PREFACE

With its grounding in the "guiding pillars of Access, Equity, Equality, Affordability and Accountability," the New Education Policy (NEP 2020) envisions flexible curricular structures and creative combinations for studies across disciplines. Accordingly, the UGC has revised the CBCS with a new Curriculum and Credit Framework for Undergraduate Programmes (CCFUP) to further empower the flexible choice based credit system with a multidisciplinary approach and multiple/ lateral entry-exit options. It is held that this entire exercise shall leverage the potential of higher education in three-fold ways – learner's personal enlightenment; her/his constructive public engagement; productive social contribution. Cumulatively therefore, all academic endeavours taken up under the NEP 2020 framework are aimed at synergising individual attainments towards the enhancement of our national goals.

In this epochal moment of a paradigmatic transformation in the higher education scenario, the role of an Open University is crucial, not just in terms of improving the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) but also in upholding the qualitative parameters. It is time to acknowledge that the implementation of the National Higher Education Qualifications Framework (NHEQF) National Credit Framework (NCrF) and its syncing with the National Skills Qualification Framework (NSQF) are best optimised in the arena of Open and Distance Learning that is truly seamless in its horizons. As one of the largest Open Universities in Eastern India that has been accredited with 'A' grade by NAAC in 2021, has ranked second among Open Universities in the NIRF in 2024, and attained the much required UGC 12B status, Netaji Subhas Open University is committed to both quantity and quality in its mission to spread higher education. It was therefore imperative upon us to embrace NEP 2020, bring in dynamic revisions to our Undergraduate syllabi, and formulate these Self Learning Materials anew. Our new offering is synchronised with the CCFUP in integrating domain specific knowledge with multidisciplinary fields, honing of skills that are relevant to each domain, enhancement of abilities, and of course deep-diving into Indian Knowledge Systems.

Self Learning Materials (SLM's) are the mainstay of Student Support Services (SSS) of an Open University. It is with a futuristic thought that we now offer our learners the choice of print or e-slm's. From our mandate of offering quality higher education in the mother tongue, and from the logistic viewpoint of balancing scholastic needs, we strive to bring out learning materials in Bengali and English. All our faculty members are constantly engaged in this academic exercise that combines subject specific academic research with educational pedagogy.We are privileged in that the expertise of academics across institutions on a national level also comes together to augment our own faculty strength in developing these learning materials. We look forward to proactive feedback from all stakeholders whose participatory zeal in the teaching-learning process based on these study materials will enable us to only get better. On the whole it has been a very challenging task, and I congratulate everyone in the preparation of these SLM's.

I wish the venture all success.

Professor Indrajit Lahiri
Vice Chancellor

Netaji Subhas Open University

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: Members :

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Netaji Subhas Open University

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Assistant Professor of Political Science
Netaji Subhas Open University

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Assistant Professor of Political
Administration
Netaji Subhas Open University

Dipankar Sinha
Professor of Political Science
University of Calcutta

Debajit Goswami
Assistant Professor of Public Administration
Netaji Subhas Open University

: Course Writers :

Module-I Units 1–5
Asis Mistry
Assistant Professor of Political Science
University of Calcutta

Module-II Units 1–5
Rajyavishek Pradhan
Scholar of Political Science
University of North Bengal

Module-III Units 1–5
Sujay Ghosh
Associate Professor of Political Science
Vidyasagar University

: Format Editor :

Debajit Goswami
Assistant Prof. of Public Administration
Netaji Subhas Open University

: Course Editor :

Chitrita Chowdhury
Former Associate Professor
Vidyasagar College

Notification

Ananya Mitra
Registrar (Additional Charge)

Netaji Subhas Open University

Course : Development Administration
Code : 6CC-PA-06

Module - I : Introduction

Module - II : Bureaucracy and Development

Module - III : Problems of Development

Module – I
Introduction

Unit – 1 ❑ Meaning and Scope of Development Administration

Structure

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1.1 Learning Objectives

- To understand the concept of development and how it relates to public administration.
- To analyse the challenges and opportunities of development administration
- To develop critical thinking and analytical skills.
- To promote ethical and socially responsible leadership.

1.2 Introduction

Development Administration as an idea is a by-product of a comparative study of Public Administration in the Third World which is making efforts to attain self-

generated economic growth. The term 'Development Administration' was coined by U. L. Goswami in 1955. However, the formal recognition was given when the Comparative Administration Group of the American Society for Public Administration and Committee on Comparative Politics of Social Sciences Research Council of the USA laid its intellectual foundations. Later on, it was popularised worldwide by scholars like Edward W. Weidner, Fred W. Riggs, Joseph La Polombara, and Albert Waterson. The essence of development administration is to bring about change through integrated, organised and properly directed governmental action.

In the recent past, the governments in most developing nations have shifted their focus on development using planned change and people's participation. With this shift of administrative concern towards developmental objectives the researchers and practitioners of Public Administration have been forced to conceptualise the developmental condition and bridge the gaps in the administrative theory. The growing welfare functions of the government have brought into the limelight the limitations of the traditional theory of administration. The essence of administration in the present conditions lies in its capacity to bring about change in the structure and behaviour of different administrative institutions, to develop an acceptance of the change, and to create a system that can sustain change and improve the capacity of institutions to change. All these call for renewed efforts on the part of institutions engaged in the tasks of development. Thus development administration as an area of study and as a means to realise developmental goals assumes importance. This unit will highlight the meaning and scope of development administration.

1.3 Meaning of Development Administration

There is no uniform definition of development administration which is agreeable to all. But we can at least arrive at certain basic features and characteristics to understand the concept of development administration. We should try to understand the meaning of the concept viz., administration of development and development of administration.

(i) Administration of Development

Development is integral to the aims and activities of the government, especially in developing countries. Because of the paucity of resources, human and material in their countries, the need for making optimum utilisation of available means and

augmenting new means assumes great importance. Development administration thus becomes a means through which the government brings quantitative and qualitative changes in an economy. The government is engaged in not only fixing priorities but also making efforts to realise them. Though Weidner is said to be the first to conceptually explain the definition of development administration, many other scholars, like Riggs, Ferrel Heady, Montgomery, Gant, and Pai Panandikar have attempted to define the term in their ways. However, before we analyse the different definitions and meanings of the term, it should be mentioned that development administration is an effort towards the planned transformation of the economy involving not only the sphere of administration but also the formulation of policies and indeed the society as a whole. It is an effort at the synchronisation of changes in all spheres of development-economic, political, social and cultural. Thus development is not only viewed in terms of growth process, but it also includes a process of social change.

The State plays a leading role in bringing about development through its administrative system. To discharge this role the state requires a distinct type of support by administration which involves, as has been observed by Swerdlow, a special understanding of problems in developing countries. These must be perceptible at different operative levels. Officials must make enough different decisions, adopt enough different policies and engage in enough different activities to warrant the different designations of development administration. Thus development administration is simply termed as an action or functioning part of the government administration. It is action-oriented and places the administration at the centre to facilitate the attainment of development objectives.

For Harry J. Friedman development administration means :

- the implementation of programmes designed to bring about modernity (i.e.socioeconomic progress and nation-building) and

- the changes within the administrative system which increase its capacity to implement the programmes. According to Hahn Beenlee, the development administration is involved in managing a government or an agency so that it acquires an increasing capability to adapt to and act upon new and continuing social changes to achieve sustained growth. Gant observed that development administration is "that aspect of Public Administration in which focus of attention is on organisations & administrative public agencies

in such a way. as to stimulate and facilitate fine programmes of social and economic progress. It has the purpose of making change attractive and possible." Thus development administration involves two elements :

1) the bureaucratic process that initiates and facilitates socio-economic progress by making the optimum use of talents and expertise available; and

2) mobilisation of administrative skills to speed up the development process.

Development administration concentrates on the needs and desires of the people. It is concerned with the formulation of plans, programmes, policies, projects and their implementation. It plays a central role in carrying out planned change i.e. it is concerned with planning, co-ordination, control, monitoring and evaluation of plans and programmes. It is not only concerned with the application of policies as determined by the political representatives in existing situations but also with introducing efforts to modify existing situations to serve the cause of the masses. The administration of development implies :

  (i) the execution of programmes designed to bring about progressive improvement and

 (ii) the changes which increase its capacity to implement such programmes within an administrative system. In brief, the administration of development involves the following objectives :

● application of innovative strategies for development

● emphasis on development at the grassroot level, Development has to be a need-oriented and self-reliant process

● stress on social development and human capital as a major resource

● development has to be viewed not merely as a technological problem but also as an ideological norm

● profound and rapid change to establish a distinct and just social order

● recognising and highlighting the unity, rather than a dichotomy between politics and administration

● effective and efficient use of scarce resources

● creation of a politics-administrative environment which is oriented toward securing the basic needs of the population

● freedom of administrative machinery to express its values and beliefs without fear or favour on programmes and projects.

1.4 Understanding the Meaning of Development Administration

The term Development Administration is a composition of two distinguished concepts i.e. 'Development' and 'Administration' :

Development may be generally understood as a widely participatory process of directed social change in a society, intended to bring about both social and material advancement including greater equality, freedom and other valued qualities for the majority of people through their acquisition of greater control over their environment. Development in any particular country consists of a synergy of such development goals as promoting literacy, improving nutrition and health, limiting family size, or increasing productivity. The conceptual upbringing of development administration without a doubt largely belongs to western scholarship. However, the primary goal behind the origin of the development paradigm was to offer institutional and procedural models to the newly decolonized states of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the early 1950s. That is why development is the top priority for most national governments all over the world, especially for the political systems in the Third World. There are different spectacles or approaches to looking at development that include economic, psychological, social, cultural dependency and diffusionist.

The term administration originated from the two Latin words 'ad' and 'minister' which means 'to serve'. The administration is etymologically any group activity for the accomplishment of a common goal. It is thus a process of management which is practised by all kinds of organizations from the household to the most complex system of the government. According to Professor Nigro, "Administration is the organization and use of men and materials o accomplish a purpose". Pfiffner has defined administration as "the organization and direction of human and material resources to achieve desired ends". The problem is that no unanimous definition of administration is available to serve the purpose of a general reader. Therefore a working definition of administration may be fabricated as the administration is concerned with the proper organization of men and materials to achieve desired ends. It consists of 'doing the work' or 'getting the work done by others'.

1.5 Development of Administration Or Administrative Development

Development Administration has to be efficient and effective. For that purpose, it has to aim at the enlargement of administrative capabilities and structural and behavioural changes. It is this aspect of administration that is called administrative development or the development of administration. In simple terms, it means the development of the administrative system, 'of administrative health by introducing administrative rationalisation and institution building'. The purpose implicit in this concept is not merely changing the administrative procedures and channels but also bringing out a fundamental change in administration that leads to :

(1) political development

(2) economic growth and

(3) social change

The administration should evolve to be commensurate with societal goals.

Development of administration further means a cultural change in administration. The colonial administrative culture is unsuitable for the changed socio-political ethos of the developing world. Our British legacy has adversely affected the administration. The obsolete Acts e.g. Police Act, 1861, 'cannot take us towards the path of change'. Development of administration should refer to the creation of the ability to adjust to new stimuli or changes. The development of administration aims at qualitative and quantitative transformations in administration with an eye on the performance of management of affairs. The term also implies technological changes in administration to enable it to adopt new modes or techniques of administration. Thus administrative development focuses on adaptability, autonomy and coherence in. administration. In short, administrative development is concerned with :

● The capacity of an administrative system to make decisions to meet the ever-increasing demands coming from the environment and to achieve larger political and socioeconomic goals.

● Increase in size, specialisation and division of tasks and the professional isation of its personnel.

- A pattern of increasing effectiveness in the optimum utilisation of available means and further augmentation of the means, if necessary.

- Increase in administrative capability and capacity.

- Transformation of existing administrative mechanisms into new machinery through modernising the bureaucracy by external inducement, transfer of technology and training.

- Replacement of initiative, practices etc. with those based on priority of needs.

- Reducing the dependence on foreign experts by producing adequately trained manpower.

- Promotion of development initiative.

- Administrative reorganisation and rationalisation.

- Making modernisation culturally related.

- Removing or reducing bureaucratic immobility and widespread corruption.

- Reorientation of established agencies, and the delegation of administrative powers to them.

- Creation of administrators who can provide leadership in stimulating and supporting programmes of social and economic improvement.

The meaning and importance of administrative development as an ingredient of development administration has been well summed up by Caiden in the following words, "Administrative reform is an essential ingredient of development in any country, irrespective of the speed and direction of change. Administrative capacity becomes increasingly important in the implementation of new policies, plans and ideas. The improvements in administrative capacity may involve the removal of environmental obstacles, and structural alternatives in traditional and innovatory institutions bureaucratically organised or otherwise. This would also necessitate changing individual and group attitudes and performance." The behaviour pattern of bureaucrats is as crucial to development administration as the institutions and structures. The purpose of the development of administration is to remove the administrative lag which seriously handicaps governments in planning and executing coordinated programmes of economic and social reforms. The predominant

concern of development administration is to design and administer such development programmes which meet the developmental objectives. It is the administration geared to the task of achieving certain clear-cut and specific objectives and goals expressed in operational terms. Thus development administration is defined as a process of action motivated by and oriented to the achievement of certain predetermined goals.

Administration of development and development of administration are interrelated concepts. Both are dependent on each other. Administration of development is as important as development of administration. To achieve development goals there must bethe proper assessment of resources, proper plan formulation, evaluation and. implementation, adequate involvement of people, emphasis on technological change and self-reliance. At the same time, we also need developed bureaucracy, integrity in administration, initiative, innovativeness, delegation of powers, decentralised decision-making etc. Administrative development cannot take place without administrative change and reform. Both concepts support each other and development of administration is needed for administration of development. As per F. Riggs 'development administration' and 'administrative development' have a chicken-and-egg kind of relationship. The superiority of one concept over the other cannot be established.

1.6 Scope of Development Administration

With the de-emphasis on the dichotomy between development administration and non-development administration, the scope of development administration as a discipline as well as a profession has increased enormously in recent years.

Firstly, the discipline or the study of development administration has focused on the progressive goals of administrative systems and thus has strengthened the ideological orientation of public administration.

Secondly, the values have taken a central place in the analysis of development administration. These progressive goals are being studied in a very wide context involving political, economic, social, cultural and technological systems. Thus, the students of development administration are examining the variegated dimensions of political, economic, social, cultural and technological development objectively.

Thirdly, development administration analysis is not confined to national boundaries. It transcends them and has rightly become cross-national and cross-cultural in its approach and orientation.

Fourthly, its expanding intellectual network has enveloped several branches of public administration that have their origin in a variety of functional administrative areas. For instance, areas such as industrial administration, agricultural administration, educational administration, health administration, and the continually growing intellectual network of development administration would encompass irrigation administration and social welfare administration.

Thus, development administration, going beyond the issues of large-scale transformation in developing countries, helps in strengthening the empirical base of public administration as a discipline and thus makes it more 'rigorous'. Its ideas and lessons can be fruitfully utilised for facilitating the process of all-round development. Little wonder, development administration, during the past four decades, has influenced the whole notion of governance at the national as well as the international levels. In South Asia, as well as in other regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the concerns of holistic transformation of societies have penetrated the philosophy and practices of governance.

1.7 The Interdependence of Development Administration

First, the meaning, nature, scope and significance of political, economic, social, cultural and technological development has become a widely accepted truth. This has made the strategies of national transformation increasingly multi-faceted and ecological in orientation.

Second, the administrative system being the crux of the governance system has become an integral component of any process of change. It is impossible to conceive of 'development' in any realm without first examining the requisite role of the administrative system. What lends sustainability to the process of development is a sound administrative system that provides vitality and viability to the change process.

Third, the process of nation-building has become closely intertwined with the process of institution-building as a result of the thrust of development administration.

Whether it is urbanisation, rural transformation, educational development, health improvement, women's welfare, childcare or technological growth, no organised development is possible without systematic planning, programming, coordinating, human resource management and administration of non-human resources. Thus, the dimension of effectiveness in the process of governance has taken a crucial place. Undoubtedly, this is the clear impact of the sprawling scope of development administration.

Fourth, the development administration has paved the way for a new 'humane' administration. It has propelled the promotion of enterprising and inspiring leadership that generates a motivational climate and induces the best among the personnel forming the network of development organisations. This has led to the expansion of the scope of development administration. Lastly, with the emergence of strong faith in the philosophy of liberalisation, globalisation, privatisation, and public-private partnership, the scope of development administration is transcending the public (government) systems and is influencing the functioning of even the emergent modified private sector that is learning the strategies of co-existing and co-functioning with the public system without in any way imbibing the dysfunctionalities of bureaucracies. In times to come, the scope of development administration is bound to further expand vertically as well as horizontally.

1.8 Conclusion

In conclusion, development administration is a multidisciplinary field that encompasses a range of theories, policies, and practices aimed at promoting economic, social, and political development. It involves the management of resources and institutions, the formulation and implementation of policies and programs, and the promotion of participatory decision-making and accountability. The scope of development administration is vast, encompassing issues such as poverty reduction, environmental sustainability, gender equality, and good governance. The meaning and scope of development administration are continually evolving, reflecting changing social, economic, and political contexts. As such, understanding the meaning and scope of development administration is essential for those who seek to promote effective, ethical, and socially responsible leadership in the public sector.

1.9 Summary

● Development administration is a field that deals with managing resources and implementing policies and programs to promote economic, social, and political development.

● The scope of development administration is vast and it includes issues such as poverty reduction, environmental sustainability, gender equality, and good governance. It involves the promotion of participatory decision-making, accountability, and the formulation of evidence-based policies.

● Understanding the meaning and scope of development administration is essential for effective, ethical, and socially responsible leadership in the public sector.

● Development administration is a continuously evolving field, reflecting the changing social, economic, and political contexts.

1.10 Glossary

● **Development :** A process of positive social change that aims to improve the economic, social, and political well-being of individuals, communities, and societies.

● **Administration :** The management of resources, institutions, policies, and programs aimed at achieving organizational goals and objectives.

● **Public Administration :** The management of public resources, institutions, policies, and programs aimed at promoting public welfare and the common good.

● **Development Administration :** The management of resources, institutions, policies, and programs aimed at promoting economic, social, and political development.

● **Modernization Theory :** A theory that suggests that economic growth and social change can be achieved by adopting Western models of development.

● **Dependency Theory :** A theory that suggests that underdeveloped countries are exploited and dominated by developed countries, resulting in a cycle of dependency.

- **Participatory Development :** An approach to development that emphasizes the active involvement of communities in decision-making and project implementation.

- **Decentralization :** The transfer of power and decision-making authority from central to local government units

- **Public-Private Partnership :** A collaborative arrangement between the government and the private sector aimed at achieving shared goals.

- **Good Governance :** The effective and responsible management of public resources, institutions, policies, and programs, characterized by transparency, accountability, and participation.

1.11 Model Questions

- What is development administration, and how does it differ from public administration?

- What are the main theories and approaches that underpin the practice of development administration?

- What is the scope of development administration, and what are the key issues and challenges that it addresses?

- How does development administration promote participatory decision-making and community involvement in development processes?

- What is the role of government, civil society, and the private sector in promoting economic, social, and political development?

- What are the ethical considerations and challenges in development administration, and how can they be addressed?

- How do policies and programs aimed at poverty reduction, environmental sustainability, and gender equality fit into the scope of development administration?

- What is the role of monitoring and evaluation in development administration, and how can it be used to improve policies and programs?

- How can decentralization and public-private partnerships be used to promote effective and sustainable development?

● How has the meaning and scope of development administration evolved, and what are the implications for its practice today?

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Unit – 2 ❑ Features of Development of Administration

Structure

2.1 Learning Objectives

- Understanding the basic concepts and theories underlying development administration, such as modernization theory, dependency theory, participatory development, and good governance.

- Familiarizing oneself with the scope of development administration, including the key issues and challenges it addresses, such as poverty reduction, environmental sustainability, and gender equality.

- Developing knowledge of the role of government, civil society, and the private sector in promoting economic, social, and political development.

- Gaining an understanding of the ethical considerations and challenges in development administration, and developing skills in effective decision-making, policy analysis, and monitoring and evaluation.

2.2 Introduction

Development administration is a subfield of public administration that focuses on promoting economic, social, and political development in developing countries. The features of development administration reflect its unique role in promoting positive social change by managing resources, institutions, policies, and programs aimed at improving the well-being of individuals, communities, and societies. Development administration encompasses a wide range of activities, from poverty reduction and environmental sustainability to promoting gender equality and participatory decision-making. Understanding the key features of development administration is essential for practitioners and scholars alike, as it provides a framework for effective policy-making and program implementation. This essay will discuss the key features of development administration, including its basic concepts and theories, scope, role of government and other actors, ethical considerations, and decision-making processes.

2.3 Basic Concept of Development of Administration

The concept of development is not new but still, it is in an incipient stage. Since civilization, it has been growing in scope and substance, and the present nature of development greatly differs from that of the early period. Serious attempts have been made by scholars of different disciplines particularly after the Second World War to define the concept of development.

Brandt Commission report stated that Development could never be defined to universal satisfaction. On the same note, Uphoff and IIchman 1972 pointed out that Development was in all probability one of the most depreciated terms in social science, and literature and has been used more than it has been understood.

Many have defined it in terms of an increase in the national economy, others defined it to include social improvement and still others in terms of an increase in the capacity of the political system, while others make no distinction between development and modernization. Development is a complex phenomenon comprising many dimensions—social, political, economic, administrative and so on. Now there is a trend to call 'economic development', 'political development', 'social development', and soon. In the context of public administration, development is

development administration and 'administrative development'. Then economic, political, social and administrative development may be viewed as emerging from development without being developed. So, while defining the concept of development, it is necessary to take an integrated approach. The overall goal of development is therefore to increase the economic, political, and civil rights of all people across genders, ethnic groups, religions, races, regions and countries.

Different Facets of Development of Administrations

Development is the centre of politics of the so-called Third World countries and governments play a key role in national development. Public administration is considered an important mechanism in this development process. The government uses its administrative authority to achieve national development tasks by formulating, organizing and implementing large-scale action programmes. To handle these complex activities of the government, an instrument of development administration is employed.

Development Administration is an instrumental means for defining, consolidating, and implementing national goals in developing countries. The concept of development administration emerged shortly after the Second World War. The field of development administration can be talked about in various contexts but its applicability depends upon mainly the systems which affect it and in turn is affected by the systems.

The problem is that of goal-realization which can be linked to any setting of systems, for our sake of purpose to link development administration with the following contexts :

● Political context

● Economic context

● Social context

Political Context

Administrative development refers to the proliferation and expansion of the bureaucratic organization as the main instrument for programme implementation. Bureaucracy is an important instrument for the implementation of policies. Political parties, interest groups, legislature, judiciary, and electorates have an important role to play in political development. Riggs felt that the basic requirement for a better life for the world and the people of new nations and also expresses that political

development will not be promoted on its own. There can be no public administration and economic growth without the development of administration.

Fainsod advocated that an improvement in the betterment of development administration depends greatly on the quality and training of public servants who handle it. And also on the socio-political environment which liberates their energies. Needless to emphasize bureaucracy has much to determine in the success or failure of governmental plans. Now bureaucracy is mainly referred to as the 'rule of administrative officials'.

Riggs also comprehends it as a concrete organization composed of related roles that serve a large social entity or system as an agent. The persons assuming such roles are engaged in actions which are primarily administrative in function and as already stated the effectiveness of a government to a large extent depends upon the performance of its public servants. It is seen that in several states public servants while exercising political functions have misused their power. In many new states exercise of bureaucratic powers has been balanced by having another set and extra –-bureaucratic institutions, comprising an elected assembly, an electoral system and a party system. Riggs also affirms this view saying that for the effective making of any modern govt. There should be a balance of power between bureaucracy and political representatives or between politics and administration.

In the United States and Western politics, this balance is already there but in developing countries, an imbalance exists between the power of bureaucracy and the power of the constitutive system i.e., legislature, political parties, bureaucracy and elected representatives. Riggs also suggested that in these systems priority needed to be given to efforts to have a fair balance between political and bureaucratic institutions In the political context of administration, there is the need to strengthen and improve both the political as well as bureaucratic institutions. So that the developmental goals which the developing countries have set are not hampered from realization. Improved administrative practices and democratic values largely condition the success of administration of development in developing democracies and therefore should go side by side. According to Pye, three dimensions of equality, capacity and differentiation a syndrome to the development process also suggested that the problem of political development revolves around the relationships between the political culture, authoritative structures and the general political process.

Economic Context

In the economic context, development administration has much to do. Now the economic well-being of the bureaucrats depends upon what they get in exchange of their administrative functions in the form of cash payments, salaries, bonuses, etc.

A salary system or cash payment has a strong bearing on the administration of development. It provides not only living expenses and induces bureaucrats to work effectively but also contrary-wise it makes it possible to control the administrators. To carry out developmental tasks there is thus a great need for the existence of an adequate economic base. Riggs also said that the economic production should be so high that it covers the consumption needs of primary producers and also supports the no of public and private employees who are engaged in tertiary & secondary occupations.

One of the basic aims of the development of a country is to increase the gross national product per capita. Now this depends heavily on economic development. On the other side, this level of economic growth and development in the country has to meet the expenses of bureaucratic organization and the proliferation of specialized government agencies. Thus in this way economic development not only conditions the creation of the kind and extent of bureaucracy if wishes but also provides effective economic control over the bureaucrats by which to assure greater efficiency and effectiveness in the administration. Precisely it may be said that a country which has a high level of economic production can build up a strong bureaucracy capable of carrying out programmes which enhance economic productivity and greatly contribute to developmental goals defined in terms of nationbuilding and socio-economic progress. In the economic context of development administration, an increase in national income enables the society to improve its administrative capabilities and thereby contribute further to national development.

Social Context

The development administration is oriented to the task of, sustaining improvement in social welfare. The provision of health services, housing, cultural amenities, education and a change in the status of women, protection of children regulation of labour and improved status for workers, human rights, etc. come in the purview of the social sector which has to be administered keeping in view the national goals. These goals are taken into account because of the pressures from the formal

organizations. The new states have grown in large numbers. These formal organizations appear to have come up in the shape of Western models such as political parties, public and private corporations, legislatures, trade unions, associations, etc. In developing countries, these organizations have normally vested interests and are often dominated by persons who are either in the political parties or bureaucracy. These organizations appear to serve the interests of their leaders rather than of their members. In the developed system the argument is quite the reverse. Developing societies must develop such organizations as are capable of sustaining improvements in their organized activities.

The three dimensions of development political, social and economic are quite interrelated to each other in, their contexts of development administration.

The political context of development administration stresses the need for a balance between politics and administration.

The economic context emphasizes the rise in national income percapita and the social context demands improvement in the well-being of the people which in the final analysis is the ultimate goal of development.

To judge a level of development of society features like balanced polity, organizational maturity, and the prevalence of a salary system in its bureaucracies. There are essential balanced polity, organizational maturity, and the prevalence of a salary system in its bureaucracies.

2.4 Features of Development of Administration

There are certain distinct features of development administration. We would now discuss them briefly :

1. Change Orientation

The first and foremost element of development administration is its change orientation. Change forms part of the philosophic values of development administration. Development administration involves itself in establishing a new social order in which growth and distributive justice coexist. For Pai Panandikar the central theme of development administration is socioeconomic and political change. Development administration cannot be status-quo-oriented. No development can take place unless and until it introduces certain positive changes in a system. Changes such as

structural reorganisation of administration, innovative programmes to increase production, remove unemployment, poverty etc., and new schemes to improve employer-employee relations must form a part, of development administration.

2. Goal Orientation

Developing countries are facing the problems of poverty, squalor, injustice, unequal distribution of wealth, lopsided agricultural growth, underdeveloped technology etc. These colossal issues need to be tackled systematically by fixation of priorities and goals. Development administration is the means through which the goals of development viz., social justice, modernisation, industrialisation and economic growth can be achieved.

3. Innovative Administration

Development administration focuses on replacing/improving the existing governing structures and norms with the ones that suit the changing political and social environment. In other words, development administration is dynamic and progressive in thought and action. It is interested in identifying and applying new structures, methods, procedures, techniques, policies, planning projects and programmes so that the objectives and goals of development are achieved with the minimum possible resources and time. India, for example, has experimented with many new institutions and procedures which can be termed as the hallmarks of development administration. We have introduced various development programmes like IRDP (Integrated Rural Development Programme), TRYSEM (Training Rural Youth for Self-Employment), NREP (National Rural Employment Programme), DWACRA (Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas), Tribal Development Programmes etc. These programmes broadly aim at the removal of unemployment, the creation of job opportunities and the reduction of poverty. We have also established some development agencies like the District Rural Development Agency, District Planning Cells, State Planning Boards, Co-operatives etc. Thus development administration has to be innovative enough to realise the pre-determined objectives of development. Innovative and creative administration leads to speedy realisation of goals.

Client-Oriented Administration

Development administration is positively oriented towards meeting the needs of the specific target groups, like small and marginal farmers of landless agricultural

labourers and rural artisans in India. The socio-cultural and politico-economic progress of these sections forms the essential basis of performance appraisal of development administrators. Many target group-centred or beneficiary-group-oriented organisations which have to be created to provide these underprivileged sections with the requisite goods and services. It has been suggested that development administration is a 'people-oriented' administration which gives priority to the needs of its beneficiaries by preparing, reviewing and, if necessary, changing the programmes, policies and activities aimed at the satisfaction of the needs of people in question.

The administration is involved in the betterment of a lot of the deprived and the weak. Their upliftment becomes a part of the whole administrative ethos. The welfare of the weaker sections is a part of the administrative value. This feature points out that the meaning, concepts and approaches of development administration are highly motivated and committed to a progressive philosophy aiming at cutting the roots of vested interests in society. This is possible if the people of initiative, extra dedication and perseverance are inducted into the development of administrative structures. Training of personnel can be one effective method of creating such a team. Development administrators should not just formulate plans for the people but even monitor them in such a way that the beneficiaries benefit.

Participation-Oriented Administration

Development administration accepts for its purposes the principle of the associative and participative system of administration. Here, people are not treated as mere passive recipients of benefits of goods and services. They are taken as active participants in the formulation and execution of development plans, policies and programmes. It is recognised that centralised administration will not only be unable to take cognisance of local problems in a realistic frame but it would also be deprived of the use of local initiatives, energies and resources. Hence, effective formulation of programmes and their implementation with the help and association of the local people is now a well-recognised principle of administration. It involves giving people an increasing share in the government's governance and management of developmental affairs. That is why the involvement of Panchayati Raj institutions in planning and administration has found renewed support in India's development strategy. Effective coordination Since development implies increasing specialisation and professionalization, the number of agencies and organisations involved in development tasks has considerably gone up. To have the maximum benefit of this

emergent administrative system, coordination between various administrative units and activities is essential. To achieve maximum results, wastage of resources, time and cost has to be avoided. Development Administration has to coordinate the activities of development agencies and organisations to integrate their efforts and energies for the realisation of development goals. This would even save the administration from the problems of duplication of functions, neglect of important functions and unnecessary focus on irrelevant or marginally relevant activities. It would thus minimise administrative lag.

Ecological Perspective : Development administration shapes the environmental, social and economic systems and also gets affected by it in turn. It is not a closed system. It receives feedback from the social system and responds to the demands put on it by the system. In a way, development administration is related to the environment and involves close interaction between the administration and the environment. The environment sets forth the operative parameters of development administration. It requires the qualities of flexibility and responsiveness in administrative actions and methods. The changes in administration affect its environment and changes in the environment also have a bearing on administration.

2.5 Conceptual Differences Between Traditional and Development Administration

Many scholars like George Gant, Ferrel Heady and others have sought to conceptualise development administration as different from traditional administration. They explain that these two types of administration differ from eachother in terms of purpose, structure and organisation, attitudes and behaviour, capabilities, techniques and methods. This is the implicit meaning of the observation of John Gunnel who says, "The increasing shift of development scenario requires increased diversification and specialisation of knowledge and skills and high level of managerial ability for integrative coordination. To quicken the pace of development there is an additional need for a new breed of administrators of superior calibre andvision with a passion for achieving results and those who can take risks and introduce innovations. There is an increasing need to have heightened sensitivity to the welfare of the poor sections and greater responsiveness to the political process." It follows that development administration has to have different features and should be based on

different requisites than the traditional law and order or generala dministration. The distinction between the traditional and development administration has been presented by S. P. Verma and S. K. Sharma as follows :

Traditional	Development
(i) Regulatory administration (routine operations)	(i) Unpredictable new task or problem (rapidly changing environment)
(ii) Oriented towards efficiency and economy (emphasis on individual performance)	(ii) Oriented towards organizational growth and effectiveness in the achievement of goals (emphasis on group performance and inter-group collaboration)
(iii) Task-oriented and conformity to rules and procedures (concern for security and playing safe, comfort, status and power)	(iii) Relationships oriented towards with emphasis on high programme standards (willingness to take risks, encouraging innovation and change)
(iv) Sharp and elaborate hierarchical structure (strict and authoritative, climate of mistrust)	(iv) Structure shaped by requirements of goals (flexibility and continuously changing roles mutual trust and confidence)
(v) Centralized decision-making (experience as the main guide to problem-solving)	(v) Wide sharing decision making (empirical approach to problem-solving and use of improved aids to decision-making)
(vi) Emphasis on maintaining the status quo (resistance to organisational change)	(vi) Continuing and organizational development in response to environmental demands (development of an organization which is dynamic, adaptive and futuristic)

Traditional administration has been visualised as one concerned with fulfilling all thelegal requirements of governmental operations and maintenance of social stability. In the main, this type of administration confines itself to the maintenance

of law and order, collection of revenues and regulation of national life by the statute requirements. The assumption behind the differentiation between development administration and traditional administration is that administration in newly emergent nations must switch completely from law-and-order values to developmental values. Thus the qualitative goals of development administration i.e. planning for the people, with people's support and co-operation distinguishes it from the quantitative goals of Public Administration i.e. implementing rules. Another point that distinguishes development administration as a separate identity is that "it is not a closed system; the linkages with experts, relationships with the grassroots level and with the people are more important than central structures. Though there are technical and behavioural techniques common to all forms of management, in development administration, external relations have to be optimised therefore resources can be focused on limited incremental goals. Development administration is concerned with attitudes and processes rather than procedures and structures."

However, there are scholars, like W. Wood, who do not favour separation or division of administration into such distinct categories. Wood objects to such dichotomisation because :

the division of government servants into developers and non-developers might result in the loss of esteem to one and a gain in over-importance to the others

This would demoralise the administration

There is insufficient analysis of the term development in that, on the one hand, it is treated as an extension of the 'supposed' law and order and revenue-collecting state and on the other, it appears to have a special relationship with independence and post-colonialisation. The commonness of the two could also be observed from the following facts as; presented by V.A. Pai Panandikar :

(1) The prevailing structure of general administration has a decisive influence on the strengths and weaknesses of development administration.

(2) Both have a common source of authority within the structure of the government, for instance, a cabinet responsible to a legislature.

(3) Several key officials, like the divisional commissioner, and district collector, combine general and developmental functions.

(4) Citizen sees and judges as a whole the acts of administration, drawing no fine distinction between general and development administration.

The differences of views on the question of dichotomy persist leading to an inconclusive debate. However, it may be maintained that the administration for fulfilling the developmental tasks needs to be exclusively studied and explained. The creation of new and separate development agencies and organisations is a further pointer to the growing incapability of the law and order function and revenue-collecting administration. That is why in some states in India an attempt has been made to vest the office of deputy development commissioner or district development officer with only the development administration, That development administration is not synonymous with Public Administration has been pointed out by Gant in the following words :

"Development administration is distinguished from, although not independent of, other aspects and concerns of Public Administration. Certainly, the maintenance of law and order is a prime function of government and is basic to development, although it precedes and is not usually encompassed within that definition of development administration. Similarly, the provision of essential communications and educational facilities and the maintenance of judicial and diplomatic systems would have an impact on but not be an integral part of development administration."

Thus a rigid distinction cannot be made between traditional and development administration. The traditional functions of maintenance of law and order are also basic to development. Development administration has assumed the responsibility of formulating and implementing various development and welfare functions because of the growing complexities of administration and the aspirations of people. These functions are not separate from traditional functions. Maintenance of law and order and security is a precondition for an economy to undertake developmental tasks. But as development administration is wider, broader, participative, innovative and change-oriented, the traditional administration has to create the conditions for the effective working of development administration.

2.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, the features of development administration reflect its unique role in promoting positive social change in developing countries. By managing resources,

institutions, policies, and programs aimed at improving the well-being of individuals, communities, and societies, development administration plays a crucial role in promoting economic, social, and political development. The scope of development administration encompasses a wide range of activities, from poverty reduction and environmental sustainability to promoting gender equality and participatory decision-making. Practitioners and scholars in this field need to have a good understanding of the key features of development administration to design and implement effective policies and programs. Further more, understanding the ethical considerations and challenges in development administration is essential for promoting sustainable and equitable development. Overall, the features of development administration provide a framework for achieving the ultimate goal of promoting human well-being and social justice in developing countries.

2.7 Summary

● Development administration is a subfield of public administration that focuses on promoting economic, social, and political development in developing countries.

● Its features include basic concepts and theories such as modernization theory and participatory development, a broad scope that addresses key issues such as poverty reduction, environmental sustainability, and gender equality, the role of government and other actors in promoting development, ethical considerations, and effective decision-making processes.

● Understanding the features of development administration is essential for designing and implementing effective policies and programs aimed at promoting human well-being and social justice in developing countries.

2.8 Glossary

● **Modernization theory :** A theory that suggests that economic and social development in developing countries can be achieved through the adoption of Western-style institutions and practices.

● **Participatory development :** An approach to development that emphasizes the involvement of local communities in decision-making and implementation.

● **Poverty reduction :** The process of reducing the number of people living in poverty and improving their living standards.

● **Environmental sustainability :** The goal of ensuring that economic and social development is achieved in a way that does not compromise the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

● **Gender equality :** The goal of ensuring that men and women have equal opportunities and rights in all aspects of life.

● **Role of government :** The government plays a crucial role in promoting development by providing policy frameworks, resources, and institutional support.

● **Ethical considerations :** Development administration must take into account ethical considerations such as human rights, social justice, and environmental responsibility.

● **Decision-making processes :** Effective decision-making processes are crucial for achieving development goals and involve gathering and analyzing information, assessing options, and making choices based on evidence and stakeholder input.

● **Stakeholders :** Individuals, groups, and organizations who have an interest or stake in a particular policy or program, and who can influence its implementation and outcomes.

● **Accountability :** The principle that those who are responsible for implementing policies and programs should be answerable for their actions and outcomes and that there should be mechanisms in place to ensure transparency and oversight.

2.9 Model Questions

● What are the basic concepts and theories underlying development administration?

● What is the scope of development administration, and what key issues does it address?

- What is the role of government, civil society, and the private sector in promoting development?

- What are the ethical considerations and challenges in development administration?

- How do effective decision-making processes contribute to achieving development goals?

- Who are the stakeholders in development administration, and how do they influence policy and program outcomes?

- How can accountability be ensured in the implementation of development policies and programs?

- How does participatory development differ from other approaches to development?

- What are the key strategies for reducing poverty and promoting environmental sustainability in developing countries?

- How can gender equality be promoted through development administration?

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Unit – 3 ❑ Background of Development Administration

Structure

3.1 Learning Objectives

● To understand the historical context and evolution of development administration as a field of study and practice.

● To examine the role of colonialism and post-colonialism in shaping the development agenda and the institutions of development administration. To analyze the various theoretical perspectives and debates surrounding development administration, including modernization theory, dependency theory, and post-development theory

● To explore the challenges and opportunities facing development administration in the current global context, including issues such as climate change, globalization, and political instability.

3.2 Introduction

The study of development administration is closely linked to the broader field of development studies, which focuses on the economic, social, and political processes that shape the development of nations and regions. Development administration emerged as a distinct field of inquiry in the post-World War II period, as developing countries sought to modernize and industrialize their economies with the support of international aid agencies and multilateral organizations. However, the roots of development administration can be traced back to the colonial period, when European powers established bureaucratic systems of governance to manage their colonies and extract resources. Understanding the historical context and evolution of development administration is essential for grasping the complex challenges and opportunities facing developing countries in the current global context. This introduction will provide an overview of the key themes and debates in the background of development administration.

3.3 Genesis of Development Administration

At the time when India gained independence, the problems of poverty, unemployment and population were present in severe condition. We were lagging in material and human resources development, our progress was nominal in industrial and agricultural fields. The private entrepreneur was also hesitating to shoulder the responsibility of development, in this situation, it was all left to the government to deal with the situation.

At the first instance, it was thought that it would not be beneficial to followthe Western model for a developing country like India because there was a wide difference between their and ours social and economic structure. Our problems were also different from theirs.

So, it was thought of to develop a kind of administrative system that would be suitable for the needs of our own. Development here was seen as an overall development, development in industrial, agricultural, technological, social, cultural and political fields. People's participation and support were another important ingredient in this big task. The ground and hard realities of the third world called

for the adoption and execution of new approaches to change. This realization led to the emergence of the concept of development administration.

This change in approach gave a new meaning to the concept of development and administration. Now, development came to be defined as a holistic term including the elements of economics, society, culture and politics.

Thus, it emerged as a process confined not only an economic development but an overall welfare activities. This changed the meaning of development and introduced new thinking regarding the methods and techniques to be adopted for bringing about development.

Now emphasis shifted or we can say included human development and its participation in development along with mere infrastructural development. It was thus established that the administrative agenda should not be the same in all countries. Also, administration in a given country can be understood and evaluated only in light of its cultural and political setting. This was termed as the environment or ecology of Public Administration.

So, the only and prime objective of development administration is to introduce modernization through augmented socio-economic change qualitatively and quantitatively.

3.4 Development Administration Since 1980s

The concept of 'development administration' appeared on the scene mainly after the Second World War. The problems faced by the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America which got free from colonial rule in the 1940s were altogether different than the problems of the developed nations. Consequent upon the positive policies and programmes made by the developing nations to help the under-developed or developing ones, the concept of Development Administration caught the fancy of the scholars to understand and analyse this concept and the role which Public Administration could play in meeting the challenges. In this unit, we will discuss the evolution of development administration as a discipline as well as a process and also emphasise various approaches to the study of development administration. Lastly, we will highlight the recent trends in the theory and practices of development administration.

The 1980s present a third-world view of development administration in which attention has been given to indigenous concepts, methods and theories of development and administration. Arvind Singhal mentions two contemporary approaches to development:

(1) pluralistic, recognising many pathways to development

(2) less Western in their cultural assumptions. These approaches stress the new socio-economic goals and strategies.

The works of Roger, Korten and Klaus, Bijur, Bryant and White have identified the following as key elements of the modern approaches to development administration :

● greater equality in the distribution of development benefits

● popular participation, knowledge-sharing and empowerment to facilitate self-development efforts by individuals, groups and communities

● self-reliance and independence in development, emphasising the local resources mobilisation and use

● the problem of containing the population increase,

● integration of appropriate technology with big modern technologies to facilitate development. Development administration theory today focuses on the involvement of non-government, voluntary and community organisations in the development process and emphasises localised, decentralised and participative approaches to development administration. The shifts in development administration theory in the 80s have been very well summarised by Arvind Singhal who sees the earning Process Approach and the People-Centred Approach replacing the Blue-Print Approach and Production-Centred Approach respectively.

● Blue-Print Approach to Learning-Process Approach

The conventional development administration theory was concerned with preparing a blue-print for administering a development programme. This approach involves designing a specific plan of action in advance for implementing a development project. Lately, this approachhas been found inappropriate in so far as it is rigid and closed and, therefore, unable to respond to the needs of a changing environment.

Hence, many scholars prescribe a learning process approach which is not only a relatively open-ended strategy to planned social change but also involves a cybernetic process by which development administration can adapt themselves to the changing environment and incorporate mid-course corrections, based on existing local conditions. Distinguishing the two approaches, A. Singhal states, "The blue-print approach emphasises advanced planning for the people. The learning process approach emphasises planning with the people and doing so during the process of administering a development programme." The philosophy of action-learning repudiates the management theory and lays stress on learning by experiences of each other. The action-learning approach attempts to look at oneself and others around oneself and seek solutions rather than look beyond the shares for chosen people to raise them from impoverished conditions in which they live.

● The participatory approach to development administration :

The Participatory Approach to Development Administration This approach is also termed a people-centred approach. The approach stresses people's empowerment and promotion of psychological strength to enable the people to relate themselves with the officials on a partnership basis. It is based on developing community action through people. The key elements of the participatory approach include :

(1) respecting the ideas of employees and the beneficiaries without evaluation or criticism;

(2) raising certain diagnostic questions about what the administrators are doing;

(3) stimulating ideas from all levels and acceptance of good ideas for implementation;

(4) attitudinal change in different ways and close observations and discussions among officials and the people.

The major theme of the participatory or people-centred approach is the growth of capacity via equity. It concentrates on the distribution of development benefits economic as well as social. Equity became a primary issue in development plans and programmes. The concern for equity reinforced participation and micro-level concerns. These concerns focused on a direct attack on poverty and rural development. The set of priorities in the people-centred approach, says Esman, includes :

● an emphasis on reaching a large mass of the public often in remote areas;

- developing programmes that are responsive to their very diverse needs, capabilities and preferences;

- organising the public so that they may interact more effectively with the service-providing agencies of the State;

- devolution to constituency organisation and the fostering of local action capabilities;

(5) innovation of appropriate services and practices in support of basic needs strategies, not the plantation of established and replicable techniques. However, it may be mentioned here that some western administrative methods and practices like record-keeping, monitoring and reporting methods, public information procedures etc. may provide useful assistance to programmes oriented to poor masses.

It provides a link between beneficiary needs, programme outputs and the efficacy of the assisting agency. The effective popular involvement in decision-making and decision-implementation through local skills, knowledge and institutions like local self-governmental institutions or voluntary agencies is given importance. Participatory development involves leadership and teamwork, besides the sharing of knowledge and resources between the beneficiaries and the programme officials. The people-centred approach also emphasizes the sustainability of development programmes and creating opportunities for change.

This objective can be achieved by

- creating a felt need among beneficiaries about the efficacy of the programme

- developing institutions which continually adapt

- providing (or self-generation) of resources and

- building support among political elites and community groups.

3.5 Background of Development Administration

Development administration is a multidisciplinary field of study that seeks to understand and improve the governance and administrative systems of developing countries. The origins of development administration can be traced back to the colonial period when European powers established bureaucratic systems of governance

to manage their colonies and extract resources. The study of development administration gained prominence in the post-World War II period, as newly independent nations sought to modernize and industrialize their economies with the support of international aid agencies and multilateral organizations.

During the colonial era, European powers established a hierarchical system of governance in their colonies, which was designed to maintain social control and extract resources. Bureaucratic institutions were created to manage the administration of justice, collect taxes, and regulate trade. The colonial governments also established systems of education and health care to create a loyal and compliant workforce. These bureaucratic systems of governance became the model for post-independence governments, which inherited the institutions and administrative practices of the colonial era.

After World War II, the newly independent nations of Asia and Africa began to seek economic development and political autonomy. International aid agencies and multilateral organizations, such as the United Nations and the World Bank, provided technical and financial assistance to these countries to help them achieve their development goals. Development administration emerged as a distinct field of inquiry, focused on the study and improvement of administrative systems in developing countries.

One of the key challenges facing developing countries in the post-World War II period was how to modernize their economies and achieve economic growth. The dominant theoretical perspective of the time was modernization theory, which posited that traditional societies could be transformed into modern industrial societies through a process of economic growth and technological innovation. This perspective emphasized the role of the state in guiding economic development and promoting social change.

However, the modernization approach was criticized for its Eurocentric and ethnocentric assumptions, which ignored the cultural, social, and political contexts of developing countries. Dependency theory emerged as an alternative perspective, which argued that developing countries were structurally disadvantaged by their position in the global economic system and that international aid and multilateral organizations served to reinforce this dependency. This perspective emphasized the need for greater autonomy and self-reliance in developing countries and the importance of addressing the root causes of poverty and inequality.

In recent years, post-development theory has challenged the assumptions and goals of traditional development approaches, arguing that the very concept of development is rooted in Western ideologies and values. This perspective emphasizes the need for alternative visions of development that prioritize social and environmental justice, cultural diversity, and local autonomy.

Therefore, the background of development administration is shaped by a complex interplay of historical, political, and theoretical factors. The legacy of colonialism, the post-World War II economic and political context, and the theoretical debates surrounding modernization, dependency, and post-development perspectives all contribute to the shaping of the field. Understanding the historical context and evolution of development administration is essential for grasping the complex challenges and opportunities facing developing countries in the current global context.

3.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, the background of development administration is complex and multifaceted, shaped by a historical legacy of colonialism and the post-World War II context of economic and political change. The development of bureaucratic institutions and administrative practices during the colonial era became the foundation for post-independence governments and the focus of development administration in the post-World War II period. The theoretical debates surrounding modernization, dependency, and post-development perspectives reflect the changing landscape of development discourse and the evolving challenges facing developing countries. Understanding the historical context and evolution of development administration is crucial for policymakers and scholars alike in developing effective strategies for promoting economic growth, social justice, and political stability in developing countries.

3.7 Summary

● The background of development administration is rooted in the colonial era where bureaucratic systems of governance were established to maintain social control and extract resources.

- These systems were inherited by post-independence governments, and the study of development administration emerged as a field of inquiry in the post-World War II period.

- The goal was to improve administrative systems in developing countries seeking economic development and political autonomy.

- Modernization theory and dependency theory emerged as theoretical perspectives but were later challenged by post-development theory which prioritizes social and environmental justice, cultural diversity, and local autonomy.

- Understanding the historical context and evolution of development administration is important in developing effective strategies for promoting economic growth, social justice, and political stability in developing countries.

3.8 Glossary

- **Colonialism :** A system of political and economic domination by one country over another, typically involving the extraction of resources and the imposition of cultural and social control.

- **Bureaucracy :** A hierarchical administrative system with a division of labour and standardized procedures, typically used by governments to manage and regulate society.

- **Post-World War II period :** The period after the end of World War II in 1945, characterized by a shift towards international cooperation, economic and political restructuring, and the emergence of the Cold War.

- **Post-independence governments :** Governments established in formerly colonized countries after gaining independence from their colonial rulers.

- **Development administration :** The study of the administrative systems and practices used to promote economic and social development in developing countries.

- **Modernization theory :** A theoretical perspective that posits that economic development is the key to modernization and social progress and that this can be achieved through the transfer of technology and expertise from developed countries.

- **Dependency theory :** A theoretical perspective that posits that underdeveloped countries are structurally disadvantaged in the global economy and that their economic development is constrained by the exploitative relationship with developed countries.

- **Post-development theory :** A theoretical perspective that challenges the dominant paradigms of development, and emphasizes the importance of local knowledge, cultural diversity, and environmental sustainability.

- **Social justice** : The principle of fair and equitable distribution of resources and opportunities in society, regardless of social class, race, gender, or other identity markers.

- **Political stability :** The ability of a government to maintain a stable and peaceful environment for its citizens, free from social unrest and political upheaval.

3.9 Model Questions

- What were the historical roots of development administration, and how did they shape the development of bureaucratic institutions in developing countries?

- How did the post-World War II context influence the emergence of development administration as a field of study?

- What were the key theoretical perspectives that emerged in the study of development administration, and how did they shape policy and practice in developing countries?

- What were the main challenges faced by developing countries in promoting economic growth, social justice, and political stability through development administration?

- How has the evolution of development administration been shaped by changing global political and economic contexts over time?

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Unit – 4 ❑ Administrative Development and Development Administration

Structure

4.1 Learning Objectives

● Understand the historical evolution and theoretical foundations of administrative development and development administration as fields of study.

● Analyse the role of administrative development and development administration in promoting economic growth, social justice, and political stability in developing countries.

● Evaluate the challenges and opportunities faced by administrative development and development administration in addressing the needs of marginalized and disadvantaged populations in developing countries.

● Assess the impact of globalization and changing global political and economic contexts on the practice and theory of administrative development and development administration.

4.2 Introduction

Development Administration and Administrative Development are interrelated concepts. Both are dependent on each other. Administration of development is as important as the development of administration. To achieve development goals there must be a proper assessment of resources, proper plan formulation, evaluation and. implementation, adequate involvement of people, emphasis on technological change and self-reliance. At the same time, we also need to develop bureaucracy, integrity in administration, initiative, innovativeness, a delegation of powers, decentralised decision-making etc. Administrative development cannot take place without administrative change and reform. Both concepts support each other and the development of administration is needed for the administration of development. As per F. Riggs 'development administration and 'administrative development' have a chicken-and-egg kind of relationship. The superiority of one concept over the other cannot be established.

4.3 Administrative Development and Development Administration

There is no uniform definition of development administration which is agreeable to all. But we can at least arrive at certain basic features and characteristics to understand the concept of development administration, we should try to understand the meaning of the concept viz., administration of development and development of administration.

Administration of Development :

Development is integral to the aims and activities of the government, especially in developing countries. Because of the paucity of resources, humans and materials in their countries, the need for making optimum utilisation of available means and augmenting new means assumes great importance. Development administration thus becomes a means through which the government brings quantitative and qualitative changes in an economy. The government is not only fixing priorities but also making efforts to realise them. Though Weidner is said to be the - first to conceptually explain the definition of development administration, many other scholars, like

Riggs, Ferrel Heady, Montgomery, Gant, and Pai Panandikar have attempted to define the term in their ways. However, before we analyse the different definitions and meanings of the term, it should be mentioned that all of them agree that development administration is an effort towards the planned transformation of the economy involving not only the sphere of administration but also the formulation of policies and indeed the society as a whole. It is an effort at the synchronisation of changes in all spheres of development-economic, political, social and cultural. Thus development is not only viewed in terms of growth process, but it includes a process of social change. The State plays a leading role in bringing about development through its administrative system. To discharge this role requires a distinct type of support by administration which involves, as has been observed by Swerdlow, a special understanding of problems in developing countries. These must be perceptible at different operative levels i.e., officials must make enough different decisions, adopt enough different policies and engage in enough different activities to warrant the different designations of development administration. Thus development administration is simply termed as an action or functioning part of the government administration. It is action-oriented and places the administration at the centre to facilitate the attainment of development objectives. For Harry J. Friedman development administration is the implementation of programmes designed to bring about socioeconomic progress and nation-building, and the changes within the administrative system which increase its capacity to implement the programmes. According to Hahn Beenlee, development administration is involved in managing a government or an agency so that it acquires an increasing capability to adapt to and act upon new and continuing social changes toachieve sustained growth. Thus development administration involves two elements: one, the bureaucratic process that initiates and facilitates socio-economic progress by making the optimum use of talents and expertise available; and two, the mobilisation of administrative skills to speed up the development process. Development administration concentrates on the needs and desires of the people. It is concerned with the formulation of plans, programmes, policies and projects and their implementation. It plays a central role in carrying out planned change i.e. it is concerned with planning, co-ordination, control, monitoring and evaluation of plans and programmes. It is not only concerned with the application of policies as determined by the political representatives in existing situations but also with introducing efforts to modify existing situations to serve the cause of the masses. Therefore, administration of development implies

one, the execution of programmes designed to bring about progressive improvement; two, the changes within an administrative system which increases its capacity to implement such programmes.

In a nutshell, the administration of development involves the following objectives :

(a) Application of innovative strategies for development : This emphasises development at the grassroots level;

(b) Development as a need-oriented and self-reliant process : It strains on social development and human capital as a major resource development has to be viewed not merely as a technological problem but also as an ideological norm;

(c) Profound and rapid change : This inclines to establish a distinct and just social order recognising and highlighting the unity rather than dichotomy between politics and administration;

(d) Effective and efficient use of scarce resources : It promises to offer a mechanism to cater for the reality of scarce resources by proposing an effective and efficient administration;

(e) Creation of a politics-administrative environment : This is oriented towards securing the basic needs of the population;

(f) Freedom of administrative machinery : It is to express its values and beliefs without fear or favour on programmes and projects.

Development of Administration or Administrative Development :

Development Administration has to be efficient and effective. For that purpose, it has to aim at the enlargement of administrative capabilities and structural and behavioural change. It is this aspect of administration that is called administrative development or the development of administration. In simple terms, it means the development of administrative health by introducing administrative rationalisation and institution building. The purpose implicit in this concept is not merely changing the administrative procedures and channels but also bringing out a fundamental change in administration that leads to political development, economic growth, and social change.

Development of administration further means a cultural change in administration. The colonial administrative culture is unsuitable for the changed socio-political ethos

of the developing world. Our British legacy has adversely affected the administration. The obsolete Acts e.g. Police Act, 1861, 'cannot take us towards the path of change'. Development of administration should refer to the creation of the ability to adjust to new stimuli or changes. The development of administration aims at qualitative and quantitative transformations in administration with an eye on the performance of management of affairs. The term also implies technological changes in administration to enable it to adopt new modes or techniques of administration. Thus administrative development focuses on adaptability, autonomy and coherence in administration. In short, administrative development is concerned with :

(a) The capacity of an administrative system to make decisions to meet the ever-increasing demands coming from the environment and to achieve larger political and socioeconomic goals.

(b) Increase in size, in specialisation and division of tasks and the professionalization of its personnel.

(c) A pattern of increasing effectiveness in the optimum utilisation of available means and further augmentation of the means, if necessary.

(d) Increase in administrative capability and capacity.

(e) Transformation of existing administrative mechanisms into new machinery through modernising the bureaucracy by external inducement, transfer of technology and training.

(f) Replacement of initiative, practices etc. with those based on realistic needs.

(g) Reducing the dependence on foreign experts by producing adequate trained manpower.

(h) Promotion of development initiative.

(i) Administrative reorganisation and rationalisation.

(j) Making modernisation culturally related.

(k) Removing or reducing bureaucratic immobility and widespread corruption.

(l) Reorientation of established agencies, and the delegation of administrative powers to them.

(m) Creation of administrators who can provide leadership in stimulating and supporting programmes of social and economic improvement.

The meaning and importance of administrative development as an ingredient of development administration has been well summed up by Caiden in the following words,

"Administrative reform is an essential ingredient of development in any country, irrespective of the speed and direction of change. Administrative capacity becomes increasingly important in the implementation of new policies, plans and ideas. The improvements in administrative capacity may involve the removal of environmental obstacles, and structural alternatives in traditional and innovatory institutions bureaucratically organised or otherwise. This would also necessitate changing individual and group attitudes and performance."

The behavioural pattern of bureaucrats is as crucial to development administration as the institutions and structures. The purpose of the development of administration is to remove the administrative lag which seriously handicaps governments in planning and executing coordinated programmes of economic and social reforms. The predominant concern of development administration is to design and administer such development programmes which meet the developmental objectives. It is the administration geared to the task of achieving certain clear-cut and specified objectives and goals expressed in operational terms. Thus development administration is defined as a process of action motivated by and oriented to the achievement of certain predetermined goals.

4.4 Characteristics of Development Administration

Development administration has emerged as the meeting point of empirical as well as normative concerns. That way, it is post-behavioural and is akin to the movement of New Public Administration. Some students of development administration are concerned primarily "with the normative questions, with the desirability of proposed courses of action, with prescriptions for the maximisation or optimisation of selected values," while others have a dominant interest in empirical questions, in the descriptions and analyses of existing practices and situations, and in the prediction of what is likely to happen under given sets of conditions These foci have been interdependent. Scholars interested in prescription generally seek help from empirically based knowledge, while students interested primarily in empirical studies often choose a subject of study for its probable policy

relevance. The study of development administration has generally had a dominant normative concern with the enhancement of administrative capabilities in "developing" nations. Thus, it is natural to find an emphasis on various normative questions in the field.

All policy sciences must have a paramount concern with the question of values. Thus, development administration has been viewed as an aspect of public administration that is centrally concerned with one of the many values men seek and which varies in the strength and kind of allegiance it commands from country to country, group to group, and person to person. This focus has provided the whole area of public administration with a programmatic goal or value orientation. Development administration studies both the process of selecting values and how they influence administration in various ecological settings.

Development administration refers to the administrative processes and strategies used by governments to promote economic, social, and political development within a country. It is characterized by several key features :

● **Change-oriented**

The distinctive feature of development administration is its central aim oriented towards socio-economic change. This is the dynamism with which development administration is distinguished from the conventional administration which is primarily oriented towards the maintenance of the status quo.

● **Result Orientation of Development Administration**

Result-oriented Development administration is aimed at achieving results; for it strives to bring about rapid changes within a definite schedule. Its performance is directly related to productivity, for example, an increase in per capita income.

● **Client orientation of Development Administration**

Another positive objective of development administration is its commitment to meeting the needs of marginal farmers, landless agricultural labourers and rural artisans in developing countries. The socio-cultural and politico-economic progress of Development Administration These sections form the essential basis of the performance appraisal of development administration.

● **Citizen Participation Orientation of Development Administration**

Citizen participation-oriented Development administration is devised and built in with the principle of associative and participative systems of administration. Here, people are significantly acknowledged. They are taken as active participants in the formulation and execution of developmental plans, policies and programmes and not merely as passive recipients of goods, services or benefits.

● **Basic commitment to Development Administration**

Commitment to fulfil public demands : Development administration is positively aimed at the fulfilment of public demands. Its consciousness of civic services makes it committed to achieving certain dreams and aspirations of people because it understands the satisfaction of public wishes affects the political and administrative development of a country.

● **Innovative character of Development Administration**

Concerned with innovation Development administration again stresses emphasis towards the replacement and/or improvement of existing governmental structures and norms with the ones that suit the changing political and social environment. In other words, development administration is dynamic and progressive in thought and action.

● **Administration of industrial societies**

Development administration is aimed at bringing changes to the society which is industrially and economically progressive. The industrial society fixes standards for administrative behaviour and performance of functions which become models for development administration. In such societies, the methods of procedure and administrative organization take practical shape. Countries which have been industrialized can easily be developed in other walks of life. Thus industrialization progress and development go hand-in-hand.

● **Effectiveness of coordination**

Development implies increasing specialization and professionalization. Hence, the number of agencies and organizations involved in development tasks has Development Administration considerably gone up. To meet the maximum

benefit of this emergent administrative system, coordination between various administrative units and activities is essential.

● **Efficiencies in Administration**

Efficient administration Development administration aims to bring efficiency in the practice of administration without which its aim of maximum development cannot be attained. If the aims of projects formulated for development administration are achieved within the time frame, then administrative efficiency is said to be attained. The development administration always strives to increase administrative efficiency through administrative development with the ultimate goal of avoiding wastage of time and resources.

● **Democratic values of Development Administration**

Democratic values Development administration aims to bring democratic values to the fore of administrative settings. Democratic values imply the feelings of responsibility and aim for public welfare and respect for human values and rights. Since it is concerned with the efforts of public administration, public activities are undertaken to keep public welfare and democratic values in place.

● **Development Orientation :**

The primary goal of development administration is to foster economic growth and improve the overall well-being of the population. It focuses on poverty reduction, infrastructure development, and human resource development.

● **Integrated and Interdisciplinary :**

Development administration involves collaboration among various government departments, agencies, and stakeholders. It integrates policies and programs across sectors such as education, healthcare, agriculture, and industry.

● **People-Centric Approach :**

Development administration places a strong emphasis on people's participation and empowerment. It seeks to involve local communities in

decision-making and development processes, recognizing that sustainable development requires the active engagement of the population.

- **Efficiency and Effectiveness :**

  Efficient resource allocation and effective program implementation are central to development administration. It aims to maximize the impact of development initiatives while minimizing waste and inefficiency.

- **Equity and Social Justice :**

  Development administration strives to reduce inequalities and promote social justice. It seeks to ensure that the benefits of development reach marginalized and vulnerable groups within society.

- **Adaptive and Dynamic :**

  Development administration is adaptable and dynamic, responding to changing circumstances and evolving challenges. It requires flexibility in policy formulation and implementation.

Challenges

However, despite its noble objectives, development administration in India faces several challenges:

- **Bureaucratic Red Tape :**

  India's bureaucratic structure can be slow-moving and marked by excessive red tape. This hampers the timely implementation of development projects and can lead to inefficiencies.

- **Corruption :**

  Corruption remains a significant problem in development administration. It can divert resources away from intended beneficiaries and undermine the effectiveness of development efforts.

- **Lack of Capacity :**

  Some regions and local governments lack the administrative capacity to plan and implement development projects effectively. This results in uneven development outcomes across the country.

● **Political Interference :**

Political considerations can sometimes influence development administration decisions, leading to suboptimal resource allocation and project selection.

● **Infrastructure Deficits :**

Inadequate infrastructure, such as poor roads, electricity, and communication networks, can hinder development efforts, particularly in rural areas.

● **Environmental Sustainability :**

Balancing development goals with environmental sustainability remains a challenge. Unplanned development can lead to environmental degradation and long-term consequences.

● **Social and Cultural Diversity :**

India's diversity in terms of languages, cultures, and social structures poses challenges in designing and implementing development programs that are inclusive and culturally sensitive.

● **Resource Constraints :**

Limited financial and human resources can constrain the scope and scale of development initiatives.

To address these challenges, India's development administration needs to focus on enhancing transparency, accountability, and the efficient use of resources. Additionally, it should prioritize capacity building at all levels of government and engage with civil society and local communities for more participatory and inclusive development processes.

4.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, administrative development and development administration are two important fields of study that focus on promoting economic growth, social justice, and political stability in developing countries. Administrative development refers to the process of building effective and efficient administrative systems, while development administration is concerned with the application of administrative knowledge and skills to achieve development objectives. Both fields have evolved, shaped by historical, political, and economic factors, and have been influenced by

changing global contexts. Achieving the objectives of administrative development and development administration requires addressing the challenges and opportunities of the local context, building institutional capacity, and engaging with marginalized and disadvantaged populations.

4.6 Summary

- Administrative Development and Development Administration are two related fields of study focused on promoting economic growth, social justice, and political stability in developing countries.

- Administrative development is concerned with building effective and efficient administrative systems, while development administration involves the application of administrative knowledge and skills to achieve development objectives.

- Both fields have evolved and are influenced by historical, political, and economic factors as well as changing global contexts.

- Achieving the objectives of administrative development and development administration requires addressing local challenges and opportunities, building institutional capacity, and engaging with marginalized and disadvantaged populations.

4.7 Glossary

- **Administrative Development :** The process of building effective and efficient administrative systems to achieve development goals.

- **Development Administration :** The application of administrative knowledge and skills to promote economic growth, social justice, and political stability in developing countries.

- **Institutional Capacity :** The ability of an organization or institution to carry out its mandate and achieve its objectives.

- **Marginalized Populations :** Groups of people who are excluded from mainstream society and face social, economic, and political disadvantages.

● **Economic Growth :** An increase in the production of goods and services in an economy, often measured by changes in gross domestic product (GDP).

● **Social Justice :** The fair and equitable distribution of resources, opportunities, and benefits in society.

● **Political Stability :** The absence of political conflict or instability that can disrupt economic and social development.

● **Globalization :** The process of increased interconnectedness and interdependence among countries, economies, and cultures.

● **Development Objectives :** Goals and targets set by governments, organizations, and institutions to promote economic, social, and political development.

● **Administrative Systems :** The structures, processes, and procedures used to manage public institutions and deliver public services.

4.8 Model Questions

● What is administrative development and how is it different from development administration?

● What are the historical and theoretical foundations of administrative development and development administration?

● What role do administrative development and development administration play in promoting economic growth, social justice, and political stability in developing countries?

● What are some of the challenges and opportunities faced by administrative development and development administration in addressing the needs of marginalized and disadvantaged populations in developing countries?

● How has globalization impacted the practice and theory of administrative development and development administration?

● What are some of the key institutional and organizational factors that contribute to successful administrative development and development administration?

- How can administrative development and development administration contribute to sustainable development in developing countries?

- What are some of the emerging trends and issues in the field of administrative development and development administration?

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Unit – 5 ❑ Prismatic Sala Model of Fred Riggs

Structure

5.1 Learning Objectives

● To understand the key features and principles of the Prismatic Sala Model of Fred Riggs.

● To explore the historical and theoretical context that led to the development of the Prismatic Sala Model.

● To analyse the strengths and weaknesses of the Prismatic Sala Model as a framework for understanding public administration in developing countries.

● To evaluate the applicability of the Prismatic Sala Model in different cultural, social, and political contexts, and its relevance for addressing contemporary challenges in public administration.

5.2 Introduction

The Prismatic Sala Model, developed by Fred Riggs, is a theoretical framework for understanding public administration in developing countries. The model is based on the idea that these countries have unique cultural, social, and political contexts that require a different approach to public administration than in developed countries. The Prismatic Sala Model emphasizes the importance of considering the historical and cultural context of public administration and the need for flexible and adaptive administrative structures to respond to the complex challenges of development. This model has been widely discussed and debated in the field of public administration and has influenced many scholars and practitioners in their understanding of public administration in developing countries.

5.3 Comparative Administrative Group and Development Administration

The conceptual theoretical base to the contribution of Fred W. Riggs was provided mainly by three intellectual approaches. These are :

1. General Systems Approach

2. Structural-functional Approach

3. Ecological Approach

While the first and second approaches have been discussed in the first unit, the third, that is, the Ecological Approach is being discussed in this Unit. This is being done to facilitate a proper understanding of the conceptual context of Fred W Riggs's writings.

In common parlance, 'ecology' means 'environment'. However, in the context of comparative public administration, it implies a mutual or reciprocal relationship and interaction between an administrative system and its environment. Among scholars who have highlighted this approach in the context of public administration are John M.Gaus, Robert A. Dahl, and most importantly, Fred W. Riggs, whose lectures delivered on this approach at the Indian Institute of Public Administration were published in a book titled 'The Ecology of Public Administration' in 1961. Riggs emphasized that differences and similarities among administrative systems

in the Western and the non-Western world could be understood properly only when we look at their environment and their dynamic relationship with the administrative system.

In 1962, in his seminal article 'Trends in the Comparative Study of Public Administration' published in the International Review of Administrative Sciences, Riggs mentioned that comparative public administration was moving away from a state of being "non-ecological" to a state of being "ecological". What he meant was that traditional studies of comparative public administration did not adequately take into account the reciprocal relationships between the administrative system and its environmental context.

- ● **Premise**

    Under the ecological approach, there are four premises :

1. An administrative system is a subsystem of the political system and hence it is deeply influenced by the political executive, the legislature,the judiciary, political parties, pressure groups, and the election system of a country.

2. An administrative system is impacted by the economic system, the social system, the cultural system, the demographic structure, and mass psychology (including the technological system), which together form its context.

3. Likewise, the administrative system directly or indirectly, affects the functioning of political institutions, the economic system, the social system, the cultural system, the technological system, and mass psychology, all comprising its broader environment.

4. There is a constant dynamic relationship between an administrative system and its environment. Since the environments of various nations and cultures have diversity, at the comparative level, all administrative systems develop their distinctive characteristics. The similarities and differences between an administrative system at the cross-national and cross-cultural levels can be appreciated only through the ecological approach.

- ● **Application**

As mentioned above, Fred Riggs is the foremost scholar, who has applied the ecological approach to the comparative study of administrative systems. His models of 'Agraria', Industria,' 'Fused', 'Prismatic,' and 'Diffracted' societies and their

respective administrative systems are rooted in the ecological approach. It may be mentioned that the ecological approach is a component of the system approach. Both are interactional in their perspectives.

Besides Riggs, other scholars have analyzed the administrative systems of various nations in an ecological context, although they may not have used the nomenclature of the 'ecological' approach. Such scholars include Ferrel Heady, Ralph Braibanti, Milton Esman, A. H Hanson, and Krishna K Tummala.

● **Merits**

1. The ecological approach is constructed logically. It focuses on administrative reality in various contexts and environments.

2. It has the intrinsic capacity to explain the sources of similarities and differences among administrative systems working in different nations and cultures.

3. The ecological approach signifies that administrative reforms in various countries ought to be given priorities that are useful for them.

4. It underlines that administrative reforms can be facilitated only when they attain the support of political, economic, and socio-cultural systems.

5. This approach makes us aware that there are varying cultural frameworks influencing the administrative system. For instance, what is considered a 'corrupt' practice in one culture may not be treated so in another country or culture.

6. In the context of development administration, it is the ecological approach that helps in determining the direction of change in the administrative system and other systems comprising the environment. It posits a relationship between 'administrative development' and 'development administration.'

● **Limitations**

1. It is difficult to assess the nature and quantum of the impact of various environmental structures on an administrative system.

2. It is also problematic to analyze the nature and extent of the influence exercised by an administrative system over its environment.

3. It is difficult to be operationalized for empirical research.

Nevertheless, the ecological approach has made a most visible impact on comparative administrative studies and has made us aware that one cannot ignore this perspective while trying to understand how and why administrative systems are characterized by certain similarities and differences. Let us now move to a discussion of the two prominent typologies of Fred Riggs that have used the general system, structural-functional, and ecological approaches.

- **Agraria and Industria Models**

Inspired by Dwight Waldo, Fred W. Riggs utilized innovatively the essential features of the general system approach, the structural-functional, and the ecological approach, while developing a typology of models in his path-breaking article entitled, 'Agraria and Industria Toward a Typology of Comparative Administration' published in an anthology, Towards a Comparative study of Public Administration edited by William J Siffin in 1957.

In the agrarian-industrial models, Riggs used the ideal-type methodology, which has logically interrelated various important and relevant concepts and their relationships and, which are based on an imagination and extrapolation of societies that represent the total development of the characteristics of a particular model. Like Max Weber's models, Riggs's models are ideal-typical or 'pure' in formulation and are not found in real life. It may, however, be pointed out that Riggs abstracted his Agrarian model from the features of Imperial China of ancient times and likewise, for Industria, he abstracted the features of the modern United States of America. Normally, we can say that two were inductive models derived from the study of distinct historical societies. However, we should remember that ideal-type models are not necessarily inductive or deductive. Deductive models by some scholars are constructed based on the analysis of features of several societies or systems. It is assumed by some scholars that Weber's model of bureaucracy was apparently 'deductive' in nature. Nevertheless, the caution is clear : Ideal-type models need not be inductive or deductive. They have a methodology of their own.

- **Agraria**

The main features of an agrarian society were as follows :

1. Man's status is based on his birth (parentage, lineage)

2. Traditions are followed, as the basis of the functioning of an administrative system. These traditions favour particular privileged groups over the rest.

3. Some structures perform a large number of functions; they are multi-functional.

4. Social groups at the local level are stable and there is very little movement from one social group to another. Thus, the status system is rigid and almost closed.

5. Occupations in this society have very little specialization.

6. Various groups in the agrarian society have specific tasks defined by traditions. This leads to rigidity in their classification of social hierarchy that is based on conventional stratification.

● **Industria**

An industrial society has the following features :

1. There is universalism and equity in the application of rules in society. No special privileges are granted to any particular section of society.

2. Structures are specialized in their nature. They perform tasks particularly related to their special sphere.

3. The progress of a person in society and the administrative system is decided on merit and achievement (as against birth in the Agraria)

4. Certain social groups have the opportunity and freedom to move on to other social groups depending on their will and skill. The road to progress, vertical or horizontal, is not blocked for anyone.

5. The occupational system is well-developed with its norms and rules. There is no interference from any outside structure in the conduct of occupational roles.

6. The class system in society is not rigid or based on any conventional social hierarchy. Instead, it is based on a generalized pattern of occupational achievement.

7. Associations in society are not based on rigidity or birth. Instead, they are functionally specialized and based on achievement.

● **Limitations**

The agrarian-industrial typology paved the way for an exciting debate on the

need for innovative conceptual constructs for studying developing as well as developed societies and countries. However, within two years, Riggs himself abandoned these two models and created a new typology of Fused-Prismatic-Diffracted societies. What were the limitations of the Agraria-industria typology? Briefly, these limitations are mentioned, as follows :

1. The polar types of agrarian and industrial societies did not help study traditional societies, which were neither agrarian nor industrial. This limitation led to the creation of a fresh middle category of 'transition' that was considered useful for studyingtransitional societies. However, compared to the categories of agrarian and industrial, this new model of 'transition' was less developed and therefore, it could not sufficiently explain the nature of societies and their administrative systems in developing countries.

2. Critics argued that the categories of agrarian and industry did not explain the socio-cultural reality, for in an industrial society, there were always a few features of agraria. In other words, most societies were 'mixed' societies, while the Riggsian typology could not explain their functioning. This criticism appears to be valid, but it should be remembered that the Riggsian typology was based on the ideal-type methodology, which is not designed to describe any real-life social systems. It should be accepted, nevertheless, that it did not help in understanding or explaining the nature of transitional societies and their administrative systems.

3. Riggs's models of agrarian and industrial assumed that there is only a one-way movement of societies. All agrarian societies moved towards an industrial state since becoming an industry was the preferred goal. This reflected a bias in favour of developed industrial societies, ignoring that even an agrarian society might progress and not move on the rigidly drawn path of one-way movement. Instead, it might choose its direction, depending on its needs and circumstances.

4. The categories of agrarian and industrial were too abstract or theoretical, providing little help in conducting empirical research. Riggs had not offered any appropriate methodology for conducting empirical research through his abstract concepts.

5. In both models, very little analysis was made of the administrative systems functioning in the agrarian as well as the industrial societies.

6. It was assumed that the features of both societies will necessarily determine the character of respective administrative systems. There was no analysis of the impact that an administrative system might have on its socio-cultural or political environment. In other words, the models were not ecological in orientation, but only 'environmental' in perspective.

The above limitations were responsible for abandoning the agrarian industrial typologies. Nevertheless, it led to fresh thinking on the nature of models that could be constructed to understand better administrative systems and their external environment in developing countries. Thus, a new typology of Fused-Prismatic-Diffracted societies was designed which, in many ways overcame the limitations of the Agraria-Industria typology.

5.4 Prismatic Theory

Riggs has classified societies under his revised typology based on the level of differentiation (specialization) and the level of integration (coordination). Riggs does not use the term 'developing' or 'developed' nations or societies in his fused-prismatic-diffracted typology. He is of the view that the terms 'developed' or 'developing' nations are too general and do not reflect his notion of classifying societies based on differentiation integration relationships.

● **Fused Society :**

A fused society has the following features :

1. It is a traditional society, where old structures exist.

2. Most structures are multi-functional, i.e. one structure performs a large number of functions.

3. Status and privileges in society are determined by birth or traditional status (Ascription).

4. Certain specific groups in society gain preferred treatment and status in society (Particularism).

5. There is very low mobility in terms of status and occupations. The social structure and occupations are rigid since they are based on birth and time-honoured conventions.

● **Diffracted Society :**

A diffracted society has the following features :

1. It has a very high level of specialization of structures and functions.

2. There is also a high level of integration (coordination) in these societies, thus there is hardly any gap existing between the levels of specialization and integration (Diffraction).

3. There is equity among social groups, with no group enjoying special preferences and privileges (Universalism).

4. There is considerable mobility in status and occupations. People can move from one occupation to the other.

5. Progress in the socio-economic system is based on merit and performance (Achievement).

The administrative system functioning in a diffracted society is called a 'bureau' the characteristics of, which are similar to those of a diffracted society.

● **Prismatic Society :**

In between the two categories of 'fused' and 'diffracted' societies are prismatic societies that have the following features :

1. **Selectivism :** This is an intermediate category between universalism and particularism. Under a prismatic system, certain groups, though larger in number than in a fused society, gain precedence over the less privileged groups.

2. **Attainment :** This is an intermediate category between ascription and achievement, implying that in a prismatic society, merit as well as traditional status, that is, based on birth, caste etc. determine the movement of a person to a higher level.

3. **Poly-functionalism :** This is an intermediate category between functional specification and functional diffuseness. It implies that in a prismatic society, the level of specialization is much larger than found in a fused society but less than what is prevalent in diffracted societies.

The administrative system of a prismatic system is called 'sala' meaning a room or office in Spanish language. A 'sala' shares the features of a prismatic society.

It may be mentioned that in the agrarian-industrial typology, there was a detailed

analysis of agrarian as well as industrial societies, but only a marginal reference was made to 'transition'. In the latter typology of fused-prismatic-diffracted societies, the emphasis was reversed. In this typology, the focus is on the prismatic society, while the analysis of fused and diffracted societies is in brief. Likewise, there is an inadequate description of the 'court' of a fused society and the 'bureau' of a diffracted society. On the other hand, the 'sala' of a prismatic society has been adequately discussed.

It may be mentioned once again that even though a prismatic society has not been termed, as a 'developing' society, it is assumed throughout the Riggsian analysis that most developing countries share the features of a prismatic society.

5.5 Prismatic Sala Model

The Prismatic Sala Model, developed by Fred Riggs, is a widely cited and debated theoretical framework for understanding public administration in developing countries. This model has had a significant impact on the field of public administration, influencing many scholars and practitioners in their understanding of the unique challenges of development and the importance of cultural and historical context in shaping administrative structures.

The Prismatic Sala Model is based on the idea that public administration in developing countries is characterized by a complex interplay of social, cultural, and political factors that shape administrative structures and processes. This complexity is reflected in the model's name, which draws on the concept of "prismatic" or multi-faceted phenomena that cannot be reduced to a single perspective or dimension. Similarly, the "sala" in the model's name refers to a traditional Thai house, which embodies the idea of flexibility and adaptability in response to changing circumstances.

At the heart of the Prismatic Sala Model is the idea that public administration in developing countries is shaped by a unique set of historical and cultural factors that must be taken into account when designing administrative structures and processes. These factors include the legacy of colonialism, cultural values and norms, the role of the state in society, and the dynamics of economic development.

One of the key features of the Prismatic Sala Model is its emphasis on the importance of cultural context in shaping administrative structures and processes. This is reflected in Riggs' concept of the "cultural ecology" of public administration,

which refers to the complex web of cultural factors that influence administrative behaviour and decision-making. According to Riggs, this cultural ecology includes such factors as the values and beliefs of public officials, the cultural expectations of citizens, and the norms and traditions of the broader society.

Another key feature of the Prismatic Sala Model is its focus on the role of the state in society. Riggs argued that the state plays a critical role in shaping administrative structures and processes, but that this role is often complicated by the legacy of colonialism and the complex social and cultural dynamics of developing countries. For example, in many developing countries, the state is seen as a source of patronage and corruption, which can undermine efforts to establish effective and efficient administrative structures.

The Prismatic Sala Model also emphasizes the importance of economic development in shaping public administration in developing countries. According to Riggs, economic development can lead to significant changes in administrative structures and processes, as well as in the broader social and cultural dynamics of a society. However, he also noted that economic development can create new challenges for public administration, such as the need to balance economic growth with social equity and environmental sustainability.

Critics of the Prismatic Sala Model have argued that it is overly complex and difficult to apply in practice and that it places too much emphasis on cultural and historical factors at the expense of other important factors, such as political and economic structures. However, many scholars and practitioners have found the model to be a useful framework for understanding the unique challenges of public administration in developing countries and for designing effective and sustainable administrative structures and processes.

Therefore, the Prismatic Sala Model of Fred Riggs is an important theoretical framework for understanding public administration in developing countries. Its emphasis on the importance of cultural and historical context, the role of the state in society, and the dynamics of economic development have influenced many scholars and practitioners in their approach to public administration. While the model has been the subject of criticism and debate, it remains a valuable tool for designing effective and sustainable administrative structures and processes in the context of development.

5.6 Observations of Fred Riggs in Development Administration

The Contributions of the Comparative Administration Group (CAG) It was Fred W. Riggs, under whose chairmanship the Comparative Administration Group was formed in 1961 by the American Society for Public Administration. The CAG was made to carry out research in Comparative Administration with a special focus on the problems of development administration. The financial support to the CAG was given by the Ford Foundation, which was interested in the analysis of the relations between the administrative system and its socio-political, economic, and cultural contexts.

The Group felt that the classical concepts of administration in the third world were rigid, narrow, and parochial and thus unfit in explaining the cross-cultural situations as these concepts were unable to answer the irrational, informal, and emotional behaviour of administration. Further, the postulates that conventional organisational theory was suitable only for "maintenance needs" rather than for "development needs". The technological-managerial school has an emphasis on planned and managed change, was challenged by the Ecological School which insisted on relating the organisational structures to other social structures. It resulted in the idea that the sociological context of administration is more relevant than mere 'organisational change and personnel manipulation'.

The scholars in CAG insisted on a comparative analysis of the administrative systems of the third world. The Group also advocated concentration on the strategies and requisites for attaining public policy goals in developing countries. The Group which organised its activities through various seminars, symposiums, conferences and an evolving committee system, published more than 100 occasional papers. It is a fact that the Group initially shared the assumption of technical assistance experts, but it was not without questioning. The studies carried out by the CAG assumed, developmental thrusts in the context of a "belief in the possibility of (initiating and) managing change by purposive intervention by administrative institutions". As aresult of its efforts, the Group was able to innovate many concepts viz : Systems Analysis; Patterns Variables; Traditional-Modernity Dichotomy; Information Theory and Pluralism. The 1960s ushered in a period of evaluation of results, doubts and repetition of old strategies. It was also a period of a search for new concepts or analytical constructs which have cross-cultural validity. The

Public Administration academics sought alternative approaches to development administration. They sought to examine the relationships between Public Administration and the social, economic, political and cultural environment. In other words, Public Administration was seen from 'ecological perspective. The most renowned exponent of this approach has been Fred Riggs. We shall discuss his views in some detail below.

Riggs has criticised the development administration model by observing that GNP increases may not necessarily lead to improving the real-life conditions of the people. Thus increase in the per capita income does not serve as an indicator of development. He has rather preferred the physical quality of life indicators and social and psychological quality of life index as the success of a development policy.

Riggs has analysed the structural functional features of the social and administrative systems of the developing countries in his industria-transition-agraria formulation. He puts the developing countries in the category of prismatic society which is caught in between tradition fused and modernity diffracted and is under going the process of social change. The ecological approach provided a vision that reflected interest in the examination of the relationship of non-administrative factors to administrative ones. Administrative aspects, it is argued, cannot be explained and analysed in their abstract forms where effective behaviour, despite the establishment of formal political and administrative institutions, is still guided in modern traditional societies, to a greatextent, by traditional structures and pressures, family, religion, region, caste and persisting socio-economic practices. Therefore, an attempt is made to understand the socio-cultural and administrative factors related to the implementation of the Technical Assistance Programmes. The strong primary group affiliations and conservative mode of thought, where not much importance is given to the factors of accuracy, promptness and time, have behavioural implications.

● **The Empirical Approach to 'Development Administration'**

The period of the 1960s also saw a shift from a normative approach to an empirical approach. This approach was undertaken to make a systematic study of the processes of institution-building basic to the technical assistance enterprise of the United Nations and other aid agencies. The fundamental units of analysis were the structures and their functions in different systems having parallel characteristics. It is in contrast with the normative approach in which the main aim is to prescribe ideal or at least better patterns of administrative structure and action. This approach

is implicit in most of the so-called principles of Public Administration works of Woodrow Wilson, L. D. White, Fayol, Gullick, F. W. Taylor and others. It reflected American practice as a model, especially for the people of third-world countries. This category includes numerous reports and studies by experts, visiting consultants, technical assistants, and some Western-trained Public Administration specialists of the new States. The basic orientation is the quest for ideal patterns and the identification of difficulties and obstacles to be overcome and problems to be solved. Such endeavours seek toidentify the universals of the administrative process.

5.7 Theme of Prismatic Sala Model

A 'prism' is a transparent glass or plastic object, often with ends in the shape of a triangle, which separates light that passes through it into the colours of a rainbow. Riggs has borrowed the term 'prismatic' from the discipline of Physics, for it appropriately explains his conceptualization. A ray of light, before it enters the prism, has no refraction, hence it denotes a 'fused' society that has no differentiation or specialization. When the ray enters the prism, it is in a state of progressive refraction, but it is not still fully refracted. This state denotes a 'prismatic' state. When the rays come out of the prism, they convert into a rainbow-like profile and have seven distinct colours of a rainbow. This 'refracted' state denotes a 'diffracted' society.

Thus a prismatic society is a 'mixed' society that has the features of 'fused' as well as 'diffracted' societies. Let us look at the main features of prismatic society and its administrative system, the 'sala'. These features can be interpreted, as the characteristics of 'developing' or 'transitional' societies and their administrative systems. Heterogeneity means diversity. In a prismatic society, there is a coexistence of the features of fused as well as diffracted societies. There are in this society, traditional as well as modern systems, practices, viewpoints, norms, and behaviour patterns co-exist. There are metropolitan towns and rural areas; traditional and modern attitudes, western style departmental stores and small village shops; large companies as well as small cooperative societies and cottage industries run by families; giant universities as well as one-teacher schools; and multi-speciality large hospitals and one-physician Ayurveda or Unani clinics. Such diversity can also be seen in the simultaneous existence of financial institutions such as SEBI and village moneylenders; multinational corporations and village patwaris (revenue

officials); and old manual typewriters along with sophisticated information technology.

● **Heterogeneity**

Heterogeneity means diversity. In a prismatic society, there is a coexistence of the features of fused as well as diffracted societies. There are in this society, traditional as well as modern systems, practices, viewpoints, norms, and behaviour patterns co-exist. There are metropolitan towns and rural areas; traditional and modern attitudes, western style departmental stores and small village shops; large companies as well as small cooperative societies and cottage industries run by families; giant universities as well as one-teacher schools; and multi-speciality large hospitals and one-physician Ayurveda or Unani clinics. Such diversity can also be seen in the simultaneous existence of financial institutions such as SEBI and village moneylenders; multinational corporations and village patwaris (revenue officials); and old manual typewriters along with sophisticated information technology.

● **Formalism**

In prismatic societies, there is a wide gap existing between laws and their implementation, promises made by leaders and their execution and plans and their implementation. While government programmes are meant to benefit all citizens or specific groups, there is partiality seen in granting such benefits. Those who pay bribes are in friendship with powerful leaders or administrators or are themselves socially and economically influential, grab a major chunk of benefits. The sala officials may also take advantage of this situation and receive illegal income through unethical practices. Riggs observes that in prismatic societies, a large number of administrative reform committees and commissions are appointed to improve the performance and behaviour of the sala, yet their recommendation is rarely accepted by the government, and even when these recommendations are accepted, they are rarely executed faithfully. Thus, the impact of administrative reforms remains only superficial.

● **Overlapping**

In a prismatic society, new and modern structures are designed to perform important socio-economic functions, but along with them, traditional structures continue to exercise an overlapping influence on the dynamics of such functions. Likewise, old traditional values and modern objective and rational values overlap

with each other. Thus, one function may be performed by more than one structure. Some of these structures are formal, others are informal. While administrative functions should be performed mostly by administrative institutions, the reality in prismatic societies is that political leaders, political parties, pressure groups, industrialists, businessmen, caste leaders, religious leaders, and other sections of society also influence the developmental and regulatory policies and programmes and their implementation.

It would be interesting to attempt a brief comparison between Weber's bureaucracy and Riggs's sala. Both models are ideal-type. While Weber's typology has three models (traditional, charismatic, and legal-rational), Riggs's typology has also three models (fused, prismatic, and diffracted). A gist of salient differences between bureaucracy and sala should be interesting.

BUREAUCRACY	SALA
(i) Organized in the hierarchy of Offices	(i) Heterogeneity
(ii) Defined competence of each office	(ii) Overlapping
(iii) Selection of officials by achievement	(iii) Attainment as the basis of recruitment; nepotism
(iv) Administration by rule	(iv) Formalism
(v) Universalism and impersonal operations; officials are subject to authority only in an official capacity	(v) Personalized Norms in Official Behaviour
(vi) Separation of public funds from the private.	(vi) Widespread official corruption

5.8 Conclusion

In conclusion, the prismatic sala model of Fred Riggs is an influential theory in the field of development administration that highlights the complexity of administrative systems in developing countries. The model identifies multiple factors that shape administrative systems, including historical legacies, cultural traditions, social structures, and economic conditions. By emphasizing the multidimensionality

of administrative systems, the prismatic sala model offers a more nuanced perspective on development administration that goes beyond simplistic notions of bureaucratic reform. Instead, the model emphasizes the importance of understanding local contexts and cultural specificities to design effective and sustainable administrative systems. Despite its criticisms and limitations, the prismatic sala model continues to be a valuable framework for scholars and practitioners interested in understanding the complexities of administrative systems in developing countries.

5.9 Summary

- The prismatic sala model of Fred Riggs is a theoretical framework in the field of development administration that highlights the complexity of administrative systems in developing countries.

- The model identifies multiple factors that shape administrative systems, including historical legacies, cultural traditions, social structures, and economic conditions.

- By emphasizing the multidimensionality of administrative systems, the prismatic sala model offers a more nuanced perspective on development administration that goes beyond simplistic notions of bureaucratic reform.

- Despite its criticisms and limitations, the prismatic sala model continues to be a valuable framework for scholars and practitioners interested in understanding the complexities of administrative systems in developing countries.

5.10 Glossary

- **Prismatic Sala Model :** A theoretical framework developed by Fred Riggs that emphasizes the multidimensionality of administrative systems in developing countries.

- **Administrative development :** The process of improving administrative systems in developing countries to enhance economic, social, and political development.

- **Sala Model :** A framework that identifies the four main components of administrative systems: structure, authority, legitimacy, and adaptability.

- **Bureaucratic pathology :** A term used by Riggs to describe the negative consequences of bureaucratic inefficiency and corruption in developing countries.

- **Decentralization :** The transfer of authority and decision-making power from central government to local or regional authorities.

- **Neocolonialism :** A term used to describe the continued economic and political domination of former colonial powers over their former colonies.

- **Cultural determinism :** The belief that cultural factors are the primary determinants of social and political phenomena.

- **Political culture :** The shared beliefs, values, and attitudes that shape political behaviour and decision-making.

- **Structural-functionalism :** A theoretical approach that emphasizes the interdependent relationship between different social structures and institutions.

- **Development administration :** The field of study that focuses on the role of administrative systems in promoting economic, social, and political development in developing countries.

5.11 Model Questions

- What is the Prismatic Sala Model and how does it differ from other administrative frameworks?

- How does the Sala Model help us understand the complexities of administrative systems in developing countries?

- What are the main components of the Sala Model and how do they interact with each other?

- How does bureaucratic pathology contribute to the challenges faced by administrative systems in developing countries?

● What role does decentralization play in addressing the challenges identified by the Prismatic Sala Model?

● To what extent does neocolonialism impact administrative development in developing countries?

● How does cultural determinism influence the development of administrative systems in different countries?

● What is the relationship between political culture and administrative development?

● How does structural-functionalism inform our understanding of administrative systems in developing countries?

● How has the Prismatic Sala Model influenced the field of development administration?

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Module – II

Bureaucracy and Development

Unit – 6 ❑ Bureaucracy and Development Dynamics

Structure

6.1 Learning Objectives

After studying this unit, you should be able to :

- Explain the meaning and types of bureaucracy

● Explain the interconnection between bureaucracy and development

● Explain the notion of development and the role of bureaucracy

6.2 Introduction

For students of public administration, it is imperative to know the meaning of bureaucracy. It is understood that bureaucracies are large multi-layered organizations performing a large variety of complex, multi-faceted tasks.It is a body of officials and administrators, especially of a government or government department. They play a crucial role in the day-to-day administration of the country by maintaining law and order.

It is strongly felt that besides the maintenance of law and order, bureaucracy has another equally very important task of achieving development in the nation-state. The term development is generally used to refer to economic, political, and social changes such as an increase in national income, industrialisation, strengthening of the nation-state, urbanisation, spread of education, and wider use of mass media such as newspapers, radio, and television. The bureaucracy participates in bringing about these changes and, so, is said to be an important instrument of development

Historical accounts and empirical evidence support the claim that bureaucratic effectiveness and economic development are strongly correlated. Narrative evidence by historians and political scientists fuels the idea that establishing an effective bureaucracy has been vital to the development of modern nation-states. Therefore, we shall look at the matter of development dynamics and the role of bureaucracy in this light.

6.3 Meaning of Bureaucracy

Bureaucracyis a specific form of organization defined by complexity, division of labour, permanence, professional management, hierarchical coordination and control, strict chain of command, and legal authority. It is distinguished from informal and collegial organizations. In its ideal form, bureaucracy is impersonal and rational and based on rules rather than ties of kinship, friendship, patrimonial or charismatic authority. Bureaucratic organizations can be found in both public and private institutions.

No organization has ever existed without any form of Bureaucracy. Bureaucracy is often mentioned in Political Science, Sociology, and many others. There is no terminological accuracy in the concept of Bureaucracy. The term bureaucracy refers to the body of employees in a large-scale organisation.More specifically, it refers to a body of employees in authority relationships within an organisation. Thus, every large business organisation has its bureaucracy.In the government, there are civil and military bureaucracies as well. In the literature on Public Administration, the term civil bureaucracy has a wider connotation than the term civil service. Thus, while employees of autonomous corporations are not counted among civil servants, they are said to belong to the bureaucracy.It is also understood that the bureaucracy does not include elected politicians but consists only of appointed employees. In common usage, the term bureaucracy is sometimes also used to refer to routine and delay in official work. However, in the study of Public Administration, while routine and delay are taken into account, the term bureaucracy is used to refer only to appointed officials.

As a phenomenon or concept, bureaucracyis said to have existed in a rudimentary form in an earlier period in different periods of the world. The origin and history of Bureaucracy can be traced back to 186 B.C. It was believed that in China, the recruitment in public offices was through competitive examination and we find mention of some form of a bureaucratic system.

However, the term "bureaucracy" was first coined by Vincent de Gourney, a French economist in 1975. It was used to describe the form of a government that existed in France's first half of the eighteenth century. In French, the word 'Bureau' means a desk. Gourney was a strong critic of Bureaucracy. He stated, "We have an illness in France which bids to fair play havoc with us; this illness is called Bureaumania." He felt that the officers, clerks, secretaries, and inspectors exist for the public good or interest but in practice, they used to create that public interest for their existence.

6.3.1 Bureaucracy and Civil Services

The word 'civil servant' may be said to have been coined on the analogy of military servant and police servant.A civil servant is distinguishable from the latter two in that while they are mainly concerned with safeguarding the country from external and internal dangers, he is concerned with purely civil and non-technical affairs of the State. He is employed in a civil capacity, distinguished from a military,

judicial, or police capacity. Military officers, judicial officers, police officers, and many other technical officers like doctors, engineers, and draftsmen are, strictly speaking, not civil servants. A civil servant is one whose main function is to administer the law of the land.

Civil servants are mainly of two classes : lower clerical staff and higher administrative staff. The higher administrative staff is directly connected to the political head of the department. The lower clerical staff helps the administrative staff and works under its direct supervision and control. A State reaches its citizens through civil servants who are trained, skilled, and a permanent body of professional officials, and who have adopted government service as a career. We shall use the terms bureaucrats and civil servants interchangeably as both are used synonymously in public administration.

6.3.2 Characteristics of Bureaucracy

The main characteristics of bureaucracy are as follows :

● **Hierarchy**

The officials in a bureaucratic organization are arranged hierarchically. In order of seniority, officials are placed in the organization senior officials at the top, and junior officials lower down the ladder. The file will move upward to the top for decision and once the decision is taken, the file is returned to the bottom, where the file has been initiated with order and instruction for implementation.

● **Duties Defined**

The duty of each official is well-defined. He is conscious of his jurisdiction, and he will not go beyond it. He will be committing a mistake and inviting punishment if he crosses the area of his jurisdiction.

● **Specialisation**

Although bureaucratic training produces generalists, they develop some amount of specialization in the course of their work. When an official works in a particular organization or department for some period, he gains expertise in it.

● **Discipline and Harmony**

Each official in an organization has his specified duty and defined jurisdiction.

He is not expected to cross into the jurisdiction of any other official. If all officials are bound by these norms and expectations, there will be discipline and harmony in the organization.

● **Attainment of a specific goal**

Talcott Parsons, argues that one of the main features of bureaucracy is the primary orientation to the attainment of a specific goal. Each department is assigned a specific goal, and all its members try to attain it.

● **Promotion**

The two factors influencing promotion are seniority and ability, or merit. Seniority should be rewarded in respect of promotion. However exclusive reliance on seniority for promotion would undermine efficiency. Like seniority. efficiency should also be rewarded. Promotion is an incentive for meritorious officials.

● **Training**

Civil servants are selected based on merit, normally through competition. They are given intensive training both before service and during service.

● **Impersonalisation**

Bureaucracy is characterized by impersonalisation. Civil servants are rigid in their interpretation of rules and regulations. They are objective. The face of the client is immaterial. Decisions are taken by rules, and not based on any personal consideration.

● **Secrecy**

Bureaucrats are adept at maintaining secrecy. They would not easily divulge official secrets. Weber said, "The monarch imagines it is he who is ruling, when in fact what he is doing is providing a screen, behind which the apparatus can enjoy the privilege of power without control of responsibility".

6.3.3 Types of Bureaucracy

One of the important aspects of Bureaucracy is that it is shaped by environmental influences, including social, cultural, economic, and political factors. These socio-political influences have shaped bureaucracy and formed the basis of modern bureaucracy. D. Waldo in his book The Administrative State has broadly categorised

bureaucracy into four types viz. Guardian Bureaucracy, Caste Bureaucracy, Patronage Bureaucracy, and Merit Bureaucracy.

● **Guardian Bureaucracy**

The first category according to Marx is Guardian Bureaucracy. Under this system, the bureaucracy and the civil servants are considered guardians or custodians of justice and the welfare of the community. They all work for the goal of the common good. The bureaucrats are selected based on their education and further trained in the right conduct. Such bureaucracy existed in China before 960 A.D. and in Prussia between 640-1740 A.D. Forinstance, in China, the bureaucrats demonstrated an exemplary life and quality under the influence of the teachings of Confucius.

The Guardian Bureaucracy is likely to become aloof from the public from the affairs of the community and political problems of the day as they tend to become authoritarian and unresponsive to public opinion.

● **Caste Bureaucracy**

According to Marx, Caste Bureaucracy arises from the class connection of those in the controlling positions. It implies that only those persons belonging to the upper castes and classes become civil servants and bureaucrats. In the case of ancient India, it was the Brahmins and Kshatriyas that dominated the bureaucracy, as they were the only social group or category of castes to be appointed to administrative posts. F.M. Marx also notes that the caste bureaucracy manifests in another form, i.e. linking the qualification in the higher posts with arrangements that amount to class privileges.

Similarly, if we take the case of the UK, we observe that the members of the British Civil Service till recently were drawn from the graduates of esteemed universities such as Cambridge and Oxford. They came from an aristocratic background. It is due to this reason that Caste Bureaucracy has been described as an "Aristocratic Personnel System" by W.F. Willoughby.

● **Patronage Bureaucracy**

The Patronage System is also known by another name i.e. Spoils System. The USA has been the traditional home of the patronage system. The means

of political control is patronage. It means that the bureaucrats are recruited based on personal favour or political reward. Since this system was prevalent in the USA, it was considered that no one had any more right to official status than the others and that was how the patronage was disturbed. Apart from the USA, this system prevailed in England till the end of the first half of the 19th century.

Patronage Bureaucracy was criticised for its careless discipline, concealed greediness, biases, irregular ways, and partisanship. It was noticed that the outcome of this type of bureaucracy was incompetence, red-taps, and lack of efficiency.

● **Merit Bureaucracy**

The most widely prevalent type of bureaucracy and the fourth category according to F.M. Marx is Merit Bureaucracy. This type of bureaucracy has replaced the patronage system and it is a response to the drawbacks of other types of bureaucracies. Under this system, the bureaucrats are selected and appointed based on their merit only. Recruitment is based on qualifications and is governed by objective standards. After entry, status and stability are ensured. There are in-service training programs and rational approaches to pay and allowances. Likewise, promotion is also based on the merit principle, i.e. qualifications and achievements.

This type of bureaucracy puts a strong emphasis on political control over the administrative system which was not the case in other forms of bureaucracy. Merit Bureaucracy is therefore backed by a sense of rationality in administrative behavior. Comparatively, it has an advantage and legitimacy over other forms or types of bureaucracies.

6.4 What is Development

Development in simple words means growth. It may be described as a 'process of social, economic, spiritual and mental change from a retrogressive to a forward-looking progressive society and a process which refers to the values of the people involved in the process itself.' To put it simply, Development is the process of acquiring a sustained growth of a system's capability to cope with a new and

continuous change toward the achievement of progressive political, economic and social changes.

While one group of scholars have equated 'development, with growth, the second group relates it with system change, yet another with goal orientation.Another school of thought considers it in terms of planned change. Many definitions of development come from sources that fall outside the confines of development administration. It includes development as planned growth in the direction of modernity or nation-building and socio-economic progress involving substantial differentiation and coordination. Followed by development as planned growth in the direction of modernity.Edward Weidner, one of the leading advocates of Development Administration describes development as a 'process of dynamic transformation'. Thus, development as a process is never-ending and never complete.

6.5 Development Administration

Development Administration came in after 1950. The word was first used by U.L. Goswami in 1955 and after that lot of literature has been produced on this subject. Scholars have defined the nature of development administration.

All the structures, organisations, and agencies involved in the primary activity of development, are the parts, constituents, or organs of development administration.

Swerdlow says, "Development administration is that part of administration which is concerned with the development of country's economy and society." According to Merlie Fainshod, Development Administration is a carrier of new functions assumed by developing countries embarking on the path of modernisation and industrialisation. He further says that the process ordinarily involves mobilising and allocating resources to expand national income. New administrative units, frequently called nation-building organisations, are set up to foster industrial development, manage new state economic enterprises, raise agricultural output, develop natural resources, improve the transportation and communication networks, reform the educational system and achieve other developmental goals

Edward Weidner says development administration is concerned with maximising innovation for development. He defines innovation for development as the process of the planned or intended change in the direction of modernity or nation-building

and socio-economic change. Development Administration is an action-oriented goal-oriented administrative system according to him.

Fred Riggs defines development administration as organised efforts to carry out programmes or projects thought by those involved to serve development objectives. He further says, "Development administration refers not only to a government's efforts to carry out programmes designed to reshape its physical, human and cultural environment but also to the struggle to enlarge a government's capacity to engage in such programmes."

Today, development administration is concerned with the formulation and implementation of plans, policies, programmes, and projects. Thus, development administration is the administration of planned change. Development administration is about development programmes, policies, and projects in unusually wide and new demand conditions with peculiarly low capacities to meet them. It is the process of formulating policies necessary to achieve development goals and mobilising, organising, and managing all necessary and available resources to implement these policies.

 In brief, Development Administration is the process of carrying out development programs and projects directed toward nation-building and socio-economic progress through an administrative organisation. It is through public as well as non-public organisations and their proper management that a developing country can carry out development policy measures for the realisation of national goals and objectives.The essence of Development Administration is to bring about change through integrated, organised, and properly directed governmental action.

6.6 Bureaucracy and Development

Bureaucracy and development are two components that can be seen from an overview. They both seem to possess opposing values and ideas as 'Bureaucracy' represents static or orthodox and rigid values while 'Development' advocates dynamic or moving or changing values. Bureaucracy viewed by the Weberian model and other theorists pertains to the same routine, unchanged and repeated procedures that enable it to continue, achieve its pre-established goals and handle its problems like a system without being influenced by external factors. Development as a concept on the other hand is seen as a phenomenon influenced by the concept of change

and something which quickly adapts and adjusts to changes coming in through both external as well as internal factors on the way to development. It is the administrative process that evolved for developing countries.

It must be noted that in developing countries, the only neutral and the biggest existing entity and stable machinery that can achieve and lead the way towards the process of development is bureaucracy. They strive to achieve the goals of development by acting as the chief machinery of the state. They act as an interlinkage between the state and the people. The process of policy formulation and its implementation requires the bureaucracy to stay informed and updated for gathering data.Therefore, in the context of developing countries, bureaucracy and development are complementary and interdependent instead of being hostile to one another when the development administration and the process of development are concerned.

For the bureaucracy to be effective in the development process it is suggested that the state requires them to provide training in attitudinal changes and incorporate dynamic and social values in them to know the required preparation of strategy and implementation of programmes in the present ecological setting. This exercise is required to uplift the socio-cultural and economic status of the country. In the facilitation of the developmental process, it is also suggested that bureaucracy apart from its duties like development policy formulation and implementation as well as in educating people about the policies is required to utilise their specialist knowledge to play the role of a friend, facilitator, coordinator, guardian, philosopher, and guide to the factors like market and civil societies as well as other instruments of development administration and in the process of development. It is due to these reasons, that bureaucrats have the task of patiently assisting people in various aspects of development. Therefore, one can understand how the overall evaluation and implementation of Development Administration programmes are carried out by the Bureaucracy playing the leading role in developing nations.

Bureaucracy can assist in development by :

● Providing independent advice

● Through effective administration

● Through honesty and integrity (including intellectual integrity)

● Through sacrifice and readiness

● Through internalisation of the social and political ethos and high values.

● Through fearless decision making

● By cutting out middlemen through accessibility to the non-aggressive, neglected people and reaching out to them.

● By jumping out of the current values and being imbued with the cherished ideals and the goals set by the professed policies of the government.

● Through conscientious objections to the subversion of the professed goals.

● By educating the left-off sections of society about their rights

6.7 Bureaucracy and Development in India

There is a widely held belief that in India the role of bureaucracy is not only dominant in the implementation of public policies but is also pervasive in respect of policy formulation. Since the British times, bureaucracy has no doubt played a very decisive and important role in the administrative system of India, but after independence, the role expectations and actual performances of the Indian bureaucracy have changed considerably. In the context of the goals of a welfare state and development administration, bureaucracy has certainly emerged as one of the key elements in the politico-administrative process in India.

During colonial rule, India was held together by the 'steel frame' of the Indian Civil Service (ICS), and even after four to five decades, The Indian Administrative Service (IAS), which has taken the place of the place of the ICS, still performs the function. It is said that the bureaucracy in India is to strive to bring about national integration. The bureaucracy is generally perceived to be the most important channel of communication between the rulers and the ruled. This is because of the non-existence or weakness of interest groups and political parties. Most of the working class remains unorganized, specifically agricultural labour, which constitutes the great majority. Workers in small-scale industries also remain, by and large, unorganised. Therefore, most artisans and minority farmer groups have not formed their associations. In this regard, when a section of the people faces problems such as drought or scarcity of raw materials by artisans, they generally expect the deputy commissioner to provide help and to represent their case at higher levels of government. Even though in practice the bureaucracy may often prove to be a poor

channel of upward communication. The government,however, does find bureaucracy to be an efficient channel of communication in the development process.

6.7.1 Public Policy Development

Public policy-making in India is as polyarchal as perhaps in any other country. It is more so because of the existence of a federal polity, the diversity of the country and the pluralistic nature of the society, a free press, and the conflicting demands made by different groups through a vast network of communications systems that have developed in the country during the past four decades of independence.

The embryo or the genesis of public policies is generally laid by the political parties which come into power through their election manifestos. They are given definite shape and modified later by the executive. The role of the bureaucracy in the policy processes varies from level to level and situation to situation. At various times of its operations, the bureaucracy performs what is known as the surveillance function, while at other times it performs the diagnostic function, which includes finding the precise sources of maladies that are undertaken. At certain stages, it performs the function of keeping track of what is required by the government at particular times. Lastly, at other times, it may perform the function of proposing alternate policy frameworks, implementing policies, and providing a futuristic orientation to policy perspectives. The comparative emphasis on each of these functions of bureaucracy is subject to the political dynamics.

6.7.2 Bureaucracy, Political Dynamics and Policy-making

The bureaucracy sometimes plays a critical role in initiating policy, mainly because of its technical knowledge and its close communication with major interest groups.This enables it to recommend and implement public policies and also because of its operational role in carrying out policy, the bureaucracy is usually aware when changes are required in an ongoing programme. They can evaluate a given policy proposal as being highly desirable, merely feasible, or ill-considered. They can carry out an authorised policy whole heartedly or at some intermediate level of commitment.

Likewise, a just and responsible administration implies that the administrators are not simply powerless entities in a political game whose outcome is completely determined by consideration of power. It necessitates that in a stable and efficient administration, the administrators are expected to use their power resources and principally their expertise to bring about outcomes that are in consideration with

the public interest. Thus, the administrative responsibility and the notion of public interest are to be protected by administrators as a kind of trust for the citizens of the country.

In the changing socio-political environment of a developing country like India, a bureaucrat is required to be innovative. They must combine a forward-looking perspective and a positive attitude towards change. Factors such as personality, social background, education, experience, and motivation really matter. Even in a minority of bureaucrats, the same factors should be considered as necessary conditions for administrative innovation.

6.7.3 Bureaucracy and Policy Implementation

Practically in most countries, the bureaucracy is one of the important actors in the making of governmental departments. In most contemporary systems, their power as decision-makers has been steadily increasing and perhaps the most important aspect between the development plans and their implementation is the bureaucratic machinery, whose function is to translate planned goals into action. It gives effect to policies after they have been approved by the executive and legislative branches of the government.

Though this function also is performed under the overall control and supervision of politicians in the executive and legislative branches, however, members of the bureaucracy have to bear much of the responsibility for implementation. This is due to its growing influence.

6.8 Conclusion

It is a commonly expressed view that the bureaucracy is a rational and neutral instrument of development. People in developing societies are faced with several problems, such as poverty, unemployment, bad health, illiteracy, corruption, and authoritarianism. The primary role of state and government in the day-to-day administration extends upon the bureaucracy and it is due to this the bureaucracy's role has been expanding. Its role in the development of a nation-state is vital and it cannot be undermined. As mentioned before, the bureaucrats must combine a forward-looking perspective and a positive attitude towards change. Factors such as personality, social background, education, experience, and motivation should be taken into consideration.

Thus, the interlinkage between development and bureaucracy overlaps various aspects which bring about growth and better conditions.

6.9 Summary

- Bureaucracy plays a crucial role in the administration of a country.

- It has several characteristics and it can be broadly categorised into four types.

- Bureaucracy is one of the most important aspects of development.

- Bureaucracy and Development are correlated and interdependent.

- The role of bureaucracy in the development of India is another important aspect.

6.10 Glossary

- **Bureaucracy :** The body of employees in a large-scale organisation

- **Development :** It means moving or graduating to a better stage of the condition.

- **Authority :** The type of power whose exercise people see as legitimate.

- **Max Weber :** German Sociologist, who gave an important theory of authority and its typology.

- **F. M. Marx :** German-American Political Scientist, who is most noted for laying down the four categories of bureaucracy.

- **Edward Weidner :** American Public Administration Scholar and a leading advocate of Development Administration.

- **Impersonalisation :** To get rid of human characteristics such as sympathy, warmth, etc.

- **Steel Frame :** Civil servants and bureaucrats were referred to as the 'steel frame of India' by SardarVallabhbhai Patel

- **Public Policy :** A system of laws, regulatory measures, courses of action, and funding priorities concerning a given topic promulgated by a governmental entity or its representatives.

6.11 Model Questions

- What is the meaning of bureaucracy? Write the major characteristics of bureaucracy.

- Differentiate between Development and Development Administration

- What is the contribution of bureaucracy to the various aspects of development?

- Evaluate the role of Bureaucracy in the development of India.

- What do you understand by the term bureaucracy?

- What is Development Administration?

- Define the term development.

- What do you understand by the term Spoils System?

- Write any four features of bureaucracy.

- What are the four types of bureaucracy according to F.M. Marx?

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Unit – 7 ❑ Social Background

Structure

7.1 Learning Objectives

After studying the unit, you should be able to :

● Explain the origin and background of bureaucracy.

● Explain the origin and background of bureaucracy in India.

● Social Background of bureaucracy

7.2 Introduction

The social background of the bureaucracy and its historical origin is a crucial aspect in understanding the genesis of bureaucracy. In this regard, few studies on social background have been conducted to find out from which social economic group the senior civil servants come from.

We do get some sort of an idea about the section of the society from which most civil servants of a certain category are drawn, their education, whether they lived in villages or cities, their caste, their religion, and the extent to which women can get into the services and so on. We can relate the social background to attitudes, or in other words study the influence of social class, education, and other factors on the nature of bureaucracy, and hence the administration.

Finally, we can examine how far the bureaucracy may be said to be representative of the society in general, that is to analyse whether it is drawn from all sections or whether members of a certain class predominate. Representativeness is often considered to be related to responsiveness and it may not be fully responsive to the other classes in society.

7.3 Origin and Background of Bureaucracy

Since a comprehensive theory of bureaucracy is attributed to Max Weber, his ideas have been an integral part of the study of Bureaucracy and its organisation. His thought has influenced generations of scholars on bureaucracy and formal organisation. As one of the founders of modern sociology, his writings covered a wide range of subjects including economics, sociology, and administration. His ideas on bureaucracy need to be placed in the larger framework of his writings on the economic and political structure of society. He traced the pact of religious views on the growth of capitalism and dealt with the relationship between industrialisation and organisational structure. His thoughts on bureaucracy evolved out of the considerations of socio-historical forces and led to the growth of complex organisations. Weber's ideas on bureaucracy form an integral part of his macro view of history and social theory. He also presented an important view of the origin and background of modern bureaucracy.

Weber went back into ancient history to find out the chief reasons for the rise of bureaucratic government in the modern state. As he observed, the avocation system of Roman administration could be traced to Greek practices. There was no colonial officer in Rome despite the vast Roman empire. Provincial governors were sent out on an annual tenure supported by a very limited staff. Julius Caesar's effort to create a permanent civil service also failed. In this respect, Augustus and Hadrian were, to some extent, successful. A full-blown bureaucracy had come into being

during the reign of Diocletian.The fall of Rome was as much due to the burgeoning bureaucracy as to the creeping corruption of the ruling class. They had compelled the imposition of special taxes to at the wheels of a vast administrative machine. Here, Weber found the clue he was searching for. Bureaucratic administration, he observed, could survive only when there would be a developed money economy capable of sustained economic growth. This was not the case with Rome and her provinces which were not far removed from a subsistence economy. So, the Romans could not afford a large bureaucratic structure.

According to Weber, a developing economy can produce a surplus of food and commodities and this surplus becomes the basis for payment of salaries to the members of the civil service. The increasing need for public revenue compels the state to develop a rational system of public finance. To quote Weber, "A stable system of taxation is the precondition for the permanent existence of bureaucratic administration". Therefore, the development of the money economy and the emergence of mass democracy prepared the ground for bureaucratic administration. Later, Weber gave his idea of the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism to further the idea of the ascendency of bureaucracy.

7.4 Origin and Background of Bureaucracy in India

The bureaucracy in India is the product of two different sets of influences : British traditions and a democratic welfare system. The British, who ruled India for almost a century, established a system of bureaucracy whose key outstanding features were its elitism and a strong loyalty to its masters. They laid the foundations of modern Indian bureaucracy which was primarily meant to serve the limited objectives of maintenance of law and order and collection of revenues in the annexed conquered territories of the British East India Company. The system dates back to the Northcote Trevelyan Report of 1854, which demonstrated Lord Macaulay's profound belief in English liberal education. This belief resulted in a band of administrators for India from Oxford and Cambridge Universities designated as the Indian Civil Service or the ICS, who were called "allrounders" by the supporters of the system and "amateurs" by its critics.

The advent of Independence and the change in the role of government to include the functions of a welfare state produced the second set of influences. The rapid

technological progress attained since then led to a proliferation of some para-state organisations such as public corporations, nationalised industries, public enterprises, and voluntary organisations supported by public funds. These expanding frontiers and the new tasks of the government in India required an administrative state able to handle social, economic, political, and scientific problems in the context of the national and international setting. Bureaucracy thus became one of the chief instruments in the hands of government to deal with the challenges of the new political order and the socio-economic imperatives.

However, despite the environmental changes after independence, the impact of the British system continued to dominate the Indian scene. Compared with other developing countries, the Indian bureaucracy had many advantages at the time of Independence. During the colonial period itself, the foundations had been laid for a modern education system capable of providing the personnel necessary for both the administrative system and the growing industries. A network of communications, a core of financial institutions and a well-developed press provided the essential links in the infrastructure of a modern nation. The bureaucracy which was created by the British Imperial government to maintain a colonial system proved to be a remarkable administrative legacy in post-independent India.

The dominant feature of the British system, as noted earlier, was the ICS, an elite cadre of civil servants. They were both the policy-makers and the executive officials. During British times, political power was highly centralised within the bureaucracy, which largely lay in the hands of the members of the ICS class. The structural characteristics of the ICS such as an open entry system based on academic achievement, elaborate training arrangements, permanency of tenure, reservation of all the responsible generalist posts of central, provincial, and district levels for members of this elite cadre alone, a regular, graduated scale of pay with pension and other benefits, and a system of promotion and transfers based predominantly on seniority had all been retained in the present system after independence with only slight modifications in details. During the colonial period, the bureaucracy served to some extent as an instrument of integration of the country.

The administrative unity of the country, maintenance of law and order, reasonable standards of integrity, and the formalisation of the relationship between the administration and the people in place of arbitrary dealings as in the past, were some of the main achievements of the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy also came

to be involved in the tasks of the construction and maintenance of public works such as roads, railways, and canals as well as in the development of social services like education, and hospitals.

However, since the end of the colonial period, it has been popularly and persistently argued that Indian administrators, retaining some of the negative aspects of the imperial legacy, such as aloofness and status consciousness, are generally maladjusted and they tend to be authoritarian in the new situation. Therefore, the hopes and renewed aspirations of the people of independent India created new tasks and responsibilities that were assigned to the newly created Indian Administrative Service (the IAS), successor to the ICS, but with no radical break with the British Prime Minister and Minister for Home Affairs at Independence which had rendered the administrative traditions.

Today the IAS is the core of the country's administrative structure, sharing its tasks with several All-India, Central, and State Services and providing strong administrative links throughout the country, although interpretations differ on how effective these links have been. The bureaucracy in India has emerged as the influence that has certainly contributed to the technical and political development of bureaucratic administrative organizations. They are hierarchically structured both horizontally (between higher and lower in the same broad area of work) and vertically (between different skills, professions, or disciplines), further leading to a system of classes in the civil service, each with its separate career structures determining prospects for promotion.

7.5 Social Background of the Bureaucracy

Until about the middle of the nineteenth century, bureaucracies in almost all countries were filled by men from a numerically small upper class, irrespective of the character of the society or the form of its government, whether monarchic, democratic, or aristocratic. It was assumed that the members of the upper classes possessed certain inherent abilities for administrative leadership. The same case applies to India as well.

The main finding of research studies is that most members of the higher bureaucracy have been drawn from the professional middle class of India, consisting of backgrounds of higher civil and military officers, lawyers, doctors, university

teachers, and business executives. The father or the guardian of the majority of candidates who were direct recruits to the IAS belonged to this class. There are relatively very few of the IAS officers recruited who are from the families of Zamindars or farmers. They constituted a comparatively low figure of the total recruitments. The situation concerning other higher services was similar, but the difference between the numbers of those drawn from the professional middle class and landowning families was less. Thus, of the recruits to the Indian Police Service, the majority of candidates came from the professional middle class, and few candidates came from the landowning class. Of the recruits to the Indian Foreign Service, the majority came from the professional middle class and few came from the landowning class.

In short, in the first decade after independence, most of the entrants to the higher bureaucracy belonged to the English-educated, salaried or professional, upper middle class; there were very few entrants from other sections of the society. Recruitment to the higher bureaucracy was highly biased in favour of the professional middle class as it constituted less than 10 per cent of the population but more than 80 per cent of the recruits were drawn from it. During the later period, the proportion of recruits from landowning families improved somewhat, although it remained low. In the case of the IPS, the direction of change was the same, the percentages of recruitment from the two classes were uneven. Likewise, in the case of certain other Central Services, the proportion of recruits from landowning families improved a little, although it went down concerning the Indian Foreign Service.

Recent studies have found that in this new decade, candidates are recruited from diverse backgrounds and the data also indicate that the proportion of persons from farming families has been increasing gradually, however, the vast majority of those joining the higher bureaucracy still come from the professional middle class.

In the field of education, research studies show that most of the entrants into the higher bureaucracy are drawn from among those educated at exclusive schools and colleges. The phrase "exclusive schools and colleges" refers to educational institutions which charge high fees and hence are generally joined only by children from the upper and richer sections of society. The medium of instruction in these institutions is usually English only. What is even more interesting, there has been an increasing role of education at exclusive schools for entry into the higher echelons

of the civil service. Of those recruited to the IAS, a good number of candidates had been educated at Convent and public schools, and in the later period, it was observed that a vast majority of candidates had been educated in such schools. Thus, since independence, the proportion of recruits educated at exclusive schools has gone up by four times. The significance of education in exclusive colleges has also been unmistakable. More than half of the IAS recruits have been educated in only a dozen well-known colleges in India in comparison to all the other colleges put together which had contributed less than half. A similar picture emerges when we consider the role of education at the better-known universities. It has been observed that a good number of candidates have been educated at the six universities of Madras, Bombay. Calcutta, Delhi, Punjab, and Allahabad. These six universities also contributed to more than 80 per cent of the recruits to the Indian Foreign Service. The recent increase in the number of candidates coming from professional backgrounds such as IIT, engineering, and medical also provides a very important aspect regarding their backgrounds.

Coming to the caste factor, the higher bureaucracy is recruited predominantly from the so-called higher castes. People of low caste are also generally poor and cannot afford higher education for their children. To compensate for the age-old discrimination against those having a low social status, the Constitution of India provided for "reverse discrimination" in the shape of reservation of jobs for scheduled castes in Public Administration. For a long, however, these quotas were not filled, since candidates of scheduled castes and tribes could often not get qualifying marks in the competitive examination. Government coaching centres were therefore started to help such candidates in preparing for the examination. Gradually these quotas began to be filled. Similarly, the percentage of scheduled tribes recruits also rose. Though the percentages were, however, still lower than their proportion of the population. In other words, persons of low social status were still under-represented in the higher bureaucracy. The Reservation System in India was introduced to uplift the historically disadvantaged sections of Indian society and this same principle applies to candidates applying for the civil service exam.Scheduled Caste reservation for civil service exam constitutes 15%, 7.5% for Scheduled Tribe, 27% for Other Backward Classes (OBC), 10% for Economically Weaker Sections (EWS), and 4% for Persons with Benchmark Disabilities.

In the sphere of religion, while all the important religions of India are represented

in the higher bureaucracy, some of them have fewer members than their proportion of the population. Thus, among the IAS recruits, the vast majority of candidates came from were Hindus. Few are Muslims, Christians, and Sikhs. The representation of Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and other minority communities has varied and has been lower than their proportion in the population.

The representation of women in the higher bureaucracy has increased consistently. While there has been an increase in the number of women getting into the IAS, they constituted a smaller number during the early years. Since women constitute about half of the population, they may be said to be still grossly under-represented. However, a dynamic that has been observed since the beginning of the last decade is that the performances of women have been soaring. Over the last 10 years, there was a fair share of toppers and top-rank holders between both men and women candidates.

As we have studied the social background of the higher bureaucracy in India based on research studies made from time to time, it must be noted that comparable studies for the lower bureaucracy have not been made, presumably because it is not considered to play as important a role in the political system. However, some comparison of the social background of the two sections of the bureaucracy can be attempted based on available data. The above comparison reflects the dynamics of social background and while the study suffered from certain limitations, it does still provide some data for purposes of comparison.

7.6 Outcomes of the Social Background

As noted earlier, it is the urban professional middle class that is drawn largely to higher bureaucracy. So, it would be a mistake to say that the higher bureaucracy represents the entire society. There are certain outcomes of the disparity of social backgrounds in the bureaucracy.

There is a great difference between the values, norms, practices, beliefs, and information of the higher bureaucracy, the lower bureaucracy, and the people. This creates a lack of communication between them and in turn, due to a lack of communication with the people, and their lack of cooperation, administrators are unable to assess the success of programmes, and the problems in the way of their fulfilment properly.

One of the important functions of the bureaucracy in developing countries is to deal with poverty, its causes, and its consequences. If the upper section of the bureaucracy, which plays an important role in policy formulation as well as implementation, has little understanding of the nature of poverty in the country, ineffectiveness is bound to take effect. If the common people are afraid of administrators and can hardly speak a language understood by them, administrators' understanding of people's problems remains wanting, and hence policies for dealing with these remain unsatisfactory. Thus, a lack of communication leads to a lack of effectiveness. Lack of effectiveness also results from a lack of participation by the people. Due to social distance between the administrators and the people, and differences in their values and beliefs, the administrators are unable to enthuse the people and seek their cooperation and participation. Ineffectiveness also results from a lack of feedback from the administrators and lack of effectiveness results from a lack of adjustment between members of the higher and lower bureaucracy. Studies have found that subordinate officials suffer from feelings of insecurity, hostility, and isolation. They felt that they had no influence, they had to only obey instructions, and stick to rules. Thus, differences in the status and culture of the higher and lower bureaucracy made for frustration, hostility, and lack of initiative on the part of the large, lower, section of the bureaucracy whose function was to give effect to policies.

Equality of opportunity is a very important principle of democracy. It implies that everyone should have the same opportunity to achieve desired goals, in keeping with his abilities and effort. Since high-level administrative positions in our society have high prestige, large numbers of youth wish to obtain them. However, because of their socio-economic background, a large number cannot avail of this opportunity. The vast majority of our people live in villages where they have little opportunity to pursue the kind of education which would make for success in competitive examinations. Many of those who live in cities also cannot afford good quality higher education. Hence the poor, and those living in villages, have the feeling that they are unjustly being denied entry into the higher bureaucratic system, spheres of the decision-making process, and governance altogether.

7.7 Suggestions for making the Bureaucracy Representative and Inclusive

As noted earlier, bureaucracy cannot at present be said to be representative of society as a whole. This results in the ineffectiveness of administration and a feeling of injustice among those who are left out. Hence, we have to find different ways to inculcate and integrate representative bureaucracy without compromising the principle of selection based on merit. We shall consider these below.

In the case of India, at present, the proportion of the people in India who receive inclusive education is relatively low as per its standards. According to National Statistical Office (NSO) data, India's average literacy rate is 77.70%. The figures do not complement the developmental aspect. Literacy constitutes just the beginning of education. To get a job one needs an education appropriate to it. The proportion of those who get secondary and higher education is relatively small. Many of course, never go to school. Even among those who join a school, the majority drop out. Of 100 children who enroll in class I, only 25 to 30 reach class VIII. Higher education is limited to only a certain percentage of those in the relevant age group.

A wider spread of education is, required to provide for social justice and also to help in social, economic, and political development. Having a more presentative bureaucracy is an aspect of development. The spread of education can be improved by having more schools, reducing the cost of education, vocationalising education,providing mid-day meals, books and uniforms to children of the poor, providing more teachers, improving the method of teaching, and so on. If those who get left out today also get educated, they can compete with the public bureaucracy. This will benefit the administration since the bureaucracy will be drawn from a larger pool, thus tapping the potential of more people; it will also make for a more representative bureaucracy. The New Education Policy of 2020 can prove to be vital in this regard.

In developing countries like India, the system of personnel administration also remains underdeveloped. The system of recruiting people for a service, instead of a job, is one aspect of such underdevelopment. This has three consequences : (i) lack of emphasis on specialisation, (ii) rank-in-man instead of rank-in-job, and

(iii) recruitment from a limited section of society. Thus, when we recruit people for the IPS, the method of recruitment results in the selection of persons mainly from a small section of society. It is because the test is for abilities that mainly candidates from the upper middle class have developed. These abilities, however, may not be relevant for all the jobs which IPS officers may have to perform. The result is that while we exclude candidates from classes other than the upper middle class, we still do not select those who are suited for the work which they have to do. Thus, at present, the athletic ability of candidates is not tested. While an advisor to the government on security might not need it, a district police officer might be in great need of it. Many boys from the poorer section might have it in greater measure than those from richer ones. Similarly, we might require other specialised qualifications appropriate for particular jobs. In this way, we would be able to recruit persons with specialised qualifications and abilities suited to particular jobs, and also with diverse social backgrounds. Hence the introduction of position classification and recruitment for specialised jobs would lead to both, personnel who are better suited to their jobs and a more representative bureaucracy.

The Indian Constitution for instance has a provision to create more All India Services and Central Services. In 1961, two new Central Class I Services constituted the Indian Economic Service for the Economists and the Indian Statistical Service for the Statisticians. All these services aim to provide better status and pay, thus attracting the pool of candidates who are well-versed technically and skilled in this field. The creation of such new all-India and central services can provide them necessary security and platform.

At present recruitment to services like the IAS, IPS, IFS, and IA & AS (Indian Audit and Accounts Service) is made based on an objective type examination, which is followed by a written examination and lastly, there is an interview. It has been found that the examination and the interview, however, do not test all the abilities of a person. According to an expert, cramming also helps some people to succeed in a written examination. Cramming or studying intensively over a short period just before an examination does not prove to be sustainable for the candidates in the long run. Though an objective type examination has recently been introduced to reduce the emphasis on cramming there is still a need for further improvement. The interview is called the personality test. However, no scientific personality tests, such as those used in the armed forces, are employed. By testing candidates more

scientifically, we would not only be able to select persons more suited to their jobs, but we would also be able to spread our net wide. Various abilities may be said to be distributed widely over different sections of society. Hence if we test for various abilities, instead of mainly essay writing, we would be able to get people who are more suited to their jobs from diverse social backgrounds.

7.8 Conclusion

The higher bureaucracy in India is drawn mainly from the urban, salaried, or professional, middle class consisting of higher civil and military officers, lawyers, doctors, university teachers, and business executives. Most administrators have received education at exclusive schools, colleges, and universities. Three-fourths of them have lived in cities. About one-tenth of them belong to scheduled castes and about one-twentieth to scheduled tribes. Muslims and women are also under-represented. Such a narrow field of extraction of the higher bureaucracy makes for differences in values. norms, beliefs, and orientations between the higher and lower bureaucracy and the people at large.

The above factors result in a lack of communication, the ineffectiveness of administration, and the perception of injustice. A more representative bureaucracy, selected by merit, can be achieved through a greater spread of education, more emphasis on position classification and specialisation, and the adoption of more scientific methods of recruitment for testing various abilities and personality traits.

7.9 Summary

- The social background of bureaucracy is an important aspect of the holistic understanding of bureaucracy.
- It has been found that it is mostly the people belonging to professional middle-class backgrounds that comprise the bureaucracy.
- The outcome of social background leads to uneven outcomes.
- Representative bureaucracy is the need of the hour.
- Various methods can be incorporated to make the bureaucracy more representative and inclusive.

7.10 Glossary

- **Cramming :** Study intensively over a short period just before an examination

- **Representative bureaucracy :** A civil service representing proportionately every caste, class, and religious group of the population. This type of bureaucracy is expected to be responsive and responsible to the people of the country.

- **Professional middle class :** The group of persons engaged in professions such as those of civil and military officers, doctors, lawyers, business executives, etc.

- **Communication :** Communication is simply the act of transferring information from one place, person, or group to another.

- **Northcote Trevelyan Report of 1854 :** The report which was published in February 1854 recommended that entry to the Civil Service in Britain be solely on merit, to be enforced through the use of examinations

- **Reverse Discrimination :** A term for discrimination against members of a dominant or majority group, in favour of members of a minority or historically disadvantaged group.

- **The New Education Policy of 2020 :** The new policy replaces the previous National Policy on Education, 1986. The policy aims to transform India's education system by 2030.

7.11 Model Questions

- Give an account of the origin and historical evolution of bureaucracy.

- Explain the social background of bureaucracy.

- The bureaucracy in India is dominated by the professional middle class. Comment.

- Suggest various ways through which bureaucracy can be representative and inclusive

- How does education influence the social background of bureaucracy?

- What is the role of caste in the social background of bureaucracy?

- Write a brief account of the background of the IAS.

- What was the role of the Britishers in the origin and evolution of bureaucracy in India?

- Mention two outcomes of the social background of bureaucracy

- Mention two ways through which bureaucracy can be more representative.

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Unit – 8 ❑ Role of Bureaucracy

Structure

8.9   Summary

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8.1 Learning Objectives

After studying the unit, you should be able to :

- Explain the role of bureaucracy

- Explain the role of bureaucracy in a developing society

- Meaning of Public Policy

- Bureaucracy's role in the formulation and implementation of public policy

- Concept of Red-Tapism

- Criticisms of bureaucracy

8.2 Introduction

Bureaucracy plays an extremely important role in the day-to-day administration of the state. It has the responsibility to make sure that the administration is running perfectly without any disturbances. They make the administration run as per the rules and regulations that are implemented by the government.

From policy formulation to policy implementation, bureaucracy plays an active role in the maintenance of law and order. The quality of the citizen's life depends on the attitude and performance of the bureaucracy. Moreover, in all walks of life of a person, bureaucracy plays a very significant role. The people in developing societies suffer from several problems, such as poverty, unemployment, bad health, illiteracy, corruption, and authoritarianism. The state is considered to be the main agency for dealing with these, or, in other words, for bringing about development. Hence the state has to shoulder more and more responsibility. Since the state functions through the government, and the government, in turn, depends to a large extent upon the bureaucracy, the bureaucracy's role also keeps expanding.

Likewise, there is a widely held belief that in India the role of bureaucracy is not only dominant in the implementation of public policies but is also pervasive in respect of policy formulation.In the context of the goals of a welfare state and development administration, bureaucracy has certainly emerged as one of the key elements in the politico-administrative process of India.

We shall discuss the role of bureaucracy in the important socio-economic-political spheres of India with an emphasis on public policy, followed by several maladies of modern bureaucracy.

8.3 Role of Bureaucracy in State

In general, state formation in the second half of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was characterized by a decisive shift toward territorial sovereignty and greater bureaucratization of the state's financial and administrative activities. Enlightenment ideas of rationality and the obligation of rulers to subjects provided an important impetus to these developments, although financial pressures and political interests played perhaps a more decisive role.

A major impetus for additional bureaucratization came from the replacement of mercenary forces with professional militaries. Professional armies and navies were usually recruited from within the state and were always integrated into the state's institutional structure. This greatly expanded the fiscal and administrative costs of warfare but also increased the reliability of military forces. It was this transformation that placed the means of organized violence beyond the reach of citizens and subjects.

Although these changes meant greater centralization of authority, they did not necessarily lead to particularly efficient or coherent bureaucratic structures. The sale of offices for revenues, problems with particular administrative bureaucracies, and other factors often led to duplicative governmental activity. France developed such patchwork institutions. Indeed, local revolts against royal demands for revenue and greater authority continued to plague the French administration in the decades before the French Revolution. Britain, borrowing directly from Dutch innovations and with the advantage of parliamentary oversight, was more successful at creating an efficient fiscal-administrative system.

Brandenburg-Prussia is usually taken to be the most extreme case of this fusion of military and administrative centralization. Prussia's reliance on centralized, coercive fiscal-military institutions stemmed from its precarious geographical position, expansionist foreign policies, and the fact that its resource base lacked extensive trade and capital endowments. These factors meant, initially, that expansion, such as the seizure from Austria of Silesia, and foreign subsidies were crucial to Prussia's ability to sustain its great-power status. Such pressures also led to a bureaucratic framework that lacked the functional specialization found in other European states.

If Prussia represents one extreme, then Austria might be considered another divergent case. Austria remained a relatively confederal dynastic agglomeration. It had come close to collapsing in 1618–1620 under the pressure of religious contestation and local rebellion. However, after the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), the Austrian dynastic empire controlled more territory in Europe than the Spanish monarchy ever had. Starting in the middle of the eighteenth century under Maria Theresa, Austria's Habsburg rulers began to make real progress in administrative reform. But these successes were often checked by assertive local actors, particularly the nobility. Austria's rulers could often squeeze more revenue from their heterogeneous domains, but they generally could not overcome their dependence on cooperation from local elites.

Throughout Europe, direct and indirect rule continued to coexist; by and large, the expansion of bureaucratic administration was often more impressive in a formal sense than a practical one. The erosion of patrimonial officeholding in many parts of Europe did not prevent bureaucratic office holders from seeking to enrich themselves at the expense of the state. In France, and even at some points in Prussia, rent-seeking emerged as an enormous problem for the new bureaucracies.

The early modern period witnessed a decisive transition to territorial sovereignty within Europe, and it saw the emergence of robust bureaucratic forms of governance and the expansion of state administration into a variety of new areas, but it did not mark the triumph of the Weberian bureaucratic state. However, such states, to the extent that they ever existed, were a result of the transformative effects of nationalism and industrial capitalism upon the institutional infrastructures and international political practices developed between 1450 and 1789.

The years between 1450 and 1789 were crucial in the development of the modern European state and state system. Political communities became increasingly

centralized, territorialized, and bureaucratized. In much of Europe, state sovereignty displaced imperial and feudal conceptions of authority. These changes meant a reduction in the number and variety of actors participating in what we would now call "international politics." Familiar notions of statecraft, such as the importance of the "balance of power" and "reason of state," gained widespread acceptance, and by the latter part of the seventeenth century, religion was no longer a major factor in interstate relations.

Despite these trends, the states of early modern Europe were very different from our own. Dynastic notions of legitimacy contoured both domestic and interstate politics; the scope of the state's authority remained limited and fragmented by the standards of contemporary advanced industrialized countries. Nationalism and the goal of national self-determination did not emerge as significant forces in European politics until after the French Revolution. Yet many scholars believe that developments in the early modern period explain patterns of authoritarianism and democratization into the early twentieth century.

Several factors share responsibility for the significant changes in European political institutions that took place in the early modern period. Among these, three kinds of large-scale processes were particularly important. First, frequent and increasingly expensive warfare placed great fiscal pressures upon states and their rulers. These pressures produced political bargains, administrative adaptations, and social struggles that altered the scope and nature of state power. Second, changes in the European economy associated with the rise of preindustrial capitalism and the development of direct trading connections—often through imperial expansion—with Asia, Africa, and the Americas brought about shifts in the relative influence and resources of different social actors and, at the same time, led to new sources of revenue and power for many rulers. Third, new ideas and ideologies, particularly those connected with the Protestant Reformation and the Enlightenment, played important roles in shaping and justifying new and old forms of state power.

The Concent of the State : It was not until the end of the sixteenth century that the word "state" became a common term to describe governments and their territories. Used in late medieval Europe to refer to the standing of a ruler or the state of his realm, the term gradually came to encompass the territories held by a political community and then the political community itself. The fact that "state" took on its now familiar meaning at the start of the early modern period suggests that the state—as an institution—emerged at roughly the same time.

Our contemporary understanding of the state derives directly from these conceptual innovations and how they were consolidated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The "state" may be taken, at a minimum, to refer to the combination of a government, the people it governs, and its territories. Such a thin concept of the state allows analysts to speak of a variety of different kinds of states. For example, Florence, Venice, and Genoa are often called "city-states," although each came to control subservient cities and regions. Some historians—perhaps misleadingly—have referred to the monarchies of medieval England and France as "feudal states." Many scholars now use the term "composite state," coined by H. G. Koenigsberger, to describe the patchwork quality of early modern states. States have been, and still are, organized in a variety of ways; the states of late medieval and early modern Europe had quite different characteristics from those associated with modern, particularly industrialized, nation-states.

Contemporary accounts of the development of the European state and state system rely heavily upon the work of the German social scientist Max Weber (1864–1920). According to Weber (pp. 55–56), the modern state is "an administrative and legal order subject to change by legislation, to which the organized activities of the administrative staff, which are also controlled by regulations, are oriented." A key feature of the modern state is that rule is impersonal. Political authority derives from the office, not from the person occupying that office. The consistent application of the legal code takes priority over personal relationships, and rulers may only change the law through settled procedures. These features entail the rise of professional and meritocratic forms of administration at the expense of patrimonial office holding. In patrimonial systems, offices are "owned" by individuals and their families, who occupy them by right rather than by merit.

Weber also argued that the modern state "claims binding authority, not only over the members of the state, the citizens, most of whom have obtained membership by birth, but also to a very large extent overall action taking place in the area of its jurisdiction. It is thus a compulsory organization with a territorial basis." Indeed, "today, the use of force is regarded as legitimate only so far as it is either permitted by the state or prescribed by it. The claim of the modern state to monopolize the use of force is as essential to it as its character of compulsory jurisdiction and continuous operation." The modern state exercises territorial sovereignty. No other actor may claim the right to make or enforce rules within the boundaries of a state—at least without the express permission of that state.

States also enjoy autonomy concerning their external relations, exercised through the sole right to make treaties, declare war, and regulate their borders for themselves and their citizens.

Despite the influence and insightfulness of Weber's discussion of the characteristics of the modern state, we need to be careful about how we use it in analyzing historical processes. Indeed, some historians question the usefulness of Weber's definition. They argue that it promotes teleological accounts of European state formation, blinding analysts to the variety of manifestations of the state that have existed over the last few hundred years. It also, critics contend, leads scholars to overestimate the true power that expanding central bureaucracies wield. The existence of an extensive bureaucratic infrastructure does not necessarily indicate a high degree of practical centralization and state power.

Such problems often plague the analysis of state formation, but they should not lead us to abandon Weber or his definition of the state. Weber's discussion of the nature of the state is what he calls an "ideal-typical" construction, not a description of actual states. No political community, in any period of human history, has ever perfectly fit his definition of the state. Ideal types are the starting point of discussion and analysis, not descriptions of concrete reality. If we keep this fact in mind, Weber's understanding of the state remains a valuable tool for understanding the development of states in early modern Europe.

The emotional bonds of nationalism are often weak in new nations. However, unless these bonds are strengthened, the nation is in danger of falling apart, as happened, for example, in Pakistan from which Bangladesh broke away. The state and its bureaucracy play an important part in strengthening these emotional bonds. Thus, national integration is sought to be promoted through education, radio and television programmes, development of native languages, publication of good quality literature in native languages, cultural and sports activities in which persons from all parts of the nation participate, and so on. These programmes are often conducted by members of the bureaucracy. In a country where the national bonds are weak, having a bureaucracy that is centrally recruited and whose members serve in different parts of the country, also helps to hold the nation together.

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displaced imperial and feudal conceptions of authority. These changes meant a reduction in the number and variety of actors participating in what we would now call "international politics." Familiar notions of statecraft, such as the importance of the "balance of power" and "reason of state," gained widespread acceptance, and by the latter part of the seventeenth century, religion was no longer a major factor in interstate relations

8.3.1 Bureaucracy as Agents of Political Development

The conflicts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries forced those states that had not been subject to the same opportunities and pressures that initially favoured bureaucratization in Western Europe to launch their administrative reforms. In general, states such as Sweden, Brandenburg-Prussia, and Austria lacked the kind of access to domestic capital sources that played an important role in early European bureaucratization. Where princes were comparatively strong, particularly in Prussia, in some of the German principalities, and for more contingent reasons, in Sweden, they built extensive bureaucracies capable of extracting enough resources to compensate for their comparatively poor access to trade revenues. In Poland, by contrast, patrimonial administration persisted and ultimately led to the demise of the commonwealth. Indeed, some argue that how states financed warfare in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries determined whether they became, in the nineteenth, moderately democratic or authoritarian.

8.3.2 State and Bureaucracy

Political development is also promoted by strengthening interest groups, such as labour unions. Legislation that sanctions and supports trade union activity thus helps to bring about political development. Insofar as the bureaucracy participates in the formulation and implementation of such legislation, it has a role in political development. Political parties also constitute an important part of the political system. In some countries nowadays political parties are provided with election funds by the state. This reduces the dependence of the parties on the rich, helps to curb competition, and promotes political development. Elections constitute an important part of the democratic political process. They must be conducted with honesty and impartiality; otherwise, the people will lose faith in the system and it is likely to collapse sooner or later. Insofar as the bureaucracy conducts elections honestly and efficiently, it helps to maintain and develop the political system; for, it is through elections that new parties and leaders come to power and implement programmes of social change desired by the people.

8.3.3 Role of Bureaucracy in Economic Development

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it was believed that the state should restrict itself to the country's defence and the maintenance of law and order and that it should intervene in the economy as little as possible. This view changed, particularly after the Great Depression of the 1930s, in which millions of people became unemployed the world over. Nowadays, all governments are expected to regulate the economy to bring about an increase in production, a high level of employment, prices of commodities, and check over monopolies and unhealthy trade practices. The need for such regulation of the economy is all the more in developing countries like India due to widespread poverty and unemployment on the one hand and the great power of monopolists on the other. The government regulates the economy through fiscal policies (by modulating taxes), and monetary policies (by modulating the money supply). Planning, which means resource allocation through a centralised administrative process, is resorted to for achieving economic growth. The government develops means of transport and communication. It provides loans and raw materials to industrialists and planners. All these governmental activities are performed by government departments, nationalised banks, and other public undertakings through their officials. Hence it is the bureaucracy that has a very important new role, namely that of functioning as the agent of economic development. More and more economists, statisticians, and trained managers are needed for the proper performance of this role.

8.3.4 The Role of Bureaucracy in the Welfare State

In recent times there has been a tendency to entrust the state with more and more responsibility for social services, such as the provision of education, health care, employment, labour welfare, the welfare of the blind and other handicapped persons, and the welfare of widows and orphans. So much importance is attached to these new functions that the state has been renamed as the welfare state. The provision of such varied social services requires large numbers of different types of specialists, such as teachers, doctors, nurses, labour officers, and social workers. With their recruitment as members of the bureaucracy, the nature of the bureaucracy tends to change. This new role requires a new kind of bureaucracy. The bureaucracy, therefore, influences the welfare aspects as well.

8.3.5 Collection of Taxes and Disbursement of Financial Benefits

The bureaucracy plays a vitally important role in financial administration. They advise the political executive irrespective of all financial planning, tax structure, tax administration, and the like. They collect taxes and settle disputes involving the recovery of taxes. They play a vital role in preparing the budget and taxation proposals. They carry out the function of granting legally sanctioned financial benefits, tax reliefs, subsidies, and other concessions to the people.

8.3.6 Role in Public Relations

The era of the modern welfare state and democratic politics has made it essential for the government to keep close relations with the people of the state. The need for maintaining active and full public relations is a vital necessity for every state. Civil servants play an active role in this sphere. They are the main agents who establish direct contact with the people. They serve as a two-way link. On the one hand, they communicate all government decisions to the people, and on the other hand, they communicate to the government the needs, interests, and views of the people. Thus, Bureaucracy plays a vigorously active and highly important role in the working of the government.

8.3.7 Record-Keeping

The bureaucracy has the sole responsibility of keeping systematically all government records. They collect, classify and analyse all data of all activities of the government. They collect and maintain vital socio-economic statistics which are used for the formulation of public policies and plans.

8.3.8 Bureaucracy as Agents of Social Change

Nowadays, however, many such changes are sought to be brought about with the help of laws. Thus, untouchability, bigamy, child marriage,and the dowry system have been declared illegal. As agents of change, the bureaucracy through their work brings awareness to society of the ill effects of social injustice.

8.4 Public Policy

Public policy is a frequently used term in our daily lives. Policy formulation is one of the essential functions of government. In the present setup, it is the responsibility of the government to take care of the people. A government is to

perform numerous functions and a policy is before every action. In simple terms, a policy may be defined as a set of rules which can be utilised to achieve certain desired objectives. They are how the ends of a collective community are served. Without policies, government and administration cannot function efficiently due to the lack of planning and reaching desired objectives. Some of the features of public policy include :

(a) Public Policies are purposive and goal-oriented actions or behaviour.

(b) It is a course of action or series of programmes adopted by the State to serve the interests and needs of the public and society at large.

(c) Public Policies are those actions that the government wants to do rather than what they intend to do.

(d) They can be both positive i.e.action taken by the govt. to solve a particular problem or can be negative i.e. decision by the government to not take any action or to not do anything about the issue that came across.

(e) Public policies have a legal and authoritative base i.e. as David Easton said they are authoritative values allocated by the State. Meaning that it is legitimate and is followed by legal obligation and coercive power.

8.4.1 Public policy formulation

This is the stage in which the initial research takes place for identifying the problems and target groups which may require a certain policy. Thus, a policy is formulated to solve the problems faced by a certain group within a community.

The formation of the public policy has the following stages :

(a) Identification of public problems

(b) Putting public problems on the policy agenda

(c) Formulation of policy proposals/alternatives to deal with the problem

(d) Making final policy decision from the set of alternatives

8.4.2 Policy Implementation

The implementation process involves the conscious conversion of policy plans into reality. In other words, this is the stage that translates the policy on paper into action and brings it to the actual beneficiaries of the policy. Policy implementation reveals the strengths and weaknesses of the decision-making process.

8.4.3 Who implements policy?

Public administration i.e. the bureaucracy (permanent executive) is the main organisation that implements the policy. Many other actors like the legislature, pressure groups, community organisations, and the judiciary help in the process.

Policy implementation is a complex task and thus faces many hurdles due to :

(a) Lack of knowledge and adequate financial resources

(b) Absence of political support

(c) Lack of public involvement or cooperation

(d) Politicization of policies to favour stronger groups

(e) Centralization of power and hierarchical bureaucratic structure (red-tapism)

8.5 Role of Bureaucracy in Developing Societies

It is imperative to understand the role of bureaucracy in a developing society. The civil service in a developing society like India plays a very important role. From providing all the necessary information to the political executives to carrying out the objectives of the state, the bureaucracy is the link that facilitates the smooth functioning of the administration. The role it plays in developing societies includes :

8.5.1 Policy Formulation

However, it is widely considered that in a democratic government, politicians formulate policies and the executive executes them. However,the making and implementation of policies are so deeply interconnected that it is impossible to separate them. Formulation and determination of policy is the function of the political executive but civil servants have also come to play an active role in it. They aid, advise supply information to the ministers in policy making.

For instance, they act as channels of communication with the government. The bureaucracy is generally perceived to be the most important channel of communication between the rulers and the ruled. This is because of the non-existence or weakness of interest groups and political parties. Most of the working class remains unorganised. This communication between the government and the various sections of society takes place, to a large extent, through the bureaucracy. Thus, if the farmers in an area suffer from some problem, such as a lack of

water for irrigation, they generally approach officials like the Deputy Commissioner, who communicates the problem to a higher level of the administration: they may make proposals for irrigation facilities and add the required changes in the budget. In this way, communication through the bureaucracy may help in the formulation of policy proposals for meeting the needs of the people.The bureaucracy remains an important mechanism for the conversion of demands into policies. In this way, bureaucracy plays a more important role in policy formulation in developing countries. Hence policy formulation, or giving the shape of laws and rules to policies, is largely done by bureaucracy. However, laws and rules drafted by specialist members of the bureaucracy are later examined and modified by ministers and legislators. However, ministers and legislators often do not have an understanding of the intricacies of scientific and legal matters. Therefore, they have to depend to a large extent upon specialists in the bureaucracy. In this way, the bureaucracy comes to influence policy formulation.

Likewise, political executives, may not contain all the required manpower and information to formulate policies. They cannot also understand the tech complexities of policies and hence depend on the expert advice of professional civil servants. The political executives thus require the expertise of civil servants in developing societies. The bureaucracy has an important role in policy formulation also because of the technical knowledge possessed by it.

8.5.2 Policy Implementation

The main function of the bureaucracy is policy implementation, that is, giving effect to policies after they have been approved by the executive and legislative branches of the government. This function also is performed under the overall control and supervision of politicians in the executive and legislative branches; however, members of the bureaucracy have to bear much of the responsibility for implementation.

For implementation, a policy has to be broken up into projects, and each project into programmes. Thus, for implementing the policy of rural development, there are projects like that of Community development. Implementation of the policies decided by the political executive is the fundamental function of the civil service. To carry out the objectives laid down in Directive Principles of State Policy in India (Part IV) the civil servants execute laws and policies to attain the goals of the welfare state, that is, social equity, economic development, socio-political-economic justice, and so on.

The implementation process also involves the execution of these policies. Execution means carrying a programme into effect. Thus, civil servants in various departments have to function in a coordinated manner to carry out various programmes. To ensure such coordination and the execution of programmes within the given time frame, all officials are required to submit reports to their seniors about their achievements periodically. By examining the reports, officers at high levels can exercise control over the execution of programmes. Therefore, implementation followed by execution is mainly the responsibility of the bureaucracy.

8.5.3 Delegated Legislation

Delegated legislation is also known as executive legislation or subordinate legislation. Delegated Legislation as a phenomenon has increased the role of civil servants. This is a quasi-legislative function performed by the civil service. Due to lack of time, pressure work, and increased complexities of legislation, the legislature makes laws in skeleton form (broad outline and delegates power to the executive to fill in the details. Thus, civil servants make the sub-laws, and rules regulations, but within the limits of the parent law enacted by the legislature. The practice of delegated legislation can be observed in most developing societies.

8.5.4 Administrative Adjudication

This is a quasi-judicial function performed by the civil service. The civil servants settle disputes between the citizens and the state. For this purpose, the Administrative Tribunal with civil servants as judges is established. Some examples of such tribunals in India are the Income Tax Appellate Tribunal, Industrial Tribunals, and Railway Rates Tribunals. These tribunals function outside the ordinary court system. They are maintained by the civil servants and they actively facilitate the judicial process in a developing society like India.

In addition to the above, the civil service also performs the following functions.

(a) Administrative planning

(b) Administration of public enterprises

(c) Assisting the ministers in fulfilling their responsibilities towards the parliament and its committee

(d) Handling financial operations of the state.

(e) Reforming and improving administration through Organisation and Methods.

(f) Public Relations

8.6 Red Tapism

Red Tapism is the practice of requiring excessive paperwork and tedious procedures before social action can be considered or completed.It also refers to official rules and processes that seem unnecessary and delay results. It includes unnecessary paperwork, obtaining licenses, having multiple people or committees approve a decision, and various low-level rules that make conducting one's affairs slower, and more difficult.

Red tape indeed negatively neglects citizen satisfaction. Citizens remain dissatisfied due to delayed government processing and the cost associated with it. Most of the time citizen's problems remain unresolved due to red-tapism, leading to a sense of loss of trust in the government's process. Due to Red tapism, variable enforcement of contracts and delayed administration lead to delayed justice, especially for the poor.

What is observed is that the burden of red tape requirements prevents many from enjoying their rights due to delayed governance and delayed distribution of welfare measures. For example, delayed wage payments under MGNREGA impact timely benefits to the poor. Likewise, it breeds corruption and lowers the growth of speedy and efficient transactions of a business in an organisation. According to the World Bank study, the higher the level of red-tapism, the higher the level of corruption observed.

8.7 Maladies of Bureaucracy

Bureaucracy has both negative and positive connotations. On the one hand, the practice of bureaucracy leads to efficiency while at the same time, the role and power of bureaucracy have enormously increased in modern states which have a welfare orientation. It has come to play an important role in the legislative and judicial spheres, in addition to its traditional role in the administration. This increased role and concentration of powers in the hands of bureaucracy have been criticised by eminent critics.

The critics argue that bureaucracy is an ailment of organisation. It gives rise to certain tendencies which may act as a hindrance to its very performance. Bureaucratisation results in an emphasis on routine and detail leading to red tape

(delay) and giving rise to complaints of unresponsiveness of the bureaucracy to the people. For example, hierarchy discourages initiatives and divides the organisation into layers, which not only leads to red-tapism but also inefficiency. It is often criticised as having a detrimental influence on the performance and behaviour of civil servants. Arrogance, self-satisfaction, obsession with rules and routine, rigidity, indifference to democratic processes, and ignoring the human element in administrative behaviour are other maladies.

Other criticisms of bureaucracy are that it is unresponsive to popular demands and desires, undue formalism, self-aggrandisement,empire building, conservatism, etc. In 1955, Parkison propounded a law explaining the expansion of civil service. He viewed that bureaucracy is self-perpetuatingin the sense that the number of civil servants tends to increase day by day in number, irrespective of the workload. The reason for this phenomenon, according to Parkinson, is that the "officials make work for each other". Thus, Bureaucracy tends to multiply its work and create new jobs for itself.

However, as mentioned before, bureaucracy has a positive dimension. It has made public administration more efficient, specialized, rational, predictable, accountable, and impersonal. It is rightly said by Herbert Simon, the leading advocate of Decision-Making Theory that, "Bureaucracy is the price of parliamentary democracy".

8.8 Conclusion

There is no denying that an effective, efficient, flexible, and responsive bureaucracy is a requisite to good governance. The competence of bureaucracy at all levels determines the performance and efficacy of an administrative system. They should be bold, honest, and assertive in the discharge of their responsibilities. They should not hesitate to give the right advice to the political authority no matter whether they accept it or not.As seen, the bureaucracy participates not only in policy formulation but also functions as a channel of communication and a repository of information as a group of specialists and as an impartial adviser.

Likewise, what is needed against the backdrop of ailments of bureaucracy and public policy is an accurate diagnosis of the present situation and possible trends, a clear definition of the objectives of state policy, and a set of possible alternative

courses of action, with an estimate of their costs and benefits.The bureaucracy should not only identify and anticipate present-day needs and future trends but it should also contribute to reshaping the environment. It must be stressed that effective long-term policy prescription and implementation require a constructive and cooperative effort on the part of the political and bureaucratic leadership to provide the necessary institutional mechanism and personnel specialization within the folds of political parties and governmental organisations.

Thus, we can conclude by saying that the role of the state and its bureaucracy in bringing about economic, social, and political development is therefore expanding and has become important.

8.9 Summary

- Bureaucracy plays an extremely important role in the day-to-day administration of the state.

- The role of bureaucracy in the formulation and implementation of public policy is imperative.

- It is a driving force in developing countries.

- Red-Tapism is an important concept in understanding bureaucracy.

- several maladies of bureaucracy need to be checked.

8.10 Glossary

- **Maladies :** Ailments

- **Parkinson :** C. Northcote Parkinson was a naval historian and author. He is most notable for formulating the famous Parkinson's Law

- **Red Tape :** official routine or procedure marked by excessive complexity which results in delay.

- **Self-aggrandisement :** Increasing one's power, rank, or wealth.

8.11 Model Questions

- Write is the role of Bureaucracy in a state.

- Critically evaluate the problems of bureaucratization and its maladies.

- What role does Bureaucracy play in developing societies?

- Explain the concept of Public Policy

- What is the role of bureaucracy in a welfare state?

- How is the bureaucracy an agent of social change

- Briefly explain the role of bureaucracy in developing societies.

- Briefly explain Parkinson's Law concerning its role in the bureaucracy.

- What do you understand by Public Policy? Explain the role of Red Tapism in bureaucracy.

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Unit – 9 ❑ Neutral Vs. Committed Bureaucracy

Structure

9.1 Learning Objectives

After studying the unit, you should be able to :

● Explain the differences between neutral and committed bureaucracy.

● Merits and demerits of neutral and committed Bureaucracy in India.

● Need for a neutral bureaucracy in India.

9.2 Introduction

In recent times there have been debates about whether the bureaucracy is neutral or not. Neutrality and accountability go hand in hand, however, the involvement of bureaucracy in politics and its lack of anonymity has become a controversial issue in the context of public administration in particular and the state in general.

Ideological differences and conflicts of opinion are inevitable in an organisation. In this scenario, the bureaucrats are supposed to maintain their neutrality. However, there is an opposite view, as the top-level civil servants are disregarding their role as neutral facilitators of the machinery of administration. On the contrary, they are very "power hungry" and to satisfy their hunger and achieve selfish interests, they participate in politics.

Neutrality and commitment can go together, and indeed reinforce each other if properly oriented, they can also become antithetical if not so oriented. Thus, if the bureaucrats become committed to one political party, they cannot remain neutral. We shall examine the areas of conflict between the two and understand the aspects of neutrality and commitment.

9.3 Contrast Between Neutrality and Commitment

In this unit, we shall consider how far the bureaucracy is or should be, neutral and committed. First, we shall take up the question of neutrality. Neutrality means impartiality. The significance of the neutrality of the bureaucracy in the modern democratic state is great. As has been discussed in earlier units, the bureaucracy plays an important role in policy-making as well as in its implementation. The permanence of members of the bureaucracy helps to provide them with a long-

term perspective, while ministers tend to have a short-term perspective related to the elections. The bureaucracy has access to a lot of confidential information, which ministers often do not possess since they lack the time to read all the official documents. Bureaucrats come to have long experience in administration, while ministers come and go. Many of the members of the bureaucracy are technically qualified, while ministers usually are amateurs. For these reasons, there is considerable dependence upon the bureaucracy in all countries. In developing countries, like India, some additional factors are making for such dependence. Thus in developing countries, interest groups and political parties are either weak or non-existent, electoral systems are often defective and the traditions and conventions of democracy have often not been well-established. Hence dependence upon the bureaucracy is greater in developing countries, making it more important that the bureaucracy should be neutral. We shall discuss the neutrality of bureaucracy under three heads : (i) neutrality between classes, (ii) neutrality between cultural groups, and (iii) neutrality between political parties. We will discuss the significance and problems of these three aspects of neutrality and try to find out the ways of achieving neutrality. Commitment means moral dedication to a cause. The bureaucracy should be committed to (i) human and national values, (ii) service of the people, and (iii) professional norms. Commitment on the part of the bureaucracy is important because while on the one hand, it is bound by rules, on the other hand, it is always trying to find new ways of dealing with difficult problems. This is true in all countries. There are some additional factors in developing countries. The responsibility of bringing about development falls upon the bureaucracy to a large extent. There is widespread apathy, engendered by. Participation can be obtained only through committed, and energetic action on the part of the bureaucracy. Serious problems tend to crop up in the process. Thus, the bureaucracy tends to become very powerful so in most developing countries dictatorship by the civil and military bureaucracy is a common-phenomenon. It requires a lot of commitment to exercise power in the interest of others. We shall try to find ways of inculcating such commitment. While neutrality and commitment can go together, and indeed reinforce each other if properly oriented, they can also become antithetical if not so oriented. Thus, if bureaucrats become committed to one political party, they cannot remain neutral. We will examine such areas of conflict between neutrality and commitment. Finally, we shall also examine methods already being adopted for having a highly committed and at the same time neutral bureaucracy in certain special areas, and consider the possibility of using these methods for a few more areas.

9.4 Neutral Bureaucracy

The state of not supporting or helping either side in a conflict, or disagreement, and maintaining impartiality is called neutrality. In the context of public administration, neutrality refers to political neutrality or non-partisanship. It indicates that you are not owned or linked with any one group, party, or cause. The significance of neutrality of the bureaucracy in the modern democratic state is of great significance. neutral bureaucracy comprises three important preconditions of cultural or class congruence between the ruling political group and the administrative elite, the absence of any fundamental disagreement over societal core values, and the presence of a shared belief system.

The concept of neutrality has various implications such as public confidence in the non-political character of public service, the confidence of ministers belonging to any political party in the loyalty of the permanent subordinates, and the high morale of public servants based on the confidence that the promotion would be made not based on political considerations but merit. Moreover, neutrality is a state of mind and there can be no effective law to ensure it. The neutrality of bureaucracy is a characteristic feature of the Weberian ideal type.

Neutrality implies neutrality between classes, neutrality between cultural groups, and neutrality between political parties.

9.4.1 Neutrality between Classes

As we know society is made up of various classes such as landlords, capitalists, traders, farmers,and workers. The government is expected to take care of the interests of each one of them and to allocate resources to them justly. In this regard, the bureaucracy is the government's main instrument and must be neutral between classes if justice is to be done and fair distribution of goods is to be ensured.

Justice between classes is difficult to achieve because the interests of the bureaucracy often conflict. For instance, if a manufacturer pays higher wages to his workers, his profits get reduced to that extent. Similarly, if a landlord gives a higher share of the crop to his tenant farmers, he suffers a loss. It is precisely because of such conflict that neutrality between the classes is difficult to achieve. It is only if the government and the bureaucracy are seen to be neutral that the conflict can be kept within limits and peace maintained. If, however, a class has

the feeling that injustice is being done to it, they may resort to violence. Thus, disputes between capitalists and workers result in tension or strikes, sometimes there is even violence and bloodshed. Hence the neutrality of the bureaucracy, which is the main instrument of the government, is essential for the maintenance of social order.

If we take the example of India the conflict between classes is greater than in other developed nations. This is because there are greater disparities in developing countries. Thus while a few are very rich, millions continue to starve. What is more, those who are poor also lack education, social status, and political power. In other words.the poor often do not even know how to improve their condition, and even if they try, the richer and more powerful sections often thwart their efforts. This can have an adverse effect.

The neutrality of the bureaucracy is important also because of its role in helping to bring about development. The government provides loans, subsidies, tax concessions, raw materials (such as steel and cement), and inputs (such as coal, electricity, fertiliser, and seeds) to industrialists and farmers. The classes of big industrialists and big farmers have a lot of political and economic power and, therefore, tend to monopolise these gains. However, development requires that small industries and small farms should also prosper since they are large in number and so they make a substantial contribution to the national product. Justice also requires that they should not be ignored. Hence it is important that the bureaucracy, which distributes these facilities, carry out its functions impartially and justly. In other words, just support for small industrialists and farmers requires that the bureaucracy should not be influenced by the power of the big industrialists, big farmers, and landlords.

Another problem relates to the influence of interest groups. A department that serves a certain interest is, with time, likely to become identified with it. It has to come into close and continuous touch with persons having this interest, and it often has to function as the advocate of this interest. Thus, the Department of Agriculture has to serve farmers by providing various facilities and has to obtain funds for this purpose. In this process, the farmers' lobby and the Department of Agriculture are likely to become mutually supportive. If the interests of farmers and industrialists clash, as they often do, the Department of Agriculture is likely to take the side of the farmers. Hence such specialised agencies are in danger of

losing their neutrality. In developing countries like India, it tends to arise mainly concerning agencies dealing with powerful interests, like those of big' industrialists and big farmers. The solution to it lies in the development of organisations for the weaker sections of society. Efforts are now being made in India to help landless labour to organise itself. Similarly, if various interests organise themselves, and demand better political control over the bureaucracy, to ensure its responsibility and accountability, it is likely to remain more neutral also.

9.4.2 Neutrality between Cultural Groups

Our society consists of groups based on religion, caste, language, and region. While all these groups have many common interests, they also come into conflict to some extent. The Blacks have remained poor and exploited. In the USSR also there have been ethnic conflicts, for example between Armenians and Azeris. Likewise, The Rohingya migrants are subject to harsh treatment by the authorities of Myanmar. The bureaucracy in this regard is required to hold the balance between the various groups. Hence it must be neutral between them.

Since the conflict between cultural groups is generally greater in developing countries, the significance of the bureaucracy's neutrality is also greater in these countries. The way to the achievement of such neutrality, and also to the general reduction of conflict between cultural groups, lies through better education. If the attitudes of the people can be changed through education so that they come to regard themselves more as belonging to the Indian nation than to a particular group based on religion, caste, language, or region, the conflict between groups can be reduced. Members of the higher bureaucracy are recruited mostly from among those who have received higher liberal education. As it is widely accepted that liberal education broadens the mental horizon, the members of the higher bureaucracy should be among the most broad-minded people in the society, and hence neutral between cultural groups. The conscious effort at improving the quality of education can further help to modernise the attitudes of the bureaucracy leading to even greater neutrality.

The conflict between cultural groups is often accentuated by socio-economic factors. It has been generally accepted that the Muslims in India have generally been poorer than Hindus. Most Sikhs in Punjab have a rural background, while most Hindus have an urban one. Members of the scheduled castes all over India are generally poorer and have a lower social status than others. Many of them

are landless labourers. The conflict between cultural groups can be reduced by narrowing the disparities between them. One of the effects of such disparities is that a cultural group having a lower social and economic status has a lower representation in the bureaucracy. Such a bureaucracy, with a higher representation of certain groups than others, is often not perceived as being neutral. Hence the reduction of socio-economic disparities between cultural groups will not only reduce conflict between them but also make for a more representative and neutral bureaucracy. Programmes aiming at poverty removal (such as the Integrated Rural Development Programme and MGNRGA), better health and education services, and loans to small farmers and industrialists, constitute part of the government's effort to reduce disparities.

Further, if a cultural group suffers from poverty and exploitation and is unable to find adequate representation in the bureaucracy, special measures are taken to help it in getting such representation. Thus, some universities and state institutes run special courses to prepare those belonging to weaker sections for competitive examinations for entry into the bureaucracy. The Constitution of India to tackle this issue permits the reservation of posts in the bureaucracy for any backward class of citizens under Article 16(4). Under this provision, Scheduled Caste reservation for civil service exam constitutes 15%, 7.5% for Scheduled Tribe, 27% for Other Backward Classes (OBC), 10% for Economically Weaker Sections (EWS), and 4% for Persons with Benchmark Disabilities. These measures can help in having a more representative and more neutral bureaucracy.

9.4.3 Neutrality between Political Parties

Competition between political parties is an essential characteristic of a democracy. If there is only one party, the voter can hardly exercise higher choice. Democracy becomes meaningful only if the voter can choose between candidates of different parties. The exercise of choice by voters at general elections results in the formation of the government by one of the contending parties. Every party that fights an election puts forward its manifesto before the people. If it wins, it is rightly concluded that the people have approved of its manifesto, indeed, it is said that the manifesto now becomes the mandate, or command, of the people to the new government. This mandate consists of policies that the people have approved. Fulfilment of the wishes of the people requires the implementation of these policies. The main instrument of the government for the implementation of its policies is

the bureaucracy. Hence it is important that the bureaucracy should be neutral between parties and only such neutrality alone can ensure the fulfillment of the wishes of the people.

While the neutrality of the bureaucracy is accepted as an ideal, many problems arise in practice and come in the way of the fulfilment of this ideal. One such problem has been the spoils system, in which the winning party appoints its followers or supporters to different positions in the bureaucracy. This phenomenon paves the way for patronage bureaucracy. Such a bureaucracy,natural and efficient merit, and efficiency. Since a new government, formed by another party, throws out the supporters of the party earlier in power, the bureaucracy also tends to lack permanence, knowledge gained from experience in the service, and the motivation that the career system might have provided.

Another problem that tends to interfere with the neutrality of the bureaucracy between political parties is the development of loyalty toward the politicians in power. Members of the bureaucracy who have been selected impartially by a Civil Service Commission, can later, in the course of their career, shed their neutrality and become aligned with the party, or the individuals, in power.

9.5 Committed Bureaucracy

Commitment means being dedicated to a particular cause or work. In a democratic set-up, it is the legislators that are elected by the citizens and they are responsible for making laws and policies; while bureaucrats are responsible for the implementation of the same laws and policies. The transformation of society is possible only when programs and schemes launched by the government are effectively and timely implemented at the local level.

The term committed bureaucracy originated in the United States during the period of The Great Depression when the American president wanted to accelerate the pace of development through bureaucracy which he did by forcing the bureaucracy to implement the New Deal measures.

As Max Weber puts it, the main characteristics of a bureaucracy are hierarchy, division of labour, specialisation, rules, and impersonality. All these factors make for efficiency. At the same time, however, a bureaucracy suffers from alienation. Like, Karl Marx says that the members of bureaucracy suffer from a loss of freedom,

creativity, humanity, and morality. Other writers have also pointed out the disadvantages, or dysfunctions, of bureaucracy. Thus, bureaucratic control over officials requires that they should strictly follow rules. Hence the problem is how to maintain efficiency while reducing alienation or the dysfunctions of bureaucracy. The solution to this problem lies mainly in improving the commitment of its members. In other words, the bad effects of bureaucratic controls can to some extent be reduced if the employees are imbued with dedication. Dedication or commitment is required also because the employees have to deal with complex problems, many of which are new.

Effective and timely implementation can be ensured by the committed bureaucrats only. Dedication or commitment is required also because the bureaucrats have constantly to deal with complex problems, many of which are new. It is a mistake to think that all bureaucratic activity is routine and monotonous.

Developmental activity in particular requires forecasting, planning, risk-bearing, breaking new ground, and experimentation. Hence, innovations have to be made all the time. The making of innovations, or creativity, requires emotional commitment. It is due to these reasons that in recent years the term "committed bureaucracy" has received wide circulation and the top political executives (president, prime minister, etc.) of different countries are seriously thinking about employing bureaucracy for development and this could not be done if bureaucracy's loyalty exists somewhere.

The bureaucrats are found to be committed to values and objectives. They serve the people with commitment and adhere to their professions.

9.5.1 Commitment to Values and Objectives

Of our various commitments, the most important is the commitment to values. In the ethical sense, values are ends in themselves as they are sought for their own sake. The most important of our values are what are called human values, that is those values that are sought in all places and times. Examples of human values are truth, compassion, honesty, and courage. While human values are universally sought, there are some values to which importance is attached in only some countries which we call national values. Important human and national values may be mentioned in a nation's Constitution also. It is no surprise that the four cardinal values of Justice, Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity are mentioned in the preamble to India's Constitution. These may be called human values since in no age or place

has their desirability been questioned. Then there are the values of nationalism, democracy, socialism, and secularism which may be called India's national or Constitutional values since they find explicit or implicit support in the Constitution.

While it is expected that everyone everywhere will attach great importance to human values, citizens of India are, in addition, expected to seek to fulfil the national or Constitutional values. The bureaucracy is expected to attach even greater importance to both these sets of values than ordinary citizens. The bureaucracy acts on behalf of the state or government. If the state and government are to bring about reforms then the bureaucracy must show respect for human values. Again, since the Constitution lays down the fundamental principles according to which the state is governed, the bureaucracy, as the agent of the state and the government, must accord the highest importance to all the values enshrined in the Constitution.

Apart from human and constitutional values, the bureaucracy must also be committed to national objectives. Some of these may be so important as to be mentioned in the Constitution, while others are stated in laws. Thus, Part IV of the Indian Constitution, entitled "Directive Principles of State Policy" mentions objectives such as securing just and humane conditions of work, securing a living wage, providing free and compulsory education for all children, and protecting Scheduled Castes and Tribes from social injustice and exploitation. However, the Constitution mentions only a few, paramount, objectives, most other national objectives are stated in laws. It is through the demands of interest groups that they are presented to the people for their approval through the manifestos of political parties at election time and they are adopted as national objectives after their inclusion in-laws. Every act of the legislature contains such a declaration of the objectives and once they are enshrined in the Constitution, it becomes the duty of the bureaucracy to faithfully fulfil them by implementing the law. The commitment of the bureaucracy to the objectives stated in-laws is thus essential for the performance of its duties.

9.5.2 Commitment to Service of the People

The bureaucracy's important role in policy formulation and implementation gives it a lot of power, it participates in deciding who should get what, when, and how, and then goes ahead to enforce these decisions. In developing countries, particularly, the power of the bureaucracy is considerable since the other parts of the political system are weak. Hence while the civil servant is, ideally, expected to function as a "servant" of the people, in reality, he may turn out to be a master.

In a developing country like India, this problem becomes worse due to the heritage of the colonial past, when the civil servant used to be the symbol and agent of the foreign power. After independence, a cultural and social chasm continued to exist between the mostly non-literate and poor people and the higher bureaucrat who often dressed, spoke, and even thought, like a colonial master. In a democracy, however, the people are expected to exercise real power, and the bureaucracy is expected to remain under the control of the elected politicians and serve the people. Hence the commitment to providing service to the people is essential for the proper performance of the bureaucracy's role.

The bureaucracy's power, derived from its role in policy formulation and implementation, is used also tofulfil its interests. In developing countries, the bureaucracy is very powerful, the result often is that the bureaucracy tends to fulfil its interest even at the cost of the interests of the people. Thus, the extra profit (benefits apart from salary) remains high in most public undertakings in India even if they lack effectiveness and run at a loss. High officials play an important role in the determination of their emoluments and try to protect their interests by maintaining the emoluments at a high level. Service of the people requires that where there is a conflict between their interests and those of the people, they should give priority to the people's interests.

9.5.3 Commitment to Profession

A profession is a vocation or calling, especially one that involves some branch of science or advanced learning. Nowadays Public Administration requires persons belonging to almost all professions, such as doctors, engineers, lawyers, teachers, scientists, managers, and accountants. Obtaining professional qualifications requires long and arduous preparation on their part. They are considered to have specialised knowledge and excellence and hence have high prestige. Since their contribution to society comes from their specialised knowledge, it becomes their duty to keep abreast of the developments in their field of specialisation. They must also maintain the expected standard of performance. Thus, university teachers must continue to read the latest publications. These are the requirements of their commitment to teaching as a profession. Similarly, other professionals must also continually update their knowledge and skills and maintain the expected standard of performance through practice. The duties associated with every profession require, not only knowledge and skill but also moral dedication. Hence the commitment to a profession involves adherence to its ethics and etiquette.

Thus, the ethics of the medical profession require that a doctor should attend to a patient even at the risk of infection to himself, its etiquette requires that he should not disclose information confided to him by his patients. Similarly, every profession has its own ethics and etiquette. Now, when a professional joins the bureaucracy, he or she must continue to remain committed to the ethics and etiquette of the higher profession, in addition to a higher commitment to the objectives of theorganisation. For example, if a specialist in clinical medicine becomes the director of a medical institute. He or she should not allow the new status to interfere with a higher duty toward the patients. A higher position may also provide him or her with opportunities for selfish gain at the cost of clients. Thus, a specialist in a medical institute may be pressurisedto recommend some costly and inferior equipment for purchase.

9.6 Analysing Neutrality and Commitment

In recent years there has been a lot of discussion in India about the nature of neutrality and commitment, and particularly, whether the bureaucracy can have the two qualities at the same time. If commitment is taken to mean a commitment to a particular political party or its leaders, it becomes antithetical to neutrality. However, commitment to human and constitutional values and national objectives, to service of the people, and professional ethics and etiquette, are not antithetical to neutrality between classes, cultural groups, and political parties. Indeed, commitment and neutrality reinforce each other if they are of the right type. This commitment to the human value of compassion and the constitutional value of fraternity is likely to induce neutrality between classes and cultural groups respectively. Similarly, commitment to national objectives is likely to induce neutrality between political parties. Hence the effort should be to induce commitment and neutrality of the right kind.

Inculcation of desirable attitudes in the bureaucracy requires attention to all aspects of personnel administration. At the time of recruitment and selection of candidates, it should be ensured that they have received the right kind of socialisation and education in the family and school. The competitive examination for selection can include tests of attitudes towards human and constitutional values and national objectives on the one hand, and towards classes, cultural groups and parties on the other. Such tests can indicate whether the candidate has properly benefited from

a liberal education and has a broad mental outlook, or has merely committed materials to memory for passing examinations. After entry, desired attitudes of neutrality and commitment can be inculcated in the members of the bureaucracy through training. Various incentives, such as desired posting, visits abroad, and quicker promotion, can be provided to motivate employees to develop the right attitudes. Finally, control by the political executive and the legislature can ensure that they do not deviate from the norms. Institutions like the Public Service Commission, Courts, and Administrative Tribunals should ensure that the exercise of control by political authorities is done fairly and justly. Further, in a democracy, the people have the right and the duty to see that all institutions function properly.

Special agencies and methods of recruitment can be used for important areas requiring a high degree of both neutrality and commitment. One such special agency already in use is the autonomous university. Higher education and research constitute an area in which commitment and neutrality are both of great importance. If commitment is not there, the pursuit of knowledge lacks excellence; if neutrality is not there education becomes merely indoctrination. The autonomous university aims at achieving both; it also retains the main advantage of bureaucratisation, namely efficiency, while avoiding the dysfunctions flowing from bureaucratisation due to its autonomy. Max Weber has noted that staff members of a university constitute a bureaucracy. The characteristics of hierarchy, division of labour, specialisation, rules, and impersonality are to be found in a university, and hence it has efficiency flowing from these factors. At the same time, its autonomy permits its staff members to remain committed as well as neutral, since the rules of conduct applicable to government servants do not apply to the employees of a university.

9.7 Neutrality and Civil Service in India

The issue of neutrality is one of the important challenges faced by civil servants in India. The notion of neutrality implies the absence of any political activity or bias on the part of an individual civil servant in the performance of his duties. As mentioned earlier, neutrality means acceptance of the discipline of working without reservation the state of not supporting or helping either side in a conflict, or disagreement and maintaining impartiality. If any administrator shows an inclination towards a particular party or adherence to a particular ideology, he would experience difficulty in working when another party with a different ideology comes into office.

Indian Civil Service is not neutral but deeply intertwined in politics. Several renowned civil servants such as John Mathai, C. D. Deshmukh, K. R. Narayanan, Krishna Kumar, Yashwant Sinha, M. G. K. Menon, Raja Ramana, Mani Shankar Iyer, T. N. Chaturvedi and Manmohan Singh, former Union Finance Minister and former Prime Minister of India, have joined different political parties. Indian Civil Service has been working with the politicians of the party in power at the Centre or the State level. Bureaucrats have projected and defended their group interests with the help of politicians by supplying secret files to them whenever necessary. Not only this, but they also get international posts after retirement. The desire to stick to rules is in the minds of Government servants. But it cannot override the considerations of promotion.

During the seventies, the concept of 'neutrality' was replaced by 'committed civil service. Commitment to a new economic order has to be consciously built and nurtured through the careers of civil Servants. Mrs Indira Gandhi and her cabinet talked of committed bureaucracy and even the duties and obligations of the civil service or the judiciary not to the country but solely to the government of the day. Mrs. Gandhi said making committed to civil service meant 'committed to several policies and a popularly elected government without being committed to the policies of the party in power. However, these views of Mrs. Gandhi were vehemently criticised by all shades of people and it was said that the civil servants should be committed to their duties and the society which they are supposed to serve. Social commitment rather than political commitment is imperative in modern times.

Thus, it appears that the concept of 'neutrality' faces a hard knock in the conditions prevailing in a developing nation like India. But, for a parliamentary democracy, political neutrality is indispensable. It is all the more necessary for India because ministerial changes are frequent in the Indian states; and after 1977, even at the Centre. In the absence of neutrality, the civil service will develop cleavages, and factionalism and percolate the belief that some would be promoted and some others would be penalised due to their political bias.

9.8 Anonymity

The principles of neutrality and anonymity of civil servants go hand in hand. They are complementary to each other. The principle of neutrality of civil servants

implies that they will be politically neutral, they will not be members of any political party nor will they canvass for it at the time of the election, except for exercising their right to vote, and they will implement the policies of the party in power at a particular time as per rules and regulations in terms of the law enacted by the legislature in a non-partisan, impartial and unbiased manner. All policy decisions are taken by the political executive and the civil servants are obliged to execute them without any personal involvement.

The principle of anonymity flows directly from the doctrine of ministerial responsibility, which is a feature of the parliamentary government as is prevalent in England and India. According to the concept of ministerial responsibility, a Minister-in-Charge of a department is responsible for the acts of commission and omission of the civil servants subordinate to him. A civil servant cannot be criticised on the floor of the house by name as he cannot be present in the house and address it to defend himself. It is, therefore, the responsibility of the minister concerned to defend him in the Legislature as well as before the general public. If the minister is unable to defend the civil servant, he may be obliged to resign.

Therefore, Civil servants are to act according to the policies of their ministers, impersonally and impartially. This impersonal exercise of power means that their names are not to be involved in any decision. They are to make decisions on a particular matter strictly according to the rules and regulations.

9.9 Suggestions for a Neutral Bureaucracy

The civil servants must observe neutrality in the implementation of policies and programmes of the party in power. They should not be biased but should be ready to cooperate if some new party comes into power. They should not identify themselves with the political programmes of a particular party. The bureaucracy has to protect the very state of which it is a part, from being disrupted or being undermined by the disquieting elements of civil society.

Neutrality depicts that public officials are not slaves to either the politicians or any other authority other than the moral authority of the Constitution. It shows that the principle of neutrality implies a measure of independence both from the partisan interests of the government of the day and the exogenous agenda that prompts certain social groups to cow others down to humiliating vulnerability.

Bureaucracy should be neutral in terms of ideology and politics. So that there will not be an affinity to a particular class or ideology. Most importantly, it also suggests that even in the post-retirement period, public officials could make significant interventions for more noble purposes underlying the good society even without joining a particular brand of formal politics that has scant regard for constitutional principles such as freedom from fear and human dignity. For a genuine public official, commitment to constitutional principles is not only a lifelong project but, more importantly, it can be carried out without any political or ideological mediation.

Special agencies and methods of recruitment can be used for important areas requiring a high degree of both neutrality and commitment. One such special agency already in use is the autonomous university. Higher education and research constitute an area in which commitment and neutrality are both of great importance.

First, the bureaucracy has to protect the very state of which it is a part, from being disrupted or undermined by the disquieting elements of civil society. Second, the bureaucracy has to prevent the disruptive efforts of a society that is ridden with caste and patriarchal consciousness. Bureaucracy has to intervene in public life to see to it that society does not degenerate into aggressive obscurantism. The formative conditions to perform these twin tasks involve public officials' moral capacity to resist anti-constitutional interests that the government of the day may try to push. Thus, the neutrality principle has a moral function to prevent public officials from becoming slaves to the government of the day.

All these recommendations are relevant even today, and they should be followed properly. As the relationship between the political and the permanent executive has grown into complexity, it is, therefore, necessary that both the minister and the secretary should try to know and understand their respective heads and must not try to dominate each other. If some controversy arises, that should be solved through discussions, mutual trust, and confidence. In a democratic setup like in India for example, they should go hand in hand with the service of the country. They should work together while keeping in view their respective status and dignity. It is desired that they should be sincere, dedicated, and committed to their roles and should not evade responsibility.

9.10 Conclusion

As we have mentioned before neutrality and commitment can go together, and.

They reinforce each other if properly oriented. An integration of neutrality and commitment of the bureaucracy can serve the purpose and achieve the goals of national integration and development of a nation-state.

Undeniably, the commitment of bureaucracy to the national values of Justice, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, principles of nationalism, and democracy remains unparalleled.It is important to check the maladies of bureaucracy to shred their allegiance to parochial political objectives. It may act as a hindrance in the process of development. Therefore, to consolidate and bridge the gap between the two aspects, one must examine the bureaucracy objectively.

9.11 Summary

● In recent times, the debate between neutral and committed bureaucrats has emerged at the forefront of public administration.

● Neutrality can be observed through various factors.

● Committed bureaucracy remains firm to certain values, objectives, and professions.

● The issue of neutrality is an important challenge faced by civil servants in a developing country like India.

● An integration of both neutrality and commitment is the need of the hour. (5570)

● A neutral bureaucracy is the desired objective in developing societies.

9.12 Glossary

● **Spoils System :** A system which originated in the USA. It is also called the patronage system and a practice in which the political party winning an election rewards its campaign workers and other active supporters by appointment to government posts and with other favours.

● **The Great Depression :** The Great Depression was a severe worldwide economic depression between 1929 and 1939 that began after a major fall in stock prices in the United States.

- **Directive Principles of State Policy :** Guidelines or principles given to the institutes for governing India and are provided in Part IV of the Constitution of India.

- **Ethics :** The study of what is right and wrong in human behaviour.

9.13 Model Questions

- Analayse the debate between neural and committed bureaucracy.

- What are the various dimensions of neutral bureaucracy?

- How is committed bureaucracy ensured in an organisation? Explain.

- How can we ensure of neutrality of bureaucrats? Explain

- What is the meaning of anonymity?

- Write a brief note on the neutrality of civil servants in India.

- What is the meaning of committed bureaucracy?

- What is the meaning of neutrality?

- What are the ill effects of committed bureaucracy?

- How should the bureaucracy be neutral towards ideology and politics?

9.14 References

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Unit – 10 ❑ Technocrats Vs. Bureaucrats

Structure

10.1 Learning Objectives

After studying the unit, you should be able to :

- Explain the meaning of technocrats and bureaucrats
- Describe the controversy between the two.
- Importance of both technocrats and bureaucrats.
- Ways to overcome the conflict between the two.

10.2 Introduction

The fight between technocracy and bureaucracy has been in existence ever since the inception of these terms. The Technocrats and Bureaucrats who are commonly

characterised as 'Specialists' and 'Generalists' respectively are found in every administrative system but bureaucrats are at the 'top' and specialists or the technocrats are at the 'tap', and this causes jealousy in technocrats. The technocrat and bureaucrat controversy is one of the important problems of public administration. The problem has acquired new dimensions due to the vital role of ever-increasing importance being played by science and technology in all walks of life. In the forties or fifties, no one thought about the Department of Space or Ocean Development atomic energy or communication technology, such as fax, the Internet, the computer revolution, etc. In this regard, our scientists and technologists have won laurels for the successful conduct of nuclear tests at Pokhran on 11 and 13 May 1998. Likewise, their expertise and skills can be reflected in policy formulations as well.

Therefore, the role of specialists or technocrats in administration has acquired immense significance. The problem of law and order has also acquired a new dimension due to the invention of several kinds of rifles, missiles, and chemical weapons. As a result,attempts have been made to define the roles of technocrats and bureaucrats in many countries. We shall propose to define both the terms and we will examine the arguments in favour of and against both. Lastly, we shall try to analyse the reasons for the conflict between the two.

10.3 Comparison between Bureaucracy and Technocracy

Generally, a new type of government is established when its earlier alternative fails to fulfil the needs of citizens. When such a type of government is established, the positive attributes of the previous government are retained whereas, the negative attributes are changed. Similarly, Bureaucracy and Technocracy were established. So, what exactly is the difference between Bureaucracy and Technocracy? These two types of government are differentiated based on factors like definition, ideologies, characteristics, structure, etc. The widely used definition of Bureaucracy is "A type of government administration managed by departments staffed with non-elected officials." whereas, Technocracy is defined as "A form of government by people with knowledge about science and technology".

The comparison of Bureaucracy vs Technocracy proves to be significant when we are studying different types of governments. Bureaucracy and Technocracy may differ drastically in their principles or they could be such government forms, which

are derived from one another. These principles and other details can be studied in the Bureaucracy Definition and Technocracy Definition.

● **Bureaucracy vs Technocracy History :**

Comparison of Bureaucracy vs Technocracy history tells us how these types of governments have evolved. Bureaucracy originated in the 4th century BC whereas Technocracy took root in the 20th century AD. Founders or advocates of Bureaucracy are Max Weber, Woodrow Wilson and people who have contributed to the progress of Technocracy Alexander Bogdanov, Howard Scott, Marion King Hubbert, Thorstein Veblen, and William Henry Smyth.

● **Bureaucracy vs Technocracy Characteristics :**

While comparing Bureaucracy vs Technocracy characteristics it is essential to consider the benefits and demerits of both types of governments. Faster processes for the system and more organisation are the advantages of Bureaucracy whereas Technocracy's advantages are better leadership, better welfare, and faster processes for the system. Bureaucracy has demerits like Decisions made by a small group, the Higher chance of rebellion, and Misuse of power whereas; In suchuperally decisions made by a small group of technical experts, specialists are the disadvantages of Technocracy

When you compare Bureaucracy vs Technocracy structure the factors to be considered are majority rule, succession, presence of parliament and constitution. Bureaucracy

Bureaucracy	Technocracy
(i) Majority Rule does not apply in Bureaucracy	(i) In technocracy, Majority Rule is present.
(ii) The succession rule applied in Bureaucracy is neither inheritance nor elective	(ii) The succession in technocracy is also neither inheritance nor elective
(iii) Parliament sometimes present in the Bureaucracy	(iii) Pariliament is also sometinmes present in Technocracy
(iv) Constitution is present in Bureaucracy	(iv) Constitution is present in Technocracy
(v) Bureaucracy is related to the Administration	(v) Technocrats are mostly related to the making of the structure.

Bureaucracy	Technocracy
(vi) Bureaucracy is a type of government administration managed by departments staffed with non-elected officials.	(vi) Technocracy is a form of government by people with knowledge about science and technology
(vii) Bureaucracy form of government in which the most important decisions are taken by officials rather than by elected representatives	(vii) When the elite or technical experts control a government system it is called a Technocracy
(viii) Bureaucracy is a government in which a large group of people are involved in ruling it, but they are not elected.	(viii) A government type managed by people who have a deep knowledge of science and technology

10.4 Technocrat

A technocrat is a scientist, engineer, or another expert who is one of a group of similar people who have political power as well as technical knowledge. A technocrat is also known as a 'Specialist'. He or She is generally a person who has special knowledge or skill in a specific field, for example. engineers, physicians, agriculturists, educationists, lawyers, etc. He can be easily distinguished based on his or her education and training. They generally perform a job in which their specialist knowledge is required However, an expert or specialist is a relative term depending upon the context. For example, a general medical practitioner is an expert concerning the patient but in comparison to a surgeon, a dentist, or a gynaecologist, he or she is only a generalist. The Administrative Reforms Commission (ARC) has called for such specialised services where officers have to specialise after joining the service. For example, the officers joining services like Income Tax, Audit and Accounts, Defence Accounts, etc. do not require any specialised degree at the time of entry. However, over some period in their services, they tend to specialise in their particular fields.

The Civil Service Committee of Britain (1966-68), popularly known as the Fulton Committee used the term "specialist' for those whose career provides

opportunities for the exercise of their qualifications and specialist skills. This category includes engineers, draughtsmen, technicians, and so on. Some of these, such as doctors and engineers, have acquired the professionalism of specialists through recognised training outside their service. Others such as technicians and draughtsmen may acquire and develop their skills after joining the service.

Since the technocrats are highly specialized in their field, they provide highly effective and pinpointed solutions to the problems faced in their field. Due to the immense amount of knowledge that they have amassed over the years, they have a different perspective on the problems of society. Examples of technocrats include Raghuram Rajan, who was the former Governor of The Reserve Bank of India, and E. Sreedharan, who is known as the Metro Man of India.

10.5 Bureaucrat

A bureaucrat is an official in a government department, in particular, one perceived as being concerned with procedural correctness at the expense of people's needs.A bureaucrat is a public servant who does not have a specialised background and is easily transferable to any department or branch of Government. He has also been defined as an administrator, who belongs to the managerial class and who is well versed with rules, regulations, and procedures of administration, and generally performs functions of Planning, Organising, Directing, Staffing, Cooperating, Reporting, and Staffing in the words of Gulick. A bureaucrat is also known as a 'Generalist'. Generalists are said to be jack of all trades and masters of none.

The Fulton Committee (1966-68) used the term 'administrators' for those members of the administrative and executive classes who are now treated as, and regard themselves as, 'generalists'.

The terms bureaucrats, civil servants, public servants, government servants, government servants, officials of government, officials, permanent executive, and non-political executive are used to describe all such persons who carry out the day-to-day administration of the state. The terms Bureaucrats and Civil Servants are popularly used as synonyms. They are officers and IRS officers in the case of India.

10.6 Controversy and Areas of Conflict

In a developing country like India, the bureaucrats have been given superior positions in the administration. The policy formulation and the 'consideration' levels in the Central, as well as State Secretariat, are occupied by the bureaucrats, while positions in the field are filled by the technocrats. To make the 'humiliation' still more apparent, the heads of executive agencies are appointed from amongst the technocrats. For example, in the states of India, the Directors of Higher Education, Directors of Health, and Directors of Agriculture are IAS civil servants. At the district level, there is a generalist who is a Collector/DC, leading a team of technical district officers who are heads of technical departments. At the block level, the Block Development Officer (BDO) is the bureaucrat who leads a team of cooperative and veterinary services.

The genesis of the 'generalist and specialist' and the 'bureaucrat and technocrat' controversy in India can largely be traced to the concept of 'nearness' or 'remoteness' from the area of top policy-making. It is more post-centered rather than person-oriented, and the tussle between the two is in reality for holding certain positions. The real debate should be around formulating a satisfactory and adequate staffing policy or better still, evolving a progressive, constructive objective-oriented, egalitarian personnel philosophy.

A very important aspect of controversy relates to the privileged position enjoyed by the IndianAdministrative Service due to its high salary, better career prospects, and its monopoly of top administrative positions as posts of secretaries in the government departments; even the position of heads of most executive departments are reserved for the bureaucrats. Career-wise too, a member of the Indian Administrative Service after serving for about ten years or so in a state administration, moves to the Central Secretariat and at times becomes the Secretary of a department or ministry. The technocrats feel that their position and status in the administrative hierarchy are not commensurate with the contribution they make to the technological advancement of the country. They are being denied access to the policy-making powers is attributed to their being overshadowed by the bureaucrats.

In this regard, the specialists or the technocrats demand parity with IAS generalists and the bureaucracy in general, in matters of pay scales and service conditions, and access to administrative positions at the Secretariat so that they

can contribute to the policy formulation of the Government. They complain that during their school days bureaucrats were not brilliant students as compared to them but they enjoy more powers than technocrats due to their position at the Secretariat level. The problem is that the technocrats have to submit to the final decisions taken by the bureaucrats on issues that have an important bearing on their field of specialisation. This resulted in the conflict between the power of knowledge of experts and the power of the position of bureaucrats. Thus, the problem is more of sharing the administration

The suitability of the bureaucrats for all policy-making positions is questioned by technocrats on the ground that the change in the functions of government in present times calls for certain professionalism which is not possessed to such an extent by the generalists. Also, by reserving all senior managerial positions to the bureaucrats, especially to the IAS, the government is deprived of the expert advice and specialised knowledge of the specialists. However, it is generally argued by the bureaucrats that the field experience gained by

them at the district and state levels in the initial years of their careers helps them in the task of decision-making. However,the technocrats feel that this field experience is not sufficient to discharge the multi-varied tasks of the government which require special or expert knowledge. And also, this sort of field experience is not just the prerogative of the generalists as it can be secured by the technocrats. For example, a doctor working in a primary Health Centre is exposed to all sorts of field problems as can be experienced by a District Collector. This makes higher acquire certain administrative skills in addition to higher technical competence.

Another point of contention between the two comes from their being organised into separate hierarchies. This leads to situations where the expert advice rendered by the technocrats is submitted to the bureaucrats for higher approval. This is justified on the ground that since technocrats tend to have a biased outlook tilted towards their speciality and since policymaking needs to consider matters in totality, the bureaucrats are best suited to make the final decision. This is due to technocrats being denied access to senior administrative positions.

The bureaucracy often moves from one department to the other and at times to a public enterprise or even a semi-government institution. However, the mobility of the technocrats is restricted in the sense that they are transferred or promoted in the same department. The technocrats view the frequent movement of the

bureaucrats as a hindrance in the way of acquiring adequate and in-depth knowledge in any one aspect of the department's work. Thus, the technocrats feel that it may hurt proper policy-making

10.6.1 Arguments in favour of Technocrats

The grievance of technocrats as mentioned before is the discrimination in pay and allowances between the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) and their services and quick chances of promotion for the IAS. Therefore, a new trend is emerging in the composition of higher civil services, that is, large numbers of professionals are now appearing for the civil services examinations. They are leaving medicine engineering and chartered accountancy positions to enter civil services. Technocrats complain that they are excluded from the top policy-making positions. Therefore, it would be pertinent to examine the arguments given in favourof specialists.

Before independence, in colonial days the main functions of administration were the maintenance of law and order, and the collection of taxes, and revenues. But now the tasks of administration have become very complex and cannot be properly performed by the bureaucrats alone. Therefore, technocrats should be given their due weightage in performing these jobs from the lowest to the highest levels.Technocrats feel that bureaucrats are not required to intervene between them and the Minister. They have better knowledge of their field and can explain it better to the Minister.

The bureaucrats do not understand the implications of the technical proposals and cause inordinate delays in the clearance of the project proposals submitted to them. The bureaucrats have to depend on the advice of the technocrats and in the absence of their expert advice/knowledge are unable to take final decisions expeditiously.

It is further cited that our Public Enterprises headed by bureaucrats have become the centre of mismanagement resulting in heavy financial losses. On the contrary, Dr. HomiBhabha, who played a key role in India's Nuclear Program proved to be an administrator of great acumen. He built the Atomic Energy Commission, which is a very important organisation.

In England, the Fulton Committee recommended a greater role for the technocrats in administration and observed that to meet the challenge of scientific and technical developments, the specialists have to be given due place in the administration. The same arguments can be advanced in the case of technocrats in India.

ARC recommended that the senior posts in functional areas should be held by the specialists in those functional cadres. It further recommended that non-functional posts should be thrown open to all specialists and generalists.

10.6.2 Arguments in favour of Bureaucrats

Since it is the responsibility of the bureaucracy to carry out and implement the policies of the government. Good policies and laws can serve their objectives only when these are efficiently implemented by civil servants. The bureaucrats play a superior role in the day-to-day administration of the state. In India, the Macaulay Report on Indian Civil Service (1854) followed the British tradition of the superior position of a generalist administrator propounded by the Northcote-Trevelyn Report (1853). The philosophy of these reports is that a person with a liberal education and varied multifunctional experience is much better than a specialist who has deep knowledge of a very narrow field. Therefore, bureaucrats occupied superior positions in the Indian administration

The important argument in favour of generalist civil service is that it has established contact with people in the administration ranging from the top to the grassroots level. This is a peculiar system in which generalist administrative service is organised as an All-India Service based on the permanent cadres of the State Governments. Officers of this service serve at the district level and come in contact with people at the lowest level. They are later transferred to various positions in the State up to the Secretariat and get the experience of the working of the State governments. Some of these officers are deputed to the Government of India for senior positions. Such a tenure system was introduced by Lord Curzon in which these officers used to serve in the Government of India for a fixed tenure and used to back to the State of their cadre. These officers serving at senior levels in the Government of India have the advantage of vast experience working in the State Secretariat and the field. This connects the entire system of administration from the top level to grass root level. The knowledge and vision provided by this kind of experience cannot be equalled by the limited technical experience of the specialist.

The administration in India has been based on the principle of area administration. Thus, the village, the block, the tehsil, the district, and the division continue to remain the units around which the administration at that level revolves. Each area requires a generalist administrator or a bureaucrat to perform managerial functions such as planning, directing, and coordinating. Such a role can be performed by

an experienced administrator successfully. A generalist secretary is in a much better position to tender correct and proper advice to his ministry because he usually has a complete understanding of the total effect of various factors on a particular policy decision.

Bureaucrats charge technocrats of being parochial and narrow-minded. They say that technocrats are prone less. According to Paul Appleby, 'the price of specialisation of every kind to display bias and a restricted view of matters. A specialist knows more and more of less and parochialism. A generalist possesses a broad vision and outlook and high thinking while a specialist does not possess all these qualities.

It has also been said that it is wrong to call these professionals in their field. To advise the political executive in their policy formulation functions are specialised tasks in themselves. Those who perform these tasks have to develop professional expertise to become successful. The bureaucrats can in that sense be called administrative professionals.

In any decision-making process, technical inputs form only a small part. Other matters like financial, administrative, legal, and political issues are of equal importance. A bureaucrat with a broad background of working in various departments is better suited to perform these jobs. Experience shows that when a technocrat is required to do the job of a bureaucrat, they lose both ways. Neither do they remain specialists, nor do they prove to be good bureaucrats.

10.7 Suggestions and Remedies

Public Administration in the modern day requires an integration of both the technocrats and the bureaucrats to gain maximum efficiency. In every country, a middle way should be worked out to utilise the services of both technocrats and bureaucrats for national development. The good and well-meaning administrators could not deny the importance of technical considerations and expert services. Likewise, no good specialist should assume that his administrative colleague is an important bigot. Where the attitude is one of mutual understanding, public service benefits greatly. The disputes and areas of controversy between the two can be located and dealt with. So, several steps have to be taken to solve the problem.

A new trend of appointing technocrats to administrative positions is taking place. Of late, certain measures have been taken in our country to induct technocrats into higher administrative positions at the Centre as well as in the States. For example, some time ago Education Secretary in the Union Ministry of Education was an educationist by profession, and the Secretary to the Scientific Affairs Department in the same ministry was an eminent scientist. In some ministries, expert advisors have been appointed to take advantage of their expertise.

Another method of giving a technocrat head of department ex-officio status of joint/additional/full Secretary to the Government has been followed. The Railway Board is a good example of such an arrangement. The members of the Board operate as heads of departments and are also ex-officio secretaries in the Railway Ministry. So is the case of the Department of Atomic Energy, where the specialist has reached the top instead of the bureaucrat. It is headed by nuclear scientists and so is the case with the Department of Science and Technology which has a scientist as a Secretary. In the same way, the Rajasthan Government has appointed the Chief Engineer (PWD & BR) and the Director of Industries and Supplies ex-officio Additional Secretaries to the Government.

A way to tackle this problem is to experiment with an integrated hierarchy in place of present 'separate' and 'parallel' hierarchies. In separate hierarchies, the policy is determined by the bureaucrats and the function of the technocrats is to execute it. Whereas in a parallel hierarchy, each class has its parallel sub-hierarchy, and work between the two is coordinated by frequent liaison. The organisation of technocrats in separate hierarchies, with the policy and financial aspects of the work reserved exclusively for bureaucrats, has certain disadvantages such as slowing down the process of decision-making and management, generating inefficiency, and preventing the specialists from exercising the full range of responsibilities normally associated with their professions.

The tenure system has been met with a decline over the years. As already discussed, the tenure system was introduced by the British. The system is now in no position to deliver the goods and has been weakened. It is felt that senior civil servants should remain permanently in the Central Secretariat in violation the of tenure system. In practice now very few officers of the rank of Joint Secretary go back to the States. The creation of the Central Secretariat Services has also weakened this system.

Indian Constitution for instance has a provision to create more All India Services and Central Services. In 1961, two new Central Class I Services constituted the Indian Economic Service for the Economists and the Indian Statistical Service for the Statisticians. All these services aim to provide better status and pay to the technocrats. The creation of such new specialist-centric all-India and central services can provide them necessary security and platform.

The present need is for more purposive development of professionalism in administration. The base of such professionalism is not necessarily provided by a single speciality but by a variety of backgrounds and disciplines. For example, the administrators of price policy must know in sufficient depth and detail all the economic implications of that particular measure. Hence, it becomes essential for the government to organise at the top an expert layer of personnel, who though initially coming from either the generalist or specialist background, would need to be developed into a professionally competent group in order not merely to effectively execute programmes but also to aid and advise the top political executives in matters of important policies.

10.8 Conclusion

There is no denying the fact that in their functional situations, both technocrats and bureaucrats have important contributions to make. The partnership responsibility of the two groups in facing the new challenges under conditions of quickening socio-economic change is a necessary ingredient of national goal fulfilment. The necessity for the collaborative role of generalists and specialists is now recognised and accepted almost everywhere. It is neither feasible nor desirable to replace one category with the other. Indeed, it is not as though a revolution in public administration is going to occur if all the bureaucrats were to be replaced by technocrats. Similarly, the jobs of technocrats cannot also be taken over by bureaucrats, for example, the functions of the Chief of Army Staff cannot be taken over by a Secretary to a Government department. Thus, while, co-existence among both categories has to be accepted as a fundamental fact of administrative life, the real issue is in what fashion or in what structure or role the relationship should exist.

10.9 Summary

- The technocrat and bureaucrat controversy is one of the important problems of public administration.

- The dispute between the two ranges from high perks and facilities to the decision-making process

- The technocrats and bureaucrats are both equally important in their respective spheres

- Certain measures can be taken to solve the conflict between the technocrats and bureaucrats (3561)

10.10 Glossary

- **Specialist :** A Specialist is generally a person who has special knowledge or skill in a specific field, for example. engineers, physicians, agriculturists, educationists, lawyers, etc.

- **Generalist :** A Generalist is an administrator, who belongs to the managerial class is well-versed with rules, regulations, and procedures of administration, and performs the general functions of an organisation.

- **Parallel Hierarchy :** In this type of work arrangement system a specialist, for example, a Director General will be working along with a generalist like a Deputy Secretary.

- **Fulton Committee :** The Committee was appointed in the UK in 1966 to study the organisation, recruitment, management, and training arrangements for the civil service and to recommend. changes in the context of changed responsibilities of the civil services and the new educational system.

- **Professionalism :** Specialised competence or knowledge in a field.

- **Administrative Reforms Commission :** The Administrative Reforms Commission is the committee appointed by the Government of India to give recommendations for reviewing the public administration system of India. The first ARC was established on 5 January 1966.

10.11 Model Questions

- Discuss the role of bureaucracy in administration.

- Who are the technocrats? Comment on their role in the administration.

- What are the suggestions and remedies to overcome the conflict between the technocrats and bureaucrats?

- Discuss the reasons for the controversy between the generalists and specialists in administration

- Who are called the Specialists?

- Who are called the Generalists?

- Write two reasons why the bureaucrats are more important than the technocrats.

- Write two reasons why the technocrats are more important than the bureaucrats.

- Write two reasons for the conflict between the technocrats and bureaucrats

- How does the Fulton Committee Report define The Specialists and the Generalists?

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Module – III

Problems of Development

Unit – 11 ❏Problems of Development in Developing Countries

Structure

11.1 Learning Objectives

- This chapter intends to introduce us to one of the most fascinating issues in contemporary times.

- After the end of the Second World War, particularly when decolonisation occurred in many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, development became a much-discussed issue, among academics, practitioners and policy-makers.

- Various ways and means to understand development were explored. We hope that this chapter will enable us to have a comprehensive understanding of development and its problems.

11.2 Introduction

Development is a buzzword in contemporary social science as well as policy

dialogues, both at domestic and international levels. This is because of the growing international order since the end of the Second World War. Before understanding the problems of developing countries, we need to have a concept of development. I would prefer the term "concept" because a fool-proof, all-encompassing and satisfactory definition of development is not possible.

For several decades following the Second World War, development was broadly conceived as economic growth. Various scholarships were developed during that period, which emphasised attaining a certain level of economic growth and concomitant indicators. Two of them are particularly worthy of mention. The socialist or Marxist model has emphasised on 'dictatorship of the proletariat' – centralised economic planning, and ruthless social and economic engineering under the command of one ruling party, where individual autonomy and voice were seriously circumscribed. The model of development followed by Chinese leadership is the most pertinent example. Among the influential ideas in the non-Marxist world was the "Modernization Theory" – it emphasised the growth of the middle class, "civic culture" which, after attaining a satisfactory level of economic growth, would be allowed to practice democracy, quite akin to capitalist western democracies. This is known as the model of "political development"; however, this model soon came to be criticised for its ethnocentric bias – for uncritically accepting the West as a model, ignoring the socio-cultural situations and realities of the developing countries, many of whom were endowed with ancient civilisations. These types of theories virtually ended up supporting the utterly authoritarian regimes in many developing countries – flouting almost every norm of democracy (Törnquist, 1999). On the other hand, despite being at the contrasting end of the ideological pole, the socialist regimes were also equally undemocratic, and oppressive and had the same notorious history of human rights violations.

Subsequently, the growth-only model was further questioned: growth for whom? Does everybody have access to the fruits of growth? Must growth occur at the expense of justice and human rights? Above all, if minerals are exploited ruthlessly, the earth is polluted without any limits, what are we leaving for our future generations? Development demanded answers to these questions. As a result, many new dimensions were added to development. To explain the concept of "just development", Clark coined the acronym: DEPENDS approach. In essence, the DEPENDS approach stands for the development of infrastructure; Economic growth; Poverty alleviation; Equity; Natural resource base protection; Democracy; and Social

justice (Clark, 1991: 26-30). This is closely related to development ethics "that accepts human dignity as a priority" (Gasper and Truong 2005: 374). The 'right to development' offered a holistic vision: economic rights must be accompanied by civil, political, social and cultural rights – none of them must be sacrificed (Sengupta 2000). Amartya Sen introduced the idea of capability which would lead development towards freedom that would enable an individual to lead a life he or she "has reasons to value" (Sen 2000: 36-40). This has led to the growth of another sub-field of development studies: Human Development, which by including the issues mentioned above, does add normative substance to development on one hand; and has the potential to make development relevant to many people at the same time. We shall now examine the problems of developing countries in this context. India has followed the path of taking democracy and development together: at the time of independence, it was dismissed by many, but subsequently, the wisdom has dawned that democracy saved the country.

11.3. Differences Between Developed and Developing Countries

When we look at the global economic map, it's painted with varying shades of advancement, characterized by the difference between developed and developing countries. This distinction is a fundamental aspect of the international socio-economic structure, setting nations on different rungs of the global ladder. But what exactly is the difference between developed and developing countries? Is it simply a matter of wealth or are there more complex factors at play?

Form the backdrop of the difference between developed and developing countries. This exploration is not just a comparison of economic strength; it's an understanding of the unique conditions, cultures, and practices that shape nations' growth and development trajectories. By exploring these differences, we glean a deeper understanding of the world's socio-economic landscape, equipping us for meaningful discourse and decision-making.

Before dissecting the difference between developed and developing countries, it's crucial to define what each term means.

● **Developed Countries**

Developed countries, also known as industrialised nations or more developed

countries (MDC), have a high level of economic development and standard of living. They are characterized by advanced industrialization, high per capita income, robust healthcare systems, and a high Human Development Index (HDI).

● **Developing Countries**

On the other hand, developing countries, also referred to as less developed countries (LDC), are nations with a lower living standard, underdeveloped industrial base, and low Human Development Index (HDI) relative to other countries. However, it's worth noting that the term 'developing' isn't an indicator of stagnation. Many developing countries experience rapid growth and progress, yet they still lag in comparison to developed nations

● **10 Key Differences Between Developed And Developing Countries**

To gain a well-rounded perspective of the distinction between these two categories of nations, we will delve into ten key differences between developed and developing countries :

	Developed Countries	**Developing Countries**
(i)	High GDP per capita	Low GDP per capita
(ii)	High literacy rate	Lower literacy rates
(iii)	Advanced infrastructure	Less developed infrastructure
(iv)	High life expectancy	Lower life expectancy
(v)	Low population growth rate	High population growth rate
(vi)	High Human Development Index (HDI)	Low Human Development Index (HDI)
(vii)	Strong and stable political structures	Often unstable political structures
(viii)	Diversified economy	The economy largely dependent on a few sectors
(ix)	Greater emphasis on tertiary and quaternary sectors	Emphasis on primary and secondary sectors
(x)	Advanced technology and innovation	Log-in technology and innovation

● Developed vs. Developing Countries : Economic Structure and Industrialization

Economic structure and the level of industrialization often differentiate developed and developing countries. Developed nations tend to have highly diversified and advanced economies, while developing countries may rely on a limited number of industries, usually within the primary sector, such as agriculture or mining.

● Developed Countries :

Developed countries often have a post-industrial economy, meaning they have moved beyond manufacturing and now focus on services and technology.

These countries typically have a strong tertiary (services) and quaternary (intellectual services like information technology) sector.

They often have robust financial markets and strong regulatory institutions.

Developing Countries :

Developing countries usually have a stronger primary (agriculture, mining) or secondary (manufacturing) sector.

Their economies may be heavily dependent on a few key industries or exports, making them vulnerable to market fluctuations.

The presence of informal economies, which operate outside of government regulation, is often higher in developing countries

Developed vs. Developing Countries: Social Indicators and Quality of Life

Social indicators, including health, education, and standards of living, also play a pivotal role in differentiating developed and developing countries.

	Social Indicators	Developed Countries	Developing Countries
(i)	Health care	Universal access to high-quality healthcare	Limited access to healthcare, higher disease prevalence
(ii)	Education	High literacy rates, widespread access to education at all levels	Lower literacy rates, limited access to quality education
(iii)	Life Expectancy	Higher due to advanced healthcare and living standards	Lower due to limited healthcare access and lower living standards

Developed vs. Developing Countries : Environmental Impact and Sustainability

The environmental impact and the focus on sustainability can vary greatly between developed and developing countries.

Developed Countries :

Developed countries typically have higher carbon footprints due to industrial activities and higher levels of consumption.

These nations often have the resources to invest in renewable energy and sustainability initiatives.

They have more stringent environmental regulations in place.

Developing Countries :

Developing countries have lower carbon footprints but often face environmental issues due to factors like deforestation, pollution from lack of waste management systems, and industrial processes.

While these countries are increasingly investing in sustainable practices, they often face challenges due to limited resources and other pressing socio-economic needs.

They might have less stringent environmental regulations or struggle with enforcement.

Developed vs. Developing Countries : Technological Advancements and Innovation

Technology and innovation rates are another distinctive factor when examining the difference between developed and developing countries. The level of technological access and advancement contributes significantly to a country's economic growth and societal development.

Developed Countries :

In developed countries, there is typically a high level of technological access, and these countries are often leaders in technological innovation.

Infrastructure for information and communication technology (ICT) is highly developed, allowing for widespread internet access and use of digital technologies.

Research and development (R&D) is a significant aspect of these nations' economies, driving innovation in various sectors, from medicine to green technologies.

Developing Countries :

Developing countries often lag in technological advancement and access, although there's a vast diversity in this respect, with some countries making rapid progress.

Limited infrastructure may restrict ICT growth and the broad dissemination of technology, impeding economic and social development.

While R & D might be present, it is typically less than developed nations due to resource constraints and other priorities.

Political Stability and Governance

Political stability and governance quality also differentiate developed and developing countries. The political climate can significantly impact a nation's development, affecting everything from economic policies to social services.

Political Factors	Developed Countries	Developing Countries
Political Stability	Generally stable with strong institutions	Often face political instability or unrest
Governance Quality	High, with transparent and accountable systems	Varies, but may struggle with issues like corruption or inefficiency
Rule of Law	Strong adherence to law with an independent judiciary	May struggle with law enforcement and judicial independence

11.4 Who Are Developing Countries

Several countries are known as developing countries. After the Second World War, particularly since decolonisation, many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America were freed from colonial rule – at least in a formal sense. Generally, they are known as developing countries. There are several ways to classify: during the

Cold War, first-world countries were known as the advanced industrial countries in the West – mainly Western Europe, and North America alongside countries like Japan, Australia and New Zealand who, by and large, adhered to the capitalist mode of economy. Second World countries belonged to the socialist block led by the Soviet Union. The Third World included the majority of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America that are marked by abject poverty, deprivation and overall poor quality of life and opportunities. Later on, OECD – the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development has classified between global North and South – countries in the South are known as developing countries. In recent times, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has categorised four types of countries: those having "low human development", "medium human development", "high human development"; and "very high human development" – they are based on the overall quality of living standards (HDR Website 2010). In a word, developing countries constitute a large number of countries in the three continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

11.5 Developing Countries : Issues and Problems

The major problems that can be found in developing countries can be grossly subsumed under three categories: influences of colonial history; challenges of economic development; and the pressure of popular aspirations.

● **Influences of Colonial History**

Most of the developing countries have a long history of colonialism. Colonialism has certainly introduced these states to modernity, although these states have much older societies. Ancient civilisations have developed in the spaces currently known as the Indian subcontinent, China and the Arab world. In many cases, the nature of colonial rule has shaped their post-independence socio-economic and political destiny. History often serves both as a resource and constraint to these countries.

In terms of resources, three particular aspects are worthy to mention: the market, modern means of communication and education : through them, many old societies were introduced to the new world order and their beneficial attributes through colonial rule. The hitherto old societies were often steeped into inertia and stagnation, which had resulted in limited social mobility, lack of education, ill-health,

early morbidity, gender discrimination and consequent crippling of human existence. For example, in pre-British India, rural people hardly ventured out of their village in their lifetime, because they did not feel the necessity. Colonial rule had broken this state of inertia : it was essentially accompanied by capitalism which in turn, necessitated the continuous expansion of the market. This development brought the secluded and insulated villages and distantly-located communities into the map of the market economy. Such exposure has led to significant social and economic mobility. Traditional structures of hierarchy were seriously affected and many of them had simply broken down. In India for example, caste has undergone significant changes through exposure to market forces. Many people from traditionally deprived castes have now started exploring opportunities in the new socio-economic order. In many of these countries, alongside the colonial business groups, indigenous capitalism has developed.

The second beneficial consequence was the introduction of the modern means of communication, which in turn, carried forward the process of modernity. The railway and road networks, post and telegraph have connected the vast stretches of territory and galvanised them into one nation of other shared identities such as language or ethnicity. They subsequently, have provided the proverbial bedrock for anti-colonial nationalism.

In addition, many of them used these means of communication to explore opportunities in other parts of the world: the migration of Indians (mainly from the oppressed lower castes) from the neighbourhood plantation colonies in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) to faraway places of Africa, Canada and the Caribbean reflect this tendency. These have led to the cultural dynamism for both the settlers and the indigenous population : the settlers went to new places with their cultural attributes such as dress, food habits and festivals; they were again introduced to local lifestyles and culture. Cultural vitality is also an attribute of development because, on one hand, it has the potential to integrate people having various types of beliefs and world-views and pursue common agenda. On the other hand, a broadened worldview is presented before the concerned people, which may unlock opportunities to explore better and more diverse visions of life.

The third benefit of colonial rule was the introduction of the modern system of education; they were often accompanied by colonial languages where modernity was practised. As a result, the indigenous population received exposure to modern

literature, science and medicine – these have helped the future-day nationalist leaders to articulate their visions of an independent nation. It was further bolstered when many educated people from colonial countries received education in world-famous universities: their experiences both with their societies and the greater world have enabled them to contribute immensely to the public life of colonial countries. For example, Gandhi and Nehru worked and studied abroad : later on, they became the leading figures in India's struggle for independence Ambedkar received her education in the United States: he immensely worked towards the emancipation of the downtrodden in India and was among the key figures in the drafting of the Indian constitution. In addition to all of those factors mentioned above, modern systems of government were introduced in the colonial countries: modern bureaucracies, modern military and the overall administrative system in many areas, such as land revenue, education system, health system and in some cases, modern representative institutions were also the attributes of colonial rule.

We, however, should eschew glorifying the colonial rules. Above all, they were undemocratic and exploitative by nature. Their ill effects do far outweigh those perceived benefits. The advent of market forces also disrupted traditional social relations, economic arrangements and above all, knowledge systems. On the social front, new means of mobility often resulted in mindless attacks on traditional values, under colonial rule. A section of elites, having access to education and centres of power, distanced themselves from the local population and were quite contemptuous of other country-people. As a reaction, another class developed with rabid traditionalism, refusing to learn from the opportunities of modernity. The colonial administration also followed the "divide and rule" policy – to engage the native population into continuous infighting among themselves. These served the purposes of colonial rule – its longevity, but in the long run, have sown the seeds of perpetual distrust, disorder and conflict, which threaten development and world peace even today, in many areas of the world: South Asia; the Arab world; North and South Korea; and the most of African continent. Much of the resources are spent on conflict and armaments.

In pre-colonial India for example, land and forest was the community property: they did not have any individual ownership. Private ownership of land was introduced, which destabilised the existing patterns of livelihood. At the same time, the villagers' and local community's rights to forest for food and fuel wood were curtailed –

they were open to large timber merchants – mostly Europeans, who again found the ready market in growing cities, modern transport industries and exports. The worst economic condition was the continuous bleeding of the country's resources: with heavy tariffs and taxation, indigenous industries were not allowed to grow and several impediments were propped up from time to time. Most of the time, traders from only the ruling country were allowed to do business in the respective colonial countries. As a result, free market capitalism did not grow in these colonies, and the socio-economic mobility unleashed by colonialism remained limited. After independence, these countries faced the syndrome of "late development" – characterised by huge pressure of poverty, low productivity, obsolete technology and consequent difficulties to compete in the global market. Many of them remained dependent on advanced capitalist countries for their economic and security concerns.

The traditional knowledge systems which have nourished the older civilisations of developing countries over many centuries were severely disrupted by colonial rule. Such knowledge systems have grown over many centuries, based on people's experiences and responses to various circumstances from time to time. Human experiences are the greatest reservoir of knowledge, yet under colonial rule, they were vilified and attacked. Many traditional handicrafts, agricultural practices, medical systems, and education methods were simply lost in the onslaught of the homogenising nature of market capitalism. Under the current globalisation regime, there has been a renewed appreciation of the value of traditional (or indigenous) knowledge – as a reservoir of accumulated experiences, but that is also done with a narrow profit-maximising perspective : non-western societies of developing countries are now under high risk that their traditional knowledge-base may be pirated and pilfered.

Overall, the history and legacy of colonialism has made a profound impact on the developing countries. Although they were introduced to global order and modernity through colonial contacts, they remain the marginal force in this order. Many of their problems – most notably, abject poverty are derived from the long history of colonial rule. Some countries where colonial rule was absent, such as Japan, have flourished on their own and are now among the leading industrial powers.

However, time cannot wait by blaming fortunes and problems that have been inherited historically. At the time of independence, the people of a country decide

to accept responsibility for its destiny : social, economic, political and overall existential matters. That is the moment when citizenship is formed – this is the price for the long-cherished dream of independence. It is also the point when democracy matters – people are no more subjects; they are citizens who bear equal worth in an independent socio-political community. Their voice, their preference, and their ideas matter in the shaping of their socio-political community: for whose well-being they are responsible. With these normative dimensions, we shall now turn to the next section – challenges of economic development, with this historical context in mind.

● **Challenges of Economic Development**

The major problem for the developing world is to achieve rapid economic development because these countries are afflicted by grinding poverty. Poverty has several manifestations : abject poverty of many people that threatens daily survival, such as lack of food, drinking water and fundamental healthcare. In most developing countries, however, such abject poverty may not be visible, but many other serious impediments threaten social mobility. Also, this relative prosperity is not guaranteed.

Two of the regions – Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia are the poorest regions in the world, where the daily survival of many people is continuously under question. Many people in these countries, particularly children, survive on one meal a day and hunger is a stark reality in these countries. They are the regular mal-performers in the global hunger index. This has a series of spillover effects: lack of mobility, underdeveloped physique and mental health – all these seriously affect the formation of human capital. As a result, the high density of the population is a liability, not an asset for these countries. Poverty leads to weak performances in education, and healthcare and also results in several policy failures. For example, population growth is a serious problem in these countries, resulting in severe pressure on already meagre resources and infrastructure; yet, it can only be arrested with reduced child mortality, better healthcare, job opportunities, spread of education and enhanced consciousness. This is the vicious cycle where all problems are multidimensional and causally related to one another, hence difficult to address methodically.

Other parts of developing countries usually do not experience that level of poverty, but many impediments seriously circumscribe the overall human well-being. Much of the prosperity is related to their performances in global markets, particularly exports. When exports suffer, they face serious financial crises, such as in Indonesia

in 1997. Recently, the drop in oil prices in the global market has seriously affected the Venezuelan economy, where acute food crises lead to nearly ungovernable and anarchical situations. In addition, thanks to the history of various sorts of dictatorial regimes, democracy is weak in many of these countries; hence there are problems in eliciting accountability from the ruling elites, particularly in cases of rampant corruption leading to huge human distress. For example, the recent fire in Amazon forest areas in Brazil is often attributed to the government's intention to hand over forest resources to private corporate bodies, disregarding warnings that it will create severe environmental crises across the globe. In addition, many of these countries, particularly those in Africa and Latin America, such as Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Venezuela, Colombia, Zimbabwe and South Africa – usually have a very high level of violence in daily life.

We, however, must bear in mind that the other crises such as violence, lack of democracy and accountability; and their various ill effects are visible in the developing countries in other regions as well. Towards a long-term strategy for development, it is now imperative to give democracy a respectful place. No wonder, the demand for democracy has become louder in developing countries, because people aspire to have better standards of life.

● **The Pressure of Popular Aspirations**

The challenges to economic development are reinforced by ever-increasing popular aspirations. People in these countries have already been mobilised against the rulers – both colonial and indigenous, with the promise of better standards of life. In addition, they are aware that such a standard of life is possible. A section of the population in almost every country is now exposed to the global scenario – through personal travel and visits; through access to media of various types; and access to Information and Communication Technology devices. This creates immense pressure on the governments of societies and polities of developing countries, to deliver concrete benefits. For example, the Arab Spring of 2011 was articulating the demands for both material betterment and human dignity.

As we have seen in the earlier part of this chapter, soon after the Second World War, many newly independent states switched over to authoritarian regimes, on the expectation that governance activities would not be affected by the costs of inter-party struggles and electoral competitions. In other words, people had significant faith in their governments. In some places, such as the South-East Asian states,

Chile in Latin America has enjoyed relatively high levels of growth and prosperity. India had adopted the path of democracy, but the level of development was far from satisfactory. In most cases, however, many of the developing countries ended up with neither democracy nor development. In many cases, they were supported by the United States. In the 1990s however, there was a fundamental shift. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, it became difficult for countries like the USA to support undemocratic, corrupt regimes across the world, because they faced hostile public opinion domestically. Governments in the developing countries too, were finding repression increasingly difficult, in the face of popular demands, conscious-ness of human rights, and environmental degradation – all these again added with the force of a huge population. As a result, they found switching over to democratic governance a much better option for survival.

To formulate sound strategies for development, the already prevailing top-down, elite-driven approaches need to be complemented with bottom-up approaches – that will democratise the process of development. Democracy has the effect of estab-lishing the relations of minimum trust. That trust is not about blind or unquestioned faith, but rather an understanding of the relations between rulers and the ruled. The latter are aware of the limitations of the former and the political leadership is not deified – hence not much expectations, except in times of crisis. In addition, corruption survives in many democratic countries. Even in developed democracies, people do not have high expectations from their rulers. Almost everywhere, political leaders are treated with disdain. Yet, despite these, people have an understanding of the limitations of their politicians. When the rulers and leaders are repeatedly questioned, contested, criticised and mocked, some sort of stability occurs in the political system. Much of the popular discontent melts down with expressions of grievances and discontent; particularly when government can be renewed or changed at every interval. In developing countries too, a functioning democracy can achieve that level of minimum trust – that will offer stability to the regime, necessary for pursuing the goals of development in the face of the volatile nature of ever-rising popular aspirations.

11.6 Conclusion

Development is a multi-dimensional concept, having social, economic, political and cultural implications. Although there are many interpretations to categorise

developing countries, there seems to be an overall consensus that the vast numbers of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America fall into the category of developing countries. This chapter sums up their common features to understand their problems.

We follow the categorisation of various international organisations such as the United Nations, and OECD to categorise certain countries as developing countries. Generally, a broad consensus merges : countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, barring a few examples, generally belong to the developing world; in other words, they are known as developing countries. Many schools of thought have emerged after the Second World War to analyse the phenomenon and strategies of development accordingly. Marxist school of thought – the followers of the socialist model have emphasised social ownership of the means of production. Modernization Theory, on the other hand, advocated for strict disciplinary courses to ensure the capitalist path of development. However, both of these schools appeared counter-productive after some time, because people had neither any voice nor were included in the scheme of development. At the same time, particularly in developing countries following the path of capitalism, the growth-only vision of development was both counter-productive and problematic, because issues of serious inequalities were neglected. The Indian experiences offered a different path from those models mentioned above, as development was sought to be achieved through the path of development. In the 1990s, as the vision of development was broadened and issues like human development were set into the agenda, democracy became indispensable for development.

Developing countries face a host of problems on the way to achieving development. In most cases, they have to bear the burden of the colonial legacy, inherited historically. Colonial rule certainly introduced them to various attributes of modernity, particularly education and modern means of communication, but that often occurred at the high cost of economic exploitation, and disruption of traditional culture, knowledge systems, lifestyles and community life. Social divisions often became virtually irreconcilable, which even today leads to various conflicts that threaten global peace at times. After independence, particularly in contemporary times, developing countries by and large, face the challenge of rapid economic development against many odds; yet home, the pressure from ever-rising aspirations by a huge population, who have experienced hardships for many generations, yet desperate to come out from such suffocating experiences and enjoy a better quality of life.

11.7 Summary

● Since World War II, development has become an important issue both among policymakers and academicians alike.

● Various schools have emerged, to formulate sound strategies of development.

● The socialist regimes, following the Marxist school pursued macro-level centralised planned economy, under the leadership of the party.

● Many developing countries pursued a capitalist mode of economy, influenced by the Modernization Theory.

● Both of them ignored democracy.

● Since the 1990s, democracy has become an agenda for development.

● Human development is an issue in contemporary development – it expands the notion of development.

● The developing countries after decolonisation, face challenges of historically inherited structural and cultural constraints

● They also face the challenge of rapid economic development.

● People's ever-rising aspirations for a better quality of life pose further pressures.

● In the long run, to make development durable, it must go together with democracy.

11.8 Glossary

● **Arab Spring :** an uprising had occurred against the local authorities in Tunisia against police high-handedness. However, this incident soon snowballed into a major revolution in Tunisia, resulting in the ouster of its long-ruling dictator and the establishment of democracy. The matter did not end there : anti-regime protests erupted in many countries in the Arab world, leading to the fall of dictatorships in Egypt and Libya; and massive restructuring of power relations in countries like Morocco and Jordan, ostensibly acceding to the demands for democracy. This is known as "Arab

Spring" – a poetic term, a metaphor – to describe mellowed weather in the desert region.

● **Cold War :** the period of high-voltage confrontation between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) or the Soviet Union; there was no actual outbreak of face-to-face conflict, but intense fear from both the sides was present and it had serious and multi-faceted repercussions on the global society.

● **Decolonisation :** after the end of the Second World War, many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America became independent from colonial rules. In other words, it meant the formal end of colonial rule in these countries. In reality, however, many of these countries remained tied up with the global economy, dominated by developed countries.

● **Global Hunger Index (GHI) :** "Hunger is usually understood to refer to the distress associated with a lack of sufficient calories…The Global Hunger Index (GHI) is a tool designed to comprehensively measure and track hunger at global, regional, and national levels… calculated each year to assess progress and setbacks in combating hunger. The GHI is designed to raise awareness and understanding of the struggle against hunger, provide a way to compare levels of hunger between countries and regions and call attention to those areas of the world where hunger levels are highest and where the need for additional efforts to eliminate hunger is greatest" (GHI Website, 2019).

● **Human development :** the process of development which addresses fundamental human needs, such as health, education, livelihood issues, life expectancy and more – they all are the indicators of human development.

● **Latin America :** countries in Central and South America, starting from Mexico in the North.

● **Top-down Approach :** where plans and programmes for development are decided at higher levels, by the elites. People and staff at the local level are supposed to obey the orders and implement decisions. This is suitable for large-scale, macro-level planning. The bottom-up approach is opposite to the top-down approach. The experiences of people at the grassroots are taken into consideration while formulating development plans and programmes.

11.9 Model Questions

- Write a brief note on decolonisation.

- Who are the developing countries?

- Explain the concept of Human Development.

- How do the historical legacies of colonialism continue to have an impact on developing countries in contemporary times?

- Explain the major issues and problems of the developing world.

- Point out the relevance of democracy in development.

- Explain the evolution of the developing world in contemporary global systems.

- Explain : (a) the DEPENDS approach; (b) the Global Hunger Index; and (c) the pressure of popular aspirations to development.

- Make a critical appraisal of colonialism in the developing world.

11.10 References

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Unit – 12 ❑ Sustainable Development : Meaning

Structure

12.1 Learning Objectives

After studying this unit learners will be able to :

- Understand sustainable development as development that meets the needs of the present

- Without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs

- Understand the principles of sustainability and principles of development

- Critique the limitations of the concept of sustainable development

12.2 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we discussed the multidimensional and complex nature of development in an academic sense. Among the issues that were discussed, the environment has figured prominently. This has led to the flourishing of another

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issue which periodically interrogates the process of development–sustainable development. Not only that, at present the threat to the environment is felt every day, as climate change and global warming are the issues that readily come to mind.

The United Nations' World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) has defined "sustainable development" as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (quoted in Shrivastava and Berger, 2010 : 247). In other words, this approach views development as an all-inclusive project, across time and space; and encompasses the entire planet. On this basis, we shall now discuss the concept of sustainable development : its scope and the way it evolved into a full-fledged academic and policy issue.

12.4 Fundamental Principles of Sustainable Development

Sustainable development today is the most politicised catchword of international developmental conferences and programmes. What does it mean? We address this question right at the beginning of the unit. You will discover that it is a multidimensional concept and its interpretation and understanding is often content and context-specific. Sustainable development has emerged out of the fears of depleting natural resources and a subsequent slowing or even closing down of much of the economic activities and production systems. It is the result of rapacious misuse of earth's precious and limited resource base by those few who had control over production systems. The concept has emerged as a broad framework to debate and decide on the desirable direction of change in social and economic systems, policies, programmes and actions at the national, community or individual levels. It developed in the 1960s when people became aware of the detrimental effects of industrialisation on the environment. You need to understand the context in which it came about to appreciate why it has become so important to all of us.

You must also recognise that sustainability offers long-term planning for productive techniques, industrial processes and equitable distribution policies for the exploitation of resources, such as, to name a few, coal, oil and water. This planning ensures their longer life span and a broader user base so that the greatest number of people may benefit from it for the longest possible time frame. The emergence of the idea of sustainability also strikes at the indispensability of

technological transformation towards energy-saving devices, and alternate and non-conventional systems for providing comfort to citizens without bringing down their quality of life. This has led to a total revolution in the way people and governments have started thinking and designing their developmental programmes and projects. A new respect has emerged for grassroots governance which fuels growth by providing land, water and forests that constitute the three basic inputs to any form of industrialisation. Thus sustainable development is also indicative of 'planning from below' in contrast to the ivory tower 'planning from the top' in which grassroots ecosystems were driven by technological systems. As a result, the grassroots ecosystems started to wither away as they were not able to manage and cleanse the high amount of effluent discharges, pollution and resource overuse. In the next unit, we introduce the various parameters that characterise sustainable development

- Principles of sustainability

The term 'Sustainability' has been defined variously, such as :

- Sustainability refers to a process or state that can be maintained indefinitely.

- Natural resources must be used in ways that do not create ecological debts by overexploiting the carrying and productive capacity of the earth.

- A minimum necessary condition for sustainability is the maintenance of the total natural capital stock at or above the current level.

The term 'Sustainability' is also used to demonstrate the temporal and the livelihood context of development policies. The temporal context refers to the chronological perspective in which communities maintain their cultural and economic integrity. The livelihood context of development policies is the preservation of existing values which are under threat from external economic forces leading to the collapse of a delicate natural resource balance. The Strategy for Sustainable Living (1991) by the International Union of Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) says that 'sustainable use means use of an organism, ecosystem, or other renewable resource at a rate within its capacity for renewal'. The economist Herman Daly has offered specifications for maintaining sustainability. He thinks that :

- Rates of use of renewable resources should not exceed regeneration rates.

● Rates of use of non-renewable resources should not exceed rates of development of renewable substitutes.

● Rates of pollution emission should not exceed the assimilative capacities of the environment.

Principles of Development

The term 'Development' means social and economic improvement in a broad sense. It is needed to create opportunities, prosperity and choices for all inhabitants of the world and it must proceed in a way that leaves choices available for future generations also. It refers to the holistic growth of the human and natural environment toward autonomy and freedom. It indicates a growth pattern, which makes nations more decisive in their internal and external environment.

12.4 Sustainable Development : Concept and Definition

The account in the previous section indicates the growth of sustainable development as an important issue in academic and policy-making circles, involving scholars, thinkers and practitioners from both natural and social sciences

Sustainable development has become a buzzword in different forums, seminars, and workshops. It is found much in environmental and economics literature these days. The concern for sustainable development is becoming increasingly louder with the rapidity of economic growth. Around the globe, throughout history, most modern human institutions have evolved in ways that are at best, oblivious, and, at worst, positively hostile to the health of the environment. Economic development, till today, is based on two fallacious premises :

(1) it considers the needs of mankind alone and ignores the interdependent ecosystem, and

(2) it treats the environment as a commodity.

Man strives ceaselessly for riches. He is enslaved and obsessed with technological advancement, and obtaining higher GNP. This obsession has despoiled the environment and is tending to ruin the carrying capacity (i.e., the capacity of the ecosystem to support life) of Mother Earth. The land is scarred and eroded; the waters of rivers, lakes and oceans are socontaminated with industrial waste, that it is nearly

unfit for either industrial use or for human consumption. The air is filled with gaseous and particulate pollutants that are toxic to life. Pesticides used to promote agricultural production and public health have severely poisoned the environment. Each agent of production and consumption regards the disposal cost of waste as zero and uses the environmental sector as long as it permits him to improve his welfare. He does not have to pay anything to anybody. The environment is still regarded as common property, with each agent acting as if he owns it. The reckless use continues, without any heed to the damage inflicted, and causes degraded environmental standards, unhealthy and detrimental to all.

"Our Common Future" marks the beginning of the sustainable development concept that has generated all the literature. New books on sustainable development have been appearing with increasing rapidity since the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (the Earth Summit), held in Brazil in 1992. Divergent economic theorists like E. F. Schumacher of Britain, environmentalists like Barry Commoner and Lester R. Brown, population analysts like Paul Ehrlich, and politicians like Willy Brandt of Germany and Jimmy Carter of the United States, all played significant roles in formulating ideas. The era of modernization has created an atmosphere of excitement for instant economic growth. All sectors of developing countries seem to be vibrating with economic buoyancy. There is expansion of trade, investment, market, and increase in Gross National product (GNP), productivity, per capita income, profit, efficiency, salary, etc, across the globe. The free trade system could more tellingly be called the free ride system, because the producers do not have to include in their product costs all the indirect costs they cause society, such as pollution of the land, sea and air, ozone holes, disappearing topsoil, exploding health costs, allergies, global warming, destruction of species, pesticides in food, antibiotic-resistant bacteria, crime, unemployment, escalating social costs, etc. Many of the most common, and most damaging products on the market, would never be manufactured if they were priced at their real costs to society as a whole. The road to success in global business today is to find a way to pass on as many of your costs as possible to the public, preferably to another country's public. The most profitable companies at this time are those that are most successful at getting someone else to pay the real costs of their doing business. The present economic process maximizes only the profits to the shareholders, while all the other stakeholders are left bearing the costs, for example, cleaning up the environment and dealing with unemployment.

The term, sustainable development, was coined by the Brundtland Commission which defines sustainable development as development that "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". Sustainable development is defined as balancing the fulfilment of human needs with the protection of the natural environment so that these needs can be met not only in the present but in the indefinite future. Sustainable development is a pattern of resource use that aims to meet human needs while preserving the environment. The field of sustainable development is conceptually divided into four general dimensions: social, economic, environmental, and institutional. The first three dimensions address key principles of sustainability, while the final dimension addresses key institutional policy and capacity issues. Sustainable Development Emerging Issues in There is, now, a worldwide movement of environmentalism parallel to the more development-enthusiastic global movement of economic growth. Every section of people around the globe now expresses some amount of concern towards the deterioration of environmental standards. The rise in economic welfare is increasingly accompanied by a considerable decline in the quality of the environment and a loss of ecological stability. Some groups of environmentalists are very pessimistic while another group of environmental scientists is very optimistic. But the fact remains that there is acid rain, global warming, the greenhouse effect, erosion and sterility of soil, degradation of land, environmental pollution, and ozone layer depletion. There is widespread desertification in one hemisphere and deforestation in another hemisphere of the globe. Deeper and wider concern for environmental degradation springs from two major sources.

1. Rise in material production effluents and use of synthetic materials

2. Increased demand for environmental goods.

The first refers to the problems of environmental externality and the second, to depletion of natural resources. In addition to the increased supply of economic goods, there is also an increased demand for environmental goods. Environmental goods signify any external environmental conditions that affect human welfare. The following elements are connected with human welfare :

● absence of all types of pollution

● availability of clean water and air

● quality of natural environment (outdoor recreation, etc)

● quantity of natural environment(forest, wildlife)

● Availability of public utility systems

● average space availability for inhabitants

12.5 What Is Sustainable Development

Sustainable development is an organizing principle that aims to meet human development goals while also enabling natural systems to provide necessary natural resources and ecosystem services to humans. The desired result is a society where living conditions and resources meet human needs without undermining the planetary integrity and stability of the natural system. Sustainable development tries to find a balance between economic development, environmental protection, and social well-being. The Brundtland Report in 1987 defined sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". The concept of sustainable development nowadays has a focus on economic development, social development and environmental protection for future generations.

Sustainable development was first institutionalized with the Rio Process initiated at the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. In 2015 the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (2015 to 2030) and explained how the goals are integrated and indivisible to achieve sustainable development at the global level. The UNGA's 17 goals address global challenges, including poverty, inequality, climate change, environmental degradation, peace, and justice.

Sustainable development is interlinked with sustainability.

UNESCO formulated a distinction between the two concepts as follows : "Sustainability is often thought of as a long-term goal (i.e. a more sustainable world), while sustainable development refers to the many processes and pathways to achieve it." The concept of sustainable development has been criticized in various ways. While some see it as paradoxical (or as an oxymoron) and regard development as inherently unsustainable, others are disappointed in the lack of progress that has been achieved so far. Part of the problem is that "development" itself is not consistently defined.

The concept of Sustainable development was envisaged to bring environmentalist ideas into the central theme of economic development policy. It sought to modify the kind of unsustainable development strategies that were being pursued. Sustainable development combines the two terms of 'sustainability' and 'development' to indicate a pattern of growth, which strengthens both the national capabilities to care for their people about their total relationship with the resources of the earth. The most widely used definition of Sustainable Development was given by the Brundtland Commission in its report Our Common Future (1987). It defined Sustainable development as 'development, which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs'. Since then, several interpretations of Sustainable Development have emerged, for example :

● Improving the quality of human life while living within the carrying capacity of supporting ecosystems.

● Economic growth that provides fairness and opportunity for all the people, not just the privileged few, without further destroying the world's finite natural resources and carrying capacity.

● Sustainable development comprises economic and social development that protects and enhances the natural environment and social equity.

Thus, sustainable development focuses upon a relationship between humans and their environment and indicates a warning that humans cannot push development, which is against nature as in the end, it is always nature, which is going to win. Sustainable development encourages the conservation and preservation of natural resources and of the environment and the management of energy, waste and transportation

Sustainable development is development based on patterns of production and consumption that can be pursued into the future without degrading the human or natural environment. It involves the equitable sharing of the benefits of economic activity across all sections of society, to enhance the well-being of humans, protect health and alleviate poverty. If sustainable development is to be successful, the attitudes of individuals as well as governments about our current lifestyles and the impact they have on the environment will need to be changed.

Objectives of sustainable development

Sustainable development has some forward-looking and broad-based objectives, which transcend class, caste, language and regional barriers. These objectives are a charter for liberating one's economy from the clutches of an exploitative mindset, which has deprived nations and defied their biomass wealth. These objectives are :

● To maintain the standards of living for the largest number of people with equity and justice. The consideration of Transboundary and cumulative impacts in decision-making has to be realised.

● To conserve and protect the earth's natural resources from misuse and wasteful consumption. This demands respect for the land and its diversity as the foundation for healthy communities.

● To innovate new technology and scientific techniques, which work in unison with laws of nature and are not opposed to it. There needs to be a consideration of sharing the risks and benefits of developmental policies undertaken by different nations.

● To respect diversity and involve local and indigenous communities inmore grassroots-oriented and relevant developmental policies. This would involve consideration of economic viability, culture and environmental values, as policies and programmes are developed.

● To decentralise governance institutions and make them more resilient, transparent and accountable to people. They should have open, inclusive and participative decision-making.

● To plan international institutions, which recognise the requirements of poor nations and support them to achieve their growth targets without destroying their natural wealth and environment.

● To seek peaceful coexistence of all nations of the world because only peace can allow them space to innovate for the larger interests of humanity. This may demand honouring of treaties fiduciary obligations and international agreements.

Sustainable development is a value-based concept, which appeals to the universal themes of mutual coexistence and respect for others. It is a continually evolving process bringing together cultural, social, economic, environmental and political

concerns. It is a desired direction of change and provides a framework to decide developmental actions by nations, communities and individuals.

12.6 Sustainable Development : Challenges and Limitations

- The arms race did not end with the Cold War. Substantial development resources are spent on armaments

- Emerging power blocks

- In the long run, environment and social justice may not conflict, but in the short run, they may cross swords

Sustainable development, we have seen has an all-encompassing nature: it includes almost everything and everybody; and present and future. Yet, Seghezzo (2009) finds the previous WCED definition of sustainable development has some limitations–eventually in the text of the European Commission, it came to be articulated as 'people, planet and profit' (later, 'prosperity'). More specifically, the WCED definition is problematic because first, it is anthropocentric : it prioritises the satisfaction of human needs and the dichotomy between society and environment. Yet, natural calamities like hurricanes, droughts, and floods reflect that they cannot be separated. Secondly, emphasis on economic growth may prejudice long-term inter-generational justice, because the economy essentially involves cost-benefit analysis which may be ultimately reduced to valuation and maximisation of profits. That would detriment the interests of the future generations. Thirdly, at the time of operations, more than time and space factors, the WCED definition defines 'sustainability indicators…only in economic, environmental, and social terms'; and finally, the WCED definition overlooks the personal aspects under the carpet of overall 'human needs' (Seghezzo, 2009 : 540-547).

Accordingly, he proposes an alternative conceptual framework: 'Place, Permanence and Persons' – it would allow discussion of the issue of development in terms of sustainability. Place refers to physical, geographical and cultural space; permanence 'is not only mere maintenance of present conditions', but also 'changes and improvements'; and 'persons' indicate the individual existence of each human being, which includes his/her philosophical, psychological and religious side. The recognition of one's self may constrain the policy-making elites from achieving 'public' utilities at the expense of minorities and citizens (Seghezzo, 2009 : 540-551).

The concern for sustainable development has been felt since the 1970s, when the actual needs and availability of natural resources came to contradict one another, given the steady growth of the human population. Many scholarly works have been published since this period and they made a significant impact on scholars, policy-makers and activists. The watershed was the publication of the Brundtland Report in 1987, whereupon the WCED made the definition of sustainable development. Since the 1990s, there has been steady progress and sustainable development has become an agenda both in academic and policy-making discourse (Shrivastava and Berger, 2010). The Earth Summit was held in 1992 in Rio De Janeiro, Brazil, also known as the Rio Summit, which attracted global attention towards the cause of the environment.

Meanwhile, various researchers pointed out the devastating effects on ecology by greenhouse gasses, particularly on climate change. The Stern Committee Report suggested that 1-2% of global production should be earmarked to counter the worst effects of climate change. Large corporations, who control the process of production and consumption, thus human impact on the environment; are the major contributors to global warming. These organisations were urged to change their vision and mission towards the cause of sustainability and environmental responsibility, particularly on the issues of energy usage and waste management (Shrivastava and Berger, 2010).

At the same time, several industrial accidents have significantly adverse effects on human lives and overall biology : oil spills, air pollution, chemical accidents and above all, nuclear accidents. These led to the formulation of several principles, which see 'sustainability as a journey, not a destination', for shaping policies, guidelines and course of action. Between the 1960s and 1980s, a catalogue of principles was formulated, encompassing issues such as biodiversity, human rights and security, poverty eradication, environmental protection, overpopulation, democratic process, awareness and the like. In addition, certain industry-specific principles were also adopted. They were 'premised on the idea that each industry has operational practices, resource consumption, waste management, safety technologies, and environmental impact patterns that are common across firms in the industry', designed to 'integrate technological, financial, environmental, and community elements in the context of industry realities.' Several issues such as water and wastewater management; waste management; energy conservation; forestry; fish, wildlife,

vegetation, wetlands; and air and visual quality were made part of the sustainability principles (Shrivastava and Berger, 2010 : 250-258).

Sukhamoy Chakravarty welcomes the discussion on sustainable development for various reasons: first, it creates awareness of the necessity of preserving the environment. Secondly, many developing countries have tendencies to treat the environment as a secondary issue, as they are too preoccupied with achieving rapid development and material prosperity. Yet, the justice aspect remains elusive because the consumption-oriented nature of the contemporary development discourse would not be able to meet the necessities of all people. The fear that natural resources will be exhausted is quite real. At the same time, it is not possible to ask every country to cut down their growth output, because (Chakravarty, 1991). With this background, we shall proceed to the next section, for a thorough understanding of the concept of sustainable development.

12.7 Conclusion

Some of the SDGs are about the rights of people, yet some also expect citizens to take responsibility positively for realising the vision of SDGs.

12.8 Glossary

● **Climate Change :** refers to the situation where the course of climate becomes erratic and unpredictable across the globe, affecting both developed and developing countries alike. The spread of rapid industrialisation, urbanisation and extraction industries; fast depletion of forest cover; and increasing levels of pollution – particularly in developing countries is attributed to climate change.

● **Global Warming :** related to climate change, it is observed that the average temperature of the earth has been increasing steadily and gradually, leading to the melting of icebergs. Often, fear is expressed that this phenomenon may lead to the submergence of many coastal cities in the Asia-Pacific region.

● **Greenhouse gases :** 'Gases that trap heat in the atmosphere are called greenhouse gases', most notably Carbon Dioxide (CO_2), Methane (CH_4),

Nitrous Oxide (N_2O) and Fluorinated gasses, that lead to the depletion of ozone layers (EPA, 2019) and contribute to global warming.

● **Air pollution :** occurs when the air is filled with aerosols and toxic gases.

● **Direct and indirect taxation :** direct taxation is the tax earned from income. Indirect taxation occurs from the proceeds of various sales and services, which people use for consumption. The volume certainly increases when people earn more money.

● **Checks and balances :** in-built institutional arrangements whereby one arm of the institution keeps an eye on the other so that none of them become too powerful and autocratic. For example, in parliamentary democracies, the legislature controls the executive; the judiciary keeps an eye both on the executive and legislature; again, the judicial officials are appointed by the legislature and executive.

12.9 Model Questions

● Explain the fundamental principles of sustainable development.

● Who developed the SDGs?

● Explain the concept of Development.

● How does sustainability promote holistic development?

● Explain the major issues surrounding achievement of SDGs.

● Point out the relevance of sustainability in development.

● Explain the objectives of sustainable development.

● Discuss the limitations and challenges of sustainable development.

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Unit - 13 ❑ Sustainable Development : Features and Significance

Structure

13.1 Learning Objectives

● We already have noted the emergence of sustainable development as a core issue in the global order, policy-making and development practices have brought the environment as the subject of central importance.

● However, after initial discussions, it gradually dawned upon everyone concerned, that an environment-only understanding of sustainable development is seriously incomplete because the environment cannot be detached from its socio-economic and cultural contexts.

● The United Nations has formulated a catalogue of priority issues which has to be attained by the year 2030. They are known as "Sustainable Development Goals" (SDGs).

● That catalogue again, helps us understand the features and significance of sustainable development. This chapter is a small effort towards that end.

The concept of development and sustainability is not new and it is as old as human civilisation. Development is a process of building a base where human tries to make their comfort. Sustainability, in simple language, is to manage the availability

of the stock. The growth of different civilisations shows how the process of development haspassed through the ages. The existence of every civilisation and its collapse depended on the way it was developed and managed its surrounding environment. The best evidence we have seen was the Indus and Harappan civilisations. By learning lessons from the collapse of old civilisations, we need to strengthen our responsibility for managing our surroundings. We have already crossed 7.6 billion in July 2018 on this limited space of the planet. Increasing numbers are directly related to increasing demand for human needs. Different studies on population –resources linkages (Malthus, 1798; Mill 1848; Hardin 1968; Odum, 1971; Meadows et. al, 1972; Club of Rome, 1972) argued about the limit to available resources in the future. It is the UN Stockholm Conference on Human and Environment (1972) that opens the door for a global common effort to the sustainability of our very planet. The year 1983 marked a new beginning by constituting 'The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED)' under the United Nations. The Commission submitted its report 'Our Common Future' in 1987 and defined "Sustainable development asa development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". After the publication of its report, several critics raised the limitations of the definition of sustainable development. Basic terms i.e. 'development' and 124 'needs' were not clearly defined in the report. Most critics think that 'development and needs' may be different between rich and poor, in developed, developing and underdeveloped worlds. The real fact is,that it opens the eyes of the world and brings all the countries together for a sustainable planet. It is after Earth Summit, 1992, more than 178 countries adopted Agenda-21 and it was followed by the Millennium Summit (2000) in New York that adopted the Millennium Development Goals to reduce extreme poverty by 2015. Again in 2002, at World Summit on Sustainable Development reaffirmed the global community's commitment to poverty eradication andthe environment, and built on Agenda 21 and MDGs by placing more emphasis on multilateral partnership. The Sustainable Development Goals were built upon MDGs, with 17 goals and 169 targets adopted by all Nations in the year 2015 to achieve by 2030.

13.2 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we discussed a rather new issue that periodically interrogates the process of development – sustainable development. Not only that,

at present the threat to the environment is felt every day, such as the depletion of natural resources; massive pollution of air, water and soil; climate change and global warming, sustainable development is a timely and relevant issue. At present, the entire world is ravaged by a health crisis of unprecedented level, which once again questions the conventional notion and paradigms of development.

The major risk factors for the environment are depletion of natural resources; heavy accumulation of toxic wastes–particularly those generated from chemical and nuclear plants; poisonous substances added to our food; and the threat of climatic changes (Keane, 1994 : 247-248). However, as we have seen in the last chapter, an "environment-only" understanding of sustainable development is problematic and deficient, because it tends to neglect the related socio-economic and political issues. Yet, if those issues are neglected, sustainable development forever, would remain on paper – it will never come to fruition. The United Nations' World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) has defined "sustainable development" as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (quoted in Shrivastava and Berger, 2010 : 247). In other words, this approach views development as an all-inclusive project, across time and space; and encompasses the entire planet. On this basis, we shall now discuss the features and significance of sustainable development: it deepens our idea of development with a broad approach. It is best articulated in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as identified by the United Nations (SDGs Booklet updated) – a catalogue of a wide range of issues that intends to make development truly humane and sustainable.

13.3 Sustainable Development : Features and Significance

The concern for sustainable development has been felt since the 1970s, when the actual needs and availability of natural resources came to contradict one another, given the steady growth of the human population. Many scholarly works have been published since this period and they made a significant impact on scholars, policy-makers and activists. The watershed was the publication of the Brundtland Report in 1987, whereupon the WCED made the definition of sustainable development. Since the 1990s, there has been steady progress and sustainable development has become an agenda both in academic and policy-making discourse (Shrivastava and Berger, 2010). The Earth Summit was held in 1992 in Rio De Janeiro, Brazil, also known as the Rio Summit, which attracted global attention towards the cause of the environment.

At the same time, several industrial accidents have significantly adverse effects on human lives and overall biology : oil spills, air pollution, chemical accidents and above all, nuclear accidents. These led to the formulation of several principles, which see 'sustainability as a journey, not a destination', for shaping policies, guidelines and course of action. Between the 1960s and 1980s, a catalogue of principles was formulated, encompassing issues such as biodiversity, human rights and security, poverty eradication, environmental protection, overpopulation, democratic process, awareness and the like. In addition, certain industry-specific principles were also adopted. They were 'premised on the idea that each industry has operational practices, resource consumption, waste management, safety technologies, and environmental impact patterns that are common across firms in the industry', designed to 'integrate technological, financial, environmental, and community elements in the context of industry realities.' Several issues such as water and wastewater management; waste management; energy conservation; forestry; fish, wildlife, vegetation, wetlands; air and visual quality were made part of the sustainability principles (Shrivastava and Berger, 2010 : 250-258). With this background, we shall proceed to the next section, where SDGs provide a useful benchmark for a thorough understanding of the issue of sustainable development. The features and significance of sustainable development should be understood in terms of those goals because they cover a broad range of issues and priorities, which enlarge the meaning of sustainable development. From the catalogue below, we shall find that some of the SDGs are about the rights of people; yet some also expect citizens to take responsibility positively for realising the vision of SDGs.

Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

In the year of 2015, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were adopted by all members of the United Nations. SDGs are built upon the previous Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), adopted in the year 2000 by 189 world leaders. SDGs have adopted a 17-point agenda, to be achieved by the year 2030 (SDGs Booklet, undated) :

- No poverty
- Zero hunger
- Good health and well-being
- Quality Education

- Gender equality

- Clean water and sanitation

- Affordable and clean energy

- Decent work and economic growth

- Industry, innovation and infrastructure

- Reduced inequalities

- Sustainable cities and communities

- Responsible consumption and production

- Climate action

- Life below water

- Life on land

- Peace, justice and strong institutions

- Partnership for the Goals

The goals stated above broadly summarise the visions and scope of sustainable development. At the same time, they also point out the features and significance of sustainable development. We shall now briefly discuss below of their implications, with a stock-taking – a reference to their current state of affairs.

- **No Poverty**

    Poverty is the major source of human misery. It seriously deprives human beings and communities of the capability to lead a life in their ways – the life they believe to be decent. In the year of 2019, around 25 per cent of the global population suffer from poverty. At present, there are more than 602,880,000 in number and some of the people suffer from abject poverty, surviving on $ 1.90 a day (World Poverty, 2020).

- **Zero Hunger**

    Hunger is a curse, hunger is dehumanisation. It is an indicator of abject poverty. Yet, for many people in the world, hunger is a reality. Many children go to bed on an empty stomach. Hunger robs human beings of their fundamental capacities, simply because the body and mind cannot

work without food. In the developing world, particularly two regions have a sizeable number of people who suffer from extreme hunger. Hunger leads to malnutrition, which again is the cause of many physical and psychological deficiencies. Maternal malnutrition may cause life-long deficiencies for the child that occurred at the time of birth.

In recent times, the rights-based approaches to development have made it imperative for the political community, particularly the state to eradicate poverty and hunger. There have been many strategies to combat hunger. In India, many states have started mid-day meal programmes, which despite limited reach and success; have salutary effects on reducing malnutrition and retaining the children at school. In the year of 2013, the Government of India passed the Right to Food Act, after serious reprimand from the Supreme Court of India. It is now integrated with the constitutional right to life.

● **Good Health and Well-Being**

For having a productive, meaningful and self-sufficient life, good health –both physical and psychological, is necessary. A healthy and secure environment, such as access to safe water resources and good quality air, nutritious food, and opportunities for games, sports, social relations and other recreation does immensely contribute towards good health. Simultaneously citizens must be made aware of various guidance on health issues both under normal and emergency circumstances: under the latter, it is necessary to provide instant health tips, such as during the COVID-19 epidemic, there had been constant propaganda to maintain social distance, cleanliness and personal hygiene; under normal circumstances, long-term planning needs to be evolved : for example, health education must be made compulsory at school levels, for creating a health-conscious population. At the same time, whereas we cannot ignore the broader social context, it is also true that the individual has great responsibility for maintaining sound health for him or herself.

In a broader social sense, well-being is related to a human being's happiness, optimism and overall satisfaction with life (Loubser and Steenekamp 2017 : 2). Well-being, however, is an overwhelmingly subjective concept, often related to individual preferences, experiences and temperaments, but good health is certainly a vital pathway to achieve well-being.

● **Quality Education**

Throughout the developing world, the necessity of quality education is felt increasingly. Education has twosome beneficial effects : it equips an individual with the technical and psychological skills necessary for life on one hand; and on the other, society gets a pool of educated workforce, which builds up its reserve of human resources. As Amartya Sen argues, China's phenomenal success in the global economy over the last four decades can be attributed to its excellent quality of school education (Sen, 2000).

The absence of quality education in India is pointed out in a recent report, that says only 16% of Grade I children can read textbooks of their grade –written in their mother tongue–the language in which they speak and communicate. It happens due to poor quality of teaching in government schools and the lack of representation from the marginalised section in the educational decision-making process (Joshi, 2020). Education without quality is virtually no education because children virtually learn nothing at schools; and such education becomes a monotonous, soul-tiring exercise and often creates an unhealthy distance between people who were successful in receiving education and those who have not. For children from poor socio-economic backgrounds, lack of quality education means a sheer waste of time, both for themselves and their family, which can rather be utilised for other 'productive' pursuits such as joining the labour market, often unskilled. Quality education, on the other hand, would help the objectives of education reach a maximum number of people and lead to significant socio-economic development.

● **Gender Equality**

Gender inequality is built into many societies, both in psychological and structural senses. Psychologically, cultural traditions and practices have taught many people that men and women are not equal in capabilities; and that women are less capable and rational than men and thus, susceptible to the call of emotions. Their roles are limited to homemaking and various domestic chores. Structurally, rules and religious codes of conduct have earmarked a subordinate position for women in many societies over centuries. Most of these ideas have, however, proven to be based on wrong and misguided premises. Gender equality is, therefore, an agenda for sustainable

development, because of its inclusive and all-round nature. In addition, various development experiences have shown that a society develops when its female members experience greater independence, empowerment and opportunities for decision-making because they undertake greater family responsibilities, particularly the next and upcoming generation. For example, women's massive participation in Self Help Groups in many states of India has resulted in their empowerment, improvement in family status and overall poverty reduction (Ghosh, 2016).

● **Clean Water and Sanitation**

Health is the fundamental key to well-being because a sick body struggling with illness and health deficiency leads to significant mental depression and loss of productive capacity. A report finds that globally, 780 million people do not have access to clean (or safe) water sources; and 2.5 billion people lack standard sanitation facilities (CDC Report, 2016). Much of the health hazards occur due to lack of access to clean water and sanitation facilities. Many diseases are essentially water-borne, and unhealthy sanitation facilities like open defecation not only spread diseases and create ugly sights, but they are also humiliating because one's fundamental privacy is violated. It follows that if water and sanitation facilities are improved, there would be much improvement in the physical and mental health of people. At the same time, people also have responsibilities in keeping their surroundings clean. In most parts of the country, it is quite a common sight that wastes, particularly plastic waste are littered all around; not only are they non-biodegradable, but they also contribute to the chocking of the drainage systems and natural course of water bodies; and that way, it threatens the aquatic creatures.

● **Affordable and Clean Energy**

Since the beginning, energy has been the motor of human civilisation. As human civilisation becomes increasingly complex, our dependence upon energy multiplies. However, the production of energy often involves substantial monetary and environmental costs. In a monetary sense, many people still do not have access to electricity and cooking gas. Lack of access to electric power substantially impedes their mobility: much of their time and energy is wasted or lies unproductive. For example, without electricity,

their nighttime work and leisure are affected. When cooking gas is not available, people have to depend upon wood, charcoal and other inflammable objects, which expose them to significant domestic pollution and health risks. At the same time, fossil fuels such as coal and petroleum are counted as the most cheap and efficient sources of energy, yet they generate significant air pollution and contribute to global warming and the quick exhaustion of natural resources.

● **Decent Work and Economic Growth**

Every human being needs to earn money, both for physical survival and livelihood as well as the psychological needs such as honour, prestige, social recognition and other aspects of self-fulfilment. Engagement with work enables one to earn money and productive use of time and energy; yet it is a fact that many people have to put up with dehumanised and humiliating work situations, such as insults, exploitation, harassment of various types and underpayment. Decent work implies an absence of these incivilities and just, healthy working conditions where people will be motivated to participate in the productive system of the country or community. At the same time, people who are fortunate to have decent work, need to honour their social commitments that are associated with their roles at the workplace.

Economic growth is necessary for a country because in addition to generating prosperity for the society, will increase job opportunities and accordingly, would strengthen the workers' position at the workplace. Economic growth and decent work are complementary to one another.

● **Industry, Innovation and Infrastructure**

Jobs, livelihood and steady economic growth in modern times can be achieved with the growth of industry. Industries generate employment and primarily, they are responsible for producing goods for society, which contribute towards raising the overall standards of life. In addition, industries are a big source of revenue for the government : through taxation, a huge amount of money is earned by the government, which again has another source of revenue from the earnings of the workers and employees of the industries – both through direct and indirect taxation.

For survival, industries must invest in research and development. That would enable them to upgrade their produce, launch new products, search new markets and various other activities for consumer satisfaction and maximising profits. In addition, as the labour and environmental protocols have become quite stringent; and customers much more aware, it is a challenge for industries to behave in socially and environmentally responsible manner, such as respecting flora and fauna; biodiversity; air and water quality; child and human rights; and many other principles of fair trade. In other words, for their survival and credibility, industries must invest in innovation, that comes from research and development.

Industries, research, development and innovation require the right infrastructure. The physical infrastructures include excellent communication facilities; availability of electricity and power; and sources of safe water. Social infrastructure includes various types of amenities, such as access to education and healthcare facilities; entertainment, recreation and socialisation facilities for people involved with industries.

● **Reduced Inequalities**

Any 'normative theory of social arrangements' demands equality of something: primary goods, utility, rights, equal treatment–necessary to have a good society and good quality of life. Again, individual liabilities/wealth; natural and social environment; physical ability or disability lead to relative advantages or disadvantages and breed inequalities, where nobody has any control (Sen, 1999 : 12-20).

Equality is the greatest impulse for a democratic way of living. Equalities have legal, social, economic and political dimensions. Yet, for all practical reasons, we cannot have all equalities together. It is therefore necessary to achieve those equalities where human beings and society have some control. Modern democracies are therefore founded on the principle that in social, political and legal sense, all individuals should be held equal. In an economic sense, equality of conditions cannot be guaranteed, but equality of opportunities must prevail.

● **Sustainable Cities and Communities**

Urbanisation is inevitable with the development of human civilisation. Yet,

cities must be inclusive: both rich and poor residents must have access to basic social amenities like a clean environment; adequate housing and safe water; decent level of education, healthcare and communication; and above all, just treatment. All citizens must have minimal comfort zones: opportunities for community formation and participation, where they would be able to interact and communicate with like-minded people and share their joys, sorrows, plans and problems which would offer them the psychological space to overcome the stress that arises from modern living.

● **Responsible Consumption and Production**

The capitalist system of economy prevails at present and no immediate possibilities of its discontinuance are visible. Capitalism is essentially based on the production and consumption of goods–that keeps the market going. Yet, it is necessary to behave responsibly : both citizens and firms need to ensure that the production and consumption process does not damage the environment; violate workers' or children's rights, and is based on the principles of equity and sustainability.

● **Climate Action**

Erratic climatic conditions are the reality of the present-day global order. Climates have become much more unpredictable in recent times. Added to this is global warming, which contributes to the melting of icebergs in the North Pole. If the current trend continues, scientists fear that many coastal cities in the Asia-Pacific area may be submerged by the rising sea levels. This requires adequate actions and measures to minimise the damage from climatic changes; and achieve maximum certainty on climate issues. Such actions need to be undertaken both at the global and local levels.

● **Life Below Water**

For quite some time, we have been conscious of air and water pollution, as well as biodiversity. However, we have now woken up to another environmental menace: pollution in rivers and sea beds, which significantly threaten aquatic creatures, many of whom are facing extinction. In addition to shipwrecks, accidents such as oil leakage and spills; dumping of plastics on rivers and seas; and indiscriminate large-scale fishing significantly threaten the life below water. Only recently we have started being sensitive

about it, but the problem has become menacingly severe. Many aquatic creatures consume those plastic and chemical wastes as food; and are also exposed to the other dangerous ill-effects of those wastes.

● **Life on Land**

This issue is quite familiar to the sustainable development reader because the discourse on sustainable development started with "life on land" – the way living beings are influenced by the visible environment: soil, water and air. With the growth of industrialisation, urbanisation, migration and indiscriminate disposal of toxic wastes, biodiversity is under severe threat as many plants, insects and animals face extinction. This may cause severe ecological imbalance.

● **Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions**

Everlasting and durable peace can be achieved only by ensuring justice, where the maximum possible reasonable claims will be accommodated : any deviation from this principle must be justified with reason. That will generate human confidence in society as a whole. Again, it is also necessary to establish strong institutions: social, political and economic. Institutions establish the proverbial "rules of the game" where everybody under equal circumstances would be subjected to the same catalogue of rules and regulations. Accordingly, rational people would recast their behaviour by the established rules. Rules and justice are designed to manage the affairs of collectivity smoothly. It follows that for establishing justice convincingly, sincere goodwill is necessary, but not enough : goodwill is very much dependent on human dispositions that vary from person to person. It would need strong institutions based on checks and balances, where everybody will be bound by conduct and rules so that personal choices do not come in the way of the proper administration of justice.

● **Partnership for the Goals**

All the efforts above are not individual-centric : it needs concerted efforts by governments, media, civil society, non-governmental organisations, and business together to meet the challenges and realise the visions of SDGs – both locally and globally. As social beings, it is necessary to understand that everything valuable in life is not detached from its social context. True,

individual rights, privacy and agency are important, but they too are respected and recognised because of their overall social acceptance and resonance. In other words, our sense of rights, privacy and agency are important because it gains social recognition. It follows that our existence is secure because of our partnership with the greater society and community. At the same time, societies also cannot afford to remain disconnected. Hence, various societies and states enter into different types of partnerships to realise the common goals of global peace and prosperity–broadly defined.

13.4 Conclusion

Sustainable development has arisen as a critique of conventional understanding of development; yet it also added a new dimension to the issue of development, by placing it in the broader socio-economic and political context. Initially, the discourse of sustainable development focused on major environmental crises of industrial civilisation: depletion of natural resources; pollution of air, water and soil; and climate change. Subsequently, such an "environment-only" understanding appeared to be problematic; hence, attention was turned to broader socio-economic and political issues, to complete the agenda of sustainable development.

The United Nations adopted "Sustainable Development Goals" (SDGs) in the year of 2015, to be attended by the year of 2030. SDGs, phrased in very catchy terms, aptly sum up the features and significance of sustainable development: "No poverty; Zero hunger; Good health and well-being; Quality education; Gender equality; Clean water and sanitation; Affordable and clean energy; Decent work and economic growth; Industry, innovation and infrastructure; Reduced inequalities; Sustainable cities and communities; Responsible consumption and production; Climate action; Life below water; Life on land; Peace, justice and strong institutions; Partnership for the Goals". The catalogue above aptly reflects the present meaning of sustainable development.

13.5 Summary

● Sustainable development as a critique of the conventional notions of development

- Yet, it has enriched the understanding of development

- Sustainable development has initially focused on environmental degradation

- Yet, the environment-centric understanding of sustainable development is incomplete

- The "Sustainable Development Goals" (SDGs), as formulated by the United Nations, provide a useful benchmark to have a comprehensive understanding of sustainable development

13.6 Glossary

- **Agency :** the capacity to define one's priorities and act upon them.

- Air pollution occurs when the air is filled with aerosols and toxic gases.

- **Bio-degradable :** living beings and materials which does decompose naturally; static and non-living beings, such as plastic, do not decompose into nature – they remain a foreign element and unless used properly, become burdens on the environment.

- **Checks and balances :** in-built institutional arrangements whereby one arm of the institution keeps an eye on the other so that none of them become too powerful and autocratic. For example, in parliamentary democracies, the legislature controls the executive; the judiciary keeps an eye both on the executive and legislature; again, the judicial officials are appointed by the legislature and executive.

- **Climate Change :** refers to the situation where the course of climate becomes erratic and unpredictable across the globe, affecting both developed and developing countries alike. The spread of rapid industrialisation, urbanisation and extraction industries; fast depletion of forest cover; and increasing levels of pollution – particularly in developing countries is attributed to climate change.

- Community : in the original sense, community refers to close contact between people, arising from their living together and having face-to-face relations. In other words, the term community arises from communication. The definition/concept is now much enlarged, as the means of communication

have enhanced significantly: human beings get connected in several ways : electronic media, social media and so on; and, on several issues: faith, religion, region, language, hobbies – the catalogue is endless.

● **Direct and indirect taxation :** direct taxation is the tax earned from income. Indirect taxation occurs from the proceeds of various sales and services, which people use for consumption. The volume certainly increases when people earn more money.

● **Global Warming :** related to climate change, it is observed that the average temperature of the earth has been increasing steadily and gradually, leading to the melting of icebergs. Often, fear is expressed that this phenomenon may lead to the submergence of many coastal cities in the Asia-Pacific region.

● **Greenhouse gases :** 'Gases that trap heat in the atmosphere are called greenhouse gases', most notably Carbon Dioxide (CO_2), Methane (CH_4), Nitrous Oxide (N_2O) and Fluorinated gasses, that lead to the depletion of ozone layers (EPA, 2019) and contribute to global warming.

13.7 Model Questions

● Initially, what were the major concerns of sustainable development?

● What was the background for formulating the SDGs?

● Explain the concept of Community.

● How does sustainable development offer a critique of the conventional notions of development?

● Explain how poverty and hunger are important issues in the discourse of sustainable development.

● Point out the political dimensions of sustainable development.

● Explain how the SDGs articulate the features and significance of sustainable development.

● Explain the necessities of (a) strong institutions; (b) checks and balances; and (c) the partnerships in achieving sustainable development.

● Evaluate the complete catalogue of SDGs. uate the complete catalogue of SDGs.

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Unit – 14 ❑ Sustainable Development : Select Case Studies

Structure

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14.1 Learning Objectives

- In the previous two chapters, we have studied various theoretical dimensions of sustainable development.

- However, so far we have not emphasised that sustainable development is an issue that touches the lives of ordinary people, it is part of their existence.

- In this chapter, we shall present five case studies: three at the national level with clear global dimensions; and two at the state level.

- There we shall find that people's creative engagement with nature and livelihood has extended the meaning of sustainable development comprehensively.

14.2 Introduction

In the previous chapters, we have first discussed the multidimensional and complex nature of development in an academic sense. Then we have also discussed

the concept and features of sustainable development in detail. In this section, we shall discuss how sustainable development is relevant to society–particularly for the majority of people who are not regularly in touch with the academic world of studies and research, but who from their lived experiences, from their reflection on life, livelihood and survival issues, have significantly enriched the concept of sustainable development.

I shall mention here five cases–all from various parts of India. The first three have global implications–they have been discussed in various international forums over many years, both in academic and policy-making circles. The next two have taken place in various places in West Bengal. All these issues will reflect another point: they have indeed started being articulated from the 1970s, but they have heavily drawn resources from local history, geography, culture and accumulated experiences, rather than the theories of sustainable development. It follows that even before the issue of sustainable development was articulated and framed in policy-making and academic circles, the spirit of sustainability was ingrained among people. In these cases, we will find that they are very much related to the daily survival and well-being of the local community, who have undertaken pains to protect their life, livelihood and environment

14.3 Cases of Global Dimensions

In this section, we shall discuss three movements in various parts of India that have captured global attention and added various meanings to the concept of sustainable development. As much as possible, we shall follow the pattern developed by a lead scholar who has documented the particular cases, for having the maximum information and a ground-level understanding of the cases – that will be our text-level reading. This, however, does not prevent us from drawing references from other works.

● **Narmada Bachao Andolan**

Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) is an environmental movement that soon acquired global significance. The movement has been succinctly documented by SmitaNarula (2008). The river of Narmada traverses through three states : Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. In the year of 1978, the Indian Government started working towards the "Narmada Valley Development Project" – an ambitious

programme to build 30 large, 135 medium and 3,000 small dams, with promises to generate hydroelectric power over the entire region; irrigate over six million hectares of land; and providing potable water to around 40 million of people. However, such an appeal for a "common good" also had severe costs on human ecology and civilisation. The project was sanctioned by the Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal which was set up in 1969 : interestingly, no social or environmental scientist was part of that tribunal.

In Gujarat, it is known as the "Sardar Sarovar Project" (SSP), whereby several people, mainly from the tribal community who have lived in the area for centuries, faced the spectre of being displaced. SSP's plan to erect a 455-foot high water reservoir threatened massive ecological damage: about 37,000 villages feared submergence in three states, which included the entire biodiversity in the area. In Gujarat, a "land for land" deal was proposed, but it worked to the advantage of people having land titles: and thus recognised as "legal landowners"; many poor households and tribal communities, on the other hand, did not have land ownership records. In addition, not adequate land was available for resettlement; there were also difficulties in getting psychologically adjusted to local communities in new areas; and amenities were substandard. Many people eventually returned to their original homes; and found some of them in submerged condition.

In 1985, the World Bank agreed to finance the project; and stepped in as soon as the Tribunal approved the project; without any consultation with the affected communities. This added an international dimension to the issue because many foreign actors got involved; the resistance attracted attention from the international community. The World Bank was expected to formulate policies in approving loans that must include ensuring the continuation of prevailing standard of living for displaced people; and also take into account the ecological costs. In practice, that did not happen.

In protest, local opponents, people from the academic, scientific and cultural worlds as well as the activists from various civil society organisations (CSOs) formed a joint forum: the Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) – set up on 8 March 1988 : the International Women's Day. Protest groups in all three states had drawn the support of people hailing from a variety of backgrounds, who were affected by the Project : students, youth groups, social activists, Indian NGOs, international NGOs and transnational networks. Prominent social activists like MedhaPatkar took the lead in organising the protests. The dam was completely opposed in Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh as well. In Gujarat, NBA contested the government's claims

of providing water to drought-prone, arid Kutch and Saurashtra region: instead, the political and economic elites of central Gujarat were likely to be the major beneficiary.

NBA adopted a two-pronged strategy for its struggle: nationally, it opposed big dams and proposed alternatives like decentralised "water harvesting" (Narula, 2008 : 352). When the project finally started, it "operated simultaneously at the grassroots, national and international levels" (Narula, 2008 : 359). They started with Gandhian methods: peaceful marches and protests; refusing to pay taxes; denying entry of government officials except teachers and doctors; knowledge gathering; contesting governmental claims (such as, instead of 7,000 families as claimed by the government on SSP, 100,000 families risked displacement); "jalsamarpan" (in English, "surrender to water") – refusing to move away when rising rivers have started inundating. In retaliation, the government unleashed severe brutality and police violence. The slogan that was raised during this period – "Vikaschahiye, vinashnehin" (Narula, 2008 : 363), sums up the spirit of sustainable development: we want development, not destruction.

At the global level, social activist MedhaPatkar, leading the movement visited the World Bank officials in Washington in 1989 and raised questions on the Bank's accountability for getting involved in a project of such scale that entails severe human costs. A Japanese NGO–Friends of the Earth conducted a field visit in the area and raised the issue in a Symposium in Tokyo, which attracted global attention. Within a few days, Japan's Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund had withdrawn from the Project; and the Japanese Parliament pressurised upon the World Bank to withdraw. The World Bank was on the horns of a dilemma: on one hand, it had committed a huge investment; on the other hand, the human and ecological costs were too obvious to ignore. Subsequently, an independent Commission was set up, which recommended the World Bank's withdrawal; as a result, the World Bank had withdrawn in 1993. The movement activists consider this as a "milestone" (Narula, 2008 : 353), but that also ended the government of India's accountability to the global community. The movement gradually lost its international appeal. After a series of judicial battles, the Supreme Court asked the government to settle the matter.

NBA thus clearly extends the case for sustainability: people from both poor and middle-class backgrounds have participated in a big way. In addition, the involvement of socially sensitive intellectuals has taken the issue to a global level.

Indeed, the World Bank's withdrawal had legally exonerated the Government of India from any accountability at the international level, but the World Bank's engagement with such a thorny issue has made them aware of global public opinion on environment and livelihood issues and thus prepared them towards a new regime of accountability. As a result, it is mandatory for every industrial project – globally or nationally, to have social and environmental clearance.

- ● **Chipko Andolan**

Alongside the NBA, Chipko Andolanis one of the greatest environmental movements in India, with massive participation by women, on the issues of environmental protection, livelihood and culture. It started in the hill regions of Uttar Pradesh, now carved out as a separate state–Uttarakhand. Though it was part of the undivided Uttar Pradesh, for the sake of our discussion, we shall describe the place as Uttarakhand. Nested on the lap of the Himalayas, It has three regions: Tehri, Pauri and Kumayun.

Prominent social scientist Ramachandra Guha has recorded the Chipco movement in detail. Various local circumstances having serious socio-economic and environmental implications can be found in the growth of the Chipco movement. There was a devastating flood in the area in 1970, which subsequently provided the empirical foundation for the movement. In the Alakananda valley, that flood wreaked havoc: land, paddy fields, bridges, roads and tourist buses – all were destroyed in huge quantities. Later, people in the affected areas, particularly the villagers understood that massive erosion of forest cover had led to the damage because the open space provided easy expanse for the river. Organisations like Dashauli Gram SwarajyaSangh (DGSS), formed in the mid-1960s to generate employment for local youths, stepped in to generate awareness among the local population.

DGSS was engaged in producing resin, turpentine, agricultural implements and selling medicinal herbs in meagre ways. In 1973, they requested the forest department "for an allotment of ash trees" to produce "agricultural implements"; the forest department did not honour the request; but instead allotted the trees to a large company. This has resulted in the organising of local youth, who, under the leadership of DGSS held "several meetings in Mandal and Gopeshwar to discuss possible action" (Guha, 2002: 427). They thought about direct action methods like burning resin and timber depots; or, blocking the movement of trucks. At this point, a village headman, Alam Singh Bist proposed embracing the trees–this act led to

coining the word "Chipco" (to hug or embrace). The forest authorities and the company tried to negotiate and offered some compromise, but the movement continued.

In Reni forest near Joshimath, PauriGarhwal, about 2000 trees were earmarked for felling, scheduled towards the end of March 1974. GSS workers contacted the village authorities – the village pramukh Govind Singh Rawat, from the Communist Party of India; meetings remembered the devastation of the 1970 flood. Village women adopted the Chipco technique and college students in Gopeshwar threatened to join them. The forest officials, instead of any honest discussion, were misleading the villagers and making way for the companies to surreptitiously fall the trees. Women in Reni village came forward, and stopped the contractors; the latter abused and threatened them, but they refused to leave. "When the women refused to budge, the men were eventually forced to retire" (Guha, 2002 : 429).

These events had also shaken the central government: instead of taking it as a tussle between villagers and contractors, it was seen from the perspective of peasant movements, where people were protecting their sources of livelihood from the state's encroachment. Also, the government started reviewing its policies to grant permissions to large paper mills whose raw materials were sourced from forests. At the same time, the Chipco movement started spreading in The Kumayun region which witnessed a massive landslide in 1977 in Tawagat – "a village situated close to the India-Nepal Border" (Guha, 2002 : 432). The movement here was led by Uttarakhand Sangharsh Vahini (USV). The government unleashed massive police repression as well as anti-social elements to quell the movement; on the other hand, 5,000 and 6,000 chir trees in two were earmarked for felling. USV demanded a complete ban on the export of raw materials from the area. Once again, the Chipco method was adopted. Their sustained pressure finally led to the cancellation of these programmes. The Tehri region also witnessed a devastating flood in 1978; where 2500 trees were earmarked for felling. Activists bandaged the wounded/cut areas of the trees. In a word, the entire Uttarakhand region was then engulfed by Chipco movements. Finally, there were two "moral contents" of the Chipco movement: one, the labourers who came to cut the trees but were abandoned by their contractors, were fed and taken care of by the local population. They were sent back to their homes in the neighbouring Himachal Pradesh after the labour commissioner arrived. Secondly, the movement did not

even allow the processing of the timber that was cut before the movement started. It was allowed only after the authorities recognised their demands that the local population must have timber rights first.

In terms of global reach, the Chipco movement was not as large in scale as the NBA, but the issues it raised are equally powerful. The movement has shown how ecological and geo-climatic issues are related to local well-being and livelihood. In the history of environment movements, both in India and the world in general, the Chipco movement occupies a space, with the message that there is no conflict between the environment and human beings, unless greed takes the place of need.

● **Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA)**

SEWA is a movement of a different type, comprised of women. It started as a labour union in 1972, initially based in Ahmedabad. It was comprised of women: "vegetable vendors, bidi (small Indian cigarette) rollers, head-loaders and paper trash collectors – people who work for meagre wages, are highly vulnerable to labour market fluctuations and are the poorest of the poor" (Sommer, 2001 : 56).

In India, 92 per cent of employment occurs in the informal sector, but they contribute to around 63 per cent of gross domestic product. In the early 1980s, street vendors in Ahmedabad faced rampant evictions and extortion, both by police and municipal authorities. SEWA organised them; and in the methods of cooperative activities, led a judicial battle. Finally, it was successful in securing vendors' rights. SEWA's founder–Ela Bhatt became a recognised international figure; as she attended several international conferences and conventions to champion the cause of street vendors. Later on, in 1996, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) "voted for a worldwide convention to accord them full rights as workers" (Sommer, 2001: 66). Many countries emulated the SEWA model subsequently.

Later on, SEWA expanded its activities to rural areas; it took a two-pronged strategy for empowering women : in addition to protecting labour union rights, the other area where SEWA worked was income generation. Later on, the government of Gujarat invited SEWA for service delivery activities. For example, a foreign-aided pipeline project failed to deliver water to affected people. SEWA stepped in, and involved local women to change the situation – the water supply had improved thenceforth. It particularly emphasised "nutrition, literacy and control of assets" (Sommer, 2001 : 58). Among the income-generating activities, women were

trained in embroidery, crafts and artwork that had ready markets, both at home and abroad. Moreover, their concerted efforts contributed to raising wages, both for agricultural and non-agricultural works; generating awareness on the cleanliness of areas, particularly slums, for preventing disease and illness. Finally, SEWA also created a bank, to address women's issues such as housing and family with financial support (Sommer, 2001).

SEWA thus presents another type of sustainability effort, where people's livelihood is secured. At the same time, it leads consciousness to other dimensions such as public health, hygiene and a clean environment. This movement has also been globally acclaimed, for its successful advocacy and organisation of people from marginalised sections. In this section, we find that despite thematic variations, people used non-confrontational means to claim their rights and reclaim their place in society. This also adds another dimension to sustainability: confrontation means defeat, a sense of loss; whereas advocacy and peaceful protests keep the window of cooperation and conversation open.

14.4 Cases of Local Significance

In this section, we shall discuss one movement and a voluntary, civil society effort – both in West Bengal : they also have enriched the concept of sustainable development substantially.

● **Saraswati Nadi Bachao Andolan**

Saraswati Narmada BachaoAndolan(SNBA) is a movement that has taken place in the Howrah and Hooghly districts of West Bengal which reflects local people's understanding that environmental protection does not quarrel with livelihood issues. The impact of this environmental movement is localised, and probably not very successful, but that does not diminish its stature – it is built upon concerted community efforts, reflecting local people's urge for the upkeep and betterment of their community.

This author has undertaken the study that is based on the time when the movement was in progress – SNBA presents a model of sustainable development because it aims to protect the natural resource base, by reviving a near-extinct river. Saraswati River has been mentioned in early Bengali literature texts, such as MangalKavya: some parts of the river were navigable even till the 1960s – people

used it for bathing purposes as well. On the May Day of 1998, the Saraswati Narmada Bachao Committee (SNBC) was formed to carry forward the movement. It adopted several strategies: mobilising people, by sharing ideas, information and references to cultural symbols; and fighting judicial battles. Throughout, they used advocacy as a method for negotiation; they also have tried to ally with like-minded organisations, such as Maurigram Paribesh Suraksha Samiti (Maurigram Environmental Protection Council) – this organisation has successfully stopped a polluting meat-processing unit in Maurigram.

People were mobilised through massive propaganda, leaflets and several public meetings. The activists referred to the history of the river – that once upon a time it was one of the greatest rivers in south Bengal and was in healthy shape till the 1990s. At the same time, they pointed out severe pollution that posed a health hazard: "Almost every type of waste – hyacinth, wastages from religious places, animal corpses, human excreta, medical wastes from adjoining nursing homes (private hospitals), and plastic products – are indiscriminately thrown into the river. The river is also used for washing cattle and innumerable service latrines exist along its banks" (Ghosh, 2011: 548). In a word, the river was definitely on the way to death; hence SNBC raised alarms. They particularly pointed out two immediate actions : (i) freeing the river banks from encroachment–it was 77 kilometres long; hence many private properties have developed by encroaching on the river space; (ii) de-siltation of the river bed, because that primarily contributed towards clogging the course and movement of the river.

The culture was also used to provide symbols for mobilisation: concerning the ancient past, people were reminded of its heritage. Religious symbols, particularly Hindu traditions were also invoked : the river had a place in Hindu mythology. One way of mobilisation was blowing the conch shells together particularly mornings, for generating awareness. Several local literary works, though on a small scale, have blossomed. History was invoked to remind people that the River was used for transportation, cultivation, fishing and several other economic activities. SNBA promised to bring them back once again. The total vision, thus promised to revive a sustainable economy.

At the same time, SNBC activists had painstakingly collected facts from archival resources and various government departments. Their point was to prove the existence of the river. When their appeal to appropriate government departments

failed to gain any substantial progress, they initiated a judicial battle. Some lawyers were associated with SNBC – they did not accept any fee but rather offered their services free of cost. In 2006, the Calcutta High Court ordered the district administration to take immediate steps, such as de-silting the river and freeing the river bank from all illegal encroachment. At this point, SNBA also engaged in intense advocacy with people explaining the importance of the issue.

However, though the movement continues on a small scale even today, its success is limited. If the present situation is any indication, there is not much possibility for progress, though dredging for de-siltation had occurred in some places; and in very few places, encroachments were removed. Even during the most optimistic days, its appeal was limited mainly to three blocks: Sankrail and Domjur in Howrah; and to an extent, Singur Block in Hooghly. There too, it did not take the shape of a "mass movement" – it was mainly limited to a few activists and the educated section of people. However, that does not belittle the vision and initiatives of the people who started the movement; and we may note that there are very few examples in human civilisation where people struggled to revive a lost river.

● **Sustainable Education: A Voluntary Effort**

At present, a visible section of people, particularly those belonging to historically deprived socio-economic backgrounds, are quite conscious about quality education for their children, the education that will equip their children to come to terms with this extremely competitive, opportunity-scarce world. Education will enable their children to take advantage of scanty opportunities; enhance social prestige; and may take their families out of poverty – in a word, contribute to overall socio-economic mobility.

In this background, following a study (Ghosh, 2015), we shall discuss an endeavour taken in the remote part of North 24 Paraganas district, where children from extremely poor backgrounds benefit from quality education. An NGO, Development Research Communication and Services Centre (DRCSC), based in Kolkata operate in many parts of West Bengal through a network of CBOs. One such CBO is Swanirvar, which works in Adharmanik village and adjacent areas in the north 24 Paraganas district. Most of the people were from overwhelmingly poor socio-economic backgrounds; from Scheduled Caste or Muslim communities: agricultural workers, marginal farmers, scrap collectors and other types of people lying at the bottom of the socio-economic pyramid.

Swanirvar offered free coaching to these children, on the condition that they would devote certain hours every week to Swanirvar activities – they involved "learning-by-doing" type activities; mainly game-type brain teasers. With these children, Swanirvar started an innovative programme : 'Ecology and Natural Resource Education' (ENRE). Accordingly, children were asked to tell the names of the birds – as many as they could. They were asked to compile the list by asking names of their family members, particularly the elderly. Some of them were found to be imaginary, but interestingly, some names were found to exist a few years back. This motivated the children to ask questions: what happened to them? The process of acquiring knowledge starts from asking questions and then, following for answers. Accordingly, some other issues came up: many birds are on the way to extinction. Hence, concerted efforts were necessary to find out the reasons and arrest the process. The major reasons were identified : rampant use of fertilisers and other insect-repelling chemicals; the changed housing patterns; and the poaching of birds. As a follow-up action, a group of volunteers were formed from these children, who had undertaken several activities to reclaim the ecological assets of the community. They created "nests" with discarded packing boxes, and stuffed straws and hung them at various points of the tree so that birds could lay eggs there. Generally, Swanirvar specialises in using materials for various goods: such as hyacinth waste is mixed with rejected paper, so that it becomes a packaging material. Or, rejected coconut oil cans are made toys for children.

At the same time, Swanirvar volunteers confronted many social evils like poaching birds, open defecation and the like. Through their constant advocacy – engaging in discussions, persuasion and arguments, they have been able to stop those practices in the area. On the other hand, they also have added value to the community by creating maps of village resources, such as sources of water, fodder and other utilities known as 'Village Miocroplanning Report'; creating school libraries – both by collecting books and tracking the defaulters; and organising various community programmes. When girl students, mostly from Muslim communities, participated in cultural programmes like puppet shows, there had been strong opposition from local religious leaders; but they continued – in the long run, it generated much confidence among the children. Swanirvar also came to the help of local schools – when they were devising an environment-teaching curriculum, Swanirvar offered a helping hand, both with subject matter and methodologies for their implementation.

Both SNBA and Swanirvar represent micro-level cases, where impacts are largely limited to a small local horizon: it certainly did not go to the national level, not even the state level; in fact, it is doubtful whether many in the respective districts are aware of them. Still, they represent the impulse of sustainability, of protecting the nature and community. It is not necessary that any such endeavour must attain global dimensions; rather this indicates that innumerable such efforts in various parts of the country are undertaken by local people with the motivation to make our earth a better place to live.

14.5 Conclusion

In the previous chapters, we have discussed various theoretical and normative dimensions of sustainable development. However, even before the issue of sustainable development became fashionable in academic and policy-making circles, people have understood its values for a long, from their lived experiences – as these are the issues related to their livelihood, survival and overall well-being.

We have discussed five cases above: the first three were large-scale community efforts, where people got into acting for sustainability. NBA reflects the critique of conventional, top-down notions of development patterns and thinking – the material and human costs it involved, soon attracted global attention. The involvement of internationally connected social scientists has helped the NBA to attain a global dimension quickly. The Chipco movement also offered a critique of the profit-centric philosophy of modern development, and SEWA presented a model of sustainable livelihood both in rural and urban settings. They too had gained global acclamation. By contrast, the SNBA and Swanirvar were much lesser known endeavours: but they also have done precious things: far away from urban metropolitan centres, they have generated awareness and active participation of local communities, in some cases, extremely poor people, on the necessities of sustainable development.

14.6 Summary

● This chapter records common people's association with sustainability.

● NBA is a long-drawn people's struggle against the proposal of a large dam, which would destroy the livelihood bases, and civilisation of many marginalised people forever.

- The Chipco movement is another long-drawn struggle that had successfully thwarted the indiscriminate felling of trees, which threatened to destroy the local ecosystem and livelihood base forever.

- SEWA is an example of marginalised people joining together for the security of livelihood. It gradually extended to other spheres strengthening the cause for women's empowerment.

- SNBA was a movement aimed at reclaiming a river that was virtually lost.

- Swanirvar presents a lively case of sustainable education among extremely poor and marginalised people living in remote villages.

14.7 Glossary

- **Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) :** refers to those organisations who work in the civil society, separate from the state and government agencies. Generally, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)and their several varieties, such as the Grassroots Organisations (GROs), and Community-based organisations (CBOs) are the CSOs.

- **Advocacy :** the process of engaging in continuous dialogue with opponents to achieve a common good through negotiation and mutual accommodation.

- **Learning by doing** is a concept in the philosophy of education which requires students to learn the subject matter by practically experiencing its application part.

14.8 Model Questions

- How livelihood is important in sustainable development?
- Discuss the role of the World Bank in the NBA.
- What was the background for the Chipco movement?
- What were the core issues of the NBA?
- What were the core issues of Chipco?
- What were the core issues of SEWA?

● Mention the major efforts for sustainable development in India.

● Evaluate the implications of NBA, Chipco and SEWA movements towards sustainability.

● Evaluate the implications of SNBA and Swanirvar towards sustainability.

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Unit – 15 ❑ Limitations of Sustainable Development

15.1 Learning Objectives

After studying this unit learners will be able to :

● Critique the concept of Sustainable Development

● Pnderstand the advantages and disadvantages of Sustainable Development

● Point out the challenges to Sustainable Development and learn ways to overcome them

15.2 Introduction

In the previous chapters, we first have started discussions on the concept of development; in the subsequent chapters, we also have discussed the various dimensions of sustainable development in detail. In this chapter, we shall attempt a critique of sustainable development. Critique, as we know, is not intended to discredit an idea; nor is it any attempt to repudiate the concept or ideal. Rather,

it is an attempt to find out the prevailing limitations and explore how the concept may be achieved in more realistic and substantial terms.

This is a two-part effort : first, we need to find out the limitations of sustainable development; second, identify the challenges that sustainable development must overcome. On that basis, we may think about improvisation, as sustainable development continues to be one of the most discussed issues in the contemporary world; the recent outbreak of COVID-19, popularly known as Corona epidemic has brought the entire world into a virtual standstill for months. It also provokes us to reflect upon the question of development, where sustainability in the long run, which already has a strong moral foundation, is likely to acquire acceptance as a practicable policy. For example, a Bengali newspaper has made a photographic report, showing significant improvement in the air quality of many cities in India, during the lockdown period, when the entire country was virtually shut down, traffic was stopped and common people went out of home for essential needs only (Anandabazar Patrika, 2020). Hence, it is quite pertinent to have a stock-taking, to identify its weak areas and attempt to address them.

15.3 Critique of Sustainable Development

We shall now examine the issues against sustainable development. We shall follow the five-point list prepared and presented by Hopper : (a) conceptual ambiguities; (b) growth-centric; (c) North-South differences; (d) legitimacy issues; and (e) inadequacy (Hopper, 2012 : 221-224). The list gives us useful guidance on the issue.

● **Conceptual Ambiguities**

There are significant differences in the meaning and scope of sustainable development. Till now, as many as "seventy-two definitions of sustainable development have been identified" – each offering their perspectives "with varying degrees of rigour" which in the long run, may render the term meaningless (Hopper, 2012 : 221-224). Each country has their interpretation of sustainable development, often loaded with heavy normative dimensions. In democratic consciousness, pluralism is certainly a valued concept: it applies to international society as well; but at the same time, any programme that depends upon collective endeavour must have certain points of agreement. Similarly, a plural understanding of sustainable development is necessary, but at the same time, it requires that differing opinions and perspectives

evolve some universally acceptable standards for being workable.

A fluid conceptualisation of such an important issue does not augur well – in fact, it is dangerous in the sense that if the concept of sustainable development is lightened, its appeal would certainly be driven to the backseat by vested interests that profit from the violation of environmental and other ethical norms of economic activities. It is necessary to bear in mind that sustainable development also involves varying degrees of sacrifice. People, who benefit from the existing order more, are likely to lose more under a vibrant regime of sustainable development. Hence, conceptual clarity, clarity in aims and objectives, as well as clearly defined objectives and their realistic application – all are of utmost necessity.

● **Growth Centric Concept**

The concept of sustainable development is also criticised for its too much preoccupation with the question of growth. It puts too much emphasis on issues like Gross National Product (GNP) – as a result, the idea of sustainability runs the risk of being diluted. We may note that the initial impulse for sustainable development came from the devastating effects of the growth-only model of development.

As a result, the concept of "green GNP" is being mooted, whereby issues like environmental decline, and resource pollution would be counted while measuring the GNP. This way, the idea of sustainable development extends the concept of 'growth with justice' – the concern which begins with the question: "What are we leaving for the next generation"? Among the resources available on earth, the environment is certainly the most precious one. Hence, for its success, sustainable development must not allow itself to fall into the trap of a growth-only model of development.

● **North-South differences**

There are significant disagreements in the perspectives of the global north and the global south on sustainable development. Citizens in the global north enjoy higher standards of life, and those countries have already developed themselves. Many countries in the global south find the terms and conditions of sustainable development as a threat to their autonomy

to pursue development – they find it unfair that the onus of global well-being is turned to them rather unilaterally. They have to deal with the poverty of many people and survival is also at stake. Again, it is the global north which damages the "global commons" to the maximum – the climate. The global north in turn insists that sustainable development is meant for the common good whereby the global south will also stand to benefit. When differences reach the level of normative concerns, it is very difficult to reconcile. This is a serious challenge before sustainable development.

● **Legitimacy Issues**

The discussion above thus brings out the issue of legitimacy, as Hopper (2012: 222) asks : "Who decides?" the global north or global south? National governments or international organisations? At the same time, the question arises of the conflict between the mandates of sustainable development and the attainment of a decent standard of material life in many countries. In addition, there have also been allegations that many companies violate the principles, despite rhetoric of sustainable development. Once again, problems of normative dimensions come to the fore – hence they look irreconcilable.

● **Inadequacy**

Finally, it is said that the idea of sustainable development is not enough: it does not address the question of the environment adequately. Economic development would certainly lead to resource depletion and pollution. Hopper quotes Lovelock who suggests a retreat from the current development process, such as stopping the use of fossil fuel; and switching over to nuclear energy which may emit less carbon. However, Lovelock is criticised for having ignored the question of nuclear waste (Hopper, 2012). In sum, it appears that sustainability may at best, slow down the process of resource depletion, but cannot stop it ultimately. In recent times, there have been discussions on green technology, but not much headway has been achieved.

15.4 Sustainable Development : Limitations and Challenges Ahead

In the last section, we have pointed out the critique of sustainable development. Following the same trend, in this section, we shall further identify the limitations

and pervasive challenges to sustainable development. They are mostly found in developing countries, but the developed countries – broadly known as the global north, are not immune from these. At times, the problems are so pressing and grinding for many people in the world, that sustainable development often appears like a distant luxury – its vision and ideals seem to conflict with their everyday realities. A survey on the concept of sustainable development must have informed us that this dichotomy is false, but unless the ground realities are met, it would be difficult to convince. The issues are quite familiar, but we must acknowledge Fernando (2003) for stitching them together.

● No Alternative to Capitalism

The greatest threat to sustainable development, as we have seen from our discussion so far, is rampant corporate greed – the mad rush for maximisation of profit drives many captains of a global industrial and financial powerhouse to ruthlessly exploit natural resources and pollute the environment. In the developing world, it happens in much more rampant and brazen manners, where environmental laws and protocols are observed more in breach than in practice. The same Multinational Corporations (MNCs) which are quite law-abiding and environmentally responsible in their home countries find no constraint to violate them in developing countries with impunity. In that pursuit, they often work in collusion with power elites – politicians, leaders and bureaucrats in various developing countries.

The question arises : why does it happen? Why people from the third world or global south must bear the brunt of corporate greed? These questions are ideologically sound, but reality has a different story. First, in these countries, not only global corporations, but indigenous companies and capitalists also pursue the same path. Other centres of power in society, such as the politicians, and bureaucracy are also entangled in this system. Media and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) play ambivalent roles : some of them oppose the system, yet some others support it. As a result, concerted protests against such practices are not that strong. Secondly and more importantly, when and where poverty and hunger are endemic; and immediate survival is at stake, people tend to ignore environmental concerns for apparently pressing benefits like food and other basic human necessities which can be bought with cash. As a result, the appeal of environmental concerns or other aspects of sustainable development becomes weak. It is rendered further weaker by groups who benefit from such a perverse system: people speaking about

environmental concerns or sustainable development are branded as elitists having no idea about life of common people; or, having vested interests in stopping the process of development.

We need to view this entire picture from a larger perspective. In fact, despite many vices that are associated with capitalism, we have no better alternative that can generate prosperity in the shortest hour. Here the argument goes that if prosperity is generated, it will trickle down and more people will have opportunities to participate in market operations to improve their material conditions. The alternatives to capitalism have failed miserably : welfare states have returned to market operations; communist countries like China in practice, pursue the path of capitalism – the difference is that it does not allow democracy, and China is also one of the major contributors to global pollution. The erstwhile socialist countries that have proclaimed social ownership of the means of production, like the Soviet Union, have even worse records towards sustainable development and ecological responsibility. For example, the nuclear accident in Chornobyl was attempted to be hushed up.

● **Urbanisation, Migration and Related Problems**

As human civilisation advances, there is a steady progress towards urbanisation: it starts with commercial activities; and then spreads into many other human amenities, such as habitat, religious needs and pilgrimage, education, entertainment and various other opportunities for socio-economic mobility. Since time immemorial, many people, who were bold and ambitious enough had moved to cities in search of better lives and opportunities. The entire process received tremendous momentum with the arrival of industrial civilisation, as the range and scope of human activities multiplied manifold. New cities have developed, and agriculture has become secondary in many countries.

Yet, the landmass remained the same. Cities developed at the expense of villages and forests. At the same time, migration to cities had enhanced manifold, because people wanted to have a better quality of life and also break away from the oppressive structures of rural society. That however, did not necessarily mean much improvement in the quality of life for all : infrastructure in cities was under tremendous pressure – as a result, basic amenities like housing, water, healthcare, and education were inadequate; and above all, the poor remained mired into poverty almost perpetually. The differences in wealth and income were present in rural life too, but the mobility generated by urban life, accompanied by the display of

prosperity in few pockets stands in sharp contrast before the huge pool of toiling masses: they could experience and feel the disparities. This, in turn, created serious social tensions and fissures. Added to this are another host of complications, such as ill-health, crime, violence and often, abject deprivation and absence of adequate opportunities. The deprived section of people had to put up with poor quality of healthcare, education, transport facilities and other amenities that improve the overall quality of life. Under these circumstances, to many people struggling hard for daily survival, the appeal and visions of sustainable development appear to be a distant luxury.

● Dwindling Social Security

The factors above lead to increased tensions in daily life and weakened social security for the majority of the people. In a broad sense, social security implies people having access to the basic minimum that enables them a life of dignity. However, we have seen that much of the world's population is still quite poor. On the other hand, with the dominance of the neoliberal economy, the income gap between the rich and poor has increased significantly. At the same time, many people's life chances are dependent on the movement of capital dictated by trends of international trade. If they are favourable, their income will be assured; otherwise, it is perennially vulnerable. Finally, many countries with poor economies spend excessively on warfare and armaments – thus a significant part of national resources incur undesirable expenditure at the expense of sustainable human development, encompassing health, education, mobility, socio-economic security and a clean environment. With such a climate of all-pervasive insecurity, the cause for sustainable development is significantly weakened. In other words, the factors above drive home the point that sustainable development does not come to terms with the realities of the poor and deprived people, particularly in developing countries.

In sum thus, limitations to sustainable development have multidimensional issues and directions. Whereas we do not have any viable alternative to the capitalist system of economy and production, the complications and pressure of modern life have immense effects on people and surroundings. For both livelihood and geographical reasons, the rural space is shrinking and people migrate to urban areas in search of better opportunities and quality of life. Yet in most cases, they do not result in much positive outcome. This also poses challenges before the

ideal of sustainable development: we have no options to go back to the idyllic life of the ore-industrial period; rather, sustainable development must adjust to the needs of contemporary times and many people, particularly those lying at the bottom of the social pyramid.

15.5 Advantages of Sustainable Development

Organisations often face barriers when implementing sustainability into their strategy and projects. Doppelt (2003) has identified seven types of limitations that organisations often fail to overcome and he calls them blunders. He suggests solutions to them and points out that by becoming aware of these blunders reduces the risk of them taking place. The blunders are the following :

- Patriarchal thinking

- The silo approach to environmental and socio-economic issues

- No clear vision of sustainability

- Confusion over cause and effect

- Lack of information

- Insufficient mechanisms for learning

- Failure to institutionalize sustainability

Sustainable development is a concept that has gained widespread popularity over the past few decades. It is defined as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." Sustainable development is centeredaround preserving natural resources and maintaining the ecological balance for the benefit of all. In this blog, we will explore the advantages and disadvantages of sustainable development.

Advantages of Sustainable Development

- **Environmental Protection**

    One of the most significant advantages of sustainable development is that it helps protect the environment. The implementation of sustainable development practices, such as the utilization of renewable energy sources and waste reduction, aids in the reduction of pollution and greenhouse gas

emissions. This improves the quality of life for people and preserves the environment for future generations.

● **Economic Benefits**

Sustainable development also provides economic benefits. For instance, investments in renewable energy, green infrastructure, and sustainable technologies can create jobs and stimulate economic growth. Furthermore, sustainable practices can help businesses reduce operating costs, improve efficiency, and increase profits.

● **Social Equity**

Sustainable development promotes social equity by ensuring everyone can access basic needs such as food, water, and healthcare. This ensures no one is left behind in pursuing economic and environmental sustainability.

● **Long-term Benefits**

Sustainable development practices are designed to ensure that the benefits are long-lasting. For instance, using renewable energy sources such as solar, wind, and hydropower ensures that energy will be available for future generations.

15.6 Disadvantages of Sustainable Development

● **High costs**

One of the major disadvantages of sustainable development is that it can be expensive. The initial investment required to implement sustainable practices such as green infrastructure and renewable energy can be high. This can deter some businesses and individuals from adopting sustainable practices.

● **Limited availability of resources**

Another disadvantage of sustainable development is that some resources required for sustainable practices may be limited. For instance, the availability of some renewable energy sources, such as wind and solar power, may be limited in certain areas.

● **Cultural and social barriers**

Sustainable development may face cultural and social barriers, especially in communities with deeply ingrained traditional practices. This can make it difficult for sustainable practices to be adopted and implemented.

● **Slow progress**

Sustainable development is a long-term process that requires significant time and resources. This means that progress can be slow and incremental, which can be frustrating for those who want to see immediate results.

● **Creating a Sustainable Community**

Creating a sustainable community is an essential step towards sustainable development. A sustainable community meets the needs of its residents while preserving the environment and promoting social responsibility. Here are some strategies for creating a sustainable community:

● **Reduce Energy Use**

Reducing energy use is one of the most important steps towards creating a sustainable community. This can be done by promoting energy-efficient buildings, encouraging the use of public transportation, and promoting the use of renewable energy sources.

● **Preserve Natural Resources**

Sustainable communities also prioritize the preservation of natural resources. We can achieve this by promoting sustainable agriculture, reducing waste, and protecting biodiversity.

● **Encourage Social Responsibility**

Sustainable communities also promote social responsibility. This can be done by promoting access to education and healthcare, reducing poverty, and promoting social equality.

● **Foster Community Engagement**

Finally, sustainable communities foster community engagement. Promoting public participation in decision-making processes, promoting local businesses,

and encouraging community-building activities are great ways to achieve these goals.

● **Final Thoughts**

Sustainable development is an important concept that can help create a more just, equitable, and sustainable world. While sustainable development has both advantages and disadvantages, the benefits of creating sustainable communities far outweigh the costs. By promoting environmental protection, economic benefits, social responsibility, and long-term thinking, we can create a more sustainable future for all.

15.7 Conclusion

In the previous chapters, we have seen the vision and promises of sustainable development and the way it has become a major pillar in the discourse of development. Yet, we must bear in mind that sustainable development is not a smooth road ahead and its present shortcomings undoubtedly invite criticisms. The concept has to face significant challenges towards its realisation. However, these challenges are also pointers towards its more realistic applications. At present, the idea of sustainable development suffers from a few shortcomings: the concept is not well-defined, rather various definitions tend to blur the concept. It has not yet been able to come out of the shadow of a growth-only understanding of development. At times, the idea suffers from serious normative legitimacy, which is further compounded by the division of North-South interpretations of sustainable development.

The practical application of the idea of sustainable development is bootstrapped by the fact that despite capitalism contributing to major damage to the environment and sustainability in a variety of ways, no viable alternative to capitalism is present. At the same time, migration, urbanisation, shrinkage of villages, growth of cities, and dwindling social security – the major attributes of industrial civilisation and modernity put serious strains on the lives of many people around the world. As a result, sustainable development appears to conflict with the survival of many people; hence wrongly misconceived as being elitist and detached from the lives of the majority of the population. Herein is the challenge: sustainable development must break this false dichotomy to send the message that it is neither elitist nor

any distant luxury for most people, rather very much linked with their survival and well-being.

15.8 Summary

- The idea of sustainable development has many criticisms

- It has multiple normatively-loaded interpretations.

- In addition, follows the growth-only idea of development

- Serious North-South disagreements, with high normative overtones

- Capitalism harms, but no viable alternative

- Challenges of migration, urbanisation and complexities of modern life

- Need to overcome the idea that sustainable development is a distant luxury

- People must be convinced that sustainable development is related to their life and livelihood

15.9 Glossary

- **Green technology :** using sustainable production process, both in terms of process, technology and raw materials.

- **Pluralism :** a respected term in political philosophy, which means accommodating diverse views and lifestyles in social narratives as well as policy-making.

- **The Global North :** refers to those countries that belong to the Northern hemisphere of the globe: countries in Western Europe and Northern America. In those countries, there had been early industrialisation and the spread of modernity, such as modern capitalist enterprises; and modern systems of knowledge – these factors have helped the global north to establish both material and cultural domination over the entire world.

- **The Global South :** the countries in the Southern Hemisphere of the globe, spread across the continents of Asia, Africa, Central and South America – also known as Latin America. Some countries in these regions, such as

Japan, Australia, and New Zealand and virtual city-states like Singapore are the exceptions. Some oil-rich countries in the Middle East and North Africa indeed have higher levels of income, but that prosperity does not accrue from high levels of industrialisation or vibrant human capital.

15.10 Model Questions

- Mark a critique of Sustainable Development as given by Hopper.

- What are some of the challenges for achievement of SDGs.

- How can we overcome the limitations to Sustainable Development?

- Why is it advantageous to implement Sustainable Development rather than not?

- Mention some of the disadvantages of Sustainable Development?

- Do you think that true development is possible without sustainability? Justity your answer.

- Comment on the North South divide in the context of development.

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