

Social Development through Social Work

Ashok Antony D'Souza



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**A Subject Book on "Social Policy, Planning and Development"
for BSW and MSW Courses**

Ashok Antony D'Souza, Ph.D.

**Associate Professor,
Dept. of Studies in Social Work,
Rani Channamma University, Karnataka**



On the 26th of January 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions.

In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality.

In politics we will be recognizing the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man one value.

How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions?

How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life?

If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril.

We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has so laboriously built up.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

Writings and Speeches

Preface

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru in his midnight address to the Constituent Assembly on 14-15 August 1947 had observed, "The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity. The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us, but as long as there are tears and suffering, so long our work will not be over". Thus, India, being a socialist state, was expected to work towards bringing about a socio-economic transformation based on the ideals enshrined in the Constitution.

Social policies, legislation, and planning are meant to be the means through which the state would achieve 'social development' - the development aimed at ending "poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity". Having made efforts to achieve this goal for the past seven decades, Independent India has many more miles to go before it can claim to have achieved its objectives stated in the form of Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy. It is in such a context that Professional Social Workers are expected to join hands with the agencies of the state and civil society to ensure that real social development is achieved so the dignity and sanctity of the term 'democracy' is not degraded further. In order to do justice to the role of a change agent, Social Workers are expected to be very familiar with the significance of social development as well as the ways and means of achieving its goals. Hence, course/paper on 'Social Policy, Planning and Social Development' forms a 'very important component in the undergraduate (BSW) and postgraduate (MSW) curriculum. This book has been written to help the teachers and learners of this course/paper gain a clear and comprehensive understanding of various topics related to the subject. Hope this effort of mine fulfills the academic need of the learners.

Ashok Antony D'Souza, Ph.D.

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Chapter-1

Social Development

Conceptual Framework

All modern nation states - as they profess to be democratic and are elected on the basis of the promises made to all their constituencies – have to carry out social welfare and developmental functions. This they are expected to do by regulating the social and economic relations so as to ensure the wellbeing of all its citizens. Social Workers, while meeting people's individual, group, community and societal needs independently, partner with their governments in ensuring that right kind of social policies are framed and implemented effectively through proper planning so that people are not just relieved of their penury but are also enabled to lead an empowered and dignified life. Hence, through the methods such as Community Organization, Social Work Administration, Social Action and Social Work Research, professional Social Workers have ample opportunity to realize their social work goals by influencing social policies and planning from micro to macro levels.

Social Development through framing appropriate social policies and planning is expected of the governments as modern nation states have an unsaid social contract with their citizens which they must fulfill if they have to remain relevant and in power. This is because, feelings of nationalism and patriotism are not mere emotions; they influence state policy and relations with other states. State autonomy and its capacity to be influenced from social forces has also been a defining factor. In this regard, the state has been seen in relation to other institutions within society and has also been viewed as being above all

societal linkages. State-society linkages have thus provided an interesting insight into the exploration of associational behaviour. With state membership and citizenship, there are associated values of equality, liberty, justice and freedom. Regime types also determine the nature of the state: the democratic state seeks to ensure equality, justice and similar liberal ideals to all its citizens.

Given the fact that the Indian state has a developmental promise to fulfill in a diverse multicultural society, negotiations with dominant classes were necessary in order to ensure continuing legitimacy accorded to the state. However, these negotiations served to protect only the elite and vast tracts of deprivation and neglect soon became obvious.

India has been experiencing a consistently high growth rate during the post-liberalisation period following the implementation of economic reforms in the early 1990s. It has achieved excellence in several key areas ranging from information technology and pharmaceuticals to automotive parts, and is now considered as one of the fastest growing economies of the world. Despite these positive developments, India is still among the countries with some of the lowest indicators of human development. Its levels of malnutrition, illiteracy and poverty are unacceptably high. The rise in income inequalities and regional disparities is also a matter of concern. Employment has grown, but the jobs created are not of high quality. Although there has been an expansion in several social services like health, nutrition and education, the quality of most of these services remains poor in most of the rural areas. And above all, an overwhelming majority of the population is deprived of basic social protection. Policy-makers are thus faced with a paradox—the persistence of deprivations and increasing insecurities among a large section of the population amidst growing affluence and prosperity for some. The Eleventh and

Twelfth Five-Year Plans have also reflected upon these concerns and have highlighted the need for balanced and 'inclusive growth'.

Prof. Nayyar (Institute for Human Development, 2010) opines that economic growth cannot be completely disengaged from social development, since such a growth would neither be possible nor sustainable in the long run. Hence, let us, first try to understand the theoretical contours of 'development' in general and 'social development' in particular.

The Development Debate

We frequently come across the words 'growth' and 'development' while talking about society. Growth is a quantitative concept whereas development incorporates qualitative aspects. Some perceive development in terms of better roads, electricity, markets, buildings, vehicles etc. while some others understand it in terms of removal of poverty, unemployment, insecurity, illiteracy, ill health and so on. What constitutes development can be a matter of debate, and opinions may vary. Lately, there has been a realization that development does not just comprise of economic growth or physical infrastructure development, but it should also show in terms of improvements in people's lives. So development has now come to be evaluated in terms of human wellbeing or human development. We all know the age-old proverb 'health is wealth'. A person who is not healthy cannot have happiness and meaning in life even if he/she is rich. Similarly, nations cannot be said to be healthy and happy only because they are wealthy. It has to be visible in spheres other than economic prosperity.

After winning independence from colonial powers in the 1950s and 1960s, many of the countries (called Third World) chose the growth oriented approach of development through industrial and agricultural expansion, aided by technology

transfer and financial assistance from the industrialized countries as well as international financial institutions. The growth-led developmental experience of industrialized countries served as the models of their future. The decade of 1960s was characterized by the predominance of “growth models” of development. Such models proposed that increasing the growth of these economies through investments would lead to higher growth, the benefits would ‘trickle down’ to the masses and there would be economic development.

Many of these economies achieved growth. The per capita income of a number of countries had grown over this period and health and education levels had improved; yet in a number of countries which had experienced a rise in their GNP, the standard of living did not improve for a vast majority of the population. In fact, many millions joined the already hundreds of millions of people in absolute poverty (Webster, 1997).

In many countries, sharp inequalities appeared with the rich minority growing richer and the poor majority becoming poorer. In other words, the “trickle down” had not occurred. This necessitated a reexamination of the concept of development. In this context, Seers (1969) asked three important questions regarding development: “What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? If all three of these have declined from high levels, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned.

If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result ‘development’ even if per capita income doubled.”

Critics of growth-oriented approach argued that such a situation arose because sufficient attention was not paid to real human welfare. It was argued that a complete change of approach for third world development was needed. Economists like Streeten and Seers advocated for a programme that had its

essential ingredient a redistribution of income and resources downwards. This led to the strategy of “redistribution with growth”, and later the “basic needs strategy” of development. The basic needs strategy was concerned with two things: i) providing all human beings, particularly the poor and deprived in the third world countries, with material needs like food, clothing, shelter and fuel; and ii) alleviating absolute poverty as quickly as possible. It had elements of social justice.

Gradually, it was realized that development must focus beyond meeting the basic needs of people in poor countries. It should encompass all the opportunities needed to live a fuller human life. Also, human beings should not be seen as recipients of development benefits, but as the goals of development. And while discussing human well being, it is the poorest and the weakest sections that must be especially taken into consideration. With this, the preoccupation with growth is replaced by a holistic idea of human welfare or wellbeing as the central concern of development. Growth is meaningful if it enhances human well being. This approach is known as the human development approach.

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

a) Development as Industrialization and Technological Advancement

The term development has been used to make a distinction between the prosperous industrial societies versus the rest of the societies and also to describe the process of industrialization and modernization. This usage has several distinctive features and does not take into consideration the general theories like the theory of social evolution. It takes into account only a specific kind of changes, which occur either at the present time or took place in the recent past.

Three terms are commonly used to indicate the stage of development: traditional societies, transitional societies, and modern societies. Growth of knowledge and control over nature, which in other words, means development of human powers of production, is treated as the most significant element in the transformation of a society. Technological determinism and industrialization are the important features of this type of development.

Industrialization, urbanization and development are related processes. Increasing urbanization and rising number of factories and movement of goods and labour from rural areas to urban areas are the inevitable consequences of these processes. Industrialization, in fact, is a phase of economic development in which capital and labour resources shift both relatively and absolutely from agricultural activities to industry. Industrial production can be contrasted with craft production in terms of its scale; employment of a large number of workers; use of machinery; and the resulting geographical concentrations and production for a large market. Thus, the key elements of an industrial society seem to be the type of technology employed in production, the scale of organization of labour in relation to that technology, and the extent of specialization leading to various types of changes in society. With the introduction of

new technologies, less labour is required for agricultural production and more for industry. The industries being more concentrated in the urban areas the surplus of rural agricultural labour migrates to the urban areas. The migrated population has to find new ways of earning a livelihood with new rules. These changes, besides technological changes, include changes in the way people come to see themselves and others and changes in the ideological framework. In the process, a contradiction is said to exist between the forces of production, such as technology, technical knowledge, and crafts, and their relationships with production like legal arrangements, social organizations, forms of contracts, forms of distribution, etc.

Modernization theory, building on the ideas of Durkheim and Weber, emphasizes that industrialization involves changes in people's attitudes and expectations as well as in the structure of their relationships. Planned changes in economic, social, political and other spheres have been more recently defined as development.

b) Development as Socio-Cultural Development

Since the 1960s there is an increasing emphasis by sociologists to look at development from a 'holistic' point of view. This means, defining development not only in terms of industrialization or economic dimensions but also in terms of socio-cultural dimensions. Until recently, the popular notion was that economic growth was a sufficient and necessary condition to stimulate development in all other sections of society. This has been proved incorrect.

Economic advancement of one group of people has not and does not trickle down to all other groups in a society. Also the achievement of high levels of economic advancement by some countries has not helped to solve some of their serious social problems. It is therefore, increasingly being emphasised that the

ultimate aim of development is the improvement of the quality of life of every human being in society. Development is multidimensional. It takes into consideration matters like equity, social participation, environmental sustainability, decentralization, self-reliance, basic human needs satisfaction etc.

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

Today Sociology of Development attempts to understand development and experiences of masses in a particular society in respect of their struggle to survive and change. One of the important aspects of Sociology and Development is to understand how transition occurs in society from one stage to another.

In the contemporary world, ecological perspectives and social aspects are of equal concern alongside economic issues, in the concept of Development.

In 1987, the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), gave this definition: "Economic and

social development that meets the needs of the current generation without undermining the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”.

There are many other understandings of “Sustainable Development”. Among them, the following are noteworthy:

- Sustainable development refers to maintaining a delicate balance between the human need to improve lifestyles and feeling of well-being on one hand, and preserving natural resources and ecosystems, on which we and future generations depend.
- Sustainable development is that development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.
- Sustainable development refers to economic growth together with the protection of environmental quality, each reinforcing the other, i.e. development of a stable relationship between human activities and the natural world, which does not diminish the prospects for future generations to enjoy a quality of life at least as good as our own.
- If the development has to be sustainable people must share with each other and care for the Earth. Humanity must take no more from nature than nature can replenish. This in turn means adopting lifestyles and development paths that respect and work within nature’s limits.
- Sustainable development meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Sustainable development respects the limited capacity of an ecosystem to absorb the impact of human activities.
- Sustainable development refers to achieving economic and social development in ways that do not exhaust a country’s natural resources.

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Chapter-4

Constitutional and Human Rights'

Basis of Social Development

The basic source of social policy is the Constitution of any country and varied kinds of social enactments made there under because the Constitution acts like a fountainhead wherefrom flow all the directions in the light of which specific laws promoting proper human and social development are enacted. Similarly, human rights form the basis of any social policy today as most of the countries are members of United Nations Organization which spearheads human rights movement and would have ratified most of its conventions. Hence, in this chapter let us try to understand how the ideals of Indian Constitution and that of Human Rights form a basis for the formulation of social policy and enactment of social legislation.

The Constitution of India has solemnly promised to all its citizens justices-social, economic and political; liberty of thought expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among the all fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation. The Constitution has attempted to attune the apparently conflicting claims of socio-economic justice and of individual liberty and fundamental rights by putting some relevant provisions.

A careful study of Indian Constitution shows that it is based upon eight basic principles. They could be listed as:

- i) Popular Sovereignty
- ii) Socialism
- iii) Secularism
- iv) Fundamental Rights

- v) Directive Principles of State Policy
- vi) Judicial Independence
- vii) Federalism
- viii) Cabinet Government

The Preamble

The Preamble of India reads as follows:

“We, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA,
having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a
SOVEREIGN, SOCIALIST, SECULAR, DEMOCRATIC
REPUBLIC, and to secure to all its citizens:
JUSTICE, social, economic and political;
LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;
EQUALITY of status and opportunity; and to promote
among them all

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and
the unity and integrity of the nation;

IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this twenty-sixth
day of November 1949 do HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT, AND
GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.”

India is a Sovereign Socialist Secular Democratic Republic with a parliamentary system of government. The Republic is governed in terms of the Constitution, which was adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 26 November 1949 and came into force on 26 January 1950. The Constitution of India contains provisions not only for the smooth democratic functioning of the governments of the Union and the states but also for ensuring equality and liberty to the citizens. There are provisions which provide channels for all-round development of the people. In this sense, the Constitution is the prime mover of social change. Some of these constitutional provisions have been discussed here to illustrate the point.

Fundamental Rights

The Constitution of India has provided some basic rights to all citizens. These are known as Fundamental Rights. These are fundamental because these are essential for civilized human existence. In the context of our Constitution these are called fundamental because these are protected by the written Constitution and cannot be altered without amending the Constitution.

There are six categories of Fundamental Rights. Articles 12 to 35 contained in Part III of the Constitution deal with these rights. These are:

- (i) **Right to Equality:** According to this provision, the State shall not deny to any person equality before law. It also prohibits the State from discriminating against any individual on the grounds of religion, race, caste, gender or place of birth. It further provides equality of opportunity in matters of public employment. Abolition of untouchability in any form has been specified by Article 17.
- (ii) **Right to Freedom:** This right consists of Freedom of (a) speech and expression; (b) peaceful assembly without arms; (c) forming associations and Unions; (d) free-movement throughout the territory of India; (e) residence and settlement in any part of the country; and (f) practice of any profession, occupation, trade or business.
- (iii) **Right against Exploitation:** It prohibits all forms of forced labour, child labour and traffic in human beings.
- (iv) **Right to Freedom of Religion:** Every person has the right to profess, practice and propagate any religion. No person is compelled to pay taxes for the management of any particular religion. According to it, no person is allowed to impart religious instructions in state-owned educational institutions.

- (v) Cultural and Educational Rights: Every section of citizen has the right to conserve its distinct culture, language and script. Further, all minorities whether based on religion or language have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.
- (vi) Right to Constitutional Remedies: Under this, every person has the right to seek justice for the enforcement of Fundamental Rights.

Article 19 enshrines the fundamental rights of the citizens of this country. The seven sub-clauses of Article 19(1) guarantee the citizens seven different kinds of freedom and recognize them as their fundamental rights. Article 19 considered as a whole furnishes a very satisfactory and rational basis for adjusting the claims of individual rights of freedom and the claims of public good.

Articles 23 and 24 provide for fundamental rights against exploitation. Article 24, in particular, prohibits an employer from employing a child below the age of 14 years in any factory or mine or in any other hazardous employment. Article 31 makes a specific provision in regard to the fundamental right to property and deals with the vexed problem of compulsory acquisition of property.

Article 38 requires that the state should make an effort to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice social, economic and political shall inform all the institutions of national life. Article 39 clause (a) says that the State shall secure that the operation of the legal system promotes justice, on a basis of equal opportunity, and shall, in particular provide free legal aid, by suitable legislation or schemes, or in any other way, to ensure that opportunities for securing justice are not denied to any citizen by reason of economic or other disabilities.

Article 41 recognizes every citizen's right to work, to education & to public assistance in cases of unemployment,

old age, sickness & disablement and in other cases of undeserved want. Article 42 stresses the importance of securing just and humane conditions of work & for maternity relief. Article 43 holds before the working population the ideal of the living wage and Article 46 emphasizes the importance of the promotion of educational and economic interests of schedule castes, schedule tribes and other weaker sections.

The social problem presented by the existence of a very large number of citizens who are treated as untouchables has received the special attention of the Constitution as Article 15 (1) prohibits discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth. The state would be entitled to make special provisions for women and children, and for advancement of any social and educationally backward classes of citizens, or for the SC/STs. A similar exception is provided to the principle of equality of opportunity prescribed by Article 16 (1) in as much as Article 16(4) allows the state to make provision for the resolution of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the state, is not adequately represented in the services under the state. Article 17 proclaims that untouchability has been abolished & forbids its practice in any form & it provides that the enforcement of untouchability shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law. This is the code of provisions dealing with the problem of achieving the ideal of socio-economic justice in this country which has been prescribed by the Constitution of India.

Directive Principles of State Policy

Social policy in India has been specifically enunciated in Part IV of the Constitution entitled as Directive Principles of State Policy. There are specific Articles like 38 and 46 which provide for promotion of people's welfare within the overall framework of social justice.

Like the Fundamental Rights, the ideals behind the Directive

Principles of State Policy were rooted in our freedom struggle. Leaders of the freedom struggle strived not only for political freedom but also for social and economic upliftment of the toiling millions. These Principles were inserted in the Constitution to provide guidelines for the determination of policies and actions to be undertaken by the State after Independence. Articles 36 to 51 of Part IV of our Constitution deal with these Principles.

The significant aspect of the Directive Principles is that “the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice—social, economic and political—shall inform all the institutions of the national life.” Keeping this objective in view the State shall secure (a) adequate means of livelihood for all citizens; (b) control and distribution of wealth so as to subserve the common good; (c) equal pay for equal work; (d) health and strength for all from economic avocations, and (e) protection from child labour.

The state is expected to take steps and secure other social, economic and political programmes. Some other programmes include (a) organization of village panchayats, (b) right to work and to education, (c) uniform civil code for the citizens, (d) provision for free and compulsory education, (e) promotion of educational and economic interests of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections, and (f) separation of the judiciary from the executive.

It is, however, important to note that there is one basic difference between the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles of the State policy. While the violation of the former can be challenged in the court of law, the latter is not enforceable by any court. In other words, if a citizen's fundamental rights are curtailed she/he can seek justice from the court. But if the State does not undertake any programme provided for in the

Directive Principles, she/he cannot move the court for its enforcement. It does not, however, mean that these Directive Principles have no value. The Constitution clearly states that Directive Principles “are, nevertheless, fundamental in the governance of the country and it shall be the duty of the State to apply these principles in making laws.”

The Directive Principles of our constitution visualizes an economic and social order based on equality of opportunity, social justice, and the right to work, right to an adequate wage and a measure of social security for all citizens. These directive principles provide a guideline of state policy. Planning in India has to follow these guidelines and to initiate action, which, will, in due course create, desired social and economic pattern.

The directive principles are an expression of the will of people for economic growth and consequently the government adopted planning as a means for fostering economic and social development. Four long-term objectives were set out by the planners in India. They were:

- To increase production to the maximum possible extent so as to achieve higher level of national and per capita income;
- To achieve full employment;
- To reduce inequalities of income and wealth
- To set up a socialist society based on equality and justice and absence of exploitation.

Planning in India has thus been conceived as a comprehensive process of developing material and human resources in terms of defined social ends. The social structure envisaged was a socialistic pattern of society. The political framework being a federal government, the state governments and elected legislatures have their assigned spheres of action. The citizens are expected to participate in the process of planning on the widest possible scale.

Affirmative Action

The concept of the 'disadvantaged and the need for affirmative action' emerged in the 1960s as a result of efforts by the Civil Rights Movement in the USA to get America to honour its original contract, that 'all [people] are created equal.' In addition, the Pledge of Allegiance promised 'liberty and justice for all.' This idealism was a promise of equal opportunity for all individuals regardless of colour, national origin, race, religion and sex, which up to that point in history had not been honoured. For this inalienable right, the founders and the followers of the civil rights movement marched and died, finally obtaining the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The Johnson Administration embraced affirmative action in 1965 by issuing the United States Executive Order 11246, later amended by the Executive Order 11375. The order, as amended, aimed 'to correct the effects of past and present discrimination'. It prohibited federal contractors and sub-contractors from discriminating against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, skin colour, religion, gender, or national origin.

In order to correct such inequities, especially in the areas of housing, education and employment, steps were taken to ensure that those groups that, historically, had been excluded or given limited access to societal rewards, were now given an opportunity to catch up. Thus, it referred to social policies encouraging favourable treatment of socially disadvantaged groups, especially in employment, education, and housing, without regard to race, colour, religion, sex, or national origin. To reverse the historical trends of discrimination and to create equality of opportunity for qualified persons was the motive behind the concept.

Affirmative action becomes essential in righting societal inequities. It is based on the "principle of redress"; that undeserved inequalities call for rectification. Since inequalities

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Chapter 7

Social Work for Social Development

In this concluding chapter of the book, let us try to understand the reasons for the failure of social policies and planning in India in achieving Social Development and see how social workers could partner with the government in ensuring that Social Development for all its citizens is achieved at the earliest.

An Appraisal of the Performance of Social Policy in India

India is placed 134th place on the Human Development Index. Social and economic researchers have pointed out that despite high growth in India's per capita income, the progress in human development had not been satisfactory. There are increasing disparities among various segments of the population and employment had risen mostly in the informal sector, which was typically associated with a complete lack of social protection and low levels of earnings. There also a need for balanced and inclusive growth in the nation. Hence, there is an urgent the need for development to be reflected on the ground in terms of a significant reduction in poverty, malnutrition and deprivation.

Prof. Basu (Institute for Human Development, 2010) is of the opinion that market processes could not take care of the issue of human development, which necessitates policy planning and building of effective institutions. While asserting that human development and poverty were closely related, he claims that in order to raise the human development index (HDI), we need to concentrate on the bottom 20 per cent of the population.

Chandrashekar and Jayati Ghosh (2002) argue that the macroeconomic tendencies within the globalized regimes have

been associated with greater inequality and fragility of incomes, which has in turn certain important social implications.

Jayati Ghosh (2002) believes that the consumerist attitudes of Indian upper and middle income groups resulted in the reduced interaction between the various rural classes, and a diminished concern on the part of rural elites towards the poorer sections, that used to mark the more paternalistic relations of the past. This is definite to have very adverse social and political consequences on excluded social groups. These consequences tend to be exacerbated by the cultural influences that come across as hegemonic, and which increasingly determine the aspirations of the youth in particular. This has been already resulting in feelings of antagonism and communalism. Thus, increasingly, the pattern of economic growth as well as the inability of extant social policy to ameliorate or reduce the consequent inequalities, has therefore meant that the management of social tensions has become an even more difficult task for the Indian state.

Thus, India continues to do poorly on the public provision of basic services even those such as education which are constitutionally obligated. India's private health expenditure (78%) is one of the highest in the world, reflecting the abysmal provision of public health services. Child mortality and malnutrition are worse than Bangladesh and India's literacy rates are one of the worst in Asia as is the extremely limited coverage of sanitation services.

India's poor record in providing basic public goods – minimal levels of education, health, nutrition, water and sanitation – while spending vast public resources on targeting the poor, indicates that the problem is not one of limited resources, but political priorities and incentives.

A democracy with a large number of poor voters, who vigorously participate in elections, where hitherto marginalized social groups have made significant inroads in capturing political

power, might be expected to have powerful incentives to address issues of poverty and social development.

Indeed, there is little doubt that India has made some progress in reducing poverty with the fraction of population that is defined as poor having fallen by about half since the late 1960s. But much of this decline has come from old fashioned growth rather than the welter of anti-poverty programs.

It is estimated that growth has been responsible for about 80% of the decline in the poverty headcount ratio (which measures the number of people below a defined poverty line⁸) and 60 percent in the decline of the poverty gap measure (which measures the intensity of poverty). Thus redistribution has been responsible for 20 and 40 percent of the decline in the two poverty measures. Not surprisingly, redistribution matters most for the ultra-poor. Given the large number of rural poor in India, an important predictor of poverty decline is agricultural growth. In the last decade, however, this sector has grown much more slowly, and hence the impact of India's impressive growth rate on poverty decline has been less than in the past.

There are several reasons why programs specifically directed at poor and marginalized populations in India have done poorly. We group them broadly into two heads: (a) Structural and (b) Political. The nomenclature is more classificatory than descriptive.

The structural reasons stem in large part from the fiscal crises of state (i.e. provincial) governments. This has led to an increasing dependence on centrally sponsored schemes (CSS).

The programs are designed and substantially funded by the central government, but since the issue areas are in the state list of the Constitution, implementation is at the hands of states. In the two decades since the early 1980s, the share of the CSS in the Plan budget of the Central Ministries increased from 30 to 70 percent. This expansion has taken place at the expense of investments in infrastructure, energy and industry sectors.

The key problematic consequence of this is purely administrative, but no less important because of that. While each centrally sponsored scheme has the resources of a particular central ministry to call upon to aid in its design, stipulate conditionalities for disbursement, etc., the picture at the delivery level is very different. All centrally sponsored schemes must pass through the eye of the needle that is the district administration – and now increasingly the Panchayati Raj institutions (which are the 3rd tier of government i.e. local government). Few states have the administrative capacity to access grants from 200 plus schemes, spend money as per each of its conditions, maintain separate accounts and submit individual reports. This administrative capacity is even more limited in those states where the need is the most.

The multiplicity of centrally sponsored schemes makes it difficult for the local level administrative machinery to even monitor, let alone execute, the schemes. Even though many schemes have common objectives, targeting the same population, each develops a Hydra-like new administrative structure – fragmenting already weak and limited resources to begin with. If local level administrative capacity for implementation is weak, equally there is little incentive for the concerned central ministry to monitor these schemes. Even financial monitoring is weak, with funds released without questioning the utilization of previous assistance. As for impact or sustainability, the issue is hardly ever raised. The few evaluation reports prepared are themselves seldom monitored for quality and even otherwise seldom read. Fear of adverse publicity leads to any reports of shortcomings to be suppressed. A top-down approach and uniformity across states means that there is little local ownership, with the result that even if states are aware that the scheme is performing poorly, they become indifferent to its implementation. States do not attach importance to spending on CSSs, and thus are in no hurry to

sanction expenditure. And mounting fiscal problems at the state level leads them to divert GOI funds for paying salaries.

A critical understanding of the links between politicians, political parties and citizens is needed to appreciate the political reasons for the varying outcomes in the delivery of social services. In India (as in many other democracies), the linkage between citizens and politicians is based less on broad indicators and provision of collective goods such as economic growth and stability or national health care and more on the private or club goods available to individual citizens. This patronage based party voter linkages based on direct material inducements targeted to individuals and particular social groups are at the core of clientelist relations. The resulting clientelist accountability represents a transaction linking the direct exchange of a citizen's vote in return for direct payments or continuing access to employment goods and services. Clientelist-citizen-politician relations are distinctive in that benefits are targeted only to individuals or groups in exchange for electoral support. Thus the goods provided are either those that have excludability characteristics i.e. private goods (if rivalrous), such as housing or credit) or club good (if nonrivalrous) such as affirmative action benefits to specific social groups.

A number of interlinked factors have ensured the vitality of clientelist politics in India. Increasing political competition together with a growth of identity politics (in turn the result of ethno-cultural heterogeneity and a history of set-asides), and a first-past-the-post political system, has simply scaled up clientelist networks from local politics with personalistic face-to-face relations to the national level of hierarchical political machines. The continued high degree of discretion in the enforcement of rules, whether land encroachment or loan repayment, further adds to the phenomena.

Under such conditions appealing to a narrow group of voters can be sufficient to win elections. High levels of poverty fuel clientelist linkages in that poor voters can be more easily bought

over by the provision of immediately provisional goods (small amounts of cash, liquor, clothes) because of the higher discount rates of poor voters. In India's case, another intervening variable has been a shift in the structure of political parties with regional political parties gaining share at the expense of national political parties. For the latter holding power at the centre matters more, while the former, by definition, are state based. The division of constitutional responsibilities means that the regional and state based parties have little role in the provision of national collective goods, further increasing their incentives to provide private and club goods through the social policies that are within their constitutional mandate.

The prevalence of clientelist politics also helps understand the weakness from the demand side. A puzzle about Indian politics and social provisioning is why the poor have not articulated their demands more forcefully for better social services since they do express their voice when it comes to issues that bear on the "politics of dignity". In part this may be due to the inhibiting effects of social heterogeneity on building broad class-based coalitions. The selective provisioning of goods and services and enforcement of rules that are the hallmark of clientelist politics also reduce the incentives for collective action and mute voice.

Recommendations for Revitalizing Social Policy in India

Institute for Human Development (2010) has identified some of the overarching issues affecting Social Development in India and has suggested the following steps for augmenting the social policies and planning in India:

- A rights-based approach was preferred to other approaches, as there is acknowledgement of the fact that citizenship is associated with rights to minimum entitlements. Examples of this include the Right to Food, Right to Work (MGNREGA), Right to Information, Right to Education, etc.

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