
UNIT 5 DEVELOPMENT AND VIOLENCE

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5.1 INTRODUCTION

“[...] how did humanity get from cavemen to space-traveller, from a time when we were scared by sabre-toothed tigers to a time when we are scared of nuclear explosions?”

(Hobsbawn, 1997, p.40)

Development means making life better for everyone in the society. Development is viewed differently in various disciplines. This unit traces development perceived over a period of time in the discipline of sociology and how it perpetuates violence on women, Adivasis and other marginalised people.

Here, we have not covered the entire disciplinary thought. Rather, we have covered a few sociological ideas that have influenced development theory. The complaint against development in economic growth is that it assumed everyone in the society to be economic actors and displaying economic behaviour. For example, Adam Smith's classic declaration viewed people as self-interested natural traders. According to neo-classical economics, consumers are utility-maximisers and entrepreneurs are cost-minimisers.

These models of economic growth view everyone from the same point of view. But sociology takes a different view.

Economic sociology is derived from theories dealing with the cultural origins and social evolution of the modern human character in the context of the development of equally modern social, cultural, and political institutions. (Peet and Hartwick, 2010, p.103)

5.2 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- Understand the meaning of development;
- Trace the emergence of the concept of development in the discipline of sociology;
- Discuss the emergence of women as a constituent of development; and
- Explain the relationship between development and violence.

5.3 THEORISING DEVELOPMENT

This section will discuss the concept of development from various theoretical positions. As you have read in the first Block of this course, development has different meaning and implications for different social actors. Therefore, the model of development cannot be linear. Let us begin our discussion with the modernisation theory which has influenced the development discourse in the past.

5.3.1 Modernisation Theory

Modernisation theory tries to understand whether all societies are similar. How to compare the rest of the societies with modern industrial societies? What are the differences between developed and other societies? How could developed societies be defined? What indices can be used to measure the development? What are the impeding factors for the society's modernisation? What are the factors that influenced society's modernisation? According to Parsons, traditional societies have limited environment to develop. As the modern societies are expansive, they are able to cope with a wide range of environments. The more structural specialisation in the society, the higher the capacity to modernise. For instance, there can be development in areas of health, education and infrastructure. In the modernised society, the individuals identify themselves with the nation rather than with the tribe, clan, community or ethnic group. There are more specialisations in economic activities which lead to role differentiation. There is growth, mobility, urbanisation and technological advancement in all the sectors. Modernisation also means the advancement in political

spheres like spread of democracy and weakening of traditional institutions. It has made inroads in the cultural sphere, like fusion of cultures and more secular values in culture. All these ideas were highly adopted in development studies and political science in the late 1950s.

Bert Hoselitz (1913-1995) from the University of Chicago criticised economic theories related to development and proposed an alternative sociological theory. By applying the theories of Parson and other sociologists, he came to the conclusion that cultural change is significant for economic development. He further stated that new things would come through people which are different from norms. He also stated that small-scale entrepreneurship would accelerate growth and development in third world economies. Regarding new kind of economic behaviour, Hoselitz argued that creating 'generative cities' was important because innovation and economic growth would flourish there rather than in traditional old villages and towns, where change is very slow and difficult. Hence, Hoselitz emphasised the shift of economic activities from traditional leaders to urban innovators for underdeveloped countries.

5.3.2 Historical Stages of Growth

W.W. Rostow's (1916-2003) *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (1960) identified the following distinct stages through which societies passed in order to become modernised.

- 1) **Traditional societies** have less specialisation and minimum production activities. Social mobility was limited and land owners acted as a powerful force in traditional societies.
- 2) **Pre-condition to take-off** was the second stage of growth. This stage could be understood by studying 17th and early 18th centuries European societies, where insights were gained through modern science and more production in agriculture and industries took place. During this phase, literacy spreaded, financial institutions like banks came up, investment increased, trade and commerce expanded, manufacturing industries came up.
- 3) **Take-Off stage** helped to overcome many hurdles and growth happened steadily. People moved and settled in other parts of the world and technological advancement like rail, road and connectivity increased. In the take-off stage, industries expanded their operations, profits increased and urban employment rate also rose.
- 4) **The drive towards maturity** is the fourth stage which comes after 60 years of take-off period. In this stage growth would increase and profit would be re-invested again.
- 5) **High Mass Consumption** is the final stage where income increases for a large section of the population. The nature of workforce would

change from rural to urban-skilled office types of employment. Western societies invested surplus income in social security measures in this fifth stage of development. The fifth stage was reached by the United States during the 1920s, Europe and Japan entered this stage during the 1950s.

Rostow's theory brought all societies under the same historical stages of growth. In the 1960s, Rostow's theory dominated developmental thinking and all the third world countries were seen with the same lens.

Andre Gunder Frank (1929-2005) criticised Rostow's theory of historical stages of growth. Frank said that Rostow considered all traditional societies in the same manner. Frank also questioned Rostow's theory of history repeating itself, where Rostow said that all societies like Europe would pass through the same stage of growth to reach high consumption stage. He further added that development had already made Europe the power centre and most of the underdeveloped countries were in the periphery and they depended on the centre. Frank pointed out that imposing the traits of European history on underdeveloped countries for their development is unfair. Underdeveloped countries need to develop on their own, based on their own history.

Check Your Progress:

What is modernisation theory?

5.4 DEVELOPMENT AFTER WORLD WAR-II

Decolonisation and the realisation of the importance of growth and development by the newly decolonised states after World War II, led to the implementation of large projects in developing nations. The newly independent countries after World War II like India constructed large dams and established bigger industries as it was considered to be part of the modernisation process. In the later part of the Unit, we should discuss the consequences of large projects on people's lives and how it brings violence on women. There are two important economic changes that led to the debate of development in the late 20th century. Capitalism and industrialisation emerged in the late 18th century Britain, and it spread across the United States of America, western European countries and Japan in the 19th century and parts of the south in the 20th century and recently in China and a few South Asian countries.

Apart from that there was a growing interest in understanding the changing world. At the same time, scholars also tried to explore the reasons for the multiple challenges faced by the world, like poverty, inequality, environmental degradation, lack of 'trickle-down' effect, financial crisis, lack of access to basic facilities by a large section of population and climate change. Scholars tried to understand the link between development and violence and a number of studies were carried out to understand the process of development. Most of these studies concentrate on the huge economic, social and political transformation the world underwent. The technological and cultural changes complemented this transformation.

The world faced two types of development. Countries like the former Soviet Union and India followed the State-led development, before India opened up the economy in 1991. The United States and Western European Countries followed market-led development where there was less interference from the state. At the international level, development of theories and various policy approaches helped states to bring appropriate policies to intervene in the process of development. At the same time, efforts of people at the local level to bring improvement in their lives were also note worthy. In the nineteenth century, development meant remedies for shortcomings and progress to development (Cowen and Shenton, 1996).

With regard to modern economy, the core meaning of development is economic growth. Along with economic growth, political modernization and social development happened. In the dependency theory, the core meaning of development is accumulation of wealth, which leads to 'development of underdevelopment' (Pieterse, 2001). Alternative development methods emerged and **Amartya Sen's** human development and capability approach were talked about. In the 21st century, the dominant development thought

is neo-liberalism where the state can play minimum role and the market forces take control of the development. However, other approaches to development like local development, people's participation, community development and Gandhian model of development are also existing.

5.5 GROWTH VERSUS SUSTAINABILITY DEBATE

The process of development conceived over a period of time had a negative impact on the environment and it did not bring the desired improvement in the lives of a considerable percentage of the population, especially in the developing countries. The development process thus led to environmental degradation and increase in poverty (Braidotti, 2004). The rapid industrialisation since 19th century equally impacted the environment, which led to climate change.

The existing developmental paradigm does not provide much space for sustainable development. Some assumptions exist, like Gross Domestic Product (GDP) 'GDP-led economic growth will reduce poverty, contribute to the well-being of people', 'the increase in the income of a family will provide access to all facilities, especially health and education' and 'economic growth will reduce health maladies like malnutrition' (Deneulin, 2009). The above assumptions did not become reality. The growth is not only uneven among developing countries, but also lower than the expected level. Some countries were able to achieve the expected growth through various strategies and reforms in governance, like macro-economic stability, trade liberalisation, decentralisation of power, fiscal decentralisation and public sector reforms. However, the growth achieved was not without drawbacks (The World Bank, 2005). For instance, the East and South Asian countries achieved rapid economic growth but they also faced environmental maladies.

Feminist economists also criticise the current development paradigm. The process of rapid economic growth 'Bubbles Up' instead of 'Trickling Down'. The existing economic growth does not only affect the environment but also pressurises small and medium farmers to give up agriculture due to high input cost.

Another important issue is addressing the wage concern of lower-end workers, especially in India, where more than 90 per cent of the workforce is part of agriculture and other unorganised labour sectors. Wage productivity is very low in this sector (Dreze and Sen, 2013). Lack of market support for small and medium entrepreneurs and self-employed persons are great concerns in this market-led growth (Jain, 2011). As far as India is concerned, the rapid economic growth in the past twenty years (1991-2011) could not reach everyone in the society, which proves that there is no 'trickle down' effect. India's real wages are stagnant in the upper middle-class office-going community. The public revenue generated through rapid economic

growth has not been spent for the expansion of physical and social infrastructure. Protected drinking water, school education, health services and drainage facilities have been neglected (Dreze, 2013). Mining activities were responsible for the destruction of forests.

In this scenario, sustainable development and green economy and other alternative development models emerged. Thus, development includes various stages, various activities and various actors.

5.6 WOMEN, DEVELOPMENT AND VIOLENCE

We have traced the history of development and also read about development and women in the first Block of this course. The lack of gender concerns in development debate was initially brought out by many social scientists. Among them, the work of **Esther Boserup** on African agriculture systems opened up the debate among policy makers and in this process the United Nations Organisations (UN) played a key role for integrating gender into the development debate. Since the start of 1960s, the UN marked each decade as 'decade of development'.

In the declaration of the first development decade (1961-1970) no reference was made to women. A brief reference in the international development strategy for the second decade, to the importance of encouraging 'the full integration of women in the total development effort' brought new consciousness. The declaration of the 1980s spelt out women as 'agents and beneficiaries' in all sectors and all levels. Subsequently, four international women's conferences were organised. As you have read in the second Unit, Block 1 of this course, policy approaches like Welfare, Equity, Anti-poverty, Efficiency and Empowerment approaches were developed. Along with this feminist and development experts contributed for the development of WID, WAD, GID and GAD discourses. All this culminated the integration of gender perspectives into development.

We have so far discussed the meaning and the stages of development. In this section we will examine the complex relationship between development and violence. In the paper 'The violence of development' by **Smitu Kothari** and **Wendy Harcourt** (2004), a fresh look has been taken at the contentious and complex relationship between development and violence. The paper critically examines the processes of economic, political and social transformation/modernisation carried out in the name of development. In illuminating the contentious link between development and violence, the authors are deliberately posing the question of whose vantage point counts. Is it possible to give primacy to the perspective of those excluded and victimised by development? How do forest dwellers, traditional fisher community, women and men eking out a living in urban slums, tribal and

indigenous communities and contract workers understand development given the violence of their everyday exclusion, exploitation, discrimination and marginalisation?

Men and women at the community level, in the face of grave difficulty and frequently against great odds, often supported by associative links beyond the local, are increasingly seeking to intervene constructively in their own conditions. They are creating new structures to enable their own livelihoods, searching out different ways to relate to each other and to other communities, including the state. What remains an area of critical neglect, however, is how these processes are challenging and altering cultural traditions, class, caste and gender divides. The above analysis could be understood with the help of a case study.

Box 5.1: Case Study of Bauxite Mining

Tribals residing in Niyamgiri hills near Hundaljali in Kalahandi district of Odisha are struggling to keep away bauxite mining companies to preserve the forest for ensuring their livelihoods. The original inhabitants of Niyamgiri hills - the Dongriya Kondh tribe and other tribals feared losing the forest and agricultural land. There are rich bauxite reserves underneath the hills. The area is earmarked for mining by the Odisha government for supplying bauxite to Vedanta Aluminum Ltd.

The Niyamgiri hills are worshipped by the tribals as their god “Niyamraja” or the ‘law giver’. The Supreme Court of India ruled on 18th April, 2013, that the tribal people’s opinion should be sought before mining starts. To seek the opinion of the tribes living in the area, *pallisabha* was convened and the *pallisabhas* of seven villages rejected mining. This is a positive sign in the neo-liberal economic environment, where people’s opinion is sought before the implementation of any major projects. The people of Niyamgiri hills rejected the kind of development mining brings. They would like to preserve the forest where their livelihood security is ensured.

Primery Analysis by the Author.

We can clearly identify various forms of violence that threaten life in all its plurality and diversity across the world.

- **First**, violence is inbuilt in the continuing processes of industrialisation and urbanisation as they destroy livelihoods in addition to neglecting rural areas in favour of centralised urban industrial development.
- **Secondly**, the dominant actors who give consent to and ‘do’ development, rarely acknowledge another process of violence. The disruption and destruction of the sources of life on our fragile planet

- the lands, forests, air and water systems that we depend on. This is explained further in the section violence on scheduled tribes.

- **Thirdly**, in the same way that nature is grossly disrespected and violated, so too is culture. The world's cultural pluralism is being steadily, often violently, eroded with an alarming loss of ethnicities, knowledge systems, languages and traditional cultural forms of expression. There is a deep-rooted violence that is severely threatening and ultimately destroying the identity and rights of ethnic and indigenous groups. There is a profound need to protect creative and grounded cultural, social and political pluralism and diversity by deepening the democratic process.
- **Fourthly**, The privileging of materialism and the dominant patterns of achieving economic growth as the only road to development creates poverty, threatens and destroys livelihoods. It creates mass insecurities; breaking down homes and communities, forcing men and women often displaced from their familiar environment into criminality. It is this 'criminalisation of poverty' that has led to some of the worst forms of gender violence. Insecurities compound violence within the family as men are compelled to redefine their identities, both culturally and individually and endure life-threatening economic insecurities.
- **Fifthly**, centralised administrative and policy processes contribute to the violence of development by imposing standardised, homogenising solutions in plural cultural, social and economic contexts. The policy process has perpetuated a compartmentalised response to the complex, integrated realities that most people live in.

Violence, then, in its manifold manifestations is inherent in the current patterns of development. The development programmes and projects, however well-designed, need to address the causes of violence, the destruction of nature and culture and of plural ways of knowing, being and doing, the inadequacies of the dominant democratic process. The inequality in access to resources and spaces for expression is another dimension in gender development and violence discourse.

Across the world, local communities, urban and rural groups and social movements are emerging at thousands of sites to respond to the manifold violence that they experience. From Chiapas in southern Mexico to the valleys of the Narmada river in India, from the World Social Forum to the United Nations Forum on Indigenous Peoples, their representatives are highlighting this violence and exclusion, and asserting their own way of being in the face of homogenisation, standardisation and violence in their daily lives.

Check Your Progress:

What forms of violence Tribal women encounter in the process of industrialisation?

5.7 VIOLENCE ON SCHEDULED TRIBES

Scheduled Tribes (*adivasis*) are most adversely affected by the development induced displacement in the post-independence India. Scheduled Tribes (ST) account for only eight per cent of the total population of India. But, they account for 40 per cent of the displaced people (Fernandes and Thukral, 1989). The case study we are discussing in this section clearly demonstrates how STs are violently uprooted and made to settle in a different place where they lack opportunities for livelihoods. Tribes are not only affected by forced displacement due to development projects; factors like changes in land systems and agrarian relations have also affected their displacement. This case study is drawn from the paper titled 'Displacing Gender from Displacement: A view from Santal Parganas, Jharkhand' by **Amit Mitra** and **Nitya Rao**. They have done an extensive field study in Dumka district in 1996-97, 1999-2000 and 2003 to explore the gendered implications of different types of displacement on the Santals - a scheduled tribe - comprising 40 per cent of the population of Dumka district, Santal Parganas division, Jharkhand. As we have cited in the first section, infrastructure project is considered a modern development of the country. In the process of implementing infrastructure projects, micro-factors like intra-household relationships, household assets, livelihoods strategies, level of education, human capacity

and village-level power distribution are not taken into consideration. The consequence is development induced violence on displaced people.

This case study clearly demonstrates that women, poor households and *adivasis* are the worst-affected in development induced displacement. They not only lose their land and property, their entire livelihood is affected. Once the infrastructure project is announced by the government, land acquisition starts. Before land acquisition starts, demarcation of area starts. Even though displacement takes some time, the process of demarcation affects the livelihood of the local population. Apart from this, if the government decides to construct large dams like Sardar Sarover project, a number of factors affect the people, like partial submergence, growing pressure on lands etc. Theoretically, affected people are entitled for compensation. Due to lack of clear government policies, displaced people are deprived of proper compensation. Most of the time, *adivasis* are not considered as project-affected people and this longstanding practice of not including *adivasis* into the development fold leads to their alienation. This induces violence through exploitative forces like market. Sometimes the envisaged project may not produce the intended results leading to total wiping out of livelihoods in the area.

Here, learners should know to distinguish between sudden and gradual displacement of inhabitants. Location displacement leads to loss of livelihood. Gradual disappearance of livelihood opportunities leads to relocation and that leads to violence. In this process, women are more vulnerable. Due to loss of livelihood, men may migrate into urban areas in search of work leaving behind the family. The entire family burden will be on women, which would lead to different types of violence on women. If women migrate to urban areas in search of livelihood opportunities, they may end up experiencing different types of violence. Here, it is very difficult to identify whether displacement is voluntary or involuntary. Learners may remember that we have discussed neo-liberal economic policies and how some of them affect primary sectors like agriculture and its allied activities. The dismal growth rate in the primary sectors leads to voluntary displacement of men and women to urban areas in search of work. This is explained in detail in the next section with an appropriate case study.

Women have considerable autonomy to control and use common property resources for livelihood. Women also collect minor forest produce and sell it. Felling of forest and loss of fuel from forest affect women. Apart from this, mechanisation of activities in development and mechanisation of agriculture and allied activities force women to end up in some informal sector due to lack of requisite skills in handling machines. Agriculture mechanisation and loss of livelihood opportunities in the African agriculture pattern is examined in detail in Esther Boserup's book "Women's Role in Economic Development".

Most of the time, rehabilitation policies of governments fail to understand gendered relations and social relations. They consider the entire population as a single unit and formulate policies to rehabilitate all of them in the same manner. They see men and women synonymously and apply the same policies. They fail to use gender analysis to understand the impact of displacement/relocation of a population in a particular area because of a particular project. Also, the government failed to understand the impact of macro-economic policies on primary sectors, which may have led to voluntary displacement of people to other regions in search of livelihood.

5.8 MAYURAKSHI PROJECT AND DISPLACEMENT

The Masanjore dam built in 1955-56 with Canadian assistance on the River Mayurakshi, displaced 144 villages in Dumka district. The dam generates hydroelectric power and irrigates nearly 50,000 acres of agrarian land in the Birbhum and Murshidabad districts of West Bengal. The catchment area of the project lies in Dumka district, where over 19,000 acres of agrarian land was acquired, 5,000 of which were *baihar* or lowlands used for paddy cultivation. Some people had *baihar*. They lost all their land and had to move to a new location, while others stayed on in their villages, with only part of their land submerged. Between 1961 and 1981, the number of farmers in the region declined from 3.95 million to 2.76 million (Besra, 2002). The rehabilitation packages consisted of land for *adivasis*, a choice of cash or land for non-*adivasis*, along with some crop compensation and improved irrigation services. But there were lot of deficiencies in implementing rehabilitation packages. Let's take a look at how women and other marginalised people are affected by the insensitive government's rehabilitation packages. Whatever we have discussed in the previous section could be understood by applying this case study.

In this project, *Adivasis* were promised land for land and their land was calculated on the basis of quality. When they got the land, they did not get the same quality. Apart from quality, there were also gendered implications in calculating the quality of the land. Previously, the title of the paddy growing land or *dhani* was in the name of men and the women had rights over the *bari* land, where they could grow maize, mustard, hemp and vegetables. These lands were close to their homes. Now, there is no *bari* land and the rights of women are not established with regard to this.

Apart from land rights, the tribals' dwelling was previously close to the forest and there were plenty of forest resources like fruits, vegetables and minor forest produce. Women could collect forest produce for their consumption as well as the market. Most of the families were relatively well off. Now, from the new settlement Bisumdih, the forest is far away. Women go for daily wages and sometime they go to Bengal in search of

work, which has made their life hard. This has made most of the families lose their daily income and their food security is threatened.

After people complained to the government regarding the allotment of barren uncultivable land, the government promised year-round free irrigation from the left bank canal of the Mayurakshi dam. Until 1965, they received money for land development. Once the water reached their land, they stopped receiving money. Also, the government provided water tax remission only for 12 years. Afterwards, they had to pay for irrigation water. In the mean time, silt started depositing in the canal and that resulted in the low carrying capacity of the canal. This made people to migrate again in search of jobs as they could not cultivate the land throughout the year. Class and ethnicity also played its part in the allotment of land. Hindus got cultivable land and Santals got waste lands.

Check Your Progress:

Give a case study which reflects the participation of Tribal women in development project.

5.9 LET US SUM UP

The process of development and its consequences were discussed with the help of a few case studies in this unit. The process of development neglects traditional knowledge, brings environmental degradation, makes development linear and does not consider the wisdom and knowledge of local people. All these factors have brought different sorts of violence on people, especially women and the marginalised. Instead of bringing positive changes, development very often violates human rights. All these issues were discussed in this unit.

5.10 GLOSSARY

Human Development : The Human Development approach has been profoundly inspired by Amartya Sen's pioneering work in welfare economics, social choice, poverty and famine and development economics. His capability approach has contributed to Human Development. Capability approach is a broad normative framework, which evaluates social arrangements and the extent of freedom, people have to promote or achieve while performing the function they value.

5.11 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- 1) What is development? Discuss the various theories related to development.
- 2) Discuss development and violence in relation to tribal women? Give case study to substantiate your answer.
- 3) How are development, social change and women's livelihood related? Discuss

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