 Planning

In the present century there have been several attempts to bring about social change by planned efforts. Planning has become an important factor in social change. Changes result from simultaneous decisions on many aspects and usually cause mixed positive and negative impacts. Planned change or development may be defined as transformation that aims to minimise the negative impacts on society. In the past, efforts were oriented towards achieving economic growth assuming that the benefits of economic growth will automatically trickle down to all sections of society. However, it could not come true. Economic growth has failed to lessen the gaps between different sections of society. It is proved now that economic growth alone is not effective. Inequality and poverty have persisted despite impressive rates of growth. Somewhere they became worse during the growth period. Active government

interventions into the socio-economic system are, therefore, needed; reliance on market forces alone not being sufficient.

Planning is a needed strategic intervention to bring about development. Planning becomes necessary to promote economic and social development. The task of planning is to design strategic interventions for social change. Each country, based on its history, socio-political institutions, development priorities, resource endowments and institutional structure, undertakes development planning. Planning generally improves policy making.

The methodologies of planning are usually concerned with the choice of technique. Planning can take place at different depth levels. It may be carried out in many different ways. However, it is desirable to have a multiple perspective in development planning.

Developmental planning methods, which take into account different dimensions and integrate them into one are in their infancy. Endogenous development is the main focus of developmental planning efforts. Developmental planning is usually done from the perspective of government agencies. Sociologists have constantly reminded government agencies to extend the notion of planning from the idea of a planned economy to that of a planned society.

Developmental planning is at the cross-roads today. Social and cultural dimensions of development are usually understood as additional programmes and as investment outside the industrial and agricultural growth frameworks. This is where sociological analysis assumes immense value. By "keeping everything in view", by defining clearly and describing the interconnections between social phenomena of different kinds, a sociologist makes planning more effective. (Bottommore 1987: 308).

Activity 1

List the development schemes that have benefitted both the people as well as the natural environment of the locality in which you live over the past five years. Compare your list, if possible, with the list prepared by other students at your Study Centre.

36.4.3 Change

Change is an empirical reality. Sociology has its roots in the attempt to understand the processes of social change. Except a few sociologists like Marx and Sorokin, many of the early grand theories of social change (like the linear theories of Comte and Spencer and the cyclical theories of Pareto and Toynbee) paid relatively little attention to the analysis of particular processes of social change. They did not also discriminate factors involved in social change (Bottomore 1987: 276).

In the recent decades, there have been attempts to analyse social change in terms of specific models, which are based on the experience of change in particular societies. Attempts are being made to construct these models within a broader theoretical framework. Sociologists are focussing on questions relating to change, the direction and rate of change and the factors in social change.

Social change, as defined in an earlier section, is looked at as an alteration in social structures (including the alteration in the size of a society) or in particular social institutions or in the relationship between institutions (Bottommore 1987: 279).

In order to understand the manner, direction and rate of change, sociologists have tried to seek historical description and interpretation. For instance, the direction and rate of change in India before and after independence were different. Comparisons between societies cannot be made unless each society has been understood in terms of its historical linkages and internal processes.

Regarding the rate of change, it has become a popular observation that there is an acceleration of social and cultural change in modern times. Ogburn (1922) was one of the first sociologists who systematically examined rate of change especially in the sphere technological inventions. He pointed out the gap between the rates of change in different sectors of social life. For instance, there is a gap between the rapid rate of technology and the slower rate of change in familial, political and other institutions and in beliefs and attitudes. He made a distinction between material and non-material cultures. The situation where changes in the non-material culture do not synchronise exactly with the changes in material culture has been described by the concept of culture lag. The problem of culture lag, in recent decades, has acquired greater importance with the emergence of planned socio-economic development in the developing countries as a primary issue in world politics (Bottommore 1987: 379).

Sociological studies have focused on changes caused by industrialisation, specially the disharmonies in the transitional period and the adaptation of the individual to rapid social changes. In the technologically and industrially advanced societies studies have focused on changes in the family, social stratification, law, moral and religious ideas attitudes the social problems stimulated by rapid economic advancement.

Regarding the factors in change, it is now increasingly being emphasised that social change is brought about due to the cumulative impact of a host of interrelated factors. Conquest, demographic, technological geographical factors, decisions and actions of individuals and planning are the factors in social change.

There may be various factors which bring about social change, and these may be categorised as those inherent in social systems; those related to the impact of the social environment on the social system; and those arising from the impact of the external environment. A change from one source may lead to a sequence of changes. Technological, agricultural, industrial and ecological changes tend to affect the social structure. The consequences are structural differentiation, integration or establishment of new coordinative structures and social disturbances.

Since 1960s, there has been a growing emphasis on social planning as an important factor in bringing about desired social change. Planning for development has become a popular slogan and approach in many of the Developing countries. In our next section we will look into development planning and change in the context of Indian society.

Check Your Progress 2

i)   Tick the correct answer of the following question.

   What is the focus of the sociological approach to development?

   a)   Economic aspect of development

   b)   Socio-cultural, psychological and moral as well as economic aspects of Development

   c)   Psychological and moral aspects of development

   d)   None of the above

ii) Tick the correct answer of the following question.

   Which of the following effects can be termed as social planning?

   a)   Conscious and a deliberate effort to bring about change

   b)   Unconscious and accidental effort to bring about change

   c)   Sporadic effort to bring about changes in the economy alone

   d)   None of the above

iii) What do you understand by sociological approach to development? Use five lines for your answer.

   ....

   ....

   ....

   ....

   ....

36.5   DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND CHANGE IN THE INDIAN CONTEXT

So far in the first part of this unit we have defined and described the concepts of development, planning and change in the sociological context. In this part we will see how these terms find their application in the Indian context. We will begin with a description of India's approach to development since independence.

36.5.1 Development: Mixed Economy and Rural Development

India embarked on the process of planned, socio-economic development after independence. The various schemes of development drawn up by the leaders of independent India not only cover economic aspects but also non-economic aspects like health, education, population control, political participation etc. Thus we can say that India's emphasis is on socio-cultural development and not merely on economic development.

The goals of development have been enshrined in the Constitution and various planning documents. Soon after Independence the Constitution laid down that its aim was to build a socialist, secular and democratic polity. This meant a social order, which guaranteed equality, freedom and justice. In order to achieve these goals the government devised institutional mechanisms and mobilised both human and material resources to achieve the goals set by the Constitution. The Planning Commission has stated the following with regard to the goals of development: "To initiate a process of development which will raise living standards and open out to the people new opportunities for a richer and more varied life" (Government of India 1952).

It is not possible to list here all the schemes of development. Let us state some of them and see how the principles of socialism, equality, social justice and democracy have been incorporated in the developmental schemes. Figure 36.1 shows various schemes of planned development.
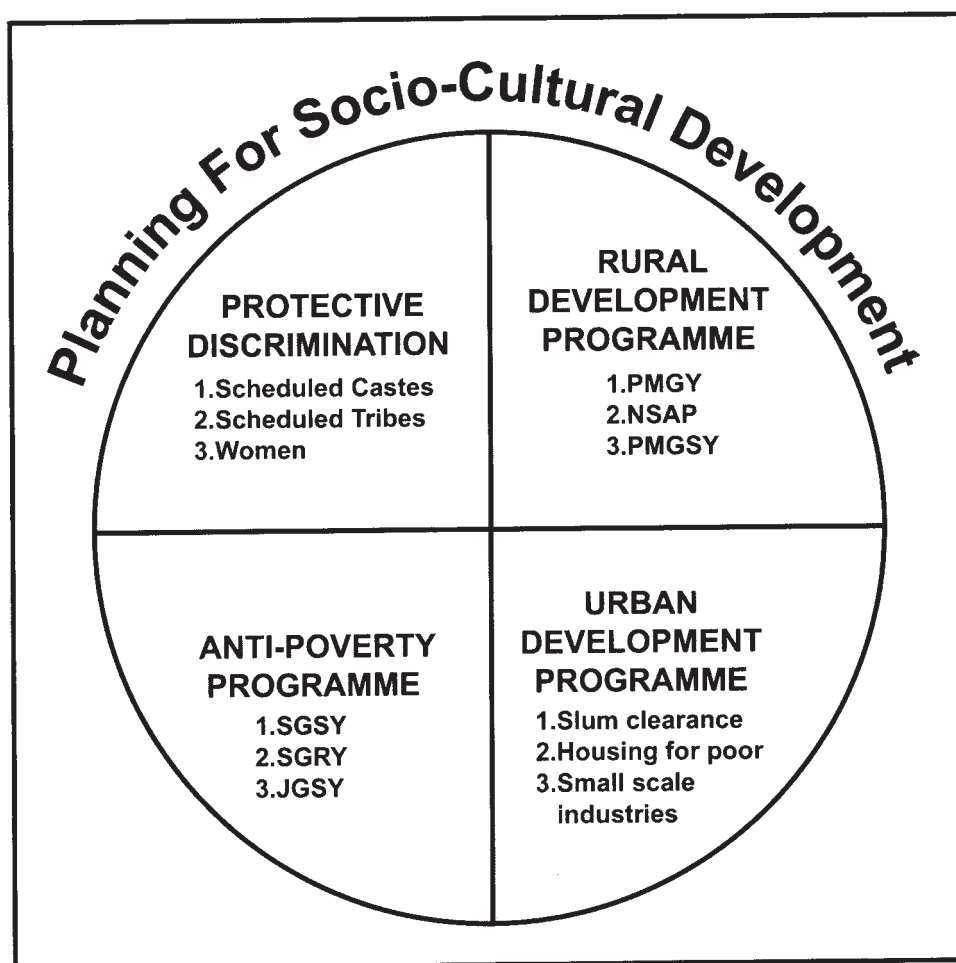

Fig. 36.1: Various schemes of planned development

1) **Socialist Path and Mixed Economy and New Economic Policy**

India has adopted a path of development, which is known as the mixed economy. On the one hand, India has encouraged private business and industry and on the other it has almost full control, at least in principle, over all the major entrepreneurial and business activities. The State acts as an entrepreneur in setting up heavy industries such as steel and generation of electricity. Banks

have been nationalised. Railways and postal services are also a part of the public sector (i.e. run by the government). That the state of India exercises dominant control on key sectors of the economy is indicative of the ideology of socialism. Certain industries have been reserved for the private sector to encourage individual enterprises. In certain industries like textile and cement both private and state enterprise have been allowed to operate. In many other sectors too like health, education and transport both private and state agencies work either independently or in collaboration.

Some scholars argue that India's path of development, in practice has become a capitalist one. They point out that privately managed industries have become attractive and profitable and economic power has come to be concentrated in the hands of a few big private business houses. However, one cannot deny the fact that India is trying hard to pursue a mixed path of development.

In early 1990s India adopted the New Economic Policy with more stress on liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation. Progressive privatisation of the government owned entities, decontrol of industries, structural changes in the economy aimed at export led growth, elimination or reduction of all subsidies are some of the major policy decisions taken by the government as a part of it (refer section 10.3.4 of unit 10, Block 3 of ESO 12). Such changes in the development approach have pushed Indian economy further from a socialist path to a capitalist one.

2) **Rural Development**

Majorits of India's population has been living in villages. The developmental plans have devoted a lot of attention to rural sector. A number of programmes like the Community Development Programme, Panchayati Raj, Cooperative Institutions and Target Group-Oriented Programme have been launched over the past four decades.

Two streams of thought primarily have guided rural development through these decades since independence. One of these was initiated by Gandhi and the other by the government. Gandhi's vision of development was that of self-supporting, self-governing and self-reliant village community where every body's needs were met. People lived in harmony and cooperation. He wanted the village community to be politically autonomous and economically self-sufficient. He strongly believed that social equality would prevail in a village community, which would be devoid of any form of exploitation. His plan was one of moral reconstruction of the social order where development involved every aspect of human life, social, economic and political. Many of his followers have launched programmes in different parts of the country based on his ideas. But all his ideas have not been incorporated in the policies and programmes adopted by the government for rural development in post-independent India (Chaturvedi 1987). Let us briefly describe some of the programmes launched by the government.

a) **Community Development Programme (CD):** CD programme was the first major effort for rural development. It was conceived as a method through which the Five Year Plans would initiate a process of transformation of the social and economic life of the village. The emphasis of CD programme was not on material prosperity but on non-material aspects of community life.

57

The goals laid out were: a) increase in employment, b) increase in production through application of scientific methods of agriculture, c) establishment of subsidiary and cottage industries, d) promotion of self-help and self-reliance and e) extension of the principle of cooperation.

CD programme came to be viewed as a social movement with active involvement of the people and aimed at all-round development of the countryside. Operationally, this programme was based on the assumption that the described change could be ushered into the countryside by providing the necessary infrastructural facilities in the villages. However, the programme could not achieve the desired results due to several factors arising from such sources like governmental structures and a divided rural society based on caste-based land relations and hierarchical social organisation (Chaturvedi 1987).

b) **Panchayati Raj:** A committee headed by Balwantrai Mehta was appointed in 1957 to assess the impact of Community Development Programme. The report of the committee pointed out that the goals of CD programme have not been achieved. It advocated that rural development would be possible only with local initiative and local direction. The committee favoured devolution of power at lower levels. So in 1958 Panchayati Raj came into existence in different states with power and duties allocated at different levels. Like the Community Development Programme, this scheme too did not achieve its desired results though the scheme was evaluated and revised time and again through the 70s and the 80s.

The Constitution (73rd Amendment) Act, 1992, which came in to effect from April 1993 provided constitutional status to the Panchayati Raj institutions. The salient features of the Act are: i) to provide three-tier system of Panchayati Raj to all states having a population of over 20 lakh; ii) to hold Panchayati Raj elections regularly every five years; iii) to provide reservation of seats of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled tribes and women (not less than one-third of total seats); iv) to appoint State Finance Commission to make recommendations regarding financial powers of the Panchayats; v) to constitute District Planning Committee to prepare draft development plan for the district as a whole.

According to the Constitution, Panchayats shall be given powers and authority to function as institutions of self-government. The powers and responsibilities to be delegated to Panchayats at appropriate level are: a) preparation of a plan for economic development and social justice; b) implementation of schemes for economic development and social justice in relation to the 29 subjects given in the Eleventh Schedule of the Constitution; and c) to levy, collect and appropriate taxes, duties, tolls and fees. Moreover the Constitution (73rd Amendment) Act gives constitutional status to the Gram *Sabha*. Gram *Sabha* means a body consisting of persons registered in the electoral rolls relating to a village comprised within the area of Gram Panchayat. Gram *Sabha* may perform such powers and perform such functions at the village level as the Legislature of a State may, by law, provide (India, 2003). An all India *Panchayat Adhyakshas' Sammelan* was held on 5th and 6th April 2002

in New Delhi. On the basis of the discussions and deliberations in the *Sammelan,* a 'National Declaration' was adopted by consensus to strengthen the Panchayati Raj system in the country (Balai Chandra 2003).

c) **Cooperative Institutions:** Cooperative institutions were set up in the villages, as supportive institutions of CD programme and Panchayati Raj. The aim of the cooperative institutions was: a) to provide essential agricultural inputs and credit to farmers, b) to ensure adequate return to the farmers for their produce, c) to ensure supply of essential commodities to villagers at reasonable rates and d) to promote harmonious relations and a sense of participation among rural people. Credit societies, service cooperatives, producers' cooperatives and labour cooperatives came into existence, as the cooperative movement grew. The dairy cooperatives specially became a big movement, which resulted in what is popularly known as the "white revolution" in India. Though the cooperative societies increased in number through the decades, critics observe that the movement has been only a partial success. It has no doubt provided infrastructural facilities credit and essential agricultural inputs to the large and middle farmers. But the landless and poorer people have not benefitted by this scheme (Chaturvedi 1987).

Activity 2

Go to any cooperative institution in the city/village/town where you live and find out about its aims, functions and difficulties. Write a note of about two pages. Compare, if possible, what you have written with those written by others at your Study Centre.

---

d) **Target-Group Planning:** Realising the inadequacies of the programmes launched in the villages, the planners redefined the concept of rural development in the Fourth Five-Year Plan. The focus was on the rural poor, which was defined as the 'target group' for ameliorative measures. The target group included small and marginal farmers, tenants, agricultural workers and the landless. Some of the programmes launched were Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA), Drought Prone Areas Programme (DPAP), Food For Work (FFW), Minimum Needs Programme (MNP) etc. These programmes were directly administered by the central and state governments. The programmes though well intentioned ran into many difficulties. It paved the way for increasing regional disparities in development; it expanded the power of bureaucrats and undermined the role of local and popular participation in rural society (Chaturvedi 1987).

On the whole, while assessing the development of the rural society in India, it can be said that on the economic front, food production has increased over the years. But the Green Revolution and the White Revolution (mentioned earlier) has not helped in reducing the socio-economic disparities between regions or groups of people. The goal of establishing a social order based on equality and social justice seems still distant.

36.5.2 Planning: Five-Year Plans

So far we have described India's schemes of development. Let us now describe the Indian approach to planning.

Social planning represents an important factor in social change in India. It has been described by some as a movement towards socialism (Bottomore 1987). Social planning in India has aimed at drawing the mass of people into a process of rational and deliberate transformation of their social life. The aim of planning has been to bring social change under purposeful human control.

The Indian Constitution of 1950 defined the purposes of independent India's political system as being to establish social economic and political justice, liberty of thought, expression, belief and worship, equality of status and opportunity and fraternity. The National Planning Commission was set up in 1950 and was conceived as an important agency for achieving the purposes. The National Planning Commission was given the task of assessing the natural and manpower resources of the country. It also had to prepare plans for mobilisation of these resources for economic development. In fact, the two main aims as outlined by the First-Five Year Plan (1951-52 to 1955-56) are to increase productivity (economic development) and to reduce inequalities of income, wealth and opportunities (social development). The first Five-Year Plan ambitiously aimed at achieving, progressively, for all members of the community, full employment, education, security against sickness and other disabilities and adequate income. Thus through planned development, India aimed to bring about a change in the traditional social structure so that through education and full employment, it would become possible for the individual to participate in every aspect of development.

A careful scrutiny of the aims and objectives of each and every Five-Year Plans reveals the emphasis on growth, equality and social justice. The Second Plan (1956-57 to 1960-61) emphasised the achievement of a socialistic pattern of society. The Third Plan (1961-62 to 1965-66) aimed at securing a major advance towards self-sustaining growth. The Fourth Plan (1969-70 to 1973-74) aimed at raising the standard of living of the people through programmes which were designed to promote equality and justice. Between 1966-69 three Annual Plans were formulated. The Fifth Plan (1974-75 to 1977-78) emphasised the objective to achieving self-reliance and adopted measures for raising the consumption standards of people living below the poverty line. The Sixth Plan (1980-81 to 1984-85) evaluating the achievements and shortcomings of the previous plans laid down its foremost object as removal of poverty. The Seventh Plan (1985-86 to 1989-90) emphasised growth in foodgrain production employment opportunities, self-reliance, and social justice (Govt. of India, 1988).

There had been two Annual Plans during the period 1990-91 and 1991-92 formulated within the framework of the Approach to the Eighth Five-Year Plan and the basic thrust of these Annual Plans was on maximisation of employment and social transformation. The Eighth Five Year Plan (1992-93 to 1996-97) was launched immediately after the initiation of structural adjustment policies and macro stabilisation policies, which were necessitated by the worsening Balance of Payment position and inflation position during 1990-91. The Plan aimed at the annual growth rate of about 7.5 per cent. These growth rates were planned to be achieved with relative price stability and substantial improvement in the country's Balance of Payments. The specific objectives of the Ninth Plan included i) priority to agriculture and rural development ii) accelerating the growth rate with stable prices iii) ensuring

food and nutritional security to all iv) containing growth rate of population rate and v) promoting an developing people's participatory institutions like Panchayati Raj institutions, cooperatives and self-help groups among others. The Approach paper to the Tenth Plan (2002-2007) was approved in 2001. The Approach Paper envisages making agricultural development as its core element of the Plan, encouraging rapid growth in sectors with high employment opportunities and restructuring of the target programmes to empasise cross-sectoral synergies for special groups (India 2003).

India has prepared Five-Year Plans with a long-term perspective. Within the framework of the Five-Year Plan, annual plans have also been prepared and have been integrated with the budgetary process. Every Five-Year Plan has a mid-term appraisal. India has completed more than five decades of planning. Five-Year Plans have been viewed as instruments a) to evolve a socialistic pattern of society, b) to usher in growth with social justice and c) for removing poverty.

Dubashi (1987: 37-8) describes India's approach to planning in the following manner.

a)   Indian plans are comprehensive and balanced and include both public and private investment. Growth of all sectors of the economy is encouraged.

b)   The Indian approach can be called as democratic planning as different from totalitarian planning. In democratic planning people regularly and effectively organise and develop their own social life through active participation. In totalitarian planning, people's participation is not encouraged.

c)   India's approach to planning is aimed at setting up a socialistic pattern of society. Both economic and social aspects of development are considered. Though the Plans have not always succeeded in achieving the objectives, they have constituted a third way to development, rejecting a total capitalistic and a communist way to development.

d)   India's approach to development has strived to combine the economic, technological, human and institutional components of development. For instance, attention has been paid to improvement and upgradation of traditional technology adopted by village and cottage industries. Along with this, India imports high technology from different countries to keep pace with the technological development around the world.

According to Dubashi (1987) India's approach to planning tries to reconcile planning with democracy and increased production with equitable distribution. India's developmental plans encourage establishment of large industry with promotion of cottage industries and introduction of latest technology with upgradation of traditional technology. The Indian approach to planning emphasises both upholding of human values and pursuit of material advancement.

Critics of India's approach to and strategies of planned development point out that all these development efforts have benefited only a class of people namely the industrial, commercial and financial groups, segments of the rural rich comprising sections of landlords and rich peasants; and a section of the urban

unemployed and underemployed also reveals the fact that the development measures have not been able to utilise the vast human resources for economically gainful purposes. On the whole, critics point out that disparities between different regions and groups have been increasing over the decades (Desai 1984). Fundamental problems relating to land reform, modernising village structures, and controlling population growth remain unsolved in spite of five decades of planned social change. The achievements in industrial production, agriculture and foreign trade have not helped in achieving the main objectives of planning namely growth with equality and social justice.

A study of the measures, launched in 1991 and the liberalisation process that is still on would show the impact of globalisation and liberalisation policies on productivity, efficiency and growth. "The main gainers have been the MNES (multinational enterprises) and their affiliates which have better access to technology and other intangible assets." (Siddarthan 2004). Those with earlier technologies have lost out. Beneficial impact of trade liberalisation on productivity has not yet surfaced. Perhaps more reforms, encouraging in-house development of more efficient ways of production would usher in social change that India has tried to achieve during the last fifty years. It is a pity that the Indian IT (Information Technology) sector has not on the whole been responsive and it does not yet empower local communities to open up the way for expansion. All that one can say at this stage is that current recovery in balance of payment and reserves needs to be sustained in the coming years so that we may expect social change backed by strong economic growth.

Check Your Progress 3

1) Tick the correct answer of the following question.

   India has embarked on which path of economic planning?

   a)   A totally capitalist path of economic development

   b)   A communist path of economic development

   c)   A socialist path emphasising on mixed economy

   d)   None of the above

ii) List the specific objectives of the Ninth Five-Year Plan. Answer in about five lines.

   ....

   ....

   ....

   ....

   ....

iii) Tick the correct answer of the following question.

   What is the type of the Indian approach to planning?

   a)   Democratic

b)   Totalitarian

c)   Communist

d)   None of the above

36.5.3 Change in Relation to Caste, Rural and Urban Life and Women

So far we have said that India has embarked on a path of planned socio-economic change. Social planning has been an important factor in social change in India since independence. A detailed examination of the process of social change in India has to include a multitude of interrelated factors apart from planning which have shaped the content, rate and direction of change. Historical forces and internal processes have to be linked up in a description of social change. For instance, colonial rule, specially the introduction of British ideas, science and technology is an important element in social change in India. This element has to be linked up with the caste-anchored character of Indian society while describing the content rate and direction of change. Many who have examined social change in India, have mainly looked at the changes that have taken place in various spheres of life since the British rule in India. Some have emphasised the point that colonialism and the struggle for independence, on the one hand and the pluralistic, caste based stratification of Indian society on the other, has been a major influence of the ideology and the strategies, India has adopted relating to planned socio-economic change since independence.

In each of the previous Blocks of this course, we have dealt with some aspect or the other of social change. In Block 2, we described the changes that have taken place in the institutions of family, marriage and kinship. In Block 3, we outlined the changes in rural and urban economy. In Block 4, we examined the changes in the social organisation of some of the major religions in India. In Block 5, we examined the changes in the caste and class system. In the next Block, which is on Tribes in India, the focus is on change in terms of modernisation of tribal society. In Block 7, the changing role and status of women has been described. In this Block too, we have focused on change via ethnic conflicts and social movements. Instead of repeating what we have described about social change in each of the earlier Blocks, we will briefly recapitulate some of the main features of social change that have been specially brought about as a result of development planning. Here, again we cannot go into details relating to every sphere of life that has been affected by development planning. We will focus only on a few important spheres of change.

Changes in the social structure, institutions and relationships which came in the wake of the British rule has often been described under the following broad headings: i) changes in caste, ii) changes in rural and urban life and iii) changes in the position and role of women. Let us take each of them one by one and highlight the main trends of change that have taken place in these spheres as a result of development planning since Independence.

i)   **Caste in Contemporary India**

The striking feature relating to changes in the caste system is that caste activities have increased and widened into many spheres like education, economy and

polity. In certain castes the old association between caste and occupation has broken down. The government policy of opening educational and occupational opportunities to all and the policy of giving preference to the hitherto underprivileged groups have greatly contributed to the upward mobility of classes. The gradual transfer of power from the British to Indians has been accompanied by a growing activity of caste in politics. Since independence caste activity is increasingly being manifested in political parties and elections. The growth in agriculture, the introduction of land reforms specially in the fifties and new technology have led to import changes in the power relations between castes. These development programmes have eroded the influence of traditional upper castes in the power structure. It has contributed to the rise of a new middle caste-class as a dominant group in many parts of the country (Singh 1987: 59). The type of social stratification that has emerged over the past four decades since independence reflects the growing entanglement between caste and class (Singh 2000).

ii)   **Changes in Rural and Urban Social Life**

Industrialisation, urbanisation and the politico-administrative changes that have taken place since independence have affected various aspects of rural and urban life in India in many ways. Industrialisation, for instance, has made its impact upon the growth of towns and cities, property, joint family, law, division of labour traditional occupations and the caste system. Migration from villages to towns has been increasing over the years. Improvement in medical care, both in urban and rural areas, has affected the mortality rate and is thus a major factor in the rapid rise of India's population.

According to Y. Singh (1987: 57-59) a striking consequence of the development planning activities in India is the emergence of different categories of powerful middle classes in both rural and urban India. For instance, he points out that industrialisation and expansion of development administration has led to an expansion of categories of middle class. This includes civil and professional services, the ministerial services, the army and police services. It also includes, self-employed professional traders etc. He also points out that a class of "merchant capitalists" has significantly risen in size over the past so many years. This class, he identifies, as being different from the industrial capitalist class, which rose to a powerful height in the national economy during the course of the national movement. The merchant capitalist class is a product, according to Y. Singh of speculative entrepreneurship, which mushroomed as a result of expansion of the contractor - commerce sector of economic activities. This class operates with relatively small capital and has a close connection with black market economy and some sections of the political and bureaucratic elite. New technology, new system of government, administration, judicial procedures, forms of education, new cultural values introduced by the British and free India have not only challenged the old structures in rural and urban society but have also given rise to new kinds of conflict and confrontation between castes and between classes.

Some scholars have pointed out that the concept of culture lag is very relevant to India when we look at the contradictions and conflicts in rural and urban India. The increasing activities of castes seem incompatible with the rationality, mobility and equality of a democratic polity (Bottomore 1987: 285). According to Y. Singh (1987: 61) erosion of authority, delegitimisation of established

institutions and dissatisfaction with the existing processes of development and change has contributed to the problems of violence and lawlessness in the country. The rural-urban nexus has strengthened over the decades, but along with it social problems like poverty, unemployment, crime, violence, alcoholism, drug addiction, prostitution, juvenile delinquency have increased in both rural and urban areas.

ii) Changes in the Position and Role of Women

There is no denial of the fact that the position and role of women has been subject to important changes over the last hundred and fifty years and more. Socio-religious reform movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, national movement for independence and the constitutional provisions have had a significant impact on the status and role of women.

Right from the nineteenth century, legislations have been passed to emancipate women from disabilities, which confined their role and lowered their status. With independence, there has been a constitutional commitment to promote justice, liberty and equality. The period after independence witnessed the enactment of a number of laws that sought to apply the principle underlying the constitutional guarantees to the sphere of social life. The reform in personal laws governing marriage and inheritance, the labour laws ensuring human conditions of work, maternity benefits and welfare of workers have been some of the measures aimed at removing the disabilities that contributed to the low status of women.

The policies and programmes of planned socio-economic development attempted positive action to improve and widen opportunities for women to participate in the socio-economic processes of development in a more effective manner. With the acceptance of planning it became evident that if development was to be accelerated, the economy could not afford to ignore the potential for contribution of half the population. Hence efforts were made to involve women in the development process.

Two developments contributed greatly to the special focus on women in the planning process since the 1970s. The UN Declaration of 1975 as the International Women's Year and 1975-85 as the Women's Decade can be considered as important landmarks in matters pertaining to women. World attention was drawn towards women's problem, needs and their potential. Debate and research led to a re-examination of women's role in society and in the development process. There was also a demand for measures which would enable them to realise their full potential and contribute to society. Action was initiated on several fronts, but most notably on health, education and employment by national, international government and non-governmental agencies.

The other factor, which sharpened the focus on women's participation in development, was the change in development theory. The realisation that the benefits of planned process of development do not trickle down automatically to poorer and weaker sections of society stimulated special efforts towards the weaker and exploited sections of society. Specially targeted programmes were conceived and implemented along with other measures to raise the rate of growth. Women were identified as one such disadvantaged group to whom special attention needs to be paid. Education, vocational training, health

services, family planning, welfare schemes sought to change and improve the conditions of living and mental horizons of women. To cite an example, the government began its efforts to promote self-employment of women around 1978 with a series of measures. These measures included skill training and provisions of services and facilities in the area of credit, material supply, marketing, product development etc. The new Industrial Policy Resolution of 1978, for the first time recognised, women entrepreneurs as a special group needing support and assistance.

However, developmental efforts undertaken in every sphere, have not had always the desired and a uniform effort on all categories of women. We must remember that women do not constitute a homogeneous category in India. Groups of women not only differ from one another in terms of physical and demographic characteristics but also in behaviour patterns determined by factors like region, caste, class, religion etc. Only certain sections of women like the upper and middle castes and classes have benefited by these programmes. A vast majority of Indian women, across the nation are still subject to discrimination, exploitation and lead a confined, restricted life.

The limitations arising out of a limited and faulty conception and implementation of developmental measures pose problems towards the progress in the desired direction. Apart from these limitations, problems arise because the degree of social acceptance of desired goals set by the Constitution vary from group to group and from time to time. Attitudes which define women primarily as a housewife, wife and a mother influence the treatment and position accorded to women. Even among the educated and working women, conflict between home-making and seeking a career occurs. The contours of a woman's life have expanded but her options and choices in life are still limited. Both men and women have to redefine their attitudes and values if the goals of equality, justice and development are to be achieved.

Check Your Progress 4

i)   What are the important changes that occurred in the caste system in the last five decades of the twentieth century? Answer in about six line.

....

....

....

....

....

....

ii) State whether the following statements are true of false. Mark a T for true or F for false against each statement.

a)   Caste activities have greatly decreased in all village since development planning has been undertaken.

b)   Industrialisation and expansion of development administration have stimulated the growth of the middle class.

c) With development planning, India has been able to solve its basic problems of unemployment, population growth and poverty.

d) India's development planning has given special focus to integrate women into development process.

iii) What are the two factors, which sharpened the focus on women's participation in development since the 1970s? Answer in about five lines.

....

....

....

....

....

36.6   LET US SUM UP

This unit describes development planning and change in general and in the Indian context. We began the unit by pointing out the linkages between development, planning and social change. We said development is a planned social change and planning is a factor in social change. Development is a value-loaded term while change is a value neutral term. All change is not development. Then we went on to describe the perceptions of some social thinkers on development and change. Here we identified those perceptions, which viewed development and change interchangeably or as logically related terms. We also stated the perceptions of those who viewed development and change as modernisation i.e., the process of social change whereby a less developed country tries to catch up with the technological advancements of more developed countries. Then we moved on to define and describe the contemporary connotations of development, planning and change. All these were described in a general context. While coming to a specific context we looked at development planning and change in the Indian context. We outlined the approach and schemes of planned development in India. We described the mixed economy approach and stated some of the schemes relating to rural development. The schemes described are CD programmes, Panchayati Raj, Cooperative movement and Target Group Planning. We then examined social planning in terms of the basic approach of the Five-Year Plans. While describing change as a result of planned development we focused on changes in caste, rural and urban life and position and role of women.

36.7   KEYWORDS

Development   A process of social change, which is planned and desired by a society

Modernisation   A process of social change whereby a less developed country tries to catch up with the achievements of a technologically advanced country

Social Change   Alterations in the social structure and social relationships in a society.

36.8   FURTHER READING

Bottomore T. 1987. *Sociology. A Guide to Problems and Literature*. lll Edition. Allen and Unwin: London.

Byres, Terrence, J. 1997. *The State Development Planning and Liberalisation*. Oxford University Press: New Delhi

Shukla, K.S. (ed.) 1987. *The Other Side of Development.* Sage Publications: New Delhi.

Singh, Y. 2000. *Culture Change in India: Identity and Globalisation*. Rawat: Jaipur

Srinivas, M.N. 1986. *India: Social Structure*. Hindusthan Publishing Corporation (India): Delhi (Originally published in 1969 by the Director, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting: New Delhi.

36.9   SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

i)   a) F b) T c) T d) F

ii)   According to Marx and Engles social change and development are charecterised by conflict of interests among classes in society. They argued that social changes arise out of potential struggles and radical breaks in continutiy, rather than from gradual evolution.

iii)   a

iv)   1)   Modernisation theories fail to define conclusively the kinds of social and economic process at work in the developing countries.

   2)   Modernisation theories argue that each society's development problems can be understood only in relation to its place in the world system. But it is not proved that all developing countries follow the path of development of already developed countries.

Check Your Progress 2

i)   b

ii)   a

iii)   It looks development as alterations that affect the whole socio-cultural matrix of society. Here development is viewed as a planned and stimulated movement of all societies of a social system in the direction of the overall directed goals set by the society.

Check Your Progress 3

i)   c

ii)   a) priority to agriculture and rural development b) accelerate the growth rate with stable prices c) ensuring food and nutritional security to all d) containing the growth rate of population rate and e) promoting and developing people's participatory institutions like panchayati raj etc.

iii) a

Check Your Progress 4

i)   The caste activities have increased and widened into many spheres like education, economy and polity. The association between caste and occupation has broken down. The new educational and occupational opportunities facilitated the upward mobility of the underprivileged groups. The growth in agriculture and introduction of land reforms have led to changes in power relation between castes.

ii)   a) F   b) T   c) F   d) T

iii) The two factors are a) the UN declaration that 1975 was to be the International Women's Year and the declaration of 1975-85 as Women's Decade, b) the change in development theory specially the realisation that economic benefits do not trickle down and that oriented-programmes have to be devised.