Anthropology and Development: In Search of a Paradigm

B.G.Banerjee and A.K. Sinha

I

Development is a key concept in Western culture and philosophy that figures in anthropology in two different ways. In its broadest sense, the idea of 'development' was central to nineteenth-century social evolutionism, which pictured human history as a unilinear developmental progression from 'savage' and 'barbarian' levels of social evolution toward the 'civilized' status represented by the modern West. From the mid-twentieth-century, the term has mostly referred to a more specifically economic process, generally understood to involve the expansion of production and consumption and/or rising standards of living, especially in the poor countries of the Third World. In the second sense, the term is especially associated with the international projects of planned social change set in motion in the years surrounding World War II which gave birth to 'development agencies', 'development projects', and ultimately, to 'development studies' and 'development anthropology'.

"In the years prior to World War II, 'development' had been a central, if often unacknowledged, theoretical concept in anthropology. For Morgan, of course, the question of how societies 'developed' from one evolutionary stage to the next was an explicit theoretical concern. Even for an arch-relativist like Benedict, the distinction between 'primitive' and 'modern' societies was a theoretically motivated one. Yet with the new project of official modernisation, issues of 'development' came increasingly to belong not to the academic world of theory (which remained largely devoted to comparing and generalizing about 'primitive societies' but to a domain of 'applied' work. The explicit coining of the term 'development anthropology' comes only later, in the 1970s. But already in the postwar years, the old domain of applied or policy-relevant work (often focused on such things as 'culture contact', 'acculturation', and 'social change') was beginning to become part of larger, better funded configuration known as 'development'." (Ferguson, 1996: 154, 156).

Development has been described as a generic term meaning growth, evolution, stage of inducement or progress (Mehta, 1981 : 1). The concept of development gained currency after World War II and has been defined by most economists, in the operational sense, as growth of the per capita gross national product (GNP) or a similar national accounts figure. There has been considerable criticism of this approach to development in view of a large number of developing countries failing to achieve, on an average, a satisfactory rate of growth of per capita GNP. A number of observers have concluded that this has been basically due to the insufficient attention given to social and political factors in planning (Galnoor, 1971:8).

Development means different things to different people. Laufer (1967:69), for example, states: 'It means dams and factories, roads and canals, bush-clearing, electrification, soil improvement, universities, secondary schools, primary schools, sanitation, research and a multitude of other activities and achievements. But above all, development means people. The preparation and activation of people is the cause of economic and social development' (cf. Mehta, 1984: 4).

Development in the new perspective has been referred to as an overall process of transforming men and societies leading to a social order in which every human being can achieve moral and material well being. Development has also been referred to as a whole; an integral, value-loaded cultural process encompassing the natural environment, social relations, education, production, consumption and well being. It is stated in the Study Guide on Development of the Food and Agriculture Organisation that :

> The ultimate purpose of development is to provide everyone with ever-increasing opportunities for a better life. It, therefore, acquires an equitable distribution of income and other social resources in order to promote justice and efficient production, to raise levels of employment substantially, to expand and improve facilities for education, health, nutrition, housing and social and cultural well-being. The qualitative and structural

changes that development thus imposes on society must go hand in hand with economic progress while racial, ethnic and social inequalities must be substantially reduced. These are decisive factors in hastening development and hence must be handled with dynamism (Mehta, 1984: 5).

"In the developing countries of the Third World, development has to be considered as social and cultural change as well as economic growth. These changes can, in turn, affect the attitudes, motives, values and norms of the members of a society to create a new social order. Politico-social, technical and economic changes are so interrelated that it is difficult to separate one from another. In this context, the concept of development has to be viewed both from the evolutionary and revolutionary perspectives of social change.

"Evolution has been conceived as a process of growth, increasing complexity, increasing differentiation of structure and function and increasing interdependence among the differentiated parts of the societal system. In terms of economic development, rates of growth are determined to a large extent by factors of production like natural resources, capital investment, labour and entrepreneurial talent which in turn are conditioned by savings, inflation, balance of payments, foreign aid, size of population and rate of population change (Burton,1961). The doctrine of evolution legitimises the notion of an automatic and wholesale progress in human affairs. However, progress depends not on the existence of social change but on the direction which human beings deliberately bring to that change. On the other hand, 'true' revolution brings about rapid and fundamental changes in the institutions or normative patterns of a society and its power distribution. It is often rapid and discontinuous in form and likely to involve violence but may well be orderly (as opposed to erratic) (Moore, 1965: 82). In Sorokin's view, revolutions are most probably the transitional periods with respect to major cultural values and the fundamental bases of social relationships. A necessary though not sufficient condition for revolution is a deterioration in one or another of the major meaningful aspects of human 'welfare' (Moore, 1965:82).

"One of the great advocates of revolutionary change is Marx. In his analysis of the revolution from feudalism through capitalism to communism, he presented a series of changes at the structural level. This historical perspective on economic analysis has not been in vogue with modern economists who tend to measure the progress or growth of a nation in terms of quantitative indicators like growth of output per unit of population or the labour force" (Mehta, 1984: 6-7).

Extensive anthropological interest in development is fairly recent and it lacks as yet a generally accepted theoretical basis. The concept of development has kept on expanding in scope. The modern notion of development began as the idea of economic growth. Nandy (1983) writes: "The roots of the idea may be traced back to the Judaeo-Christian world-view, but the idea emerged, as Ivan Illich points out, as an empirical as well as a normative category in the 1940's when, of all persons, President Truman first used it in its present sense".

As mentioned earlier, the idea of development first arose in the field of economics in the last century with the observation of such phenomena as increasing productivity per capita and expanding national production of goods and services. Since World War II the term has increasingly been applied to the problem of the contrast between developed countries, developing countries and underdeveloped countries. The developed countries are those which, although still undergoing economic expansion, have achieved a high level of industrialization and productivity. Developing countries are those with lower levels of productivity that are taking steps to achieve, or have recently begun to have, sustained economic expansion. Undeveloped or underdeveloped countries are those with low levels of productivity and relatively static economies. Usually, they have little or no industry and follow traditional agricultural practices with low productivity (Beals and Hoijer, 1971: 618-19).

Initially problems of development were seen as primarily technological and economic. The goals set were to raise living standards of the populations of poorer countries. It was assumed higher living standards would automatically result if the total value of goods and services could be increased through greater productivity.

There was a heavy stress on the economic aspect of development in terms of raising the per capita income, and technological know-how in the under developed world. Unidimensional development and the means of measurements – statistics, made things simplified. In this

development strategy, the model of West became the goals and yardsticks of success achieved in quantitative terms – agricultural productivity, medical and educational facilities. Financial aid programme came.

The unidimensional approach through economic growth could not answer all questions of development. The prime reason being an over emphasis on economic aspect, tending to overlook a vital factor - the human factor. "The quality of life can be ignored only at the grave peril" (Banerjee, 1980: 110).

The era of social progress and liberation followed. The concept of development moved from economic growth to process of social progress. Today, conscious efforts are still being made to include within the concept of development larger chunks of social reality, so that development becomes something more than economic-growth and removal of economic and non-economic impediments to economic growth.

"Development increasingly is seen as a process involving the total sociocultural system. This is true of any national program of development as well as local projects or programs. At the local level anthropologists have contributed a great deal to understanding of the problems of acceptance or rejection of change, and to some extent to planning, implementation and evaluation processes. ….. Sandford Mosk, an economist, has pointed out, the real measure of the success of any development process is what happens to people in villages. The role of anthropology too often either is to facilitate programs or discover the causes of their failure" (Beals and Hoijer, 1971: 642).

In the process of the evolution of the concept of development we witness an era of integration. The process started with the Third World countries which have a closer look at their own internal structures and organisations. The common element of the problems shared by the Third World countries was disproportionate and unequal distribution of wealth, cornered by a sectional minority while the mass suffered in poverty and distress: some maintained themselves on the margin of the society. The focus oriented towards re-integrating these marginal people into the existing social structure so that there is a greater flow of benefits from the 'haves' to the 'have nots'. However, during this phase of development, the elites and the decision makers went by the standards and values of the West, having being socialised in that milieu and viewed development of the 'mass' through their etic image. Planning, thus, came from outside and not within the people. Huizer (1978) observes: "Development policies as presently being carried out in many Third World countries have brought about a variety of contradictions and particularly a measure of polarization between rich and poor in the countries concerned and between rich and poor countries as such. For many development workers and planners this trend has not been intended and largely resulted from over-looking systematically the needs of the majority of common people in countries concerned. The polarization trend is taking explosive proportions" (cf. Banerjee, 1984: 9).

Real development can meet success only when problems are tackled at the grass root – the people for whom development is meant. The necessary condition for such a state is an organised attempt to help people to free themselves from the various exploitations and oppressions. A man from the 'Masses', thus, becomes the pivot and also the yardstick for judging whether development should take place or not.

Justice Bhagwati (1982) in his Inaugural address on Problems of Development of Underprivileged Communities of the Third World Countries points out : " In the developing countries there is now greater emphasis on realisation of social, economic and cultural rights for the vast masses of people who are living in want and destitution. It is only through realisation of the social, economic and cultural rights by the large masses of our people that we shall be able to improve their life conditions and raise their standard of living so that they too may be able to enjoy the fruits of freedom and liberty and exercise civil and political rights which today are confined only to a fortunate few".

He adds further: " There are two myths which are responsible for the lack of development of the underprivileged segments of society in the developing countries resulting in denial of basic human rights to them. The first myth is that growth is the panacea for solution of the problem of poverty. Now growth is undoubtly a necessary condition to bring an end to poverty, but it is not sufficient in itself. The experience of the last 30 years show that a high rate of growth, as in the case of Brazil, can often be accompanied by an increase in the relative and even absolute

poverty of large social groups and that a considerable increase in the standard of living of the majority of the population can be obtained even with a lower rate of growth in the GNP, if instead of focussing the main effort on growth, it is focused on the way to resolve the problem of poverty. The growth of GNP ought to be a complement and not an essential goal of an economy aimed at satisfying fundamental human rights.

"The second myth is the expressed or implied belief that the form of modernisation and of social organisation which developing societies should adopt is the model evolved in western industrial societies. It is overlooked that the mode of development of these western societies is based on high accumulation of capital, on the most up-to-date technologies seeking to utilise less and less labour, or more and more sophisticated consumer goods, on considerable use of fossil fuels per unit of production, on a highly developed urbanization which absorbs the majority of the population and on a close link between industrialization and urbanization. These conditions do not exist in the developing countries and the importance of this western model in the Third World countries has, therefore, resulted only in increasing the gap between the minorities which the model can incorporate as modern producers and consumers and the majorities largely marginalized by their ever increasing number as well as by their poverty" (Bhagwati, 1982).

A final stage in development is in the offing the process of dialogue between the developed nations and the developing (or underdeveloped) nations to a realisation that each side can learn and benefit from the other. To cite a few possible areas of exchange are matters of total and integral development, quality of life, warmth of human relations, the stability of family life, health and ill-health and so on.

In essence, the idea of development now is bonded to a vision of a future society, the major stress being on social and political development, social justice and more recently, human development. Development has now become an ideology and a worldview. No nation can ensure the welfare unless it respects the sanctity of human life and non human nature, the freedom and dignity of its citizens and the traditions of the people.

II

Mehta (1981: 3-7) has given the theoretical framework of 'development' as a process of social change. According to him : "Development as a process of social change has to be conceived in terms of economic growth and technological advancement concomitantly affecting the attitudes, motives, values and norms of the members of the community for a modern oriented system. There are certain elements and processes which function within a system. These develop and grow out of the interaction of the people within their cultures to achieve their ends.

"There is hardly any single theory coherent in nature that explains the phenomenon of change. Change has been viewed with different perspectives. The earlier classical theories of change by Comte, Morgan, Tylor and Spencer have emphasized the evolutionary aspects of social change. This was later followed by Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski who explained any item or component of the system of the society or culture in terms of its relation to the total system. The "integration" of the society later on was conceived more in terms of certain discordant elements which may be 'unfunctional' for part of the system and 'dysfunctional' for the overall system. The reconsidered theories of social change have laid stress on the functionally interdependent units for an orderly and coherent analysis and also to explain the result of the given changes. It has been observed that social systems do show persistent patterns and complementary functions. But the "equilibrium" model of the social system predicts only unidirectional change since the change will restore the system to another steady state.

"Another set of model which explain the phenomenon of change is based on the notion of conflict. The emphasis here is on dissension rather than integration as a basis of social life. It is also opined that the society as a tension-management system explains both the orderly and change aspects of the system as tensions or strains are intrinsic to social systems. If these tensions are identified for all or some of the systems, they can predict the probable sites of change".

In the operational sense, change may be viewed as alterations either in the total system or in its structure or in the way it functions. It may also be viewed as related to some alteration in the basic elements such as values or goals or in specific process like decision-making or evaluation. In the context of the development

programmes, we are concerned with planned change or purposeful change. This planned change or directed social change has been considered as " an increase in control over the conditions of existence" or alternatively as "an expansion of resources". There are two approaches which have been propagated in order to bring about change in or of the system.

The first is based on the premise that if only the material conditions in which the group or the society finds itself are changed, then the group or the society will itself move ahead to expand its resources. The other approach is based on the premise that if only the individuals themselves are changed, then they will move towards the expansion of resources.

The basic dynamic core of social change also revolves round an innovation. It has been considered as a basis of personality, social and cultural change. The adoption of an innovation by an individual or other relevant unit of adoption is considered as the fruition of a decision-making process often influenced by deliberate plans or strategies, personality, creative ability and basic wants of the members of the community. When an innovation is diffused to and adopted by sufficiently large number of relevant units in a social system, so as to register an impact, it is said that the change has occurred in that particular social system. The adoption of an innovation at the individual level may be indicative of a change at the attitudinal level. And a change in the attitude has been considered as a prerequisite for any other change in the social structure of a group, community or a society.

It is pertinent to state that the term social structure has been defined in different ways. However, for operational purposes, it may be considered as an ordered arrangement of status and roles held by the members of the group or the community and their patterned relationships which persist over a period of time. The persistence of social relationships over a period of time does not imply that the social structure remains static. Instead, the social structure is dynamic and is constantly reacting to intrinsic as well as extrinsic influences so as to give way to the processes of structural differentiation, integration and social disturbances. Differentiation as a process of structural change will lead to the emergence of qualitatively new complexes of roles and organisations and necessitate a suitable adjustment within the social structure of the community. This shall have to be provided by the integrative mechanism or the establishment of either new coordinative structures in legal, political, associational fields, or through the suitable modification of the existing institutions. And the discontinuities caused due to the processes of differentiation and integration within the community may develop certain stresses or strains or may result in social disturbances necessitating further integration of structures. Such structural changes are generally associated with economic growth or development. It is stated that as a consequence of modernisation or economic development, the changes at the structural level in a developing society will evolve a new social order based on advanced technology, associated social institutions, organisations and a relatively stable political system as witnessed in developed nations of the world.

At the individual or community level, these changes will be effected in the role structure, values or norms of the people. In the process of enacting different roles, an individual incorporate certain values and norms which regulate his behaviour pattern. It is also stated that the functioning element within the structure of status is the role or the actual behaviour of the individual in a given status. We do know that attitudes play a key role in directing and channeling social behaviour of individuals. Attitudes have been defined as having affective, cognitive and behavioural components, that is, as involving feelings and emotions, beliefs and actions. Although each attitude may have a single referent but attitudes may also be organized into consistent and coherent structures known as value systems. There is an effort on the part of the individual to maintain a certain degree of consistency in his attitudes, beliefs and behaviour. The emphasis is on maintaining consistency among cognitive elements, perceptions, attitudes, beliefs and the behaviour aspects of the character structure of an individual. A change in the character structure of an individual is also likely to affect the role structure of individuals in various positions and concomitantly it will affect the social structure of the communities or societies composed of various institutional orders and spheres. In other words, the change at the attitudinal level will affect the interaction pattern between the individuals so as to register impact or their social role. And any change in the social roles of individuals is likely to be accompanied by corresponding changes in the social structure

of groups or communities. Mehta has given the two significant theoretical frames of reference mentioned above appear to be significant   in analysing some aspects of change related to social development in a group or community" (op.cit.).

He further mentions: "The development strategies in the developing countries of the Third World during the last three decades or so have not generated the desired results. As such, it becomes imperative to look at the planning and implementation strategies with a new vision and perspective. The development in these countries may not be conceived in terms of improved growth rate, GNP and per capita income but it should be visualized in terms of Gross National Welfare (GNW) (Dube, 1973: 1). The slant of development has to be on the development of man with a view to improving the quality of life of the people at different levels of subsistence. The concept of "quality of life" has been explained by reviewing the human need structure in a new perspective and by providing adequate facilities to meet such a need" (1981: 6-7).

Vidyarthi (1982: 5) writes: "One school of development theory works on the assumption that increased economy capacity also increases the resources at the society's disposal , which may then be distributed according to social criteria. Another argues, however, that only under a very special type of social control can increased economic resources be used for equitable purposes. Thus, the first school comes in primarily to analyse economic growth, giving political criteria a secondary role, while the second tends to see economic processes in political terms.

"Whatever may be the political biases in terms of development theories, particularly those relating to Third World, there seems to have emerged a general agreement that develop-ment is more than economic growth and it is for the social analysts like anthropologists and sociologists to look into them in terms of socio-cultural indicators".

The Gandhian strategy of development aimed at balanced development of the city and the village. The village needed protection against the inroads of the cities. At one time the cities were dependent on villages. Now the reverse is true. In Gandhiji's opinion, villages were being exploited by cities and the revival of the village was possible only when it was no more exploited. Industrialization on a mass scale will necessarily

lead to the passive or active exploitation of the villages as the problem of competition and marketing comes in (Harijan, 1936: 226 cf. Vidyarthi, 1982: 7).

Dak and others (1982) mention: "The concept of 'development', despite its many variants, continues to remain controversial. While disagreement among scholars persists as to how the term 'development' should be viewed, discussion on the subject interestingly centers around the problem of mass poverty and the ways to overcome it, whatever conception scholars use of 'development' improvement in conditions cannot be achieved in mass poverty.

"What is of greater relevance in this regard is the outcome of development and its consequence for the majority of the poor and the weak. The main test lies in the extent to which development has been able to improve the conditions of the majority of its population as measured, for the want of better indicator, in terms of increase in income of the poorer ones while achieving in GNP or GNP per capita. It is not necessary that the increase in GNP would be accompanied by increase in income of poorer sections particularly when large population is living under the conditions of poverty. The increase in the GNP may be due to one or more of the following:

1. substantial increase in the income of small and narrowly circumscribed richer and dominant section,
2. increase in the income of all the sections, and
3. increase in the income of majority of the poor section of the population.

The main objective of the development is served if the increase in GNP is achieved through any or both of the last two options. It may be asserted that this has not happened in case of India and the increase in GNP was the manifestation of the increase in income of the small richer section. What has been the conse-quence of development? From economic stand point and from the point of view of nation, the experience has been rewarding.

As large section of the population comprises of poor , one is tempted to examine if the development had any meaning for the poor. In other words, have the poor benefitted in proportion to their share? Analysis suggests that gain made by the top 20% could be made at the cost of the bottom 40% of the families. Clearly, the bulk of the poor people continues to or witnessed deterioration under the conditions of development. In other words, development has

not been meaningful to them .

"Gunnar Myrdal argues that economic inequality is typically the outcome of social inequality and reverse is also true. Referring to India, he asserted that inequalities have been solidified by the rigid social stratification . Also, indiscriminate industrialization led to their further exploitation and forced most people in the lower ladder to join labour force by banning their traditional arts and crafts" (cf. Dak and others).

Sharma (1982) writes: "Development, at the conceptual level, continues to be in an incipient stage, struggling to develop into a comprehensive theoretical framework. It is true, that serious attempts by the scholars of different disciplines are on way in search of answers to the current inadequacies in attainment of development targets stemming from the innate weaknesses of the planning process. Within the broad spectrum, development can be regarded as all pervading human activity discovering the latent potentialities and mobilizing them to achieve the desired societal goals. Most of the developing countries want to achieve a secure place in the international community, protect themselves against outside aggression, preserve domestic order, increase the rate of economic growth and provide both psychological and material security. To meet these requirements, social scientists have to play a key role in not only identifying the goals but also looking into the institutional arrangements which hinder or facilitate the achievements of the goals and the desired objectives. While the realisation of these issue has recently grown considerably, institutional and administrative arrangements have not yet been able to develop capabilities to formulate relevant policy proposals. The built-in structural and attitudinal constraints in traditional organisational systems and prevailing poverty scenario have not always been easy to comprehend in response to changing substantive and development policy needs of the developing countries. No wonder, most of the efforts remained pre-occupied with process and procedural activities, narrow departmental and sectoral considerations ad hoc decision-making and routine administration. Hence the need to have another look at the public policy mechanism in the context of development needs and people's aspirations."

He further mentions: "In developing countries like India, while formulating policies and programmes, insufficient consideration is given to the political feasibility of the programmes and the administrative capability for implementation. Leadership in policy making continues to be the preserve of the political leaders and they are expected to expose policy issues to critical debate and scrutiny. The common experience is that politicians generally do not make the issues too explicit and the citizens are either apathetic or resistant to change. To ensure a healthy dialogue between policy analysis and political leaders on the one hand, and between policy analysts and the public on the other, is a basic dilemma. Again, policy making process has to change from the present bargaining and political pay off approach. It is here that greater knowledge and understanding of the potential role of policy analysis as a source for improvement in policy making is to be emphasized."

III

A frequent dichotomy used in discussions of development is the difference between traditional states and modern nations. The terminology is not intended to make an invidious comparison, but to describe an empirical difference. Traditional states are primarily agricultural in their economics, with minimal specialization; have small elites sharply differentiated from the mass of the population; have relatively simple governments; and tend to be static in culture and society. Modern nations are highly industrialized with expanding economics; have a wide range of specializations and a highly differentiated social structure; have complex governments adapted to the needs of the productive enterprise; and are subject to rapid changes. Developing nations, in this terminology, are those in process of change from transitional to modern without implying any single sets of goals or details of the process (Beals and Hoijer,1971: 621).

Using this terminology, an anthropologist, Anthony Leeds (1964:1321-1347) has suggested a general model of complex cultures over time which may be summarized as follows:

1. Expanding agrarian states: These are states with primarily agrarian economics which have expanded political controls over adjacent areas often controls are purely administrative or military; tribute is often extracted, but local taxation or administrative machinery may be little affected.

2. Static (traditional) agrarian states: These are states with essentially stable boundaries; agrarian economics with simple and

relatively unchanging technologies; speciali-zation in production limited to the handicraft level and largely for luxury goods; small, wealthy elites absorbing most of the relatively small surplus production; and minimal administrative and governmental machinery necessary to keep order and maintain defense.

3. Expanding industrial nations: There are countries with pre-dominantly industrial economics. With highly specialized working forces, with a large number of national institutions recognized by and affecting most of the population within national bounda-ries, many varieties of social institutions, and complex governmental systems with extensive bureaucracies closely geared to the productive processes.

4. Static industrial nations: A highly industria-lized country with a stable population and an equilibrium between goals and resources could become static.

Developing countries in this analysis are those changing from category 2, static or traditional agrarian societies to category 3, expanding industrial societies.

Leeds has then applied this typology to an analysis of Brazil, …. and collected and analyzed a large number of career histories of Brazilians in various kinds of key positions. Relating these data to other evidence of change in Brazil he found a number of characteristics, he suggests, may be typical of developing nations. Among these are the following:

1. Modernisation demands creation of a large number of new roles in the society. This creates new alternatives for part of the population and leads to new social forms as the status of these roles becomes established.

2. People occupying new roles at first are self-taught, or auto-didacts. To some degree the early occupants of these roles define their scope and characteristics.

3. With time, new roles become curricularized, that is, their requirements become more standa-rdized and ways of learning them become esta-blished.

4. There is a shortage of personnel for many new roles. In consequence , able individuals may occupy several distinct roles often in the form of holding several distinct jobs.

5. Informal groups form for mutual support and to complete for power and influence

6. Kinship ties remain important….. An ideal situation is one in which an individual with any problem can find a distant kinsman or a friend of a kinsman to assist him.
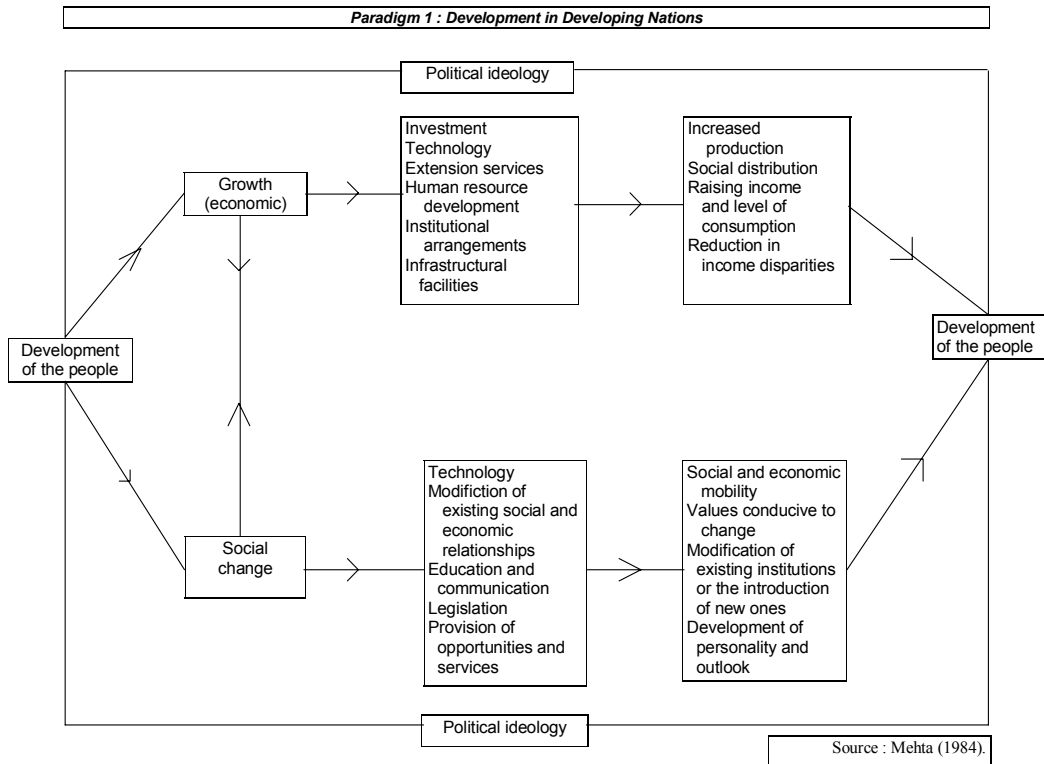
7. In contrast to a more traditional period, political power and decision making involves the leaders of an increasing number of special – interest groups.

Leeds also has documented how access to positions of power is restricted through poor communications and obstacles to education.

A somewhat different approach has been proposed by Richard Adams (1967). Adams suggests that the developing nations are undergoing secondary industrialization. The centres of primary industrialization are western Europe, the United States, and perhaps Japan; here industrialization had its beginnings, developed, and is now far advanced, with high levels of production. During the developmental period of these countries, the rest of the world participated only as markets and sources of raw materials. This marginal participation caused little change in social structures; if anything, it frequently enhanced the power and wealth of local elites. Especially since World War II, industrialization spread outward from the primary centres of origin. Industrialization, to succeed, must involve extensive social changes and new types of administrative and decision making machinery within government. In the primary centres of industrialization processes were slow and the related social and political changes took place over two centuries. In developing nations, however, highly evolved forms of industry are being introduced very rapidly; the effect upon traditional societies and governments often is disruptive. The needed ways of modernisation are not always obvious and frequently are resisted.

Adams argues that what is common to all developing countries embarked on moderni-sation is a redistribution of power. In traditional cultures central power was limited and shared with local centres of power, such as the owner of a large hacienda or coalitions of landowners, with local a government. Any government committed to industrialization to any degree must develop new sources of power, cope with new challenges to its authority from rising industrial interests, find development capital, and improve planning decisions nationally. Government, thus, comes to operate somewhat more independently and seeks to control other sources of power and to develop competing lines of support. At lower levels alternative choices are opened. Labor unions, peasant leagues, and land-reform movements offer alternative access

Paradigm 1 : Development in Developing Nations

Political ideology

Growth (economic)

Investment
Technology
Extension services
Human resource
  development
Institutional
  arrangements
Infrastructural
  facilities

Increased
  production
Social distribution
Raising income
  and level of
  consumption
Reduction in
  income disparities

Development of the people

Development of the people

Social change

Technology
Modifiction of
  existing social and
  economic
  relationships
Education and
  communication
Legislation
Provision of
  opportunities and
  services

Social and economic
  mobility
Values conducive to
  change
Modification of
  existing institutions
  or the introduction
  of new ones
Development of
  personality and
  outlook

Political ideology

Source : Mehta (1984).

to power sources and opportunities to play off one power centre against, another. New employment possibilities permit peasants to escape the monopoly of power by the landowner.

Adams views development in broad terms as related to the emergence of a new technology, industrialization, originating in limited areas of western Europe and today spreading into the rest of the world. In 1953, Beals presented a similar analysis. He likened the industrial revolution to the Neolithic revolution, a sweeping technological change accompanied by a sharp rise in population and many social changes, including the shift to permanent village life. This revolution was seen as having its own dynamic; peoples in most of the world either adopted the new technology or were displaced, except in a few areas too remote or unsuitable for farming. The industrial revolution is seen as inherently expansive and international in its effects, destined to involve all of mankind regardless of various political systems at present associated with it. An important difference between the Neolithic revolution (and later metallurgical and urban revolutions) and the current industrial – scientific revolution lies in the fact that social science today gives man the tools to guide and control current changes.

These views are challenged by those who see the underdeveloped countries as the victims of colonialism which prevented industrialization and attempted to preserve the colonies as markets and sources of raw materials.

We can conceive of development as a dynamic concept for a stable society and planned change within a socially acceptable, technically feasible and economically viable framework. Mehta suggests a paradigm on development according to him (in the light of paradigm-1) one should view the development of the people in terms of not only increasing production and promoting economic mobility but also in terms of distributive justice, reduction in income disparities, inducing social mobility and development of the personality and outlook as these factors have far-reaching consequences for the vast mass of the poor in the developing nations. Irrespective of the given political ideology of a nation, the core of development should be the people. It is man who creates a

society. Human beings act both as an instrument and means for social development whereas society is the ultimate desired end which gets evolved from one level to the other with the evolution of man.

In view of the complexity and magnitude of problems of abject poverty and ignorance in the Third World countries and because of the 'culture of poverty' and 'factor of marginality' built into the social structure of these nations, one has to choose strategies, methods or approaches which sensitise the poverty groups. This is to help them acquire necessary know-ledge and skills in order to make a living on their own and save themselves from the exploitative grip of the privileged and the rich. This would require appropriate developmental methods to develop the personality and outlook of these target groups, equitable distribution of produced goods and services, reducing the scale of profits and income disparities. Only then do the developing nations have a future; otherwise, the rising number of poor over the years will pose a threat to world economy and peace.

Ray Kiely (1995) examines from the 1950s to the late 1960s the dominant discourse in development theory – modernisation theory. In his write up he also examines (chiefly with the work of Bill Warren) alternatives to moderni-sation theory and orthodox Marxism, namely, underdevelopment, dependency and world systems theories.

Modernisation theory arose in the historical context of the European and Japanese empires and the beginning of the Cold War. It was in this context that the term 'Third World' was first used by the independent left in Frace to desirable a 'third way' or 'third path' between capitalism and communism. The Third World leaders such as Nehru, Nasser and Sukharno challenged the primacy in the global order of the East –West conflict. These leaders began to utilise the term Third World describing the inequalities in wealth and power between the rich North and poor South. In the 1950s and 1960s many principles of Non-Aligned Movement were in some ways compatible with modernisation theory, despite some clear differences. Although far more moderate than structuralist development economics, it shared some of its assumptions and most of the strategic goals, particularly modernisation through industrialization (Kiely, 1995).

In his conclusion he argues that there is a common thread in all these works, based on

'develop-mentalism' which is best described as a post war version of evolutionary theory.

The theory of modernisation was an attempt by mainly First World scholars to explain the social reality of the 'new states' of the Third World. The attainment of a modern society was seen as the strategic goal for those new nations. This theory was defined as a social system based on achievement, universalism and individualism (Parsons and others, 1962). The modern, Western world of social mobility, equal opportunity, the rule of law and individual freedom was contrasted with traditional societies, which were based on ascribed status, hierarchy and personalized social relations. The purpose of modernisation theory was to explain, and promote, the transition from traditional to modern society.

Critics of modernisation theory indicate that at times, it is unclear whether this theory was an analytical or prescriptive device. It left a number of unanswered questions. On the question of whether modernisation was actually occurring or whether it should occur. It was also unclear as to the motives of those promoting modernisation was it to relieve poverty or to provide a bulwork against communism? Also, the basic problem with this theory is that it assumes that these is an unproblematic transition from traditional society to modernity.

Development theory has all too easily constructed models of development and under development that are divorced from the real history and struggles of agents in the global political economy. Such a priori theories have, therefore, become divorced from the social reality.

Today there is a widespread consensus that the traditional concept of development which focused primarily on economic dimension, failed to provide a sound theoretical orientation. There were many social scientists who proceeded with economic and / non-economic yardsticks as well. Yet a satisfactory paradigm to assist in this situation was not forthcoming. The present authors, following the lines of Joan Frank da Costa (1989), propose to view the present state of affair, in a different way. The major emphasis is a shift from the earlier ones in the sense that they wish to examine those 'musts' which are essentials or prerequisites for a concept like development. These are but those directions which, the authors feel, may help one to develop a paradigm to understand the social reality better.

* Development must be total and integrated. The emphasis on development from economic angle solely needs to revised and modified to accommodate other aspects as well. Prominent among others is the inclusion of socio-cultural and religious aspects of a society. da Costa very aptly wrote: "It must transcend purely economic dimensions in order to include social considerations- food, health, living conditions and employment – and the whole dimension of cultural and spiritual self-realisation embracing creativity, quality of life, and the rights of man." Isolated or truncated growth of certain quarters or sectors does not necessarily correspond to real development and causes growing 'dependency and vulnerability. Strong horizontal and vertical linkages must bind together different social units and ensure complete communication and under dependence and full integration.

* Development must be directed towards a just and equitable social order. This requires for its establishment, in general, structural transformations allowing for the participation by all sections of the society in the benefits of science and technology, and not only in their negative effects. In developing countries, it is particularly necessary to eliminate or at least lessen the gap between the rich and the poor. Participation of the poor and getting a matching return shall be the right step. The rich should not get richer at the expenses of the poor.

* Development must be democratic and rational. It essentially should respond to the choices made by the people as a whole. Any technological decision dictated by scientific/technological logic and self executory must be categorically rejected or denied. The priorities of a society are not purely scientific or technological and hence they must not be allowed to be imposed indiscrimately. This problem involves' nothing less than the freedom of mankind to determine its own destiny'.

* Development must be planned and requires constant attention from and intervention by competent authorities. da Costa writes: " This does not mean, of course, the mandatory exclusion of private interest. It appears, however, to be generally accepted that the free play of economic forces does not automatically lead to an equitable diffusion of scientific and technological potential, but instead, it leads frequently to concentration and polarization of capabilities and benefits in highly developed centers." Thus the alignment of the private enterprise and voluntary organisations with national objectives needs to be ensured by appropriate mechanisms.

* Development must be determined and self-generated. This applies not only to the capacity for selecting a development style but also must assure its application in order to eliminate or at least reduce dependency and vulnerability. It is understandable that self-reliance can not be achieved by national effort alone.

* Development must be original. It must be innovative. Imitation of models is undesirable. Styles of development should not only be diverse and respond to country specific economic and current social structures, natural and human environment and cultural integrity but should also be in accordance with the objectives of each country and the way it perceives its own future. In this sense, the notion of 'gap' between developed and developing countries acquires a different significance. Also, it must neither depend on the importation of out moded technologies from developed countries nor even advanced technology developed somewhere else. "Only the mastery of world scientific knowledge, including the knowledge which for economic reasons has never been applied in developed countries, can assure an original, creative technological development."

* Development must respect the integrity of the environment, both natural and cultural, as well as the traditional structures which are often necessary for the conservation of a country's social solidarity and cohesion. This includes the safeguarding of the national heritage and protection against all forms of imposed alien values.

* Development planning must be based on a realistic definition of national needs and any model, economic or non-economic, must be consistent with the national characteristics of a nation.

ABSTRACT The present article deals with the fundamental

concept of development in general as well as in relation to the empirical reality existing in most of the Third World countries. The first section deals essentially with the theoretical dimensions of development. Various dimensions of the concept, as examined from the various writings of social scientists, have also been discussed in this section. The second section deals with the concept of development in the developing countries of the Third World. And finally, in the third section an attempt has been made to develop a paradigm, based on writings of anthropologists and other social scientists**.**

REFERENCES

Adams, Richard N.: *The Second Sowing.* Chander Publishing Co., San Francisco (1967).

Banerjee, B.G.: Rural development and the social anthropologist. *Indian Anthropologist*, **10 (2):**109-114 (1980).

Banerjee, B.G: On development and tribal development. *Tribal Research Bulletin*, **7(1):** 9-11 (1984).

Banerjee, B.G.: In the social context of education and tribal development. *Tribal Research Bulletin*, **10 (1):** 16-23 (1987).

Beals, Ralph L.: The Village in the Industrial World. *Scientific Monthly*, **LXXVII:** 65-75 (1953).

Beals, Ralph L. and Hoijer, Harry: *An Introduction to Anthropology*. The Macmillan Company, NewYork (1971).

Bhagwati, P.N.: Inaugural Address. In: *International Symposium on Problems of Development of Underprivileged Communities of the Third World Countries*. Vigyan Bhawan, New Delhi (October 2-8, 1982).

Burton, Henry J.: Contemporary theorising on economic growth. In: *Theories of Economic Growth.* Bert F. Hoselitz (Ed.). Free Press, Glencoe (1961).

Dube, S.C.: Social Development. In: *Seminar on India and Indo-German Relations held at Bonn*. Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla (October 28-30, 1973).

da Costa, Joan Frank: Twelve 'musts' for development. In: *The Unesco Courier.* Jean Gaudin (Ed.): The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, UNESCO, Place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris France (1979).

Dak, T.M., Sharma, M.L. and Singh, Raj: Structural constraints in development: A need of rethinking. In: *Seminar on Development: Socio-cultural Dimensions.* Panjab University, Chandigarh (February 15-17, 1982).

Ferguson, James.: Development. In: *Encyclopaedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology.* Alan Barnard and Jonathan Spencer (Eds.). Routledge, London (1996).

Galnoor, Itzhak.: Social information for what. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (January, 1971).

Kiely, R.: *Sociology and Development: The Impasse and Beyond*. University College London Press, London (1995).

Leeds, Anthony.: Brazilian Careers and Social Structure: An Evolutionary Models and a Case History. *American Anthropologist*, **66:** 1321-1347 (1964).

Mehta, Shiv R.: *Social Development in Mauritius*. Wiley Eastern Limited, New Delhi (1981).

Mehta, Shiv R.:*Rural Development Policies and Programmes*. Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi (1984).

Moore, Wilbert E.: *Social Change*. Prentice Hall of India, New Delhi (1965).

Nandy, A.: Concept of Development. In: *The Times of India*, (July 5, 1983).

Parsons, T., Bales, R. and Shils, E.: *Working papers on the theory of action*. Collier –Macmillan, London (1962).

Sharma, S.K.: Policy Analysis and Development Effort: Emerging concerns. In: *Seminar on Development*: *Socio-cultural Dimensions*. Panjab University, Chandigarh (February 15-17, 1982).

Vidyarthi, L.P.: Presidential Address. In: *International Symposium on Problems of Development of Underprivileged Communities of The Third World Countries*. Vigyan Bhawan, New Delhi (October 2-8, 1982).

Authors' Address: **Dr. B.G. Banerjee,** *Professor* and **Dr. A.K. Sinha,** *Reader,* Department of Anthropology, Panjab University, Chandigarh 160 014, India