

1 - EVOLUTION OF ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

The shape of Indian administration as it exists today is not just the result of administration law enacted by the British Parliament during the British rule or by the Parliament of free India since independence. Its roots go deep in the administrative history of the country from the ancient times. For it is not merely the outward form of administrative behavior of the citizen citizens of a state that matters in the enactment and enforcement of law but also the thinking and attitude of the masses of people and numerous communities which have evolved under the impact of social, economic, religious, tribal and political events in various times and climes.

The real foundation of India's administrative system was laid during the Maureen period of Indian history.

Mauryan Administration

Chandragupta, the foundation of the Mauryan Empire was not only a great warrior, but also an able administrator. He set up a sound and efficient system of administration in his vast empire. He was assisted by the great diplomat and politician Kautilya (also known as Chanakya) in the task of organizing his administration. His system of government was virtually based on the principles laid down in the Arthashastra written by Chanakya. The Arthashastra is our main literary source of information regarding Chandragupta's administration. The account of the Greek ambassador Megasthenes is another important source of information.

Kautilya's Arthasashtra

Kautilya also known as Chanakya, was the Chief adviser and Prime Minister of Chandragupta Maurya. His real name was Vishnu Gupta and he was a Brahman by caste. He had been insulted by Dhan Nanda, the last Nanda ruler and so he nursed a deep hatred against the Nandas. He joined Chandragupta and guided him in his campaign against the Nandas. His book Arthashastra is a standard work on politics and the art of government. It is a guide for the king who wants to establish a sound system of administration in his kingdom. Chanakya lays down the ideals of kingdom in the following words: in the happiness of this (king's) subjects lies his happiness, in their welfare, his welfare. What pleases him he shall not consider a good; but whatever pleases his subjects he shall consider as good."

According to Chanakya's ideal of kingship, Chandragupta was a benevolent ruler. He was, however, an autocrat. He was the law-maker and the supreme judge. He was the supreme commander of the army. He governed the empire with the help of the *mantris* or ministers and the *Amatyas* or secretaries. There was also a Parishad or Assembly which consisted of *mantris*, *amatyas* and other influential people of the State. It was a sort of Parliament and advised the Emperor on important matter of war and peace. But Chandragupta was not bound to accept the advice of his Parishad. Pataliputra was the capital of the Mauryan empire.

The whole empire was divided into four provinces. The province of Magadha was directly governed by the Emperor. The north-western Province had its capital at Taxila, the western province at Ujjain and the southern province at Suvarnagiri. The governor of

each province was called 'Kumara' or 'Aryaputra' and was generally a prince of the royal family. Land-revenue was the chief source of income of the empire and was one-fourth of the gross produce. There were other taxes such as tithes and tolls, taxes on forests, mines and fisheries, fines and profession taxes. The state, in return, carried out many works of public utility such as the building of hospitals, rest houses, roads and parks. The capital city of Pataliputra was connected with the distant parts of the empire by means of roads.

Account of Megasthenes

Megasthenes stayed at Pataliputra for about five years. He wrote a book called 'Indika' in which he gave a detailed account of his observations of Mauryan government and Indian life. Unfortunately his original books have been lost, but numerous extracts from this book are found in other Greek books from which we learn a great deal about Chandragupta's administration.

Besides giving a detailed account of the civil and military administration of Chandragupta Maurya, Megasthenes has thrown a flood of light on Pataliputra and its municipal administration. He writes that it was situated on the confluence of the Ganges and the Son rivers and was a magnificent city. It was 15 Kilometers long and two and a half kilometres broad. It was surrounded with a wooden wall with 64 gates and 500 towers. All round the wall there was a deep ditch to prevent any sudden attack on the capital. There were beautiful parks and artificial lakes in the city.

There was a municipal committee of 30 members to look after the affairs of this city. The committee was divided into six boards of five members each. Each board had separate duties assigned to it. The six boards looked after (i) arts and crafts, (ii) comforts of the foreigners, (iii) registration of birth and deaths, (iv) checking of weights and measures, (v) manufacture of goods and (vi) collection of municipal taxes. These boards also had to perform certain duties in their joint capacity. They looked after public buildings. Water supply, sanitation, roads, gardens, hospitals, schools, temples and other works of public utility.

Background to Kautilya's Philosophy of Administration

The Arthashastra of Kautilya as a long treatise refers to and discusses various views of Visalaksha, Indra (Bahudanta), Brihaspati, Sukra, Manu, Bharadvaja, Gaurasiras, Parasara, Pisuna, Kaunapadanta, Vatavyadhi, Ghotamukha, Katyayana, Charayana and other scholars of the science of polity. The Arthashastra points out several schools among the students of the science of polity; some of them claimed Manu (the father of the human race) as their founder; others Brihaspati, the teacher of the gods and others still Sukra or Usanas, the rival teacher of the Asuras. Some chose to affiliate themselves to Brahma, some to Indra and some to Siva. In the beginning small handbooks only were written but later development into comprehensive works.

The references to the view of these authors made in the Arthashastra enable us to get a fair idea of their contents. The science of polity was a new one at that time and many of the writers referred seem to have started their works with a discussion of its relative importance as compared to the Vedas, their philosophy and economics. One of them, named Usanas, went to the extent of advocating an extreme view that politics was the only science worthy of study. The polity with these writers discussed was usually monarchical, and they devoted considerable space to the art of training of the princes and

qualifications of the ideal rulers. The relative importance that he should attach to the difficulties and calamities in connection with the treasury, forts and army were also exhaustively dealt with. The constitution and functions of the ministry were described at length by most of them. They widely differed from one another about the number of the ministers and their qualifications. Principles of foreign policy were also debated upon, Bharadvaja advocating submission to the strong when there is no alternative and Visalaksha recommending a fight to the finish, even if it meant annihilation. Vatavyadhi did not subscribe to the theory of *Shadgunya* but advocated that of *Dvaigunya*. The question of the control over revenue and provincial officers was discussed in their books but local government seems to have been left untouched. On the other hand, these early works contained important sections dealing with civil and criminal law and laid down a scheme of fines and punishments for theft, robbery, misappropriation, etc. We would not be far wrong in concluding that treatises of most of these writers were the precursors of the Arthasashtra of Kautilya but dealing, of course, in a much less exhaustive way, only with those topics dealt with in it.

The Arthasashtra is more a manual for the administrator than a theoretical work on polity discussing the philosophy and fundamental principles of administration or of political science. It is mainly concerned with practical problems of government and describes its machinery and functions, both in peace and war, with an exhaustiveness not seen in any later work, with the possible exception of the Sukraniti.

There is a great controversy about the date of the Arthasashtra. Messrs Shamasastri, Ganapathi Shastri, N.N. Law Smith, Fleet and Jayaswal hold that the work proceeds from the pen of the famous minister of Chandragupta Maurya, while Messrs Winternitz, Jolly, Keith and D.R. Bhandarkar hold that the work is a much later one; written in the early centuries of the Christian era. Conclusive evidence supporting either view is lacking and the question has become complicated owing to the work being occasionally retouched in later times. The second school points out that if the book was really written by Kautilya, the Mauryan premier, it is strange that it should not contain references to the Mauryan empire and its administrative machinery, so well known to us from Greek sources. It ignores the boards of town officials, lays down no rules for the care of the foreigners, for escorting them to the border and looking after their effects, if deceased. The fact that the views of Kautilya himself are quoted in the third person would suggest that the real writer of the work was different from him. Shamasastri and Jayaswal, however, point out that the colophon of the work distinctly states that it was written by Kautilya, who had rescued the country from the Nandas. To say that the author was not acquainted with a wide empire is incorrect, for he states that the sphere of the jurisdiction of a chakra-vartin extends from the Himalayas to the ocean. The aim of the book is to describe the machinery of a normal state; the organization of a big empire which was only an occasional phenomenon in Indian history is not, therefore, discussed in detail. The Arthasashtra no doubt refers only to the superintendents of different departments; the boards of five may have been omitted because they were mainly non-officials in character. It is quite a common practice among Indian authors to refer to themselves by their own name in the third person singular, rather than in the first person plural; so the references to Kautilya in the third person need not necessarily show that he was not himself the author of the book.

The society depicted by Kautilya permits levirate and remarriages of widows, as also post-pubescent marriages and divorces. This was the state of affairs in the Mauryan age. Scant respect is shown to the Buddhists and persons are prohibited from becoming recluses without providing for their families. This would indicate that the work was

written at a time when Buddhism had not yet become strong enough to induce people to leave their families and join the order. The work frequently uses the word *yukta* in the sense of an official, as is done in the edicts of Ashoka. In later centuries this term went out of vogue.

The reference to the Kambojas, the Lichchhavis and the Mallas as republics in Arthasashtra would also support the view that the book belongs to the early Mauryan times, when these republics are known to have been flourishing. In the 4th century A.D. very few knew of their existence as republics. Like *Yaska*, who was a predecessor of Panini, the Arthasashtra refers to only four parts of speech, and not to eight as has been done by the great grammarian. This would suggest that Panini's grammar had not yet become very authoritative in the days of Kautilya. He should therefore be placed in the 4th century B.C. rather than in the 4th century A.D.

There are several striking points of resemblance between the Arthasashtra and the extent fragments of Megasthenes. Like Megasthenes, the Arthasashtra refers to the royal procession at the time of hunting and religious ceremonies and to the necessity of guarding the road on the occasion. Both authorities refer to female body guards of the king and to his habit of shampooing. Megasthenes' account of irrigation canals and sluices reminds us of the observations of the *satubandha* in the Arthasashtra. Megasthenes' overseers moving up and down and reporting to the king are obviously the spies of the Arthasashtra.

Megasthenes' officials for the measurement of the land belong to the same services of which the *gopa* of the Arthasashtra was a subordinate member. The great officers in charge of the markets and rivers, of cities and arts and crafts, mentioned by the Greek ambassador, remind us some of the *adhyakshas* of the Arthasashtra.

There are no doubt some serious discrepancies between Kautilya and Megasthenes; but in most cases it can be shown that the Greek ambassador's account is unreliable. The latter is, for some reasons unknown to us, drawing too rosy a picture to the Indian society when he states that theft, drinking and slavery were unknown in India. The data in the Arthasashtra are not consistent with these statements, but are supported by the evidence of the Dharmasutras written at about the 4th century B.C.; we can therefore well place him in the Mauryan period, though this picture differs from that of Megasthenes. Megasthenes' statement that Indians did not know that art of writing and administered the laws from memory is no more accepted as correct. His statement that the horses and elephants were the monopoly of the king is contradicted by Strabo and Arrian, who agree with Kautilya in recognizing the private ownership of these animals. When Megasthenes states that the state was the owner of land, he probably refers to the crown lands. Patanjali agrees with Kautilya in recognising the private ownership of arable land. The non reference in the Arthasashtra to the boards of five in the city and the military administration may be due to the fact that Kautilya perhaps wanted to refer to only the heads of the offices and not to their advisory councils.

All things considered, it has to be admitted that there is a substantial agreement between the administrative and social picture as given by Kautilya and Megasthenes and we may well conclude that they were not far removed from each other in time.

Kautilya was not only a famous statesman but also the founder of a school of politics; hence the great respect in which his name and work have been held by the subsequently centuries. Both Bapa and Dandin refer to the study of this work especially by the princes, and the Jain tradition, as recorded in the Nandisutra. Dandin enumerates the work among the heretical books along with the Ramayana and the Bharata. Even south Indian epigraphs describe skilled administration and diplomats like king Durvinita

(9th century) and Marashimha (10th century) of the Ganga dynasty as incarnations of Vishnugupta or Kautilya who is regarded well versed in his statecraft.

The positions of the Arthasashtra in the realm of the literature on politics is analogous to that of Panini's Ashtadhyayi in the field of grammar. Like Panini, Kautilya superseded all his predecessors; their works were, therefore, lost in course of time. The excellence of Panini's work was so great that very few among the later grammarians thought it possible to supersede the great master. This seems to be one of the later scholars in the realm of political science. That seems to be one of the reasons for the relative dearth of original works in the later history of the science.

The general form of the works of political science was determined by the Arthasashtra and a few other manuals of similar nature. New political theories were not adumbrated in later centuries. The semireligious and semimoral outlook of the writers of the time was responsible for this. Our writers, for instance, concede the principle that the king is the servant of the people and there is no sin in killing a tyrant. A good many theories and books could have come in the field, if the problem of regicide had been viewed purely from the secular point of view. What are the duties of the king in his capacity as the servant of the people? What are the secular remedies for the people, if the king begins to behave autocratically? Under what circumstances would people be justified in withholding allegiance or the payment of taxes? How public opinion was to make itself felt, what were the different milder remedies that people could adopt when kings had recourse to regicide? How were they to be made effective in the face of the police and military forces of the king? These and similar questions would have given rise to a number of divergent theories, resulting in a rich literature extending over several centuries. But this could not happen, because our writers looked at the question from the religious and moral point of view. The king was to be a virtuous ruler, devote heart and soul to the welfare of the people; if he was not such, the gods would punish him. The subjects had no secular remedies feasible in normal times; gods were expected to destroy a bad king. Sometimes it is stated that he should be killed like a mad god, but how, by whom, and under what circumstances is not explained. Abstruse thinking and daring speculation which is characteristic of thought of times in other departments like philosophy and poetry are strangely enough conspicuous by their absence in the works on the science of polity.

Epigraphical evidence shows that there existed considerable divergence in the country in the sphere of taxation and local government. New taxes were introduced by the different states in the course of time and the local government institutions developed on different lines in the various provinces of India. New books could have been written discussing these developments. But this did not happen, probably because taxation and local government were governed by local traditions, which were not usually incorporated in the standard work on polity.

The administration machinery of the Guptas considerably different from that of the Mauryas' fresh development took place in this sphere under Harsha, as also under the rule of the early medieval dynasties. Books could have been written bearing upon the changes that were taking place in the administration machinery. But this also did not happen. Probably the students of political science felt that these were minor changes of detail which were not sufficiently important to warrant the compositions of fresh books.

It has been suggested that the foreign invasion and alien rule during 250 B.C. to A.D. may have been responsible for the dearth of political literature in the post Kautilya period. This, however, appears improbable; the dominions of the Greek, the Scythians, the Parthians and the Kushanas did not extend beyond the Punjab for any appreciable

time. Madhyadesa and Bihar, which were the center of Aryan culture from 500 B.C. remained practically unaffected by foreign conquests.

To conclude, the relative sterility in political literature in the first millenium of the Christian era seems to be due to the great sway which the classical work of Kautilya continued to have over the public mind and the absence of any noteworthy development in the sphere of political thought or government machinery. A few manual, with no particular claim to originality, were of course composed during this period and we shall briefly refer to them after a few remarks about the state of affairs in South India.

South India in the early period did not produce any important works on polity. We get only occasional references on the Government of the day from such literary works as the Tirukkural, and the silappadikaram. But they usually refer to the king and his officers and hardly throw any light either on the political theories or on the administrative structure as a whole.

The great fascination which Kautilya had over his successors is well illustrated by Kamandakiya Nitisastra, composed probably in the Gupta age (C.500 A.D.). This book is nothing but a metrical summary of the work of Kautilya. Obviously its anonymous writer felt that the best service he could render to the students of politics would be to summarise this standard work.

Administration of Ashoka

Ashoka inherited an organised system of administration from the grand-father. But he made changes in this system. Instead of becoming a 'Conqueror King', he wanted to become the father of his people. In one of his edicts he says: 'All men are my children; and just as I desire for my children that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness, both in this world and in the next, so also do I desire the same for all men'. He not only preached this ideal in his edicts, but also lived upto it. He disbanded his army and the money thus saved was spent on hospitals, monasteries and other works of public utility. He gave the new name of Mahamatras or Censors of Public Morals. These officers were to see that other government officials did their duty properly and that the people lived according to the high ideals preached by Ashoka in his Dhamma.

The Mauryas gave political unity to the country. This was the first time in the history of India that the country was united under one government. This political unity resulted in the economic prosperity of the people. We learn a great deal about the economic condition of the country from the account of Megasthenes and other sources of Mauryan history.

Agriculture was the chief occupation of the people. Land in the villages was divided into three parts; one part was under cultivation, another served as pasture for cattle, and the third remained under forests. The Mauryan emperors paid special attention to the growth of agriculture. Both Kautilya and Megasthenes testify to the fact that there was a separate irrigation department for the development of agriculture. This department was assigned the duties to measuring the lands to be irrigated, of maintaining a system of canals, tanks and artificial lakes and of regulating the water-supply. The rock inscription at Girnar(Gujarat) shows how Pushyagupta, one of Chandragupta's provincial governors, constructed the Sudarshan Lake for irrigation purpose in a remote province.

Prosperity through Trade, Commerce and industries

Trade, Commerce, and Industries were in a flourishing condition in the glorious age of the Mauryas. Trade and Industry were regulated by the state, which fixed the price of articles, maintained the standard of products, controlled weights and measures and levied octrois and duties. The importance of the manufacturing industry in the Mauryan period is emphasised by the fact that there was a separate board of five members in the municipal committee of Pataliputra to look after the development of various industries in the city. India was famous for many fine articles. Textiles of the finest quality were then manufactured in Bengal. Though the people were simple in their dress and habits, they loved jewellery and so ornaments of various kinds were invented. Arms and agriculture implements were manufactured in large quantities. Shipbuilding was a highly perfected industry under the government. Weavers, Smiths and other craftsmen had organised themselves into economic corporations called *srenis* or guilds. These guilds regulated the methods of production and also safeguard the interests of their members. They often served the purpose of modern banks. Coins of gold, silver and copper formed the currency. The business class, that is, the craftsman, industrialists and traders, had a large share in increasing the prosperity of the country. Traders and merchants carried goods from one part of the country to the other by means of boats and bullock-carts. Commodities were also dispatched to ports and harbours with a view to their export to foreign countries. Broach was the main seaport on the western coast of India and Tamralipti was the biggest port on the eastern coast. Overseas trade was carried on with Arabia and the Roman Empire through the Persian Gulf and the sea. It was also carried on with the countries in South-East Asia across the Bay of Bengal.

The overseas trade was so profitable that a separate department called the *Navadhyaksha* supervised sea traffic and collected harbour dues in return for the protection it provided to the traders. The balance of trade was favorable as Indians exports exceeded her imports. The exported goods included ivory, spices, fine textiles with artistic designs, perfumes and precious stones. The imported goods included copper, tin, silver vessels, glassware and grape wine. The exports to the Roman had to pay huge sum of money for the goods imported by them from India. The famous Roman historian Pliny bears testimony to the fact that vast sums of money were sent by Rome to India in payment for these commodities.

Administration of Chandragupta II

We learn about the administration of Chandragupta II from the account of the Chinese Pilgrim Fahien who came to India during his reign. The administration under Chandragupta II was highly organised and was far more liberal than in the Mauryan times. The taxes were light, the people were law-abiding and the criminal law was very mild. Ordinarily, a fine was regarded a sufficient punishment. Capital punishment was not imposed on any criminal and the most serious crimes of rebellion and treason were punished with the amputation of the right hand of the criminal. The government did not interfere in the activities of the people. Even foreigners were free to travel throughout the country without permits and passports. Fahien says, 'the people have not to get themselves or their households registered with any magistrate. If they want to go they go; if they want to stay on, they stay'. The roads were safe and Fahien never felt unsafe

during his travels throughout India for about nine years. The most interesting fact about the ideal administration of Chandragupta II is that there was no spy system.

For purposes of administration, the empire was divided into many provinces. The governors of the provinces were more independent than they had been in the Mauryan times. The provinces were divided into districts. The people were given due share in government. There were district councils to advise the government officers in administrative matters. These councils consisted of the government officials and of elected members of the people. The lowest administrative unit was the Grama or village. It was administered by a headman and the village assembly or Panchayat. Thus there was a democratic set-up in the Gupta administration. Land revenue was the main source of income of the state and was normally one-sixth of the produce of the land.

Ever since the fall of the Mauryas, India had been disunited. The Gupta rulers established political unity in India. Samudragupta was the main architect of this unity. He defeated nine kings in the north and twelve kings in the south and established his sway over almost the whole country. His son and successor Chandragupta II put an end to the rule of the Saka Satrapas in western India and released the country from foreign domination. Besides giving political unity, the Gupta rulers gave the people a sound system of administration. From Fahien's account we find that the taxes were light, criminal law was very mild, roads were safe and the people were law abiding. The most striking feature of this administration is that there was no spy-system.

Sher Shah's Administration

Sher Shah was not only a successful general but also an able administrator. In fact his qualities as a ruler were more remarkable than his conquests. He introduced original and wise changes in every branch of administration, during his brief reign of five years. On his father's collectors against collecting more than the fixed amount. He applied these principles now in carrying out the administration of his empire.

Sher Shah divided his whole empire into forty-seven units called Sarkars, each of which was again subdivided into several smaller units called Parganas. Each Pargana had one Amin, one Shiqdar, one treasurer, one Hindi writer and one Persian writer to keep accounts. Each Sarkar was placed under two officers called the Shiqdar-I-shidaran and the Munshif-I-Munsifan. They were entrusted with the duty of supervising the work of the were Maqaddam, a Chaudhri, and a patwari. The Panchayats also played an important part in the administration of the villages. Sher Shah devised the system of transferring government officers after every two or three years in order to prevent them from acquiring undue influence at one place.

Sher Shah introduced a number of reforms in the land revenue system. He had the whole land surveyed and fixed one-fourth to one third of the produce as land revenue which could be paid to the state in cash or kind. He asked his officers to be lenient to the farmers at the time of the assessment of land revenue. He made it a point to see that no hardship was caused to the farmers. In times of drought or any other unforeseen calamity, advances were liberally made to the sufferers. Sher Shah's land revenue system worked so efficiently that it was later adopted by Akbar and was continued throughout the Mughal period. It was because of this system that Sher Shah is called the 'forerunner of Akbar'.

In order to establish peace and order in the country, Sher Shah paid special attention to the administration of justice. He tried to give evenhanded justice to all whether high or low. The rich could not escape punishment because of high birth and

rank. He even punished his near relatives and high officials if they tried to break the law or attempted to harass the people. The Chief Qazi was the head of the Judicial department. There was an Amin in every Pargana and a Qazi in every districts to decide judicial cases. The king heard appeals against the subordinate courts in his own court every Wednesday. Very severe punishments were given to the criminal but to set an example for others. The Muqaddam or the village headman was responsible for the crime in his village and if he failed to trace the offender, he had to make good the loss. Intelligent spies were also appointed who kept the king informed of all that happened in the empire. As a result of these measures, life and property became safe under Sher Shah.

Sher Shah knew the importance of a strong and efficient army and so he reorganised it. He maintained a large army consisting of 1,50,000 cavalry, 25,000 infantry, 300 war elephants and an efficient artillery. In order to establish a direct connection with his soldiers, he himself recruited them and fixed their salaries according to their qualities. He introduced the practice of branding the horse and maintaining descriptive rolls of the soldiers in order to avoid malpractice in the army. He treated his soldiers very kindly, but did not let his kindness interfere with the maintenance of discipline and efficiency in the army. He built many new forts while the old ones were also repaired and strengthened. He kept a Fauj or garrison under the command of a Faujdar at each of these forts. Most of Sher Shah's soldiers were Afghans or Pathans but Hindus were also given high positions in the army.

Sher Shah introduced currency and tariff (customs duties) reforms in order to improve the general economic conditions of the empire. When he became king, coins issued by previous kings were still in circulation, which caused a great deal of confusion. The exact rates between various coins were clearly specified. Sher Shah abolished the use of the old coins, issued a large number of gold, silver and copper coins and fixed their rates relative to each other. Most of the coins, introduced by Sher Shah, especially the silver rupee continued to form the basis of Indian currency for a long time. For the promotion of trade and commerce, various customs duties which were levied at many places, were abolished. The merchants had not to pay customs duty only at two places, one at the frontiers of the kingdom and the other at the place where goods were sold. This basic principle in respect of the levy of customs duties is followed up to this day.

Sher Shah also brought about many reforms in the means of transport and communication. A number of roads were built, along which trees were planted, wells were dug and Sarais (inns or rest-houses) were provided for the convenience of the travellers. The most famous road he got constructed was the Grand Trunk Road, which ran from Sonargaon in Bengal to Peshwar in the North/Western Frontier (now in Pakistan). The present Grand Trunk Road is built on the same roadway. Sher Shah also introduced a regular postage system. The Sarais built along the roads, served as Dak-Chaukis of the postal department. At every Sarai or Dak-Chauki, two horsemen were always kept ready to receive the dak or mail from the previous Chauki and carry it to the next one. In this way the news from all corners of the empire could reach the king in a short time.

Mughal Administration

Akbar was not only a great conqueror but also a very capable administrator. He introduced useful reforms and established an excellent system of administration in his conquered territories. As a result of his efficient administration, Akbar was able to establish a long lasting empire in India. Akbar's system of administration continued for

more than two hundred years. So by studying Akbar's administration, we can fully understand the Mughal administration.

Akbar divided his kingdom into fifteen Subas or provinces. Each province was governed by a Sipah Salar who was also known as Subedar. He was assisted by a Diwan or Finance Minister and a Qazi or judge. The Diwan looked after the finances of the province while the Qazi was the head of the judicial department. The provinces were divided into Sarkars (district) and the Sarkars were sub-divided into Parganas. The head of the Sarkar was called Faujdar. He was responsible for maintaining law and order in this area. There were many villages and towns in a Paragana. In a town the Kotwal or Inspector of Police was given overall charge of its administration. The Panchayats also played an important part in the administration of the villages.

Like Sher Shah Suri, Akbar paid special attention to the land revenue administration. He improved upon Sher Shah's system with the help of his Finance Minister, Raja Todar Mal. He ordered the survey and measurement of the land under cultivation by means of a new kind of Jarib (an instrument used for the measurement of land) which was made of pieces of bamboo joined together with iron rings. It gave a more correct measurement of land than the instrument used till then. The land under cultivation was divided into four classes according to its fertility and the share of the state was fixed accordingly. The farmers were allowed to pay the revenue in cash or kind. In case of famine, drought or some other unforeseen calamity, remission of land revenue was granted. Sometimes loans were also advanced to the farmers for the purchase of seeds and animals. In the beginning, the land revenue was assessed annually, but later on it was assessed for ten years. As a result of the reforms introduced by Akbar in the land revenue administration, the farmers were better off than before and the country became prosperous.

Mansabdari System

Akbar realised the importance of a strong, well-equipped and disciplined army. He reorganized his army and introduced a system known as the Mansabdari system. He placed his nobles and officers in the grades of military service ranging from the command of five thousand horsemen down to the command of ten horsemen. These officers were known as Mansabdars or holders of 'Mansabs' the word Mansab means rank or office and it denoted the rank, dignity and office of a Mughal officer. It specified his rank in the services, his pay and his position in the court. There was, however, no distinction between a civil and military officers in the Mughal period and so every Mughal officers was Mansabdars. He had to perform both civil and military functions. There were thirty-three grades of Mansabdars who maintained soldiers ranging from 10 to 5,000. The lesser Mansabdars drew their pay direct from the Imperial Treasury and had present their horsemen and horses at periodical inspections. In order to prevent fraud, the horses were branded and the muster-rolls of the horsemen were maintained. The higher Mansabdars were granted provinces (Subas) and Jagirs, out of the revenue of which they had to maintain the required number of horsemen. This system worked well under Akbar, but deteriorated under his successors as the nobles quarrelled among themselves for higher Mansabs or ranks. High. Higher Mansabs of more than 5,000 were created in order to appease the defiant nobles and princes.

Justice

No written code of laws existed in the Mughal period. The Mughal emperors were, however, great lovers of justice and tried to be as just as possible. The legal procedure was much simpler and quicker than now. Akbar had appointed the Chief Qazi as the head of the Judicial department. There was also one Qazi or Judge in every province. The Chief Qazi heard appeals against decisions of the lower courts. Akbar spent some time daily to hear complaints of the people and to settle them. This practice was continued by his successors. The capital punishment was given only in extreme cases and that too by the emperor himself. The village Panchayat decided minor cases. Generally fines were imposed as punishment but some times the criminals were also imprisoned. There were no separate prisons or jails as they exist today and the prisoners were kept in dark and dingy rooms in the forts.

Occupation

The chief occupation of the people in the Mughal period was agriculture. The agriculture crops were almost the same as those that are raised today. The improved system of revenue administration introduced by Akbar gave an impetus to agriculture and food was extraordinary cheap during his reign. Akbar took special care to look after the interest of the farmers, so they were well off during his reign, but their condition deteriorated under his successors. The lot of the common people was on the whole much better than it was in the days of the Delhi Sultans. There was misery and suffering only whatever there was a natural calamity like floods. Earthquakes of famines. Famines frequently broke out in different out in different parts of the country and very little was done by the state to give relief to the people.

Trade and commerce were in a flourishing condition and Indian goods were highly prized abroad. The Mughal emperors encouraged production in the state Karkhanas (factories) where high quality goods were manufactured. The most important industry in India at the time was the manufacture of cotton cloth, the main centres of which were Patan (Gujarat), Burhanpur (Khandesh), Jaipur, Banares and Dacca. The cotton cloth was either dyed or printed with fast colours. Silk-weaving, shawl-making and carpet-making were other important industries of the time. Silk was also produced and manufactured particularly in Bengal and its production was greatly patronised by the Mughal emperors. Besides these major industries, handicraft dealing in articles such as jewellery, metal work, ornamental discs, ivory articles and many other goods were manufactured in large quantities.

India had a good deal of internal and external trade during the Mughal rule. Internal trade was carried on by road and navigable rivers. External trade was in such a flourishing condition that the nations of Europe vied with one another to share in the lucrative trade with India. The exports from India consisted of textile fabrics, indigo, spices, opium and other drugs. Though India did not depend on any foreign country for manufactured goods, yet her imports included gold, silver, copper, zinc, lead and various kinds of luxury goods. The chief ports of India were Surat, Broach, Bassein, Goa, Calicut, Cochin, Masulipatam, Chittagong and Sonargaon. Foreign traders had to pay low custom duties. At Surat the custom duties were $3\frac{1}{2}$ percent on all imports and exports of goods and 2 percent on money, either gold or silver.

Traders carrying on internal trade had also to pay taxes and ferry tolls for the use of roads and rivers.

Administration of Shivaji

Shivaji was not only military genius but also a great administrator. His system of government was an autocracy of which he himself was the supreme head. But he was a very benevolent ruler and never ignored the welfare of his people. In the discharge of his duties he was assisted by a council of eight ministers called the 'Ashtapradhan'. The eight ministers were: (i) the Peshwa or Prime Minister, who had to look after the general welfare and interests of the kingdom, (ii) the Amatya or Finance Minister, (iii) the Mantri or court recorder, (iv) the Sachiva or Superintendent in charge of correspondence and provincial accounts, (v) the Sumant or Foreign Minister, (vi) the Senapati or Commander-in-Chief, (vii) the Pandit Rao and Danadhyaksha or Royal Chaplain and Almoner, and (viii) the Nayadhyaksha or Chief Justice. All the ministers with the exception of the Pandit Rao and the Nayadhyaksha held military commands besides their civil duties and were required to lead military expeditions. The ministers were in charge of different departments of the state, which were no less than thirty in number.

The kingdom was divided into a number of provinces called Prants. Each province was placed under a governor who was assisted by eight officers holding offices like those of the members of the Ashapradhan. The province was subdivided into Parganas and the Parganas were further divided into villages. The village was the lowest unit in Shivaji's system of administration. It was administered by the village headman, who was called the Patel. The Patel carried on the administration of the village with the help of the Gram Panchayats whose members were elected by the villagers.

Land Revenue

Shivaji introduced many reforms in the land revenue administration and made it very efficient. He abolished the Jagirdari system and replaced it by the Ryotwari system in order to establish direct connection with the cultivators. The assessment of land revenue was made after a careful survey of the land, for which purpose a uniform unit of measurement was introduced. The state demands were fixed at 30 per cent of the expected produce. The cultivators could pay their dues either in cash or in kind. The state encouraged agriculture by granting advances loans from the treasury to the farmers for purchase of seed and cattle. The farmers could repay these loans in easy instalments. Other main characteristics of Shivaji's administration that helped in consolidating the Maratha Kingdom were the levy of two new taxes, namely 'chauth' and 'Sardeshmukhi' and his highly organised military administration.

Chauth and Sardeshmukhi

The hilly regions of Maharashtra did not yield much in land revenue, so Shivaji had to find out other ways and means to supplement the income of the state. In the beginning he used to raid and plunder the neighbouring territories, especially

rich towns like surat, whenever he was in dire need of money. The people of the neighbouring territories and small principalities remained in constant fear of Shivaji's attack. In order to protect themselves from Maratha raids, these territories entered into a sort of agreement with the Maratha chief. They agreed to pay to the Marathas one-fourth of the standard revenue which they paid to their own ruler. This tax was called the 'Chauth' and was in lieu of protection against the raids of the Marathas.

Besides this tax, the Maratha chief levied another tax called the 'Sardeshmukhi' on the territories and principalities which paid Chauth to the Marathas and were secure against their attack. It was one-tenth of the standard revenue which they paid to their own ruler and was in lieu of the responsibility of the Marathas to fight for them and protect them from other invaders as well. Thus the territories and principalities that paid Chauth and Sardeshmukhi to the Marathas were under the protection of the Marathas and were safe not only from Maratha raids but also from the raids of other invaders. Only the territories paying both Chauth and Sardeshmukhi enjoyed the privilege of protection against other invaders. The territories paying Chauth were safe from Maratha raids only. These two taxes formed a considerable source of income for the Maratha kingdom.

1. Administration During the British Period

Establishment of the British Rule in Bengal

The beginning of British rule in India may be traced to the battle of Plassey in 1757. In this battle, East India Company's forces defeated Siraj-ud-Daulah, the Nawab of Bengal. Bengal was the most fertile and the richest of India's provinces. The company was carrying on a very profitable trade in this province. It had secured valuable privileges from the Mughal emperors. These had granted the Company the freedom to export and import their goods in Bengal without paying taxes. The English had founded the modern city of Calcutta in Bengal and also built Fort William there. The province of Bengal included Bihar and Orissa and was ruled by a Nawab, appointed by the Mughal emperor. The authority of the Mughal emperor in the middle of the eighteenth century was almost nominal and the Nawab of Bengal was virtually an independent ruler.

Directors of the East India Company in England were very much upset by the news of the battle of Buxar. Clive who was then in England, was sent back to India as Governor of Bengal in order to settle matters. He made a treaty with the powers that had been defeated at the battle of Buxar. This settlement was made in 1764 at Allahabad and is known as the Treaty of Allahabad. Clive restored Oudh (except the districts of Allahabad and Kara) to Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah in return for 50 lakhs of rupees as war indemnity. He gave the districts of Allahabad and Kara to the Mughal emperor Shah Alam and obtained from him the grant of the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. This meant that the English were granted the authority to collect the revenues of these provinces. The English also promised to pay an annual pension of twenty-six lakhs of rupees to the Mughal emperor. In Bengal, they placed Mir Jafar's son on the throne as a puppet Nawab, though virtually the rulers were the English themselves. Later on even this puppet Nawab was deposed in 1772 and the Company assumed direct control of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Thus as a result of the

battles of Plassey and Buxar, the English established their rule in the richest provinces of India.

Clive's Administration Measures

Clive left India for good in February 1767, but before he left he had reformed the internal administration of the Company's affairs. After the treaty of Allahabad, Clive attempted to set law and order among the servants of the Company. They were demoralized and there was bribery and corruption. Occasions for extorting large presents were common and the private right to internal trade was abused. Clive stopped the system of accepting presents in spite of strong opposition and checked the abuses of private trade. Clive also cut down the allowances or *bhatta* which the military officers had been enjoying for many years. There was strong opposition to this measure and there was even a threat by the officers to resign in a body. However, Clive made definite rules for field-allowances or *bhatta* and gradually the opposition died down.

Robert Clive retired in 1767. Warren Hastings became the Governor of Bengal in 1772. His apparent task was to consolidate the company's rule in Bengal. He diversified the activities of the Company from commercial to farming; he left it as one of the great powers of the Indian subcontinent. During his tenure as Governor General he was able to weather the internal division within the Company and to preserve its territorial integrity against strong contenders.

Administration Measures of Warren Hastings

The first measure undertaken by Hastings was the reform of the revenue administration. The post of deputies for the Company in the collection of revenue were abolished, and the Company undertook the collection took direct control of the civil administration, for civil justice went with tax collection. In place of Naib Diwans, English Collectors were appointed for each district, and were made responsible for all collections to the Board of Revenue in Calcutta.

The first revenue settlement was made for five years. The lands were given out by public auction to the highest bidder who became the *zamindar*. The *Zamindar* were responsible for the payment of the amount stipulated in the auction to the collectors. In this way the Zamindars were in principle protected from unreasonable demands by the government. But there was no one to protect the peasants from the unreasonable demands of the *Zamindars*. Thus, arrangement was far from perfect, though it was an improvement on the system left by Clive.

The new collectors became responsible for the administration of civil justice and Hastings established an Appeals Court in Calcutta. The treasury was removed from Murshidabad to Calcutta and the Nawab's allowance was reduced from 32 to 15 lakhs year. To encourage trade, Hastings abolished the system of *dastaks* or free passes for the goods of the Company's servants, and customs houses were suppressed, except in five main centres.

The Regulating Act, 1773

This Act was passed by the British Parliament to 'regulate' the affairs of the Company in India. The Act regulated first the election and powers of Court of proprietors of the Company in England. Annual elections of directors were replaced by the elections of six directors a year for a four-year term. This ended the scandal by which a body of commercial shareholders had dictated policy in England.

In India the Act appointed a Governor General at Fort William in Bengal for five years, together with four councillors. Future appointments were to be made by the Company. The Governor General was given powers of supervision over the other two presidencies of Bombay and Madras. This was the first step towards a unified control of all Indian territories ruled by the Company. Finally, the Act also set up a Supreme Court at Calcutta, consisting of a Chief Justice and three puisne judges.

The Regulating Act was the first important step taken by the British Parliament for the control of the affairs of the Company in India. This Act also registered for the first time the concern of the Company for the welfare of the people of India. However, the provisions of the Act were vague and contributed to the difficulties of Warren Hastings. The Governor General could be overruled by this council, and this happened often during his first two years in India. The control over the other two Presidencies was vague and little was done to enforce it. The Supreme Court had no idea of the law it had to administer and of those to whom it was to apply.

Pitt's India Act, 1784

A further step towards the control of the affairs of the Company in India by the British Parliament was taken in 1784 by the passing of the Pitt's India Act. It provided for a double or joint government of the Company (represented by the Directors), and the Crown (represented by the Board of Control). The Board of Control consisted of six Councillors, one of whom was the president and who soon became in effect minister for the affairs of the East India Company. The Board had the power 'to superintend, direct and control all acts, operations and concerns which in any way relate to the civil or military government or the revenue of the British territorial possessions in the East Indies'.

With reference to India, the Act provided that the Governor General, though appointed by the Directors. The council was reduced to three members. Of whom the commander-in-chief was to be one. Calcutta was given greater control over the subordinate presidencies in matters of war, revenue and diplomacy, thus becoming in effect the capital of the Company's possessions in India. One important point of the Act was that the Governor General and council were expressly forbidden to declare war or enter into aggressive designs without the explicit authority of the Court of Directors. A later amendment made it possible for the offices of Governor General and Commander-in-Chief to be united in the same person. Lord Cornwallis was the first Governor General so appointed and he became the effective ruler of British India under the authority of the Board of control and court of Directors.

The Company had changed in a few years from a trading Company to a territorial power in India by the establishment of its rule in the Carnatic in the south and Bengal in the north-east. The circumstances were favourable fall of the Mughal

empire. Many small and big principalities had risen on the ruins of the Mughal empire, but none of them had been able to replace the Marathas and establish a strong central authority in the country. The Marathas had shown some promise, but their efforts and hopes had been shattered by their defeat in Third Battle of Panipat in 1761 at the hands of Ahmad Shah Abdali. They were, however, trying to regain their lost power and prestige after 1761 and posed the most serious challenge to the English in their designs for expansion in India. The other lesser powers were the rulers of Hyderabad, Mysore and Oudh and the Sikhs of the Punjab. All these rulers were often at war with each other and their mutual quarrels provided an opportunity to the English to expand their rule in India.

The British policy under Warren Hastings was on the whole a defensive one. He was primarily responsible for the defence of Bengal and Bihar but the Regulating Act made him responsible for the Company's dominions throughout India. Because of this, Hastings found himself in conflict with Rohillas in the North, the Marathas in the west and Mysore in the south.

Rohilkhand was a fertile tract of land, north-west of Oudh, between the Ganges and the Kumaon Hills, it was ruled by Hafiz Rahmat Khan. When Shah Alam was persuaded to return to Delhi in 1769 under the protection of the Marathas, he granted them the districts of Kara and Allahabad. Soon after the Marathas began to raid Rohilkhand and Rahmat Khan appealed to Shuja-ud-Daula, the Nawab of Oudh, for help. The Nawab in turn was under the protection of the British, and Hastings found the proximity of the Marathas a threat to the Company's territories.

In 1772 Shuja-ud-Daula agreed to help the Rohillas if attacked by the Marathas against a payment of 40 lakhs of rupees. When the Marathas arrived in 1773 they were faced by the forces of the Nawab supported by a British Brigade. They, therefore, withdrew. In September 1773 Hastings concluded the treaty of Banaras with the Nawab, who agreed to pay 50 lakhs rupees and to maintain a British Bridge for the defence of the territories.

The Rohillas evaded payment of the stipulated sum to the Nawab, who in 1774 went out of patience and decided to attack the Rohillas. The British Brigade took part in the campaign and the Rohillas were defeated at Miranpur Katra.

The Rohilla territory, except Rampur, was incorporated into Oudh. In this way Hastings attained this object of increasing the security of the British dominions in the east against the incursions of the Marathas. The friendly buffer state of Oudh was extended and the Rohillas, with whom the British had no quarrel, were sacrificed. Meanwhile, Shuja-ud-Daula exploited the Company's support to increase his dominions.

Administration measures of Lord Cornwallis

Cornwallis' first task on taking over in 1786 was to clean the administration. He found it necessary to suspend the Board of Trade and subsequently dismissed most of the members for irregularities. He enforced strictly the rule against private trade, and sent proved offenders home. Cornwallis also abolished the system of commission which lent itself to corruption. In place of commissions, he provided for fixed generous salaries to be paid to the servants of the Company. He also prescribed minimum terms of service for certain posts. In this way he laid the foundations of the civil service.

One unfortunate aspect of these reforms of Cornwallis was the exclusion of Indians from the Company's service, the this policy received legislative sanction in the Charter Act of 1793. This limited the tenure of posts worth more than \$ 500 a year to covenanted servants of the Company. This produced disastrous effects in the relations between Indians and the Company.

Another important administrative measure introduced by Cornwallis was the separation of the commercial service under the Board of Trade and the collection revenue and administration of civil justice which was controlled by the Board of Revenue at Calcutta. In 1789 the company's servants were allowed to opt for one or the other branch and remain there.

The Permanent Settlement

Pitt's India Act of 1784 provided that 'Permanent rules' should be prepared for revenue collectors. This was found necessary because after Hastings' arrangements for a five-year settlement, the system reverted to a method of annual assessments by public auction. In 1786 the system was organized so that the Collector in each district was made responsible for settling the revenue and collecting it. This system of annual settlement continued so long as information was being collected to make a permanent settlement.

After a controversy on whether the settlement should be made with the *Zamindars* or the farmers it was decided that the government should make a settlement with the *Zamindars*. One of the reasons was that this would encourage the *Zamindars* to develop their lands and lead to reclamation of waste lands. Cornwallis announced the settlement of land revenue for ten years on 10th February 1790. This was to be made permanent if approved by the court of Directors. The approval of the Directors came in 1793 and on 22nd March 1793 the Settlement was declared permanent.

The effect of this settlements was that it made the *Zamindars* permanent owners of the land, subject to the payment of the fixed annua revenue Company. The *Zamindars* were required to pay nine-tenths of the revenue collections to the Government through the Collectors. The cultivators were to be protected from oppression of the *Zamindars* by the British Collectors.

The permanent settlement has been the subject to praise as well as blame. The first result was a further period of unsettled conditions because the new assessment was too high for the existing state of cultivations. Thus, many *Zamindars* could not pay the revenue had to sell out their lands to moneyed men from Calcutta. The new *Zamindars* became absentee landlords and the tie between *Zamindars* and farmers was broken. They also tried to increase the rents by bringing more lands under cultivation, but the increased rents enriched the *zamindars* only, because the government assessment was fixed.

The other result was disastrous. As the *Zamindars* became richer, the status of the peasants sank lower and lower. They came to be regarded as rent-paying tenants and as such subject to eviction and their customary occupational rights were forgotten. The permanent settlement, therefore, secured some order and progress, but it failed in its most essential role of providing protections and social justice to the cultivator.

Judicial Reforms

Cornwallis set out to organize the judicial system on the English pattern. He proceeded by a system of trial and error which culminated in the famous Cornwallis Code of May 1793. The Code ushered in the system which formed the framework of British-Indian administration.

First, the Collectors were relieved of their duty to preside over the civil and revenue courts. In their place, Cornwallis appointed judges in *Zilla* courts which dealt with civil and revenue matters. Above these were four provincial courts at Calcutta, Murshidabad, Dacca and Patna. In important cases a final appeal could be made to the *Sadr Diwani Adalat*. A large number of lower courts were also set up; the lowest being that of the *musifs*.

He also brought into line the system of criminal justice. The *Sadr Nizamat Adalat* was brought to Calcutta where the Governor General and Council sat with Indian advisers. The district courts were superseded by four circuit courts stationed at the four provincial capitals. The civil servants presided over each, assisted by Indian advisers, and they made circuits over their divisions twice a year.

With these arrangements, the collector was limited to his magisterial and collecting duties. The civil courts were administered by district judges and the criminal courts by the judges of the courts of circuit. This pattern in the districts, in which the Collectors and the Judge presided, remained unchanged substantially through the British period. In this way also, Cornwallis effected the separations between the judicial and the administrative classes. The system was such that Collectors and all officers of the government were “made amenable to the courts for acts done in their official capacities.”

Cornwallis, however, blundered here in depriving all Indians from any authority or responsibility in the administration of justice, though he considered them necessary as advisers,

Lord Wellesley (1780-1805)

Wellesley was only thirty-seven years of age and was Governor General for seven years. But the changes that he brought about in India were so great that they are rightly considered to mark an epoch in the growth of British power in India. First, he felt it necessary to remove all traces of French influence in India and second, he was convinced that the rivalries of Indian powers could only be put to an end by replacing the non-intervention policy by British supremacy in India. He combined the instruments of war and diplomacy. Out of these grew the system of Subsidiary Alliances. Wellesley convinced himself that his policy was legally and morally right, because he viewed British supremacy as the only way to safeguard the interests of the people of India as a whole.

The Subsidiary Alliance

The terms of the subsidiary alliance had earlier been used by Clive and Hastings for particular purpose. Wellesley developed the system as part of the bid for more effective British supremacy. The nature of the subsidiary alliance was simple.

When an Indian ruler was in anger of neighbours, he was encouraged to seek the help of the English. The English guaranteed his independence against all enemies. To make his guarantee effective the Indian ruler had to agree to have a detachment of the Company's troops stationed within his state. The ruler of the Indian state undertook to pay and maintain the British troops in his state. This was done either in cash or by ceding a part of the state's territory to British control.

The subsidiary Alliance proved completely successful in giving security to Indian princes. But this had other effects. First, the Indian prince was now completely at the mercy of the British power. He could not decide on any point relating to foreign affairs, and even internal matters, he could do nothing against the wishes of the British authorities. Thus, such an alliance ultimately undermined the independence of the Indian rulers and made the British power and prestige paramount in India.

On the pretext of subsidiary alliances and mismanagement, Wellesley brought under the Company's rule the Carnatic, Tanjore and Surat. He also increased British control over Oudh by exacting territory for the payment of a subsidiary force. By 1800 the old buffer-state of Oudh was surrounded by British territory and it became a domestic problem of the Company.

Lord Dalhousie(1848-1856)

Dalhousie believed that British administration was immensely better than the one prevailing in many Indian states. He, therefore, acted, on the general principle of annexing if he could do so legitimately. The first part of this annexation policy was the Doctrine of Lapse.

According to his principle a subsidiary (subordinate) kingdom 'lapsed' or passed over into the hands of the Company when its king or ruler died without a direct heir to the throne. The first kingdom to lapse in this way was that of Satara in 1848. This was followed by Jhansi in 1853 and Nagpur in 1854. Many other smaller states were also added to the British dominion under this pretext. This policy of annexation alarmed the ruling classes in India when they saw that one state after another was passing into the hands of the Company. The princes began to believe that the English had adopted this policy with the purpose of bringing the whole of India under their rule.

Absence of a direct heir to the throne was not the only pretext which Lord Dalhousie adopted to annex the states of some Indian rulers. He annexed Oudh on the plea that the state was not being governed properly. The Nawab of Oudh had submitted without resistance, but there was much dissatisfaction among the *talukdas*, the soldiers and the people of Oudh. The Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar, who was then under the protection of the Company, received a pension from the British and still lived in the Red Fort of Delhi. The British served a notice on the titular Mughal emperor that his successors would not be allowed to live in the Red Fort, nor would they be allowed to add any imperial titles and dignities to their names. This meant that even the titular sovereignty of the Mughal emperor was to come to an end after the death of Bahadur Shah Zafar. Zeenat Mahal, the young wife of the aged Bahadur Shah showed strong resentment to the British decision and started plotting on behalf of her son. In fact this unwise decision of the British together with the annexation of Oudh gave a shock to Muslim sentiments.

Reforms

Dalhousie engaged in continuous reforming and constructive activities. He is called the founder of modern India. He set up a Public Works Department to carry out his great programme of public works. These included extension of irrigation projects, like the Ganga canal, and a great roads programme with the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to Peshawar. He is also known as the father of Indian railways. He convinced the British authorities of the need and feasibility of a large net of railway in India. Before he left India in 1856, 200 miles of railway were in operations and had proved a success. He introduced the telegraph and reformed the postal service by introducing a half-anna stamp for all letters.

In the field of education also Dalhousie did pioneering work by laying fresh emphasis on primary education. He also encouraged the development of high school and college education by the system of grants-in-aid to private bodies. The system was to be followed by the establishment of a number of universities. Three of them came into existence in the year of the Revolt.

The establishment of the British rule in India was thus completed in two phases. The first phase ended in 1818 with the subsidiary alliances made by Lord Wellesley with most of the Indian princes. The British became masters of large portion of Indian territory and were also recognised as the paramount power in India. The second phase started in 1818 and ended in 1856 with the annexations of the Punjab and Oudh to the British dominions. Now they were the masters of the whole of India as all the remaining Indian states had accepted their suzerainty.

British Policy and Administration After 1858

In order to win the goodwill of the people the British decided to associate a few influential Indians in making laws from the country. As a result, the Indian Councils Act was passed in 1861. This act enlarged the Council of the Viceroy for the purpose of making laws, by addition of not less than six and not more than twelve members to this council. These members were to be nominated by the Viceroy and it was understood that most of them would be Indians. This act also made provision for the establishment of Legislative Councils in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay and the provinces of Bengal, united Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh) and the Punjab. According to this Act the administration of the country was divided into several branches and the legislative Councils were given the right to make laws with the help of the Governors of their respective provinces. Thus the business of government was largely decentralized.

Another important reform regarding administration was introduced by Lord Mayo in 1870. He started the system of provincial Contracts by which each province was made responsible for its two finances. This was also a measure of decentralization and led to more responsible Provincial Governments. The Provincial governments were given a share in the revenues instead of a fixed own requirements and could make their annual budgets.

When Lord Ripon became Viceroy of India in 1880, he decided to take steps to make Indian government more liberal. He showed a sympathetic attitude towards Indians and respected their legitimate rights and aspirations. He wanted that Indians should be trained to take an active part in local self-government institutions.

He made a plan for real self-government by local bodies and his plan was accepted by the Viceroy's Council. According to this plan Municipal Committees and Corporations were set up in the towns and cities while Districts Boards and Local Boards known as Tehsil and Taluk boards were set up in rural areas. The members of the local bodies were to be elected by the tax payers wherever possible. All these bodies were given certain powers and responsibilities.

From its establishment in 1885, the Indian National Congress began to ask for a greater share in the work of Government. To meet this demand the *Indian Councils Act* of 1892 was passed by the British Parliament. This act enlarged the Legislative Councils, both at the Centre and in the provinces by increasing the number of additional members. An important change was also introduced in the manner of appointing the members. Some non-official members were to be nominated by associations such as Chambers of Commerce, Universities, Municipalities and Districts Boards. Thus the principle of representation was introduced in the Councils.

The Indian Councils Act of 1909 enlarged again the Legislative Councils both at the Centre and in the Provinces and for the First time recognized the principle of election for these Councils. In the Central Legislative Council, twenty-seven members were to be elected by groups of people representing various classes and minorities, such as Landholders, Chambers of Commerce, Universities, Muslims and Sikhs. In the Legislative Councils of the provinces, the official members were also to be elected by groups of local bodies. An Indian member was also appointed to the Viceroy's Executive Council. In this way the Indian Council Act of 1909 introduced some reforms in the policy of the British government.

But this was not enough as only a few selected Indians had share in the administration of the country. In the meantime there was a national awakening in the country and the demands of the Indian National Congress were far ahead of the concessions made to the Indians in these reforms. We shall discuss the British policy and administration in response to the demands made by the Indian National Congress while dealing with the achievement for Independence. India remained under the British Crown till 1947.

Western Educations

In the beginning, Governors of the East India Company did not consider it a part of their duty to promote the cause of education in India.

It was only in the *Charter Act* of 1813 that a provision was made for the education of Indians, and the Directors of the Company made a grant for the encouragement of the Indian languages such as Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. There was, however, demand from enlightened Indians, like Raja Rammohan Roy, for the study of the English language and western sciences. It was, therefore, decided in 1865 that the funds granted by the Government for education should be used only for the instruction of Indians in the English language and in western sciences. As a result of the efforts made by Raja Rammohan Roy, the Calcutta Medical College and the Elphinston institutions in Bombay were established. The Hindu College at Calcutta was established earlier in 1816, with the help of Raja Rammohan Roy, English education in India took a great step forward with the publication of the famous *Education Despatch* of Sir Charles Wood in 1854. This Despatch recommended the

setting up of a network of educational institutions in the country. It made provision for all stages of education, from the primary stage to the university stage. As a result of this Despatch, the Government set up a number of schools and colleges all over India. The first three Universities in India were founded in 1857 at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay on the model of the London University. These were merely examining bodies and did not undertake teaching or research work. Later on with the growth of national consciousness and as a result of the efforts made by the *Brahmo Samaj*, the *Arya Samaj* and other social organisations, English education developed rapidly in India. Many more universities were established and they were made responsible for higher education and research work. Millions of Indians now studied the English Language, European literature and philosophy.

The spread of English education had an important effect on Indian society. Besides opening new fields of knowledge to Indians in science and literature, it enabled them to rediscover their glorious past. The cultural and historical researches undertaken by European and Indian scholars unmasked the wonder that was India. These scholars rediscovered the magnificence of ancient Indian culture, the richness of the Sanskrit language and the greatness of ancient history, temples, coins, monuments and other historical buildings, and thus rediscovered India for the Indians and for the world. According to an Indian scholar, In the beginning of the nineteenth century, Ellora, Ajanta, and Mahabalipuram meant nothing to us, nor did the magnificent sculptures of Elephanta and the temples of Orissa or the Chola bronzes speak to us.” It was the study of scholars like James Prinsep and Alexander Cunningham which discovered for the Indians the greatness of the Mauryas, the imperial Guptas, the Chalukyas and the Pallavas. Western education also enabled Indians to unfold and revive India’s cultural past in the field of literature, philosophy, religion, art and archaeology.

Ancient Indian literature and philosophy were part and parcel of religion, so their rediscovery and revival in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries should be studied together. It was through the efforts of European scholars like Sir Charles Wilkins, Sir William Jones, James Prinsep, Max Mueller and others that the ancient Sanskrit classics were introduced not only in the West but also revived in India. In 1785, *Sir Charles Wilkins*, the first European really to understand Sanskrit, published an English translation of the *Bhagvat-Gita*.

Earlier in 1784, Sir William Jones founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal to encourage oriental studies. This Society got many Indian classics translated into English and these translations spread the fame of ancient Indian culture throughout Europe. Sir William Jones translated “Shakuntala” and other works of the famous Sanskrit poet Kalidasa. He also translated the Manu-Smriti. He was a linguist and made it known to the people of the West that Sanskrit was the most scientific language, and that it contained words common both to the Greek and Latin languages. H.I. Colebrooke was another European who studied Hindu Law, Philosophy, grammar, astronomy and religion and translated many Sanskrit books on these subjects into English. Thus for the first time knowledge contained in the Vedas was revealed not only to the people of the West but brought afresh to most of the Indians.

One Englishman, Hamilton, taught Sanskrit to some French and German scholars and this led to rigorous researches in ancient Indian culture by France and Germany. The most outstanding work in the field was done by the German Scholar *Max Mueller*. After a continuous labour of 30 years, he completed the English translation of the *Rigveda* in 1875. It was under his inspiration that the famous work

the *sacred Books of the East* was published in English. With the publication of this book the study of Indian philosophy became a craze in the Europe and America. The educated Indians who previously suffered from an inferiority complex, could now hold their heads high. The hearts of Indians moved with deep emotion when Max Mueller told an English audience, "If I were asked under what sky the human mind has fully developed, I should point to India."

Art and Archaeology

We owe our knowledge of ancient art and architecture to the British scholars James Princep and Alexander Cunningham. *James Princep* was in charge of the Calcutta mint from 1832 to 1838. He was also the Secretary of the *Asiatic Society of Bengal* during this period. He studied ancient Indian coins and deciphered them. His greatest achievement, however, was his painstaking research that led to the brilliant interpretation of the rock and pillar inscriptions of Ashoka. This helped in the study of ancient Indian history. He also designed a new bridge over the Ganges near Benaras, improved the design of the Calcutta mint and introduced a uniform coinage under which the "Company's rupee" was introduced in 1835 in place of the various coins in use in India. His *Essays on Indian Antiquities* and *Historic Numismatics* are valuable sources of ancient Indian history.

Alexander Cunningham was the first director of Department of Archaeology set up by Lord Curzon in 1905. He not only looked after the ancient monuments, but also excavated old buildings, towns and cities. Since then the Department of Archaeology has made a valuable contribution to the study of ancient Indian history, including the excavations of the sites and cities of the Indus valley Civilization.

Economic Exploitation by the British

The economic policies followed by the British rulers were not in the interests of India. These were in the interests of their own country, that is, England. India was being impoverished by the destruction of her industries. Indian handicrafts collapsed due to competition with the cheaper imported machine-made goods from England. Every class, every section of Indian society gradually discovered that its interests were not safe in the hands of the British. The farmer had to part with a large part of his produce as land revenue, the artisan or the craftsman was deprived of his livelihood and the worker in the factory was exploited by the owner of the factory who was generally an Englishman. The educated Indian was dissatisfied as he could not get suitable employment.

Government of India Act, 1935

By 1934 the Civil Disobedience Movement started by Gandhiji in 1930 had subsided due to the repressive measures taken by the Government. Next year the British Government passed the Government of India Act 1935. This act provided for a federation of Indian provinces and princely states. It abolished the system of Diarchy in the provinces and introduced Provincial Autonomy. The distinction between Reserved Transferred departments was done away with and all the provincial

subjects became Transferred Departments. There were to be no reserved subjects and no executive councillors in the provinces.

According to the system of Provincial Autonomy the entire provincial administration was entrusted to popular ministers. The Governor was now expected to carry on the administration with the advice of the ministers. The provincial ministry was to be formed by the leader of the majority in the Provincial legislature. The ministers were made responsible to the legislature. The Act of 1935 was thus an improvement upon the power and status of provincial ministers and provincial legislatures. But still it gave special powers to the Governors. They could veto (reject) the bills passed by the legislature. They could also issue ordinances. Thus the provincial Autonomy granted to the provinces was halfhearted. Thus the Provincial expectations of the Indian National Congress. Even then the Congress decided to try this Act and fought the elections.

In 1942 the British Parliament sent Sir Stafford Cripps to India order to bring together the Indian leaders and unite them against the danger of Japanese invasion. This is known as the *Cripps Mission*. Sir Stafford Cripps met the Indian leaders and made certain proposals. But the Indian leaders did not accept his proposals and negotiations broke down. The congress leaders now felt that this was the time to demand complete independence from the British and passed the Quit-India Resolution on August 8, 1942. The Congress asked the British Government to quit India at once. Early next morning (August 9, 1942) Gandhiji and many Congress leaders were arrested. The Indian National Congress was declared an unlawful organisation.

There was widespread agitation throughout the country and this agitation came to be known as the Quit-India Movement. This movement spread all over India and it exploded in mass upheavals and disorders. People in large numbers gathered in cities and villages and tried to destroy the institutions of British rule in India such as post offices, railway and police stations. The Government tried to suppress the disturbances ruthlessly by firing upon the crowds of people on no less than 500 occasions. Within few months, hundreds of people had been killed and over 70,000 were put in prisons. This movement swept the British off their feet. It made them realize that it was no longer possible for them to maintain their hold on India. They were compelled to start negotiations with Indian leaders for the grant of freedom to this country.

From the above review of the British administration in India, it is clear that the scope of government activity during the British rule was mainly confined to problems of law and order, consolidation of conquered territories, mobilizing law courts and collecting revenues. Lack of developmental efforts may be evidenced by the fact the Lord Morley vetoed even the establishment of a Department of Industry by a Provincial Government. There were no set goals to achieve as those of economic development or of social welfare. This was underlined by the inaction and the complete lack of policy in the face of the severe depression of the thirties. Discriminating protection was the only exception introduced in inter-war years but no aspect of this was integrated into the administration system.

The second notable feature was the exercise of power directly by the top civil service itself. Before the Montford Reforms this exercise was direct. During inter-war years, for a limited number of subjects a form of authority was vested in elected politicians-Ministers. But in effect the exercise of this authority was highly limited and in very few important cases were the Ministers in a position to ignore the wishes

to powerful civil servants. Montford Reforms merely added the responsibility of managing the legislators and ministers to the work already done by top civil servants.

The top civil servants were in effect the representatives of the British in India. Till the First world War they were overwhelmingly British. During interwar years an Indian element was progressively introduced in the composition of the highest services but this made no real change in the structure, attitudes or operations of the civil service. There was high concentration of total authority in this body of civil servants. As within this body there was considerable delegations of authority to the members of the service at the lower tier. "Trusting the man on the spot" had a specific meaning in British times. It meant trusting the District Collector or an official at even lower levels of local authority if he was a member of the civil service. No such delegation was intended for or effected in favour of any officials outside the civil service. This also had the other side i.e. insisting upon working strictly to orders, according to a scheme or a blueprint, for all lower officials/cadres below the British civil servants. There was neither delegation nor exercise of independent judgment allowed at those levels.

As the official was the symbol of externally imposed authority it was held to be of the almost importance to maintain high prestige in the eyes of the Indian public. This was meticulously insisted upon. To a certain extent even the Indian officials at lower ranks were vested, by a process of transfer, with his position or sense or prestige and the British system protected this aspect as against members of the Indian public.

The total operations of the bureaucracy and, in particular, of the nuclear British civil service were as those of an outsider. It was an outside element involved neither in the affairs nor in the passions or emotions of the ruled.

The ultimate purpose of the British administration were looking after the British interests and policy, maintenance of law and order and prestige, certain minimum standard of justice, etc. as between an Indian and Indian. When became members of this civil service, they were trained to keep aloof from deeper involvement in Indian society and function as outsiders.

During inter-war years the political situation underwent a change. However, this brought no proportionate change either in the structure of the civil service or the rest of administration apparatus or in the relations of the nuclear civil service with the rest of the administration. It meant also no change of attitude either on the part of the official or of the public towards each other. The major change was that members of the civil service found it necessary and expedient in certain contexts to conceal the basic sanction of force at the back of exercise of power by the British and to occupied to a large extent with restraining the politicians and other leading elements in Indian public life.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION SINCE INDEPENDENCE

This environment and situation changed suddenly with the coming of independence. The most important new factor was the emergence of the Indian politician as an effective ruler. The civil servants at the top of the administrative apparatus no longer acted as representatives of the English Crown, but had to act as servants of Indian Ministers. This could have meant a very large change in the situation of civil servants and in the functioning of the administrative system. However, in effect, this change was insignificant. Partly it was due to the fact that the

Indian statemen, ever Jawahal Lal Nehru, were not anxious to affect adversely the prestige and the commanding position of the administrative system and particularly of the top operators. Nehru did not evidently want to change the position of members of the Indian Civil Service in any way and they were guaranteed, like princes, a number of privileges. Even so, the exercise of political power by Ministers and later on by legislators eroded gradually the privileged positions of the top civil servants, and they had to learn more and more the art of managements of their political masters. The change in relations between the highest civil service cadres and other elements of administration was thus gradual.

The extremely important aspect of the changed situation was that the civil servant could no longer look upon himself as an outsider or representative of an outside authority. He began by slow degrees to function more and more as part of the Indian society. The distinction of ruler-ruled did not become completely blurred but the involvement of the civil servants in public affairs, in particular groups, or interests his affiliations with regions and castes came more obviously to the surface. However, even today the transition period has not been completed and in a large part vestiges of the older bureaucracy linger on.

Today, the 'generalist' i.e. the Indian civil servant and his successor, the I.A.S., still completely dominate the scene. There is an enormous concentration of power on top; in this ladder new elements of specialist or managers of business still rank low in prestige and authority. The I.C.S. and the I.A.S. still function with an exclusive status in the administration. The attitudes of the public towards officials and of the officials towards the public are still coloured largely by the older psychology of antagonism and this has had adverse effect in the context of the plans of development.

The British concepts of the single British District Officers or Collector, co-ordinating all authority in all departments over an entire area in his hands still continuous to be an important feature of the local administrative structure and colours the whole of its operation.

The civil service enjoys very effective power today. However, an extremely important aspect is that the older combination of power and responsibility are no longer to be found. In the older regime when power and responsibility when power vested largely in their hands, the senior group of members of the civil service also accepted accompanying responsibility. They were responsible ultimately to the Crown for proper management of Indian affairs and always behaved with a full sense of responsibility. Today the civil servant no longer feels responsible in this manner because power is supposed to reside in any directly wielded by the political Minister. The curious situation that exists at present is, therefore, that while the actual day-to-day exercise of the power rests in the hands of the civil servant, the civil servant no longer feels any overall responsibility. This he feels rests with the Ministers who exercise it fitfully largely on the advice of the civil servants themselves. However, as this exercise, especially in relations to personal or party matters may be on considerations other than those accepted by the civil servant or put forward by him, the advice is likely to be discharged in some contexts and occasions. This change seems to have relieved the civil servant of any feeling of carrying the overall burden of administration. The informal operations of a group of top civil servants as generally looking after the total situation has, therefore, vanished and the cabinet or an inner group of Ministers have not take over this function in any perfect effective manner.

As against this, one has to consider the relevance and appropriateness of the present state of administration arrangement India to the specific requirements of the effort at planned economic development. Apart from the result of transition to selfrule after independence, it is planned economic development that has added enormously to the dimensions of Government effort. The activities of Government have increased tremendously both in width of coverage and in depth and intensity. The direct responsibilities that Government now undertakes cover large fields of social and economic life. Government takes upon itself the responsibility of erecting the structure of public services and utilities required for development of a modern industrial society and of continuously maintaining that structure. It undertakes in addition a large variety of welfare activities and conducts a large number of industrial production businesses which are basic to the industrial structure. Government occupies large sections of trading and it tries to regulate many other aspects of social and economic life. The number of administration at various levels required in Government service has increased enormously and the qualifications needed by them have become extremely varied. The contrast with the situation in, say, 1939 is extremely glaring.

Not only has the sphere of direct Government activity and of official regulation of socio-economic activity immensely widened but also the conduct of operations has become extremely detailed. The task undertaken by government, of the transformation and activation of rural economic society, is in itself immense. This is effect means operating on the millions of small dispersed units of farming and other rural activities. Development of agriculture and its improvement are essentially specialised tasks which must be performed in relation to every locality. In British times, in some States the collection of revenue was related to maintenance of detailed village records and village officials. However, in the landlords provinces the rural administrative structure was very rudimentary. Looking at the area of the landlords provinces and of the Indian States, it may be said that for the large part of the country an administrative structure for regulating or directing activities of individual local communities was not available at the time of independence. This had to be constructed, widened and strengthened.

Apart from undertaking multifold activities and activating or regulating economic life all over the country, planning requires continuous maintenance of a long-term and co-ordinated direction of socio-economic development. This is both a highly important and difficult function which has become all the more important and complicated because of the large size, the diversity and the federal political structure of the country. Administration has to be geared all these ends.

It will thus be seen that very large ground has yet to be covered as between the highly limited Government activity of British times for which the particular structure was fashioned and the requirements of the administrative system of the planned development today.

It must, in the first instance, be recognized that Indian administrative system has grown rapidly, adapted itself partially to the changed situation and tried to meet the large manifold new requirements. Inefficiency and corruption has not mitigated but on the whole there has been no breakdown of the system. However, huge problems remain unsolved and need urgent attention.

2 - The Constitution and Public Administration

The Constitution of India is an elaborate document going beyond a mere description of basic organs of governance and their functions and relationships. It is also a sort of administration hand-book, delineating the matters of administrative concern. It prescribes the mode of creating additional all-India services and already recognises the Indian Administrative Service and India Police Service as two all-India services (The Indian Forest Service was added later). It dwells on matters like recruitment and conditions of service of persons serving the Union or a state, tenure of office of public servants, dismissal, removal or reduction of rank of public personnel.

The initiative for the creation of all-India services lies with the Rajya Sabha. This chamber has to pass a resolution by not less than two-thirds majority of those present and voting for the creation of one or more all-India services. With this lead, Parliament has to pass a law providing for their creation. The provision regarding the all-India services is made under Article 312. Article 311 of the Constitution concerns all the members of the civil service and relates to their dismissal, removal or reduction in rank. This Article guarantees that no civil servant is to be dismissed or removed or reduced in rank except after an inquiry in which he has been informed of the charges against him and given a reasonable opportunity of being heard in respect of those charges. It is this constitutional provision, which is viewed as conferring excessive security of service to civil servants. According to a recent judgment of the Supreme Court, its severity has been toned down, already referred to in an earlier chapter.

Besides, the Constitution of India enumerates a few bodies whose rationale may be explained in terms of the society's solemn determination to impart the highest measure of status and prestige to them. The Constitution contains provisions to enable them to function independently and impartially, and to remain uninfluenced by the Executive.

The Constitution of India, as approved by the Constituent Assembly of India, established the following authorities:

1. Comptroller and Auditor-General of India
2. Union (and State) Public Service Commission
3. Election Commission
4. Attorney General of India
5. Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Today (2000), the constitutionally-anointed bodies are much more and the more important ones are listed below:

1. Union Public Service Commission
2. Comptroller and Auditor -General of India
3. Election Commission
4. Attorney General of India
5. National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes
6. Administration Tribunals (Art. 323 and Art. 323B)
7. Commission for Linguistic Minorities in India
8. Finance Commission
9. State Finance Commission

10. National Commission for Women
11. National Commission for Backward Classes.

Their functions are explained as follows:

To depoliticise the process of recruitment and selection of candidates, their promotion and to ensure objective punishment, a public service commission has been envisaged in many countries, especially those influenced by British administrative practices, India being one. The Union Public Service Commission is a multi-member body, which is deliberately designed to act independent of the executive, and function impartially. The Commission is a recruitment body for public services consulted also in promotion and disciplinary cases against civil servants according to prescribed regulations and for specified categories of services. The function of recruitment is carried out by taking recourse to two methods-by holding competitive written examinations and by holding interviews. The Constitution provides for a public service commission at the state level also. There are non-governmental but similarly independent commissions for the recruitment of subordinate staff.

The Comptroller and Auditor-General of India is another pillar of democracy in India. He is appointed by the President of India under his hand and seal. The following constitutional provisions seek to safeguard the independent functioning of the Comptroller and Auditor - General of India:

1. The CAG can be removed from office only on grounds of proven misbehaviour or incapacity after an address by both the houses of Parliament.
2. His salary and other conditions of service cannot be varied to his disadvantage after he is appointed.
3. He is not eligible for further office under the Government of India or of any state after he quits office.
4. His administrative powers and conditions of service of persons serving in his department are prescribed by rules made by the President only after consulting him.
5. The administrative expenses of his office are 'charged' upon the Consolidated Fund of India and as such are not subject to vote of Parliament.

The CAG audits the accounts and transactions of the government of India and the state governments. This audit covers the following aspects:

1. audit of expenditure
2. audit of receipts
3. audit of stores and stocks
4. certification audit
5. audit of commercial accounts
6. audit of autonomous bodies and authorities

Elections are to democracy as oxygen is to life. It is of the utmost value the elections must be free and fair. To ensure this, the Constitution envisages the Election Commission under whose superintendence and control, elections to Parliament and to state legislature as well as of President and Vice-President of India are held. The Election Commission consists of a chief election commissioner and such other commissioners as may be appointed by the President. It has three commissioners at present.

The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes set up under Article 338 of the Constitution was replaced in 1990 by the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It is a multi-member body, appointed by the President under his hand and seal. The National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes investigates and monitors all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under the Constitution or any other law and makes recommendations for their socio-economic development. The National Commission submits an annual report to Parliament.

In 1976, the Constitution was amended to provide for the establishment of administrative tribunals to adjudicate disputes and complaints with respect to recruitment and conditions of service of public personnel. But it was in 1985 that the Central Administrative Tribunal was first set up. Its functions are to attend to disputes concerning recruitment and conditions of service of members of the all-India service and central services. The Central Administrative Tribunal is a multi-member body having membership drawn from both judicial and administrative backgrounds.

The Attorney-General of India is appointed by the President to give advice to the Government of India upon such legal matters and to perform such other duties of a legal character as assigned to him by the Constitution. The Attorney - General holds office at the pleasure of the President.

Article 350B of the Constitution, incorporated in 1956, provides: 'There shall be a Special Officer for Linguistic Minorities to be appointed by the President'. The Special Officer investigates all matters relating to the safeguards provided for linguistic minorities under the Constitution and reports to the President upon such matters at such intervals as the President may direct.

The Finance Commission is set up every five years to recommend division of revenue between the Union and the states and to suggest principles, which should govern grants to the latter.

While the Constituent Assembly recommended revenue sharing between the Centre and the states, it did not feel the need for this kind of partnership between the state government and its local bodies. The symmetry was completed in 1992, with the passage of the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments. These amendments provide for a state finance commission, with the mandate to recommend revenue-sharing between the state government and the local government -both rural and local. The state finance commission is appointed every five years. Its report is required to be considered by the National Finance Commission.

Mention here needs to be made of two other institutions which though are not articulated in the Constitutions but are important in India's quest for social equity. These are statutory bodies and are discussed below.

The National Commission for Women Act, 1990 established the National Commission for Women in 1992. Headed by a chairperson, it has six other members, including a member-secretary. All the members, including the chairperson, are women. The functions entrusted to this body are many. It undertakes the examination of legal safeguards for women under the Constitution and other laws, and makes recommendations for their effective implementation. It looks into complaints and take suo moto notice of matters relating to deprivation of women's rights and takes up the issues with appropriate authorities. It inspects jails, remand homes, etc., where women are kept under custody and suggests remedial action. Besides, it advises on the planning process of socio-economic development of women and evaluates the progress made.

In 1993, Parliament passed the National Commission for Backward Classes Act to set up a permanent body at the Centre to entertain, examine and recommend upon requests for inclusion and complaints of over-inclusion and under-inclusion in the list of OBCs (other backward

classes) in accordance with the directions of the Supreme Court. The National Commission for Backward Classes has been in existence since August 1993.

Only standing bodies enshrined in the Constitution are described here. No account, therefore, is taken of bodies like the Official Language Commission and the Backward Classes Commission which have been set up from time to time.

Constitutional Framework of India

India has adopted parliamentary democracy or the Westminster model, in which the executive is drawn from and is accountable to Parliament. This form of government prevails at the provincial or state level also.

President of India

The President is the head of state, the symbol of the nation, and is elected for a five-year term, which is renewable. He is elected by an electoral college comprising the elected members of Parliament and state assemblies, each member being given a certain number of votes. This has been done to ensure uniformity among the states as well as parity between the states as a whole and the centre.

The dominant view is that 'the President occupies the same position as the King occupies under the English constitution' The President appoints the Prime Minister; ordinarily the choice falls on the leader of the party having majority of the seats in the legislature and the President has no discretion. If, however, no party enjoys a majority, or if the majority party is engulfed in factional disputes with no clearly visible leader, the President may play a critical role in the making of the Prime Minister. In 1979, President Sanjeeva Reddy faced such a fluid situation. Consequent on the crossing of floor by a section of MPs, Morarji Desai, the Prime Minister, lost his majority and resigned. Thereupon, the President invited the leader on the defecting MPs, Charan Singh, to form the government although there were three claimants for the office-Morarji Desai himself, Jagjiwan Ram and Charan Singh. That Charan Singh could not prove his majority within a month, leading to the dissolution of Lok Sabha, is history. Similarly, in 1983, President Zail Singh invited Rajiv Gandhi, one of the five general secretaries of the Congress Party and a rather junior MP, to form the government after the sudden passing away of his mother, Indira Gandhi. This was even though at that time he had not been formally elected as the leader of the Congress Parliamentary party. The point being made here is that in a situation of fluidity, the President can tilt the balance.

The outgoing Prime Minister's advice on dissolution of parliament is again not being binding on the President. The defeated Janata Party Prime Minister Morarji Desai recommended to the President to order dissolution of the Lok Sabha, which he did not accept though within a month he dissolved the House when Charan Singh failed to secure a vote of confidence.

The President of India is an integral part of the country's legislative process. A bill can become a law only on getting the assent of the President. The Constitution visualised the possibility of the President not giving his assent to a bill. In such a situation-which is rare-the bill has to be passed again by Parliament. This time, the President may not withhold his assent. In 1987, Parliament had passed the Postal Bill under which the government sought to acquire a right to intercept private individuals' mail in the interest of national security. The bill was draconian in its nature, making an assault on the citizens' rights, including the right to privacy. The President sent the bill back, observing that the bill violated people's fundamental rights and suggesting revision.

The President-Prime Minister relationship has been under occasional stress since 1985. Rajiv Gandhi virtually ignored the President and the President then complained that he had not been kept informed. In this context, a controversy has been raging on whether the President can dismiss the Government. So long as the Prime Minister commands the support of his party, his dismissal by the President may put the country in a state of deep crisis. But what when Parliament recesses? The President could then dismiss Rajiv Gandhi, appoint a caretaker Prime Minister, dissolve Parliament and call for new elections.

This shows the kinds of power the President possesses and it also defines the situations under which they can be effectively used. Of all the Presidents the present incumbent of the Rashtrapati Bhavan, V.R. Narayanan has been the most activist, inaugurating the concept of presidential activism in India. He has summoned secretaries to the Rashtrapati Bhavan for discussion and explanation.

The Prime Minister

The President of India is constitutional head, the real chief executive is the Prime Minister though he is appointed by the former. The Constitution says 'there shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head to aid and advice the President who shall, in the exercise of his functions, act in accordance with such advice'.

The Prime Minister is the chief executive in the government. Other ministers are appointed and removed on his recommendation. There are many constitutional appointments in India-Governors of states, Comptroller and Auditor- General of India, Chief Election Commissioner, Chairman and members of the Union Public Service Commission, Chairman and members of the Union Public Service Commission, etc., - and these are made by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister. He enjoys an enormous range of powers and patronage. It is the Prime Minister who has an interface with the President and the Constitution lists three duties towards him. He must communicate to the President all decisions of the Council of Ministers relating to the administration of the affairs of the Union and proposal for legislation. Secondly the Prime Minister must furnish such information relating to the administration of the affairs of the Union and proposals of legislation as the President may call for. Thirdly, if the President so requires, the Council of Ministers any matter on which a decision has been taken by a Minister but which has not been considered by the Council.

So far, India has had ten Prime Ministers-Jawaharlal Nehru (1947-64), Lal Bahadur Shastri (1964-66), Indira Gandhi (1966-77 and 1980-83), Morarji Desai (1977-79), Charan Singh (1979), Rajiv Gandhi (1983-88), P.V. Narasimha Rao, Deve Gowda, I.K. Gujaral and Atal Behari Vajpayee. Gulzari Lal Nanda assumed prime ministership two times, but very briefly-after Nehru's passing away and second time after Lal Bahadur Shastri's death. Charan Singh was a caretaker prime minister and may therefore not be discussed. Indira Gandhi began her ministerial career hesitatingly but quickly evolved a governmental system, which can be characterised as the 'prime ministerial government'. Under her prime ministership, of the minister functioned as her subordinates, not colleagues. Morarji Desai's Janata Party was in effect a coalition and Desai functioned more as a chairman and coordinator rather than the leader. Scarcely better was the position enjoyed by Deve Gowda and I.K. Gujaral who headed a loose coalition of as many as 13 parties. Though heading a coalition, Atal Behari Vajpayee improved his position as he was perceived as a vote getter for the alliance.

Indian Parliament

The central place that Parliament occupies in India's political life may be readily understood from the form of democracy in operation in India under the Constitution. The political executive is formed out of the Members of Parliament and the ministry is accountable to the latter. The life of the Executive depends on the pleasure of parliament. By passing a vote of non-confidence, the latter may cut short the former's existence. It thus exercises control over the Executive. It passes laws for the country and sanctions where-withals. Of these two, sanctioning of the budget is vastly more important, in the sense that the Executive may rule for sometime by ordinance-making, thus by-passing the legislature but the budget session of Parliament cannot be dispensed with even though it may get shortened. It examines the functioning of the government and it carries out this function by its committees, which may even be of standing nature. Besides parliament, being a body consisting of the people's representatives, is the forum for articulating the grievances of the people and influencing public opinion.

Parliament in India is bi-cameral consisting of the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha, the lower and the upper chambers. According to the widely held practice, the upper house accords equality of representation to the states in a federation. India composes its Rajya Sabha on the basis of population - just as the population is the basis for election of its lower house. The Lok Sabha is directly elected whereas the Rajya Sabha is elected by the members of the state assemblies.

Coalition Government in India

India's view on coalition government is deeply coloured by what Benjamin Disraeli (1804-81), the famous British Prime Minister from 1874 to 1880, observed, namely Britain does not love coalition. To an average Indian, the term 'coalition government' therefore evokes an image of instability, indecisiveness and attributes of such negative colour. In India, the single party dominance system has prevailed for such a long time that any departure from the neatness and symmetry of such an arrangement looks like an aberration, conjuring upon image of instability.

The Congress, which ruled India for a long time till 1990s, was more a 'system', than a party in the strict sense of the term. The Congress was a phenomenon. As a result, a time came when its capacity to accommodate local and regional aspirations dwindled and other parties began to articulate more efficiently the local urges. The Congress was truly a leviathan and the space vacated by its defeat in the elections could not be filled by any other single party. India has thus entered a transitional phase in its political history. As no other political party is in a position single-handedly to replace the Congress, a coalitional arrangement of governance becomes a functional necessity.

One should here not take the view that partnership governments are uncommon, even a freak to be shunned. Coalitionalism as a form of government is common and widely practised in Europe. India itself has accumulated not inconsiderable amount of experience in this form of governing arrangement. Undivided India got its first experience of coalition government in 1937, when the Government of India Act, 1935, became operative. The Congress, having won majority in UP, formed the government, much to the chagrin of Mohammed Ali Jinnah, who had expected a coalition consisting of the Congress and the Muslim League. The Muslim League, under Jinnah, had not fought the election on a high pitch and had even hoped for its inclusion in the ministry. Jinnah thought that in India, coalition was the only respectable device that would give the Muslims a fair share in governance. The demand for coalition having been spurned by

Jawaharlal Nehru, Jinnah from then onwards directed all his energy to keep the Muslims out of the Congress and assert his two-nation theory. It is arguable that a coalition at this time might have dissuaded Jinnah from intensifying his separatist demand for Pakistan.

In 1946, the interim government under the prime ministership of Jawaharlal Nehru was the first formal coalition consisting of the Congress, the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, etc. Since 1950, when the present Constitution came into force, there have been more cases of coalitions in states than at the central level. The credit for having the first-ever coalition under the present Constitution goes to Pepsu State. As no party could get a majority in the state assembly in the first election of 1952, a coalition of non-Congress parties was formed in April 1952.

Coalition governments have been tried in most states some time or the other. Even today, a coalition government operates in a senior state of India, namely West Bengal. The Centre too, has not been without its foray into this political arrangement. Coalition history at the Centre first began when the Congress under Indira Gandhi during 1969-71 was a minority government. It was kept running by the support extended to it by the communists. In parenthesis one may add, minority government and coalition governments fall in the same family, the line of demarcation being thin, usually unclear. The Morarji Desai (1977-79) and V.P. Singh (1989-90) regimes were coalitions, the latter being, in addition, a minority government. In 1979, Charan Singh, with nearly 85 MPs, formed his minority government with the Congress under Indira Gandhi extending its support from outside. The P.V. Narasimha Rao Government in 1991 was a minority one, to begin with, but by methods of questionable nature converted itself into a majority one, lasting for full five years. The H.D. Deve Gowda ministry was a coalition government, but of its own unique mould. So is the coalition government under the prime ministership of Atal Behari Vajpayee.

Drawing on the coalitional experience already available in India, one may develop the following typology of coalition governments:

Sl. No.	Basis of classification	Types	Example
1.	Timing	1. Pre-poll electoral alliance culminating into coalition government. 2. Post-election coalition	1. West Bengal since 1977 1. Coalition governments in various states after 1967 elections 2. The United front under the Prime Ministership of H.D. Deve Gowda and I.K. Gujaral.
2.	Number of Parties	1. Dyadic 2. Triadic	1. Jana Congress-Swatantra Coalition in Orissa in 1970; Congress(R) 2. BKd Coalition in UP in 1970. 1. Akali-Jana Sangh- KMPP Coalition in Pepsu in 1952.

		3. Polyadic	1. Leftist Coalition in West Bengal 2. The coalition at the center consisting of as many as 134 parties; A.B. Vajpayee coalition government
3.	Legislative Strength	1. Majority Coalition 2. Majority Coalition	1. Coalition in West Bengal. 2. Morarji Deasai coalition at the centre in 1977 1. P.C. Ghosh-led coalition in West Bengal in 1967-69. 2. B.P. Mandal-led coalition in Bihar in 1968. 3. Deve Gowda-led United Front consisting of 13 parties, having a strength of 192MPs in the Lok Sabha of total membership of about 520
4.	Ideological Orientation	1. Ideological Homogeneous 2. Ideological Heterogeneous	1. Swarantra-Jana congress coalition in Orissa 2. Inited Left Front government in West Bengal. 1. coalitions in most states formed after 1967 elections 2. Deve Gowda-led United Front coalition at the centre after 1996 election.

The spectacle of the Congress remaining in power at the centre and in the states for too long a period has unwittingly given currency to the view that one- party government alone can provide the much needed political stability in the country. In such a context, a hung Parliament is generally perceived as a sinister development. This is an untenable view. Hung Parliament is a common feature in European counties and a coalition government is taken as a normal feature, and no eyebrows are raised. Also, one must remember, that India is a country of continental dimensions and diversities, which is not easy for any single party to successfully accommodate. The Congress, as said earlier, was a phenomenon, being another name for the national movement for independence. The monentum inherent in the national movement has now lost its force, and the space being vacated by this leviathan can never be filled by any single party, at least for some time to come. Party building is a time-consuming process requiring vision, tact and patience. Thus, India will have to learn to live with coalition governments in the foreseeable

future. The latter is inevitable when the old order is ringing out and the new one is seeking to ring in. Fortunately, India can tap its coalitional experiences gathered from the past to guide its future course of action.

One must however, admit that track record of coalitional arrangements in India is anything but assuring. But one should also not forget that coalitionism has its success stories also. The Achyuta Menon-led coalition in Kerala in the late 70's successfully completed its full term. The Jyoti Basu-led Left Front government in West Bengal has provided stability to the state for two decades, bestowing on Jyoti Basu the honour of being the longest serving chief minister in India. What is important to remember is that coalition is a highly delicate governmental arrangement requiring the fulfillment of certain conditions. A society must satisfy these prerequisites in order to create an environment of congeniality for the functioning of a coalition government.

The first prerequisite is ideological homogeneity in the constituent units of a coalition. The common outlook fostered and strengthened by ideological compatibility is further cemented, if these parties sharing common ideology have also fought the election together. This fosters the habit of working together. No less important is the temperamental compatibility of the front-ranking leaders in the coalition. Fourthly, smoothness in functioning and stability of term are promoted when the coalition is anchored in some major party. When the constituent units are too many and command more or less the same numerical strength in Parliament, leaderships not easily acceptable and bitterness in intra-coalition relationship is in the store. This threatens its life. Ideally, the number of coalitional partners should be as few as possible and at any rate, its tail must not be freely available for twisting by the marginally placed parties. The fear becomes genuine when the coalition enjoys a slim parliamentary majority thereby making it particularly vulnerable. Before one concludes this part of the discussion, it must be made clear that coalitional longevity depends on high score on all of these points, and not only the aggregate. A low score on, say one point, can not be compensated by high marks secured elsewhere.

One should now turn to the Deve Gowda coalition government and evaluate its viability in terms of the foregoing tests. The National Front and Left Front combination, redesignated as the United Front, was a mindless assortment of locally influential individuals, regional groupings and those thriving on caste issues. It had hardly any ideological homogeneity, being a motley crowd of 13 parties, most being foes till recently. The United Front was shorn of ideological or programmatic homogeneity. Mortality rate of unprincipled partnership arrangements, as we know, is bound to be high. A coalition motivated by spoils of office can not remain united of long and is apt to fall apart. To contrive legitimacy of themselves as secular: secularism is a camouflage to hide their personal, low-level ambitions. The United Front thus had no history and commonly shared memories of both ecstasy and agony-it had not fought the elections on a common platform. The political divergence was sought to be covered up by a laboured drawing up of a common minimum programme. The United Front could not even settle the leadership issue for quite some time: it took them four days to take a decision and elect Deve Gowda as its leader. The core of the coalition was provided by the Janata Dal, with its flock of 43 MPs. Left parties accounts for 53 out of 190 MPs. No single party in the coalition was in a position to provide the much-needed anchorage.

One must now turn to a political trick being occasionally invoked to let a minority government continue in power by the device of the legislative support extended to it from outside. Such propped up governments claim a fairly long history in India. After the Congress split in 1969, the Indira Gandhi ministry became a minority government, surviving on the support of the communities though the latter did not formally join it. In practice, the communists extracted maximum benefits, the price of the support. In 1980, the Congress under Indira Gandhi

assured support to Charan Singh's breakaway group to form the minority government at the centre extending support from outside, which it withdrew within a month, thereby hastening the dissolution of the Lok Sabha. In 1991, Chandra Shekhar with less than 50 MPs, all defectors from V.P. Singh's Janata Dal, constituted the government with the support from outside assured by Rajiv Gandhi's Congress. It was a comic spectacle in the sense that nearly all the members of the breakaway group discovered themselves as ministers in the new government. That it hardly lasted for four months is an equally well-known fact. History has the knack of repeating itself, especially in acts of human folly. The Deve Gowda Government had been assured support by the Congress under P.V. Narasimha Rao: even the conglomeration of as many as 13 parties could boast of no more than 190 MPs, nearly 80 short of a majority.

The foregoing discussion shows that 'support from outside' is a common enough feature of minority politics in India even though this has proved to be the proverbial Trojan horse. But the lust for power does not deter the party in minority from rushing in.

It is morally imperative that the party supporting from outside should formally share the ruling responsibility: back-seat driving distorts political processes and policy-making. Even otherwise, no party, much less the Congress, can expect to be quiet and be a passive spectator while supporting party has to share the responsibility, however vicarious and indirect, for acts of omissions and commissions of a coalition government. Equally important, the opposition role, which a non-ruling party must perform in a parliamentary democracy, gets compromised. Support from outside means that the normal opposition - non-ruling party minus the supporting party. This can be suicidal for its own political future: what record will it show to the electorate at the time of elections? No less distressing is the fact that the minority government has a very much reduced pool of talent available for purpose of ministry-making. A minority government is a government of the mediocre, the area for choice being so restricted.

The country needs a strong government that is capable of translating itself into effective governance. India has an important role to play in the international arena and is a major regional power. This presupposes, among others, firm, clear and visionary leadership at the top, which only a strong government can provide.

Note

1. It is no less significant that this bill was passed by Parliament within a few minutes and with very thin attendance. Fifty members' presence in the House constitutes the quorum but very often it is not questioned.

3 - Organisational Structure

Organisational structure is the configuration of the hierarchical levels and specialised units and positions within an organisation, and the formal rules governing these arrangements. There are trade-offs involved in deciding whether to decentralise or centralise decision authority and how to organise subunits—for example, around products, functions, or geography. The private sector has tended to move to decentralised decision making and product-or client-oriented organisations, apparently to take advantage of information and other technologies and to respond to competitive pressures from timeliness and quality.

Lacking the kind of pressure for economic survival that private sector firms face, DoD activities (and the activities of many other public organisations) have kept to more traditional approaches characterised by greater centralisation of authority and functional organisation. One obvious reason is that change is risky (it might backfire) and threatens job security; without strong incentives, risk-averse public employees resist change. It is also possible that other considerations make decentralised, customer-oriented Organisational structures less desirable in the public sector. An obvious consideration that carries more weight in public organisations is public accountability. Private firms can weigh the expected monetary cost of fraud or bad decisions against the monetary gains of decentralised decision making; public organisations have to consider the potentially high political cost of decentralising authority.

In allocating the authority to make decisions, it is useful to differentiate among the following steps in a decision-making process: initiation of proposals, choice of the decision to be implemented, implementation, and monitoring. Initiation and implementation are elements of decision management, whereas choice and monitoring are elements of decision control. To avoid the consequences of improperly aligned incentives or conflicts of interest, decision control and decision management are often separated.

Decision management is decentralised to take advantage of specialised information at lower levels and decision control is centralised to make sure the decisions are consistent with broad organisational goals. However, there are situations that call for centralised decision management, for example, when significant innovation is called for and lower-level managers lack the necessary expertise and information to initiate change. Similarly, when decisions require local information not readily available to central managers, they are delegated to the local managers.

The optimal allocation of decision rights in organisations depends on a complex set of factors. Those identified in the literature include the following:

- Location of specialised knowledge needed to manage cost effectively.
- If unit managers have important knowledge that cannot be easily communicated to higher levels, decisionmaking is likely to be decentralised.
- Technological change that renders existing specialised knowledge obsolete. Unless knowledge of new technologies can be easily transferred to lower-level managers, decisions involving choices of technology will be centralised.

- Benefits of rapid decisionmaking. Centralised decisionmaking tends to be slower because it requires more communication.
- Training and motivation (incentives) of workers and managers at different levels. Decentralised management requires welltrained and motivated local managers.
- Requirements for and costs of coordination across subunits within the activity, as well as communication of information up and down the management hierarchy. If information transfer is poor, central managers will not be able to make well-informed decision and communicate them effectively. If considerable coordination across units is required, decision may be made at higher levels.
- Ability to monitor decision and outcomes. If management cannot easily observe decisions made at lower levels, they may prefer to keep more decisionmaking authority.

One additional factor that is important in public organisations is the ability to change existing constraints. For example, the factors just listed may lead to a strategy that fully decentralises operational decision and allows the low-level manager to freely allocate his resource mix subject to an overall budget constraint, or perhaps an output target. If laws and regulations that limit resources flexibility remain in place, decentralisation becomes less beneficial, and therefore a constrained cost benefit analysis may show that a more-centralised strategy is best.

Out sourcing is an important element of the allocation of decision rights. In determining an organisational structure, outsourcing decision and processing authorities (that is, contracting them out) are assigned. What to outsource and to whom to outsource it are typically assigned. What to outsource and to whomever has authority over the production process, but some contracting requires highly specialised skills and generally is assigned centrally. Increasingly, simpler contracts (including spot market Purchases) can be handled at low levels and even larger purchases are authorised locally, even though they may be purchased centrally to obtain discounts.

Performing Organisation

Centralised and decentralised organisations monitor performance as part of their continuous improvement processes, and decentralised organisations rely on monitoring to ensure that local decision are consistent with corporate goals. Effective performance evaluation requires that the organisation establish clear goals and develop meaningful measures of them. It is important to monitor all outcomes that are valued, not just the ones that are the target of reform. At a minimum, these include measures of the quantity of out put as well as its quality and production cost.

There is growing realisation that monitoring quality is critical in managed-care organisations that have strong incentives for efficiency, for example. Health-care quality is a good example of an outcome that is difficult to measure. Its importance is indicated by the vast sums of money that have been and are being spent on developing quality measures. Objective measures are preferred over subjective measures to ensure fairness and to avoid so-called influence costs (costs that are incurred when managers and workers try to influence outcomes, measures, or decisions), but subjective measures are often also required.

Performance measures are assessed against some standard and a number of issues are to be considered in determining what standard to use in a particular situation. Benchmarking is a form of relative performance standard; it works well when the benchmark reasonably could apply to the organisation being evaluated. The critical importance of monitoring is emphasised repeatedly in the organisational literature and it is clear that the return to investment in information system or other methods of data collection is generally thought to be high in the private sector. Because information collection and inappropriate performance measures are costly, the design of the system and measures should be done carefully to support the organisation's strategy and modified as that strategy changes over time.

Scholars agree that well-designed incentives are key to success, but they disagree about which kinds of rewards are most effective: material rewards (for example, improvement in working conditions); extrinsic rewards (given by others to the individual) or intrinsic rewards (feeling of accomplishment); or individual or group rewards. The possibilities are seemingly endless.

The economic literature tends to emphasise material rewards, which have the advantage of being tangible so that it is clear when a reward has been earned and given. A few management experts believe the monetary rewards in particular are ineffective and potentially counter-productive. Certainly, they are counter-productive if they are not designed properly. Furthermore, there are situations in which none of the feasible incentives are efficient; in these cases, straight salary is preferred. The evidence suggests that incentive pay is less effective when the outcomes to be rewarded are uncertain, the influence of workers and managers on these outcomes is difficult to detect, and personnel are risk-averse or unresponsive to rewards.

Organisational Structure of Government

The organisation of government is not an end in itself, but a means for achieving national objectives. The purpose is to allocate the tasks of government so that they are performed in a manner that is both efficient and economical, with a minimum of duplication and overlapping. It is important to define the areas of authority and responsibility of administrative units, so that they may be properly to constitutional and political controls. Sound organisation, based on the principle of delegation of authority to ministries, consistent with their competence and responsibility, also encourages flexibility and responsiveness to new policies and developments. Poor organisational structure of ministries is often a major cause of inefficient implementation of government policies.

A ministry is a primary level grouping of governmental functions, headed by a major political officer known as ministers. In some countries, e.g., the US, such a grouping is called a department. More often, a department is a subdivision of a ministry, and in turn divided into division, branches, and sections, in descending order of hierarchy. In some countries, the department is known as a bureau, service, or office. Agency normally refers to an entity of government is attached to ministries and created for special government purposes.

Distribution of Work

There are four principles for distributing the work of government:

- the area covered,
- the clients dealt with,
- the process employed, and
- the function served.

The areal principle is reflected in the constitutional or legal arrangement for the division of powers between the central and state/local government. It is generally not used as a basis for grouping functions into ministries, except in the case of a ministry focused on a specific region for political or development reasons. The client principle applies to certain ministries in some countries charged with the problem of specific client groups, i.e., women, children, or minorities. It is not a general organisational principle.

For example, a ministry of social welfare will pay specific attention to the old, the handicapped, poor women, children in vulnerable conditions, and specified minorities. Educational services will be specialised to meet the needs of girls, children not covered by the formal system, those in remote areas, the handicapped, and the mentally ill; industrial development may focus in different types of industries, small and large, export units, foreign investors, and mineral exploitation.

The process principle is based on the advantages of concentrating specialised skills and techniques. Examples are ministries set up for public works or water resources or information technology, which are staffed almost exclusively by engineers and professionals. It is more common to find process based departments are more common in local governments and functional agencies than in central government, since the principle blurs the aims of government action and could create problems of coordination as the scale and complexity of government increases.

The function (or purpose) principle, by which government units are organised according to function (e.g., housing, health, defense), has become the dominant principle of organisation in most central governments. When grouped according to function or purpose, and the degree to which their outputs and outcomes can be observed, government agencies fall under four different types: 1) production organisations, where both outputs and outcomes can be observed; examples are the internal revenue service, the postal service, and the social security agency; 2) procedural organisations, where the outputs can be observed but not the outcomes; examples are hospital administration, armed forces during peacetime, and employment agencies; 3) craft organisations, where outputs are not easily observed, but outcomes can be evaluated. Examples are enforcement and investigative agencies, and various decentralised self-regulating organisations; and 4) coping organisations, where neither the output nor the outcomes can be observed e.g., the diplomatic service.

Grouping Functions

Within the functional principle, there are four criteria for efficient grouping of tasks: nonfragmentation, nonoverlap, span of control, and homogeneity. According to the criterion of nonfragmentation, all responsibility for a single unit. Nonfragmentation relates both to purpose and to place, the latter coming into play in the case of fragmentation among levels of government and among agencies in the same area. The criterion of nonfragmentation cannot be followed consistently, since unifying responsibility with respect to one function will often lead of fragmentation of responsibility with respect to another.

For example, to set up a separate entity to combat drug abuse would cut across other purposes associated with education. Law enforcement, public assistance, health, and lead to the fragmentation of a host of drug abuse programmes organised with reference to education, health, and law enforcement. Also, many social problems are so broad that to combine the authority and resources for addressing any one problem (e.g., poverty reduction) in a single agency would logically require rolling the entire government into one administrative unit. Thus, some fragmentation of responsibility among the administrative units is unavoidable.

The criterion of nonoverlap implies that no two departments should have the same authority to act in the same circumstances. While jurisdictional fragmentation divides authority, jurisdictional overlap creates redundant authority. Fragmentation makes government wasteful and inefficient. The criterion of span of control involves grouping functions in manageable organisational sizes, and tailoring the workload to the capacities of the minister and his chief officials. Ideally, managerial coordination requires a systematic grouping of functions in roughly equal size blocks, although political and functional considerations are intrinsically opposed to such tidy patterns. Finally, the criterion of homogeneity holds that no single administrative unit should attempt to perform heterogeneous functions or to serve competing purpose. This principle is related to the principle of nonfragmentation.

Allocation of Functions of Ministries

The allocation of functions to ministers and the choice of number of ministries involve three related issues:

- how important is the functions,
- how should functions be grouped, and
- what type of central control is desirable.

The first issue involves determining whether a function is important enough to warrant a separate ministry. Can a new subject, say, biogenetics, be usefully combined with science and technology, or does it really needed a separate ministry? Sometimes, setting up a new entity even when not strictly warranted can give an important signal to the population that the issue is taken very seriously.

The second issue is tied to the complex choice of linkages among functions, which influences the performance of all linked functions. For example, should higher education be grouped with primary education or with pure research? Should company law be placed in the ministry of justice or in the ministry of industry?

The third issue, that of central control, has to do with the perceived political value of the function. An important aspect of the politics of allocating functions is the effort of political actors to shape the machinery of government. For example, exporters' interests would suggest separating external trade from other ministries to focus policy and administrative attention on exports; or the chemical companies may push for giving licensing authority to the health ministry than to a more knowledgeable specialised agency.

It is at the highest level of government that the allocation of functions is most political. As one moves down structure of the ministry, organisation is much more determined by practical convenience. New tasks will often simply be added to the existing tasks with which they appear to have the closest affinity. If some new purpose is considered important enough for a separate unit, it is necessary to show how separate administrative arrangements could be set up without inflicting damage on other functional linkages.

Types of Ministries

The number and designation of ministries vary across countries. For example, there is a single ministry for infrastructure in countries like Algeria, while many other countries have chosen to constitute separate ministries for different types of infrastructure like roads, ports, water supply and sewerage facilities, and railways. Some countries have a comprehensive ministry for industry and directorates for separate industries; others like India have, in addition to a central ministry for industry, separate ministries for steel mines, heavy industry, small-scale industry, petrochemicals, fertilizers, and food processing.

Some countries combine industry and trade, while others create super ministries to coordinate all the economic work of government. The importance of the finance and planning ministries and their relative power varies in different countries. Countries also vary in where they locate crosscutting theme areas like women's development, public assistance and welfare, environment, foreign trade, housing, local government, and consumer rights. Specific areas like civil aviation, standards, information technology, and statistics often migrate to ministries over time with no apparent logic.

Most often, the underlying reason is the need to accommodate a well-concerned politician or bureaucrat. The functional grouping of ministries must be squared with the requirements of political management. The large size of departments in presidential systems like the United States (US) is partly a reflection of the problems of span of control implicit in a system where a single person is at the top. In a parliamentary government, the prime minister decides the number and workload of ministries, but there are obvious political influences and constraints on this power.

As a general principle, the number of ministries must neither be so large as to impede coordination, nor so small as to place an excessive workload on each ministry. However, the

number of ministers may be increased for political reasons in a coalition government (or with a weak prime minister), generating stress on the task of coordination. Of course, the problem can be solved by allocating subfunctions to junior ministers.

This requires the acceptance of hierarchy among ministers, but it could lead to incessant jockeying for position and implies the abandonment of the concept of reasonably compact ministries. A published record usually sets forth the powers, functions, and organisational structures of all government agencies, with a citation of the relevant laws and decrees and of the basis for the grouping of functions and amendment, e.g., a regulation such as the Allocation of Business Rules in India. The organisation chart for each ministry serves as a ready reference on the principal units and the hierarchy relationships and lines of authority.

The higher level clusters of substantive functions of government fall into a pattern that can be found, with minor variations, throughout the world. In general, the principal ministries are finance, foreign affairs, internal affairs, defense, information and communications, foreign trade, transportation, labour, energy, law and justice, industry, agriculture, education, health, urban and regional development, social welfare, and public works. There is greater variation in the organisational pattern of the newer functions, such as environment and informatics.

Certain functions may acquire new importance because of international focus, technological advance, external aid, or domestic pressure. Such is the case with environment, women's development, control of major diseases, information technology, and communications. There is a temptation for governments, whenever a new function emerges or an old one is enlarged, to entrust it to a new ministry or autonomous agencies. The resulting proliferation of ministries and agencies means confusion for the public and complexity for the political executive.

Some countries (e.g., the UK and the US) have avoided the temptation to create new ministries, preferring instead to create new units under the existing ministries, or to hive off functions to nonministerial bodies. Elsewhere, there has been a move to reduce and reorganise the ministries and the departments in different countries through merger and consolidation. In federal countries, the change in ministries often represents a downward shift of functions to the provinces, and a similar shift is noticed in the case of the devolution of functions in unitary countries to subnational units. In these cases, reducing the size of central government has to be assessed in the total context of public expenditure and service providers.

The Government of the People's Republic of China summed it up in the "three-fixes"- the fix on functions, the fix on organisation, and the fix on personnel-on the basis of which ministries and divisions were restructured and functions were abolished. In general, whenever has not been examined for more than 10 years, a systematic review of functions and organisation is advisable.

Number of Ministries

The number of central government ministries averages 16 on a worldwide basis, with little variation among regions from an average of 10 in the small Pacific countries to 20 in the

Middle East and North Africa. Within each region, intercountry variation is considerable, however, even taking into account population differences. In Africa, the number of ministries ranges from a low of 10 in Botswana to 28 in Nigeria. The range is from 7 to 35 in Asia, from 11 to 27 in Latin America, and from 6 to 16 in the Pacific. The variation is much smaller in Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, with countries clustering around 15 ministries.

Obviously, countries with large populations tend to have a greater number of central government ministries, as also do countries with a centralised, unitary structure of government. However, the evidence of administrative scale economies is strong: neither the number nor the average size of ministries increases in anything like a proportional way to the size of the population. At the extremes, 43 million people are served on average by each ministry in the People's Republic of China, compared with just 1,300 people in the Cook Islands.

It certainly matters in the calculation of senior political leaders who are interested in political accommodation, or of rulers who award cabinet posts to personal followers. The issue is also of importance for effective government for a number of reasons. Too many ministries add to overhead costs on account of the staff and infrastructure connected with each new ministry. Each ministry seeks to find new tasks, fueling the bureaucratic pressure for expansion. Problems are created when several ministries perform similar functions and tread on each other's toes.

Finally, dialogue and coordination among ministries may be easier to arrange when they are fewer. However, as noted earlier, the principle of span of control and effective accountability is jeopardized by excessive size of ministries due to a very small number. As the same time, reducing the number of ministries may produce neither efficiency nor cost reduction. Sometimes, consolidating ministries and reducing their number erodes checks and balances, as was the case in the Republic of Korea before the restoration of democracy. In the absence of external contestability, in more authoritarian governments with little legislative oversight, overlapping ministries are the only source of internal competition to spur efficient performance.

It is necessary to look at the real costs as well as the advantages of merging ministries, and consider the possible advantages of overlapping jurisdictions from the citizens' perspective, and in terms of multiple service delivery avenues. A number of countries in Asia and Africa have reduced the number of ministries and the agencies under them. Singapore was one of the earliest to undertake the exercise. The Government set up a Committee on Reorganisation of Ministries, which led to (i) a reduction in the portfolio mix (especially of unrelated functions within ministries); (ii) the transfer of closely related functions in various ministries to one ministry; and (iii) improvement in the central coordination of activities of the ministers and statutory boards.

The Republic of Korea has recently passed the Government Organisation Act, which reduced the number of cabinet ministers and minister-level officials, to create a government that is smaller but stronger and more efficient, user-oriented, flexible, and responsive to social change, with decentralised authority and responsibilities. Australia reduced in 1987 the number of government departments from 28 to 18, and the Prime Minister further reduced it to 14 in 1996. The People's Republic of China abolished a number of ministries, consolidated existing departments into more homogenous formations, and launched a downsizing exercise under a

central unit. And Italy has recently reduced the number of central government ministries to the lowest in Europe.

Restructuring and privatisation in a number of countries has also involved the merger and abolition of some existing ministries. However, as mentioned before, only a detailed study covering all levels of government can reveal whether ministerial reorganisation has actually made a difference in total government employment or public expenditure, or just reallocated the same employees and expenditure in a different way. In Central and eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, ministries are reorganised as part of the challenging effort to restructure both the economic and political systems.

Three major problems are associated with the persistence of obsolete organisational structures. One is the continued functioning of institutions whose rationale has changed radically or has disappeared outright; another is the need to create from scratch organs that can address newly defined functions of government in the transition; the third is the grafting of old institutions onto the new system, often in a dysfunctional way. Changes in ministry structures to adapt to new tasks are a key element in government reforms.

Romania, for example is working on a comprehensive plan to redistribute functions across ministries, reduce the number of directorates, and reduce the number of political appointees. Typically, reform has involved the merger of the separate ministries for industry and foreign trade, as in the case of Hungary; ministries of interior have shifted from control mode to service mode, in step with decentralisation; ministries of education and culture have shed propaganda heavy aspects of their portfolio; and ministries of finance of allocating public resources. Many ministries are deconcentrating functions and staff to local and regional offices, or hiving them off to local government. There has been no significant trend in transitional economies to set up new ministries. New bodies have been set up mainly to deal with new functions like privatisation, often with sunset provisions, as in former East Germany and the Romania.

Considering the diversity of experience across countries, it is not possible to suggest a single appropriate number of central government ministries. There can be no flat a priori advice. Each country has to choose in accordance with its administrative traditions and political realities. Also, for the experience of other countries to be useful, the comparison has to be between countries of comparable size and political structure. For example, a federal state will, by definition, have a smaller central government than a centralised or unitary structure-but this says nothing about its efficiency or effectiveness.

Also, it is important to verify that an organisational streamlining is more than just a cosmetic merger of two separate ministries without any budgetary savings, or staff reduction, or rationalisation of functions. Clearly, however, the extremes are possible to define. Countries like India with 80 ministries and autonomous central departments, or very small countries like the Cook Islands with 14 ministries for 20,000 people, produce problems of internal coordination, waste, and bureaucratic vested interests. It is neither good economics nor good politics to continue with overextended and mushrooming ministerial structures.

A typical list of central government functions was mentioned earlier. On the basis of the experience and history of different countries, 11 ministries would generally be sufficient in most developing countries to carry out these functions in a manner that respects the organisational criteria discussed earlier: finance and planning (including aid management); foreign affairs (including postal services, publicity, and information technology); interior (including police and relations with local government); law and justice; human resources (covering education, culture, sports, and science and technology); human settlements and environment (covering urban and rural development, housing and related service infrastructure, water resources, agriculture, and environment); social and labour issues (covering labour, socially and economically disadvantaged groups, women, and social welfare); health and population (including family planning and disease control); infrastructure (including energy, roads, and different forms of transport); and defense (where needed). Italy, after the 1999 reforms, and Japan come closest to this structure.

In any event, the principle challenge is not to define this or that ideal number of central government organisations, but to identify the core tasks of government in the specific country, establish reasonable coherent organisational structures to perform these tasks, and, most importantly, put in place the rules and the monetary and nonmonetary incentives that will induce good performance by public managers and employees.

Structure and Organisation of Regulatory Bodies

Countries have set up regulatory bodies for a variety of reasons. The first was the enforcement of health and safety standards, following the uproar over the congested and unhealthy conditions in factories and the exploitative practices of managers at the turn of the 19th century. Governments set up agencies to regulate working conditions and to improve health and safety in industrial units and public places. This regulation was reflected in the earliest labour laws and charters of local governments, and eventually converged with concerns about labour welfare in general, the prevention of child labour, and welfare provisions for women. Special agencies like the Food and Drug Administration of the US were established later to protect the public from adulterated or poor-quality food and drugs.

The regulation of banking activity has been on the agenda of countries since the start of the industrial revolution. This has led to the establishment of central banks in almost all countries to implement monetary policy and to regulate banking activity. The central banking institutions, such as the Bank of England, the Reserve Bank of India, etc., are also in charge of maintaining exchange rate stability and control of foreign investments and remittances in accordance with international practices. The expansion of economic activity in the last century led to the growth of independent regulatory agencies to ensure transparent competition and consumer protection. The pursuit of competition and the fear of monopolistic exploitation led many countries to set up antitrust agencies.

Consumer protection laws and the enforcement of fair business practices called for special enforcement agencies and courts. In some countries, these developments were spurred by consumer movements and the reports of legislative committees on fraud, unfair practices, and insider stock trading. In many countries like the US, statutes or administrative orders governed the establishment of these regulatory commissions or agencies, which had broad discretionary powers over important sectors of the economy.

Through various means (licensing, rate fixing, and safety regulations, for example), the agencies regulate major aspects of transportation, communication, power production and distribution, banking, securities issuance and trading, commodities and securities exchanges, business practices, the safety of consumer products, and labour-management relations. Such agencies are also set up at the provincial and local levels in federal countries like the Canada, India and US.

The growing movement for environmental protection and the control of pollution in its various forms, spurred by international concerns, led to the establishment of regulatory commissions for environmental protection and specialised bodies to regulate water and air pollution, hazardous substances, ozone depletion, and other problem areas. Governments have empowered environmental agencies such as the Environmental Protection Agency of the India or US to prescribe pollution standards in consultation with consumers and business; enforce compliance through a mix of incentives, fees, and sanctions; grant permits for the pollution-free operation of polluting industries; and provide assistance for the installation of pollution control systems.

Market liberalisation and privatisation have likewise obliged countries to set up new regulatory agencies at the same time as many areas of traditional regulation have come to be viewed as counterproductive. Often establishing reliable and independent regulatory agencies for utilities, telecommunications, and financial transactions makes a developing country more attractive to foreign institutions and investors. The enabling laws provide for speedy settlement of disputes over the decisions of the regulatory agency through special court procedures.

Amid consumer fears of exploitation by new service providers in the liberalised context, many countries have expanded the role of regulatory agencies to function as industry ombudsmen as well. The agencies provide information to the public on the procedures for awarding licenses, regulating operators, fixing rates, and filing complaints about unfair practices or exploitation. They also consult with user groups through public hearings on rates and licenses, and with advisory councils of the type set up by the British water regulatory authority.

The Indian environmental agency is obliged by law to hold public hearings before granting environmental clearance for major projects. Regulatory agencies may provide service while achieving their regulatory goals. For example, a license to operate a hydroelectric facility, a service to its recipient, may come with several conditions to protect the environment, a regulatory objective. The same holds true of other licenses and permits, including construction codes and regulations. Enforcing of quality standards in goods and services for export also promotes the country's exports, and gains increase confidence in the exports among foreign importers.

Organisational Forms

The regulatory agencies for utilities and the environment tend to be independent bodies, free from executive control. However, many government also regulate enterprises and citizen activity through government bureaus that are autonomous but not free from control of government. Such is the status of the US Food and Drug Administration and the Occupational Safety and Health, as well as departmental agencies that grant licenses and permits in a number of countries. In some developing countries, the public sector monopoly in utilities like telecommunications and power supply often also grants licenses to new entrants. To remedy this

anomalous situation, certain to undermine the confidence of the private sector in the fairness of the licensing process, independent supervisory agencies were established.

In developing countries, a regulatory body for a utility is usually an independent statutory authority headed by a person with no political leanings but with known expertise in the field. For example, the regulatory authority for telecommunications would be composed of experts in telecommunications and related fields of finance and engineering. An established convention in a number of countries calls for the executive to consult with opposition leaders and chambers of industry before nominating the members of the regulatory authority.

In some developing countries, user representatives are either nominated to the authority or included in an advisory council whose other members are drawn from the industry. The decisions of the regulatory agency have varied impact, depending on the country. In some countries, these decisions are binding on the government; in others, the decisions are merely recommendatory, although the government, if it disagrees with the authority, must explain publicly its reasons for doing so. The affected parties can sue the government for adverse or discriminatory decisions overriding the authority's decisions. Before deciding on eligibility of bidders, awarding licenses and permits, fixing tariffs and user charges, or distributing territorial rights for operation, the authority is required to follow due process under administrative law and afford equal opportunity to all the parties concerned.

Its quasi-judicial powers under the law allow the authority to conduct hearings and to enforce its decisions on all parties. It is often obliged to hold public or closed hearings with all the stakeholders before deciding a matter, and to disclose publicly the reasons for its decisions. As mentioned earlier, some authorities develop a consumer orientation by assuming an ombudsman role, proactively disseminating information on industry practices and avenues of redress.

Regulatory agencies operate in a manner that varies according to the nature of their functions. Decisions by an environment protection agency, for example, are much more generic than specific to an individual or group. It must hold wider public consultation before enforcing pollution abatement standards, levying charges, issuing environment clearance permits, or certifying pollution control devices. A central aviation authority would monitor airport and airline safety and maintenance, as well as the quality of air traffic control, and license pilots.

Increasingly, regulatory agencies in areas like environment and water or air quality, telecommunications, and cross-border transport by air, water, and road are required to work in close coordination with neighboring countries in the region, and often across continents. In a number of countries, industry associations offer to undertake mandatory inspections of workplaces and factories, pollution checks, and other regulatory functions on behalf of the regulatory agency, subject to sample checks by the agency to verify the reports. Very often, however, such entities really work for the particularistic protection of their members and to exercise political influence, under the guise of self-regulation to protect against wrongdoing.

An important management dimension is the enforcement of their orders and decisions, including redress for breach of obligations. Selfreporting systems require standardised reporting instruments and means for reviewing the completeness and accuracy of data. At the other end of the spectrum are systems that rely on physical inspection, such as the inspection of effluent standards by the environmental agency, or drug and food inspections by the Food and Drug Administration. Rapid and timely inspection and sanctions often require well-equipped laboratories and qualified staff. Where permits are required to carry on an industry or trade, the

speed and quality of the regulatory agency's decision and action in issuing the license or permit can be an issue for both environmentalists and applicants.

When licenses are limited in number, as with broadcast rights or telecommunication zones, competition is stiff, and adversarial relations with the regulatory agency can develop. The problem may recur when licenses are renewed, or a variation in the original conditions is decided. This reinforces the importance of fairness and transparency in the operations of the regulatory agencies, and the need for governments to ensure their independent functioning, subject to redress from the judiciary.

Regulatory Options

Regulatory agencies for economic activity foster competition, promote transparency and predictability in decisions, and protect the operators and the consumers from arbitrary decisions by different actors in the field. A well-designed mechanism that commits the regulator to a clearly defined course of action and reduces the vulnerability of competitors to arbitrary changes in policy can reassure potential investors. International experience shows the wide range of "institution-intensive" and "institution-light" options for regulation, and the variability of regulatory approaches in terms of command- and- control or market-like mechanisms.

Institution-intensive approaches rely on public administrators to manage complex technical problems, and give regulators considerable flexibility in responding to changing circumstances. These approaches also use an array of checks and balances to restrain arbitrary behavior by regulatory agencies and to build credibility. Banking sector regulation all over the world tends to be institution-intensive. Well-designed regulation, monitored and enforced by competent and supervisory authorities, can overcome the information asymmetries inherent in banking in developing countries and detect potentially damaging crises.

The use of price caps in utility regulation in different countries illustrates both the scope of authority of an independent regulator and the role of institutional checks on arbitrary action. A price cap gives the utility an incentive to be efficient, but can vest substantial discretion in the regulating agency. In countries with weak checks and balances, the private investors may be in a position to manipulate the price adjustment factor to their great advantage, but at the expense of the consumers.

In Jamaica, price controls became so punitive that the largest private telecommunications operator was obliged to sell its assets to the Government in 1975. The experiment, in a number of Caribbean countries, to award long- term nonvariable contracts to single private operators in power and telecommunications has generally exposed the industry and the consumer to high tariffs and poor-quality services.

In general, institution-light approaches are easier to implement in countries with weak institutional foundations for regulation, greater chances of arbitrary action by new regulatory agencies under the formal or informal control of government, and inadequate capacity on the part of the judiciary to protect business and citizens from wrong or capricious decisions. Developing countries with weak institutions should assess local capacity and political will to grant independence to regulatory agencies before proceeding with a rash of legislation to set up regulatory authorities, lest public confidence in the competence and fairness of the authorities is undermined.

Regulatory Framework for Public Sector Management

The basic regulation is a fundamental responsibility of all governments. However, in most cases there is evidence of too many laws and too much regulation. The French Conseil d'Etat (which rules on the legality and propriety of administrative and legal proposals) called the situation "regulatory hemorrhage." The annual production of new laws in France increased by 35 percent over the years 1960-1990, and the production of new decrees by 20-25 percent over the same period. Australia saw a doubling of subordinate legislation between 1982 and 1990. The Indian Commission on Administrative Law estimated the total number of central acts in force in 1998 to be around 2,500, and felt that half of them should be repealed. In the US, the comprehensive Code of Federal Regulations swelled from 54,834 pages in 1970 to over 138,000 pages in 1995.

There is also the mass of ministerial, agency-level, and municipal orders, decisions by independent administrative authorities and tribunals, and government circulars, not to mention the spate of regulations and orders of international regulatory bodies (such as the European Commission or the World Trade Organisation) that countries and companies must comply with. Not only is there a plethora of laws and regulations, but they change so quickly that citizens (and sometimes the frontline employees, too) do not know what they contain.

Fiscal and Economic Costs

The fiscal and economic costs of regulation, typically not taken into explicit consideration when enacting the regulation, have four main components. Fiscal costs to government- the cost of administering the regulatory system itself, including compliance and adjudication. Costs of compliance-the cost of new equipment, reconfiguration of production processes, relocation, and cost escalation due to delay in the receipt of permits. Indirect costs to the economy, in the form of reduced competition and innovation, and slowed investment.

Quality of Regulation

A good quality regulatory system supports national economic performance-defining property rights and avoiding needless litigation, fostering competition, correcting market failures, and promoting fair and equitable market systems. Bad regulation reduces investment, wastes resources, raises costs for consumers, and provides openings for corruption. Other things being equal, the quality of regulatory enforcement is inversely related in the first place to the quantity of regulation. However, it depends also on the nature of regulations and on the capacity of institutions.

Unworkable regulations or draconian rules lead to weak enforcement or widespread evasion, especially in developing countries. Low enforcement capacity of independent regulatory bodies or enforcement units in existing institutions could result not only in delays and transaction costs, but huge risks for the economy as well. This is illustrated by the costs of the stock market scam in India or the East Asian financial crisis.

Deregulation

Deregulation aims at making regulations simpler and less burdensome for everyone. It involves abolishing out-of-date rules, and making sure that new ones are introduced only when strictly necessary and after exploring alternatives. Many countries have established specialised mechanisms at the ministerial level for streamlining regulatory, mechanisms across the government. These include the Office of Regulation Review in the Australian Industry Commission; the Office of Regulatory Affairs in Canada; the Deregulation Unit in the UK Cabinet Office; and the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs in the Office of the President of the US. Institutions with an advisory role in setting the regulatory agenda include the French Commission for Public Sector Reform and the Ministers of Economics and the Interior in Germany. Others, such as the ministerial-level Economics Deregulation Board in Mexico and Japan's Administrative Reform Committee (an adviser to the Prime Minister), and deeply involved in reviewing existing regulations and in setting priorities for action by the ministers. As the OECF (1997e) observes, such capacities are most effective if they are independent, horizontal across government, expert, able to take the initiative, and linked to existing centers of oversight and political authority.

Developing countries could start with pilot programmes in perceived areas of regulatory costs and immediate priority, and proceed by incremental steps to simplifying regulations to improve service delivery and reduce transaction costs for citizens and business. These would cover strategies like decentralisation delegation, the use of alternate providers, and elimination of unnecessary licenses and forms.

Throughout this process, it must be remembered that the cost-benefit principle is a two-way street. Just as proposals for new rules should be realistically evaluated based on their likely costs and benefits, proposals to eliminate rules should consider the probable impact on the affected groups. Generally, however, the regulatory inflation of the past decades counsels placing the burden of proof on retaining a rule of suspect value rather than on getting rid of it.

Directions for Improvement

The central government in all countries is organised into various ministers (sometimes called departments), and various supporting units within or outside the ministries. Function has become the prevailing principle for establishing ministries and organising work of government. In turn, functions are grouped according to the criteria of nonfragmentation, nonoverlap, span of control, and homogeneity. These determine also the rationale for setting up new ministries to discharge a new function. The country's administrative structure and cultural factors are also relevant to how government is organised. In addition to function, new ministries sometimes can be set up to signal new policy thrusts, e.g., on environmental protection.

The approach is generally to group functions into as homogenous units as possible, in order to facilitate the exercise of distinctive authority by ministers, without overlap or gaps, and thus foster accountability. However, overlapping jurisdictions may have advantages in generating internal debate and providing citizens alternative avenues for services. The pressure to cut public expenditure and downsize government administration has pushed several countries to reorganise and reduce the number and size of government ministries and departments in various ways.

This tendency was reinforced by the moves toward decentralisation and the demand of subnational government units for more authority and resources. In transitional economies, the effort to restructure the economic and political systems has naturally required extensive central government reorganisation. As a general rule, the number of ministries must neither be so large as to impede coordination, nor so small as to place an excessive workload on each ministry and cloud accountability. In practice, the number of ministries varies enormously between countries, from close to 100 ministries in some countries to fewer than 10 in others. Each ministry serves an average of 43 million people in People's Republic China, and 1,300 people in the Cook Islands.

Thus the number of central government ministries does matter, not only for coordination, but also to keep down the costs of government and contain the pressures for bureaucratic expansion. Broadly speaking, most countries can manage very well with 12-18 central ministries. However, reducing the number of ministries by itself produce no advantage and in special cases can weaken accountability by producing hybrid entities. The organisation of regulatory bodies is an important influence on the effectiveness of the regulatory function, which is an essential function of government in any country.

Regulation has expanded vastly in the 20 century. In part, this expansion was related to increasing concern with safety, public health, environment, consumer protection, banking and financial stability, etc. But also, a veritable regulatory hemorrhage has occurred in most countries, with new regulations to address a valid public purpose. An excessive amount of regulation not only carries costs for the government and the economy, but worsens the quality of regulation and weakens its enforcement.

Accordingly, a worldwide movement toward deregulation began around the late 1980s. In this movement to deregulate, which is appropriate and timely, care must be taken nevertheless not to eliminate inadvertently rules that are necessary and efficient. Therefore, just as new regulations should be subject to a realistic cost-benefit test, so should proposals to remove regulations. Because resistance should be expected from the entities responsible for administering the regulations under review, a serious effort at regulatory streamlining must include the elimination or merger of a number of regulatory entities.

Few recommendations can be advanced in an area as political and dependent on country characteristics as the organisation of government. However, certain general approaches can be advanced. By and large, developing countries are usually more heterogeneous than developed countries and their independence is more recent. Therefore, while the functional principle dominates the organisation of central government in developed countries, much of the developing world could usefully consider the value of ministries serving a particular geographic area or clientele, whenever government reorganisation appears appropriate.

Also, there is a certain trade-off between coordination and accountability: a larger number of ministries makes coordination more difficult but facilitates the placement of responsibility. Again as a broad generalisation, in developing countries weak accountability is more of a problem and a risk than loose coordination of decisions. To that extent, whatever the number of ministries, care should be taken to assure clear assignment of responsibility and rules for accountability. Nevertheless, while the specific number of ministries depends largely on country size, goals, and circumstances, most developing countries of average size can probably get by with 12-18 ministries, and the very small countries with fewer than 10.

Concerning the regulatory framework, the situation is complicated in most developing countries by the regulations inherited from the former colonial authorities, which are not only

likely to be obsolete but were designed in the first place for controlling and exploiting rather than protecting the local citizenry and encouraging competition. To these were added the many more regulations promulgated after independence.

Nevertheless, the key issue in most developing countries is not the quality of regulation but its lax and erratic enforcement. Most countries would therefore benefit from a two-pronged effort at regulatory reform by (i) extensively pruning the welter of regulation; and (ii) building the capacity for robust, nondiscriminatory, and predictable enforcement of key regulations—particularly those that protect competition, public safety and health, the environment, and land use.

Organisational Structure of Subnational Government

Subnational government can revive its mandate through the country's constitution or through central government legislation. Clearly, in the former case the authority and powers of subnational government enjoy greater protection. The term "local government" generally denotes the units of government that provide direct services to citizens at the lower intermediate and lowest level. In a number of countries (as in Italy with its city-states and in many other European countries), the local government units were autonomous long before the country in its present form was constituted, and did not require authority to be devolved from higher government level. The developing countries, on the other hand, started with strong central governments after being decolonised, and the habit of local governance is usually not well rooted.

The structure of subnational government varies according to the nature of the political system. Federal constitutions confer sovereign powers on the states in certain functions, and list specific financial sources for the states to exploit. Generally, local government units are the constitutional creation and responsibility of the provinces, although some countries (e.g., Mexico, Philippines and Thailand) provide for independent national capital regions. The federal government does not normally have direct control over local governments, although, as in the United States (US), it can choose to administer programmes through them. In some unitary systems of government, subnational entities exercise their powers by virtue of the *ultra vires* (beyond the powers) principle: their powers are specifically delegated to them by the central government, which can override their decisions. In other unitary systems, local governments operate under the general competence principle, and are in principle entitled to exercise all powers that are not reserved to the central government.

The organisation and hierarchy of subnational units show considerable variety, depending on colonial traditions, customary forms of local administration, and postindependence decentralisation movements. Most unitary governments have divided the country into provinces or regions, under a governor who is directly elected by the people or appointed by the head of state. The village administrations in developing countries, through elected councils or customary organisations, often survived colonial domination for centuries. Indeed, in many countries, they were essential to selective colonial control through the principle of "indirect rule." Subnational units vary greatly in size across countries in the same country group, and there are significant differences, as well between local governments in the various countries.

For instance, in Indonesia, regional government encompasses the provincial government (the first-level autonomous regions) and second-level autonomous regions. In the Philippines, however, the provinces are closer in size to the Indonesian districts. The municipalities are the basic units of government in the Philippines, and the *barangays* (villages) are the submunicipal

units at the city and village levels. While the provinces have certain supervisory responsibilities over the municipalities and the municipalities over the barangays, each level of local government performs basic services within its area of competence.

Autonomy

The degree of independence of subnational government units varies from country to country. At one end of the spectrum are autonomously functioning subnational governments, controlled by locally elected representatives. At the other end are subnational units that are mere creatures of the central government, which appoints and dismisses mayors. The governor or provincial head is often a political appointee of the central government, and plays a dual role as head of the provincial administration and agent of the central government.

In a number of countries, the provincial administration, composed of the field personnel of central ministries and agencies, merely channels funds from central ministries to lower entities, which it monitors. Countries display contrasting trends in political regionalisation (some countries with federal constitutions or unitary systems, such as Indonesia and the United Kingdom, grant autonomy to some regions), and administrative regionalisation (such as that seen in France and Japan). In Italy, although all regions have considerable autonomy, a few have special status on linguistic and ethnic grounds.

In the transitional economies of eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, the services to be performed through decentralised units of government are still unclear, owing to the tradition of strong centralisation. The laws establishing local government in eastern Europe place heavy emphasis on characteristics that distinguish the new system from the old centrally dominated system. Attitudes to provincial or regional administration remain ambivalent. On the one hand, regional government is suspected of being an agent of central control by the central government, and thus a threat to the newfound autonomy of local government. On the other hand, it is recognised that the small size of the basic municipal units makes it difficult to devolve all local functions to them, especially for those services that have a larger catchment area.

There is thus a felt need in transitional economies for an elected authority at the provincial/regional level, to bring regional administration and some of the regulatory authority within the sphere of local accountability. However, this has not materialised because of disputes over territorial boundaries, and the concern of local governments with vesting appellate powers in an elected authority that could have a different political affiliation. In most countries, the vacuum has been filled by deconcentrated units of central administration-regional governors in Bulgaria, district offices in the Czech Republic, voivods in Poland, regional and district administration in Slovakia, etc.

Administration of Local Government

While local government is understood to comprise the administrative units that provide services directly to the people, such units are not uniformly positioned in the subnational structure in all countries. The Philippines considers all subnational levels as "local" government, while Indonesia, like a majority of countries, denotes as local government only those administrative levels below the provincial. In the two-tier system in North America and many European countries, the counties occupy the upper end, while the municipalities or communities and villages take up the lower end of territorial administration. Japan, on the other hand, follows

the system of single-tier local government beneath the positive advantages in terms of effective administration of settlements lying outside municipal limits, and coordinated planning of infrastructure.

India, following the colonial tradition, has nearly 600 administrative districts, each reporting to the province in which it is located. These districts vary tremendously in size, from a few tens of thousands to several million people. The central and state governments have the authority to vary the territorial boundaries of districts and their subunits, and to merge the units in different ways. Generally, the subdistrict has no autonomous role although, as already noted, the villages have traditionally enjoyed autonomy. Depending on their size and character, the municipalities could report directly to the government at the center or to the province, or could form part of the district/county administration.

The submunicipal bodies, such as neighborhood committees and community councils, constitute the final links in the chain between the government and the citizens. Administrative systems for rural areas are typically different, and are strongly influenced by cultural factors and traditions. Village organisations were identified as the building blocks of local government in many Asian and African countries, and were later built into the administrative structure for the district (a large collection of contiguous villages). At the same time, in a number of countries, a representative of central or provincial government was placed in charge of administering and coordinating the workings of agencies (in the manner of the French prefect).

In a number of Asian countries, democratic decentralization, in the form of elected councils at the district and subdistrict levels, was grafted onto this model. Establishing local government has posed special problems for countries in Africa and the Pacific, which followed customary modes even during colonial rule. Customary systems persist in many African countries, although customary traditions have been retained alongside formal systems in developed countries like the New Zealand and US, and some developing countries like India.

In Africa, Uganda has made the most serious attempt to democratise native authority through local councils that cross sectarian boundaries. Tanzania has succeeded both in developing authority to local levels and in building a national consciousness beyond tribal and local confines, one of a handful of such cases in Africa.

Constitution making in the Pacific brought out two issues: decentralisation and the role of customary systems and leaders. The dispersed islands and the social makeup of the new states made decentralisation and power sharing more acceptable to the people. However, the traditional role of customary leaders, which is integral to the way they are chosen, is different from their assigned role within the legislative framework for local government. In the process of induction into local government, the chiefs lose some of their traditional accountability and authority.

Administration of Rural Areas

Rural administration is important to the quality of life of millions of citizens and, for this reasons, is not treated simply as a residual of provincial government in most countries. Especially in countries with vastly dispersed settlements, as well as those undertaking large poverty reduction and social services programmes, administration by remote decisions and unrepresentative agencies is not conducive to efficiency or credibility. The need for effective organisational structures for rural administration reaching down to villages has been recognised in most developing countries.

The emerging model of self-government for rural areas in many Asian countries is that of a village council at the base, a second-tier subdistrict to represent a block of villages, and the top tier at the district level with indirectly elected members. This formal structure is modified by customary norms and selfgoverning organisations. In India, where the system of district administration has been given constitutional backing, the district councils also prepare (together with urban representatives) the development plan for the entire district.

In some countries, parastatal organisations such as development agencies also function as local authorities for their clients. Townships built around large manufacturing plants have, in some cases, been allowed to provide social services. Some of these nonmunicipal local authorities are also permitted to levy taxes and service charges to defray the costs of operation.

Although all countries have experienced urbanisation, the rate, magnitude, and character of urban concentration have differed significantly across countries. Worldwide, there are now over 300 cities with more than a million inhabitants, and 200 of these are in developing countries. In the year 2000, of the 20 largest urban agglomerations ("megacities") with more than 10 million inhabitants, 17 are in developing countries, including 12 in Asia alone.

By the year 2025, it is estimated that there will be 20 megacities in Asia, with a combined population of almost 400 million. However, while a substantial proportion of the urban population lives in the bigger cities, the smaller urban settlements still dominate the urban scene in almost all countries. For example, more than 90 percent of the municipal and township governments in the US serve fewer than 10,000 residents, and 28,000 of France's 36,000 communes have less than 1,000 inhabitants.

Municipalisation is due largely to the natural extension of city limits. It is also due to the granting of new municipal charters by governments in countries where the citizens have the right to form themselves into new urban units. Many countries, such as Japan and the United Kingdom, have deliberately amalgamated smaller municipalities to achieve a viable urban settlement structure. Recognising the importance of secondary cities with populations of less than 300,000 and redressing their relative neglect over the years, developing countries like India and Indonesia have undertaken comprehensive infrastructure development programmes in these small and medium towns.

What urban government does, who does it, and with what resources vary from country to country, and from town to town. Generally, however, urban public services in most countries comprise:

- garbage collection/waste management;
- water supply/sewerage;
- environmental services, streetlight maintenance, parks and recreation;
- primary health care and education (in some countries only, usually to complement central government services);
- some social welfare (e.g., shelters for the homeless);
- internal transport;
- urban planning and regulatory enforcement;
- local public works and housing;
- firefighting and other emergency services;
- traffic regulation;

The responsibility for police and prisons is usually not entrusted to municipal bodies, except in some countries of the Organisation for Economics Co-operation and Development (OECD). In many Asian countries the urban areas have suffered from the predominantly rural bias of political leaders, which led to the diversion of resources to nonviable rural development projects. On the other hand, fears of city services being overwhelmed by the flood of rural migrants have made urban authorities determined to stem migration to the cities, even by denying basic services to slum dwellers.

The predominance of rural voters continues to nourish the bias against essential investment in municipal infrastructure in many countries, while populist policies operate against self-financing urban services. It is useful to look at different ways in which urban functions evolved. Countries following the British tradition of local government tend to look at municipalities as service delivery agencies, and to specify functions and finances, boundaries, and central control in relation to this role.

Countries in the European tradition tend instead to proceed from allocation of different functions to central and subnational government, thus allowing for wide variations in municipality size and capacity to deliver services. This difference accounts for the much smaller size of urban jurisdictions in many countries on the European continent, compared with those in the UK or countries influenced by the British tradition. Countries in the French tradition have thus been able to let deconcentration ensure state and local coordination in the performance of functions such as law enforcement.

Municipal Administration

A municipal agency is an administrative entity, while urban services could be, and often are, performed by a variety of nonmunicipal agencies. Nevertheless, urban government has historically been treated as synonymous with municipal administration in many countries. The status of municipalities in different countries varies between the statutory and the permissive. Urban government has no constitutional status in countries like the UK and the US, but has been granted such status in most Asian, African, eastern European, and Latin American countries, and in continental Europe. At the same time, there are varying traditions of local administration within many countries with dispersed settlements disparate cultures. The issue that arises, therefore, is whether the municipalities in a country should have a uniform structure, or whether the structure should be modified to suit local traditions.

Some countries provide for the powers and resources of urban local bodies in the constitution itself, while others leave these details to be decided by the provincial or national government in the executive orders and regulations it issues. The laws often envisage different structures for large and small municipalities, and sometimes enable the formation of associations of municipalities and of district councils composed of urban and local representatives for comprehensive planning. (Separate laws are often passed for metropolitan cities.) In a revival of local self-government, Hungary reinstalled the traditional two-tier local structure with the counties (*megyék*) as the upper level, and the municipalities (settlements) as the pivotal lower layer. It is useful to have the legal and regulatory system recognise significant differences in the management capacities of municipalities of different sizes, through a classification of local government into different levels.

Elected municipalities are not as widespread as may be imagined. A significant proportion of municipalities are governed by bodies nominated by the central or provincial

government. The reluctance to accept elected TSTP and autonomous local bodies as the principal organ for local management is a major obstacle to responsive city management. Within elected municipal governments, executive authority can reside in (i) an executive mayor elected directly by the people (as in central and eastern Europe, Japan, and most cities of North and South America);

- (ii) council committees (as in the British-based systems in Asia and Africa);
- (iii) council committees along with administrators appointed by the government or the council itself (as in South Asia);
- (iv) a mayor selected by a council, which is itself elected by the people (as in several western European countries and some Asian cities); or
- (v) a mayor-in-council system, whereby a group of councilors is elected along with a person to head the council

The pattern of executive leadership through a mayor or a mayor-incouncil is becoming increasingly common. This is partly an answer to the fragmentation of authority within the municipal administration. Such leadership is more effective, in turn, when supported by a senior professional administrator such as a "city manager". This arrangement is particularly advantageous in a functionally fragmented situation because of the ability of the elected mayor to represent local interests before other public agencies and levels of governments, to link political leadership to the administration, and to make collaborative bargains for resource mobilisation and programme implementation.

In Asian countries, the capacity of a mayor to exercise strong leadership depends on the manner of election, the length of tenure, and on whether the mayor functions in an individual or a collegial capacity. It also depends on the extent to which the higher government eschews day-to-day control over the operations of the municipal council. In the Japan, US, and a number of developing countries in Asia, Eastern Europe, and Latin America, the mayor is directly elected by the people.

Executive authority is concentrated in the mayor, subject only to the supervision of the elected council in the approval of budgets, new positions, senior appointments, and major policies. The mayor cannot be removed by the council (although countries like India provide for the mayor's removal by the provincial government, after due process). Many instances of mayors showing innovative leadership, eradicating corruption, augmenting city infrastructure, and forging partnerships with civil society have been documented.

The mayor of La Paz, Bolivia, in the early 1990s turned a corrupt and bankrupt city into a reasonable efficient and financially stable entity. The model of the mayor elected indirectly by the city council, which is apparently symmetrical with that of the prime minister in a parliamentary system, is followed in Asian and African countries in the British tradition, among others. This model has the advantage of avoiding conflicts between the mayor and the elected council, but makes the mayor more vulnerable to party maneuvers and the mayor's authority dependent on his or her position in the hierarchy of the ruling political party.

In a number of countries in the British tradition, executive authority is often split between the standing committee and subject committees of councilors. Inherent in the committee system, even in countries like the UK, is the potential for delay and manipulative politics in local government. A variant of the model of an indirectly elected mayor is the mayor-in-council system adopted in a number of cities such as Calcutta, India. The majority party elects a group of councilors along with a person to head the council. Each councilor is responsible for a particular

department, but functions as a member of a collective executive under the leadership of the mayor.

The Calcutta system functions effectively because the vertically controlled hierarchy of the political party dominates both the provincial and city governments, and there is less risk of internal dissension undermining collective work. Where, as in a number of Asian and African countries, the mayors are not elected but appointed by the political executive of the national government, their authority depends on the extent to which they are allowed to function independently and carry influence with the city administration.

In any case, political authority must be supported by a strong administrative executive (city commissioner, city manager, town clerk, or whatever title). The chief executive of municipalities is appointed differently in different countries. In the British model, the chief executive is appointed by the mayor with the approval of the council and is thus answerable to both...In countries in the US tradition, the strong mayor is empowered to select the chief executive, who is usually endorsed by the council. In the continental European tradition and Japan, the chief administrator can be seconded from the national bureaucracy, or appointed by the mayor under a renewable contract with the approval of the council, after a process of competitive recruitment.

In a number of developing countries that follow the British tradition of local government, the chief administrator in large cities is appointed by the provincial or national government from the generalist cadres of the civil service. Often, there is little or no consultation with the mayor and the council, and the chief administrator can be removed only by the government. If this person comes from the senior executive service, the posting in the city government is related as a rank-related posting for which no special skills are deemed necessary.

Some countries like India have started constituting specialised cadres of municipal chief executives and other senior managers for smaller councils but not for the bigger cities. The practice of the central or state government appointing the chief administrator for large cities creates divided loyalties among municipal personnel and dilutes local political control. The practice is inherited, in fact, from the deep-rooted colonial mistrust of local native administrations and the resulting wish to install a colonial functionary to guard against the possible misuse of power and wasteful expenditure.

Accordingly, most mayors in Asian countries see the practice as undermining the principle of local democracy and empowered urban bodies. Provided transparency and credible selection systems are ensured, the model of the locally appointed chief administrator offers advantages because of the scope for selecting competent professionals with experience in diverse aspects of city government. But, irrespective of the manner in which policies and operational norms are set in the different models, the appointed chief administrator needs the power and status to exercise clear managerial control, especially over department heads; agreement by political leaders to refrain from intruding into managerial functions; and reasonably long tenure. Recent studies have brought out many examples of local innovation and leadership by chief executives, who worked closely with both the political leadership and citizen groups.

Submunicipal Organisations

Establishing submunicipal organisations in a number of developed and developing countries answers the need for more responsive community services, and has significant implications for partnerships with different organisations in civil society. For most urban dwellers, the quality of life is determined by what happens in their immediate neighborhood. Submunicipal organizations contribute to four main functions: coordination of urban services, community participation in prioritising and delivering services, community representation (voice) in city agencies, and mobilisation of community resources and skills.

Metropolitan Cities

The metropolitan cities and national capital have been the subject of different experiments in governance, ranging from a separate governmental structure to a regional authority supervising local councils. The growth of megacities, i.e. urban agglomerations with more than 10 million population, is the most striking feature of late 20 century urbanisation. Megacities have grown because of the natural increase in population and migration, and are expanding to Extended Metropolitan Regions (EMRs) which often cover areas 50 to 100 kilometers from the city core.

Megacities comprise a built-up area at the city core, a metropolitan ring, and an EMR. Some ERs, such as the JABOTABEK (Jakarta region), the Bangkok metropolitan region, and the Metro Manila region, have a formal administrative status. Such megacity regions form a significant proportion of the national urban population-Jakarta, 20 percent; Bangkok, 50 percent; Seoul, Dhaka, and Metro Manila, 33 percent. These and other megacities are reaching the physical limits of growth, need strategic guidance in better and integrated planning to divert future growth into areas with lower development and ecological costs, and for better and more accountable governance. The alternative in human and ecological disaster

Metropolitan areas and megacities are economically larger than most of the counties in their respective regions, and their contribution to Gross National Product (GNP) is substantial. Also, these cities are increasingly forming part of a global network of knowledge, commerce and industry, and cultural exchange. Unfortunately, equally striking are the problems of urban poverty, disease, slums and squatter settlements, deprivation of basic services, lack of transport, environmental pollution and crime and violence.

Megacities are in special need of good governance. The sheer number of people involved and the importance of these cities in the national economy argue for urgent interventions to address their governance weakness. The weakness include unclear development policies and coordination, ineffective regulations, violations of land-use rules, unresponsive and unrepresentative administration, and near-complete disregard of marginal groups.

Metropolitan governance, then, implies multiple organisational jurisdictions and responsibilities. The national capital region of Delhi in India encompasses cities and districts from three surrounding states besides the state of Delhi proper, and is governed by special legislation Provincial status has been given to Beijing, Jakarta, Shanghai, and Tanjin; a two-tier system (a metropolitan authority and city governance) applies in Manila and Tokyo; a combination of local government and metropolitan authorities is found in Karachi, Mumbai, and New Delhi; and multimunicipal arrangements exist in the Calcutta area.

4 - Planning in India

Even before independence, the Indian National Congress in the 1940s showed its interest in planning by setting up the National Planning Committee to prepare comprehensive plans of reconstruction of undivided India. Independent India adopted planning in the 1950s as the vehicle of its development. The country has completed eight Five-Year Plans with varying degrees of success; and it is engaged in implementing the ninth Plan. But over the years, planning has lost a good deal of the credibility and glamour it had enjoyed in the 1960s, which calls for a measure of introspection on the part of Indian society. The annual rate of growth of the economy since the beginning of planning has been a measly 1.5 per cent per capita, which compares very poorly with the growth rates achieved by other developing countries.

Three dominant traits of Indian planning may be noted here: (a) it is highly centralised; (b) it is bureaucratic; and (c) it builds upon its preceding plans.

Centralised Plans

The centralised thrust of planning has received powerful impetus from historical and environmental factors, such as the erstwhile unitary form of governance, single-party dominance, centralisation of financial resources, etc. Once a tradition of centralist planning was built up, it began to feed upon itself over time. Planning, to be sure, has an inherent centralising slant, but in a federal system it is possible-and desirable- to devise counter-balancing mechanisms and encourage styles to encourage the emergence of plurality of decision-making centres.

Bureaucratic Nature

The bureaucratic nature of planning is, to an extent, implicit in the preceding one but has become a glaringly prominent feature. The planning processes do not seek to involve citizen participation in any organised way. When slackness in execution is noticed, the remedy is sought in still greater bureaucratisation.

The Rut of Predecessor Plans

Each plan registers gains-and some inadequacies- intended and unintended as well as immediate and remote. The succeeding Plan should take full cognisance of all these changes no less than their implications. One may, for instance, argue that macro-level planning was necessary in the early stages of economic development when the infrastructure had to be created and a host of other fundamental decisions taken. The phase is over; and now the time has perhaps come to plan at the unit level so that schemes of development correspond more closely with the needs and aspirations of the local people. Instead, with almost monotonous regularity, each plan is content to run on old grooves.

Administrative Aspects

Administration is the single most critical factor intervening between planning and implementation though planning itself; strictly speaking, is a function of administration. No plan

can expect to accomplish more than its administration permits it to do; it is too much on its part to move much beyond its public administration. Yet the administrative aspects of the Five-Year Plan do not generally receive serious attention of the country's planners. Generally, their concerns for implementation mechanisms, if any, are more of a postscript or a tailpiece than a product of integrated thinking. It is not without significance that the chief executives at the national Development Council sessions plead for greater autonomy, fiscal and otherwise, and make suggestions in various areas, but seldom is a word uttered to explicitly demand toning up of the administrative system or to stress administrative limitations.

The implementation processes acquire a powerful meaning in a developing country, for it is at the stage of implementation that the local interest groups become aggressively vocal and assertive, distorting the programmes and cornering the benefits, whatever be the explicit objectives or goals. The Indian experience amply proves this hypothesis. All told, administering the Plan acquires top level priority. This is the message of all the plans. V.K.R.V. Rao was right when he attributed the failure of planning 'its implementation, its lack of cohesion with social factors and the impediments imposed by political, social, administrative and cultural forces'.² The Government of India's Economic Survey for 1984 also admitted as much, albeit weakly: 'The degree of discipline in Plan formulation and implementation needs to be greatly improved'.³

Profile of Change

It is thus imperative for the country to evolve an administrative system that can cope with the challenge of the Plan. The crying need of planning is simultaneously to formulate a comprehensive national administrative plan so that the Five-Year Plan gets administratively supported. The 'correction slip' approach, which is generally followed when confronted with embarrassing situations, would not be of much avail. This requires a leadership role on the part of the political elite. Without constant prodding and stimulation by the political chief executive and other ministers, public administration is apt to run in its accustomed way. Public administration can be expected to remain efficient and positively oriented only when it remains under continuous political control, guidance and surveillance. Political Commitment, one may again emphasise, is a prerequisite of administrative reform, and without administrative reform no plan can be put into operation in the way originally visualised.

The National Development Council, the summit institution of the chief executives of Indian Union, has gradually become a body without much brief, which is confirmed by its infrequent meetings and the occasional non-serious nature of discussion in its sessions. It is not without significance that the NDC has met only 37 times since its inception in 1950. This weakens the processes of consensus politics and prevents plans from reflecting the ground level realities of a vast and diversified country like India. In theory, the NDC is the sovereign body, and the Planning Commission is made subordinate to it. But in practice, it has become largely a decorative body. The NDC must be made stronger, politically, organisationally and operationally; and efforts in this direction must not be delayed. Currently, Centre-State relations are marked by numerous strains. Unfriendly relations between the Centre and the states create a climate which is inimical to both planning and its execution. Bridges, therefore, need to be built between the two levels of governance, a function that is appropriate to the NDC. Nor should the Planning Commission remain what it has been over the years. It should be made a more vigorous body and the inconsistent relationship between it and the constitutionally established Finance Commission should be removed.

Antiquated administrative structures and leisurely procedure of work are incompatible with the accomplishment of tasks visualised under the Plan.

Inefficiency, delay, motivated harassment, corruption, wastage and misuse of resources must be censured wherever these are noticed and professionalism in administration must be promoted at all levels and in all sectors. Administrative delays are notorious in India. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi once asked the central government secretaries to insist upon quicker action and cut down delays in administration. In this context, she quoted the private comments of the Japanese and American entrepreneurs that what is done in a day in other countries takes no less than a month in India. There should be a single-window clearance of industrial proposals and citizen dealings should also be without harassment and delay. Delays happen on account of poor project report and inadequate appraisal; the surprise is that such things happen in an economy in which planning has been in progress for nearly four decades. Training in project formulation and implementation is of critical importance to avoid delays as huge funds from the limited resources have been locked up in these.

The state-level public administration must necessarily be called upon to bear the brunt of the new tasks and, therefore, it will have to be considerably strengthened, more in terms of quality than quantity, so that it becomes an apt instrument for undertaking programmes of development. A series of measures are imperative; the states are well advised to scan the reports of about 20 administrative reform committees, set up by them from time to time since 1947, and to see that the urgent reforms are swiftly carried out. The well known tenure system, which operates rather erratically at present, needs to be enforced more systematically. Not only should a civil servant coming to the central government on a tenure revert to the state (or service) of his posting after completion of his spell of duty, the tenure system should also be applied in an orderly way within a state itself, ensuring regular exchange of personnel between the field and the headquarters. Meaningful training programmes should be organised for state-level personnel in various areas to improve their functional proficiency.

As early as in 1971, the Planning Commission had asked the state governments to set up planning boards—broadly on its own pattern—to attend to the task of integrated planning of their respective states. These bodies have since been set up in a few states but have hardly been effective. The machinery for evaluation is weak and in many states is non-existent. There is thus no regular and reliable mechanism for feedback to flow to planners, and in such circumstances, mid-term corrective action is not possible. It is necessary that planning bodies be set up in each state, with status and function similar to those of the Planning Commission, and their responsibilities should extend to plan formulation, annual plans, project monitoring, evaluation and mid-term appraisal.

Similarly, empowerment of local governments—rural as well as urban—should not remain shelved, as has generally happened in most states so far although the seventy-third and seventy-fourth constitutional amendments were passed in 1992. Local government will necessarily have to be involved more meaningfully, more closely and more widely in the efforts for development.

Planning necessarily leads to recruitment of a large number of experts and specialists in various sectors and levels of administration. But in India, the technical personnel generally suffer from low morale, the reasons being excessive control from above, manning of top policy-making positions even in technical sectors by generalist administrators, lack of promotional opportunities, etc. A new report published in 1984 said:

...more than the promotional aspect, what is really disturbing is the fact that technical officers in the Planning Commission find themselves handicapped in their very functioning. It is stated that there is 'some hesitancy' on the part of the IAS officers from the Planning Commission as well as other ministries and departments to attend meetings

chaired by technical officers. Sometimes, secretaries and additional secretaries from other ministries are invited to hold the meetings in the Panning Commission.⁵

Such attitudes hamper functioning and must be eschewed. A certain ascendancy in the status and role of the specialists is inevitably built into the very logic of development and the imbalance must be corrected. Stress may also be laid on the need for experts and specialist acquiring administrative experience and training to enable them to move into positions of administrative responsibilities in various areas and levels of government. At the same time, tasks of integration and coordination grow increasingly weighty under a planned economy and the place of the generalist administrators also becomes much more important. The relationship between the specialists and the generalists is complementary, not competitive, provided both play their respective roles. Besides, the generalist administrators must also specialise in one or the other sectors' administrators so that they may make an intelligent contribution to the work in hand.

India's weakest link in administering the development plan is the ground-level machinery, and reference here is particularly directed to the district administration headed by the District Collector. Whether the District Collector should be associated with development administration is a question that has been debated since the days of the Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee (1945).⁶ Gujarat, Maharashtra and Karnataka have, however, hived off developmental functions from regulatory ones and have set up an entirely new functionary-Chief Executive Officer/District Development Officer-to look after the former set of functions. Other states have taken the view that departmental tasks would get more effectively performed by a close association of the traditionally honoured District Collector, and accordingly have made him the head of development. But howsoever highly an office is traditionally viewed by the citizens, an excess load on it is apt to bring it under heavy stress and strip it of its supposedly magical potency. This is precisely what has happened to the office of the District Collector.

Besides, the member of the IAS appointed to this post is a neophyte, having put in barely four or five years of service. In the natural course of things, he cannot command the spontaneous cooperation and respect of other district level functionaries, who possess much greater experience and are older in age. What is even worse, the District Collector is subjected to frequent transfers, his average stay in one place being less than 18 months. With all such parameters within which he has necessarily to function, the Collector is hardly in a position to provide meaningful leadership to development administration. The larger truth, today, is that he is not in a position to administer either the traditional regulatory affairs or even the newly acquired developmental ones, with an acceptable level of efficiency. Strengthening of field administration should be an item on the agenda of national policy-makers that cannot be postponed any longer, and postings at this level should be made compellingly attractive. It is implied that some of the gloss needs to be taken off the Secretariat postings.

People's Participation

The administration of plans given India's scale and magnitude is not possible without active and widespread citizen participation. In July 1984, the Prime Minister told the National Development Council: 'I look to the people's involvement in the Plan as a means for speedier and more efficient implementation. For me, the relationship between the Plan and the people is an organic one.' She further added: 'The decentralisation of the planning process to the district and the block levels will ensure the fullest participation of the people in the formulation and implementation of programmes. There is no other way of making our anti-poverty programmes a

living reality'. Yet the fact is that one has to look really hard to find any kind of people's participation in the development plans. Panchayati raj is not active in most states, except in states like Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnataka and West Bengal where it is in reasonably good health.

Citizen participation, a prerequisite of effective implementation, calls for decentralisation both of planning and administrative decision-making. Planning must be pushed downward, with the reality always in view that the priorities of the lower unit may not be the same as those of the higher level. To put it concretely, the state government's priority may be agriculture; but a particular district-or block- may have forestry as its acute current need. In this sense, there is little decentralisation of planning in India despite the continued urgency to do so. The district and the block should become the new lower units of planning. As V.K.R.V. Rao observed:

The administrative unit for local planning should be at the block level with necessary provision for finance, technical expertise and administrative coordination, with the block-level officer instituting a two-way dialogue with an elected body like the block-level panchayat for guidance in formulating the block plan, reporting to it on progress in implementation and seeking its cooperation and participation in dealing with the difficulties faced in implementation. The next higher unit in the hierarchy of planning units should be the District Development Officer (whose status and authority for both spending and coordination should be similar to that of the District Collector) and the Zila Parishad, which would be an elected body, representative of the district as a whole in addition to special representation for the block-level panchayats in the district. The relations between the DDO and the Zila Parishad should be similar to those between the BLO (block level officer) and the block panchayat.

The next higher authority for planning should be a composite unit comprising the State Planning Board, the State Cabinet, the State Legislature and the /state Development Commissioner. Interesting in this context is also the recommendation made by the Economic Advisory Council to then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi for setting up a planning authority at the divisional level.

When people participate, they organise themselves and even think for themselves. While participating in implementation of programmes designed for their benefit, social consciousness emerges, releasing energy and imparting dynamism to the programmes. No doubt this is a time-consuming process, but then, any human development programme requires investment of time.

Additional Thoughts

A sound administrative strategy for planning should take into full account the previous experiences of plan implementation and also make optimal use of knowledge made available by modern management as well as the experience of other developing and developed societies, which faced more or less similar developmental problems. Besides, there should be continued search for strengthening capabilities, and various mechanisms should be devised to this end.

The top level planners should also expose themselves more and more to the field, especially to the rural realities, by spending a reasonable portion of their time in villages. This would not only make planning less esoteric and more meaningful but also ensure better implementation. This would happen if the planners would have occasions of seeing planning and implementation from the other end and thus getting a clear vision of how the plans are interpreted, operationalised, and distorted to suit the local power structure. The proposed ruralisation of the top level planners is particularly necessary for the success of rural development programmes.

Implementation also suffers from a certain multiplicity of objectives. It disperses attention. A noted economist has warned: 'The larger the number of objectives, the easier it would be to justify alternative courses of action in fulfilling one object or another.'⁹ Concentration on just one objective may not be feasible in a democracy, where diverse interests project their demand on the policy. Also, plurality of objectives may keep various groups of people to interact within the limits of a common institutional framework. Yet, the lesser the number of objectives, the better it is for the line functionaries.

There are some other ideas worth consideration. The implementation failures recurring since the 1950s, perhaps call for a small tight plan, which may perhaps be supplemented by an 'indicative' plan. The administrative energy, currently scattered all over, would thus be released from the 'indicative' sector, and become available for the performance of the essential part, resulting in its smarter implementation. Besides, the 'indicative' sector, freed from administrative shackles, would be enabled to show unhampered initiative and drive in its liberated area. At any rate, as Sachin Chaudhary once commented: 'Much unnecessary rigidity has entered the process (of Planning). A great deal of deadwood needs to be hacked away.'

This is not to imply that planning has been a futile exercise and that it should be given up. India's achievements flowing from the planning process are many-sided and well-marked. Planning is essential because it helps to channel national thinking in certain well-marked directions and to draw up a set of norms regardless of the fact that the unexpected might occur. But planning in India is basically incomplete: it is based on models constructed in purely economic terms, thus seeking to project an absolutely apologetic image. This makes Indian planning rather theoretical and difficult to implement.

Finally, there is need for creating a climate at the national level that is positively supportive of economic development and planning. An important component of it is the existence of a structure of national morality and what is more, practice of it by the governing elite. This is apt to restore credibility to planning and administration and in the process generate much-needed goodwill for such efforts.

Planning in India

Planning in India is seeking a shift since the adoption of the New Economic Policy in July 1991. The earlier highly centralised, command-type planning was now undergoing a significant change and it was replaced by what is known as indicative planning. Planning purists in India never accept that India ever had command-type planning. With agriculture being in the private sector and a substantial industrial and business sector too in private hands it is patent, they argue, to apply this epithet to the planning efforts. They, therefore, contend that India never had more than indicative planning. Anyway it is the Eight Five Year Plan which for the first time formally uses the term 'indicative planning' to characterise the new planning exercise.

The planning exercise since the nineties bears certain characteristics worth mention. First, planning is becoming increasingly decentralised. What this means is that more and more attention is now accorded to state governments in planning formulation and implementation. The latter in their turn are showing growing concern for district level planning. Each state, today, is equipped with a state planning board headed by the chief minister himself. But decentralised planning had made notable headway in states like West Bengal, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. Local institutions' involvement in the planning process is another feature. Nearly 40 per cent of the state plan funds is presently channeled through the gram sabha. With the passage of the seventy-fourth constitutional amendment in 1992, the panchayati raj

institutions are being viewed as a pasture in the planning process, particularly in the implementation phase. Finally, implementation, which has been the proverbial Achilles' heel in Indian administration and did not receive any organised interest in the past, is receiving increased emphasis in the planning effort. What is therefore happening presently is growing devolution of resources and transfer of power to lower levels of administration and more concentrated attention on implementation of the plan.

Indian planning has presently marked a shift from a highly centralised one to indicative one where the Planning Commission is to concern itself with the building of a long-term strategic vision of the future and articulation of nation's priorities. It is, moreover, to work out sectoral targets and to provide promotional stimulus to the economy to grow in the visualised direction. The Planning Commission now performs an integrative function in the development of a holistic approach to the policy formulation in critical areas of development including economic one. The social sector like rural health, drinking water, rural energy, literacy, environment, etc., has to be subjected to coordinated policy formulation.

The Planning Commission was hitherto emphasising inputs only. Its emphasis has since shifted to maximisation of the output. Which means its priority on optimum utilisation of the limited resources. Emphasis on more increase in the plan outlays has ceased and effort is made to look for increases in efficiency of utilisation of the allocations being made. All this calls for fostering of a culture of high productivity and efficiency in the Government.

Notes

1. There was hardly any discussion of administration as a variable in planning in the National Development Council when it met in July 1984 to discuss the Approach to the Seventh Plan.

5 - FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

Significance of Financial Administration

Financial administration means the management of the finances of a State or of a public authority endowed with taxing and spending powers. Sound financial management is vital to the success of any enterprise. This is all the more so for any government. Efficiency and economy are the two watchwords of Public Finance. Financial administration seeks to raise, spent and account for the funds needed for public expenditure. It involves the activities of four agents: the executive which needs and spends the funds; the legislature which grants the funds and appropriates them to particular Ministries and Departments: the Finance Ministry which controls the expenditure, and Audit which sits in judgment over the way in which the funds have been spent.

Budget

The word 'budget' originally meant a bag, pouch or pocket attached to a person. In public administration the term refers to a financial document which is annually placed before the legislature, by the executive, giving a complete statement regarding the government revenues and expenditure of the past financial year and an estimate of the same for the next financial year. There is no unanimity among writers regarding the definition of the term 'budget'. It has been defined differently by different authors of public administration. The word has been used synonymously with 'programming' and 'management'. However, most people agree that the budget is the keystone of financial administration and the various operations in the field of public finance are correlated through the instrument of the budget.

A budget is a financial report of statement and proposals which are periodically placed before the legislature for its approval and sanction. A budget is a balanced estimate of expenditures and receipts for a given period of time. In the hands of the administrator the budget is record of past performance, a method of current control, and a projection of future plans. It is a report of the entire financial operations of the government of the past (for a given period) and gives us a glimpse into future government fiscal policy. Budgeting aims to gather legislative support for government proposals. It is an attempt to allocate financial resources through political processes. it reflects an organisation's goals and aspirations and its policies and proposals to realise them. "The real significance of the budget lies," states Willoughby, "in providing for the orderly administration of the financial affairs of a government.

The budgetary system that evolved in England during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was viewed primarily as a legal and accounting instrument, and the budget agency had the main responsibility of consolidating money estimates of expenditure needs from the various departments each year. The conventional pattern of government budgeting serves the sole purpose of fiscal accountability and is merely a document for parliamentary control of the financial operations for the government. The entire expenditure is presented through a series of demands for grants. Every ministry presents one demand for its own requirements and separate demands for each of its subordinate organisations. The Demands for Grants, thus follow the organisational pattern and the details in each of these demands are on the basis of objectwise classification, for instance, establishment charges, contingencies equipment and materials. This

type of budget is known as the line-item budget with its focus on itemised classification of expenditure.

The line item budget is effective from the viewpoint of public accountability, but today a budget has several other objectives. Viewed as an instrument of financial administration, budget is a vital tool of management. As an operational instrument, it is presented in the form of projects and programmes for which there is managerial responsibility in terms of achievement and costs in a given period. The government budget is also being used as an instrument for the analysis of government policy in financial administration. It can be used to review the pros and cons of the fiscal policy of the government which has an impact on the national economy as a whole. Through the budgetary process the government can influence levels of taxation, expenditure and capital investment consumption which practically affects all segments of the national economy and economic behaviour of the entire nation.

In developing countries which are committed to bring about rapid socio-economics progress and development of their peoples, the bureaucracy has by trial and error become the major instrument of implementation of public policy. Developmental goals like improving the level of social services, health and education, building infrastructure like roads, communication facilities, electricity and market centres or raising production in agriculture and industry incur much government expenditure. In the change-oriented milieu of development administration, a system of rigid checks and balances over financial administration may act as a deterrent to increased government spending which is vitally necessary to lay the foundations of a social welfare state. Too much stress on economy and accountability may make the administration tardy. Therefore, in the modern age, to suit the need of massive public investment and expenditure there is need for reforming the traditional concepts of accountability based budgeting. Elaborating the needs for reform in the budgetary system, specially in developing countries, Thavaraj writes:

The need for result-oriented budgeting is more keenly felt in all the developing countries where investable resources are few, the backlog in development is considerable, entrepreneurship is scarce and consequently the role of the government is all-pervading, embracing a wide variety of enterprises ranging from the simplest of consumer goods to the most complex capital goods industries and infrastructural facilities. Planning and budgeting are, therefore, extremely important to ensure economy, efficiency and effectiveness in the use of resources.....Measurement of performance is an essential aspect of result-oriented budgeting.

Most of the shortcomings of the line-item budget were sought to be removed by the performance budget, a new concept in financial administration which first originated and developed in the USA. Since 1950, the US government has adopted the performance budget. Several Third World Countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America have also incorporated the principle of performance budgeting, partially if not totally, in their budgetary systems.

Features of a Performance Budget

Performance budgeting is a financial document that seeks the implementation and control of government programmes through budget allocation. This is done by presenting government operations in terms of programmes, activities and functions. Through such a functional classification of governmental financial operations, public policies are sought to be identified in the annual budget in concrete physical terms so that a direct interaction between inputs and outputs could be identified and state performance reviewed through clearly identifiable cost overheads. In traditional budgeting the objects of government expenditure, purpose of the

different proposed outlays, or linkages between costs and performance cannot be clearly identified or assessed. In performance budgeting, the focus is on the end rather than the means. The main purpose is to clearly define the objects of governmental spending, the work to be performed and an estimated cost of the performance. The concept of a programme budget, which is also called a performance budget, sets in advance the targets and the authorisations against which the performance of the governmental departments can be assessed periodically. It serves as a basis for efficiency and work measurement qualitatively and quantitatively. The performance of the past year serves as an evaluation sheet for next year's budgetary targets and estimates. Performance budgeting shifts the emphasis from the means of achievement to the achievement itself, from what the government buys and acquires, to the service renders.

The difference between a line-item budget and a programme budget has been aptly summarised in the following lines:

A line-item budget shows how many clerks will be hired, how much travel money will be spent, how much will go for printing or mimeographing, and what will be expended for papers, typewriters, and stationery. The plans are based on these line-items; the controls are geared to these lines; the information has to do with the things used. In sharp contrast, the programme budget starts with the work to be done, the costs of various work units, the purpose of travel, the ends to be served by printing or office supplies. The programme plans are in terms of the jobs to be accomplished; the controls are related to responsible management, the information tells what work is being or will be done in relation to what was authorised in the past.

Process of performance Budgeting

A performance Budget is prepared in functional categories, such as agriculture, education, industry and health. Each functional category is divided into 'programmes', for instance, health may be divided into primary health, child health, and public health. Each programme is sub-divided into activities which in turn, are further divided into 'projects'. Activity constitutes the collection of similar types of work in a programme, the purpose of which is to contribute to the achievement of the latter, for example, training of primary rural health workers is an activity in the public health programme. 'Project' entails any activity which requires capital investment, such as building hospitals and health clinics. There are four main steps or phases of performance budgeting. They are: (i) compiling a functional classification of all governmental activities in the manner discussed above; (ii) evolving a system of fiscal management and cost reporting which may be in accordance with the objectives of a programme budget; (iii) developing accurate statistical weights and measures of assessing government performance in terms of adequacy and unit costs; and (iv) establishing in the budgetary process, an objective system of performance evaluation to provide periodic feedback to executors of public policies.

The entire budgetary process of a programme budget entails certain basic steps:

The first step is to indicate the organisational structure of the agency and the objectives of that agency. The second step is to draw up a financial requirements table. The table, which seeks to make a tabular presentation of budgetary needs of the organisations, contains three basic elements: (i) a programme and activity classification; (ii) object-wise

classification showing the same expenditure divided into broad object-wise expenditure groupings, such as establishment charges, travel, grants-in-aid, etc; and (iii) sources of financing indicating the demand numbers and major heads under which these outlays are included in the current appropriation structure. The third step consists in providing an explanation of the financial requirements. The needs to be done with reference to each of the programmes included in the table. The purpose of this explanation is to provide some indicators that are capable of reflecting the performance aspects of the organisation.

Merits of Performance Budgeting

Performance budgeting serves many useful purposes and fulfils many shortcomings of the line-item budget. It is becoming increasingly popular as a tool of fiscal management and policy in modern financial administration. In the first place it makes it possible to establish identifiable linkages between policy and performance, inputs and outputs, the physical and financial aspects of governmental performance. Thirdly, it would help to evolve a better system of financial accountability and legislative control. Fourthly, it would facilitate the process of audit of governmental operations. Fifthly, it would make effective result-oriented assessment of the long-term development policies of the government. Sixthly, it would be the innovator of far-reaching reforms in financial administration. Seventhly, it would help eliminate waste and inefficiency in the financial transactions of government, make budgets direction oriented and more development motivated. Lastly, it fixes responsibility very precisely besides giving a clear picture of revenue and expenditure alternatives.

Limitations and Difficulties

The adoption of performance budgeting imposes a lot of initial difficulties specially in countries where the traditional form of budgeting has been continuing for a long time. The major reasons for this are discussed as follows:

(a) The government performance is not always easily quantifiable and often may not have clearly visible results. In the absence of quantitative performance units an attempt to correlate plan programmes to budget heads often becomes a futile exercise, for example, law and order activity is a government activity whose 'result' or 'performance' cannot be very objectively measured.

(b) The difficulty relates to the lack of cost-accounts. Many assets of the government agencies cannot be accounted for in terms of unit cost.

(c) A problem in adopting the performance budgetary procedures is the arduous task of linking accounting heads with development heads. The difficulty arises due to the fact that the development heads such as agricultural production, education, and health are spread at different places in the departmental organisation forming different major heads of accounts, with the result that it is very difficult to decipher the total expenditures on all the schemes under a development head. Therefore, it is often impossible to know what had been originally planned and their costs.

Performance Budgeting in India

In India, proposals in favour of performance budgeting started originally in the mid-fifties. The Estimates Committee discussed budgetary reforms in its twentieth report and recommended the adoption of performance budgeting in India. It reiterated this recommendation again in its report in 1960.

Following the recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Commission in 1968, strongly urging the central and state governments to adopt this new form of budgeting, performance budgets of four central ministries were prepared that year. In 1977-78 about thirty-two developmental departments in the central government switched over to performance budgeting. Many state governments have also now introduced performance budgeting in selected departments.

However, the system of performance budgeting in India suffers from the same limitation discussed earlier (in the limitations of performance budgeting). Problems have arisen in the setting up of work units and in estimating costs. Regional diversities have resulted in different local precedents in costing procedures. In the absence of universal norms and standards of performance evaluation much of the benefits of this type of budgeting in terms of efficiency and performance are lost. In India, the achievement figures are often not quoted in concrete physical terms and the technique of cost measurement has not been followed right down to each cost centre. Targets and estimates are yet to be explained in terms of relevance and objectives as clearly as they should be.

To overcome these shortcomings a reorganisation of the heads of accounts to bring them in line with the heads of development is first required.

A reform in the accounting system is also called for. A measure of rationalisation of the administrative organisation of government ministries and departments will also facilitate the processes of performance budgeting. Lastly, a complete integration of planning and budgeting is imperative for a greater degree of success in the 'performance' of programme budgeting in India.

Budgetary Process in India

In India under Article 112 of the Constitution, the President Causes to be laid before the Houses of Parliament a statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India during the financial year. This Annual Financial Statement shows the sums charged on the Consolidated Fund of India and the money required to meet other expenditures. The former is non-votable and the latter votable. Votable estimates are submitted to the Lok Sabha which can assent to, refuse, or reduce the grant but not enhance it. All demands for grants and taxation proposals thus emerge from the executive. Expenditure can be sanctioned only by parliament. The Constitution safeguards the interests and rights of the taxpayer through three provisions: (i) No tax shall be levied or collected except by authority of law, (ii) No expenditure shall be incurred from public funds except as provided in the Constitution, i.e., unless it has been sanctioned by Parliament. (iii) The executive has to spend only in the manner sanctioned by Parliament. This control is exercised by the Comptroller and Auditor-General (and, after the separation of Accounts from Audit, by the Auditor-General).

The Ministry of Finance administers the finances of the government; in fact, the entire structure of financial administration revolves round the Finance Ministry. It frames the Annual Financial Statement in consultation with the other Ministers. After Parliament has approved of the budget, it controls the entire expenditure of the government with a view to economy in public spending by the other administrative Ministers.

After the money has been spent, public expenditure is subjected to the searchlight of an independent audit to examine the legality and the propriety of the expenditure. Parliament control of taxation and expenditure is rendered effective through independent audit. The Auditor-General is independent of the executive and is accountable only to Parliament. After Parliament has voted grants to government, the Auditor-General has to see that the moneys voted are spent on items according to the Appropriation Act and the amount spent does not exceed the amount granted. he has to report to Parliament any expenditure not in conformity with the declared intentions of Parliament or any faulty administration of a grant.

The budget has three stages: preparation, legislation and execution.

(i) **Preparation:** The budget is the programme of the Chief Executive. Efficient budgeting depends on the active cooperation of all departments and their subdivisions. Each agency should have a budget office. The budgeting and the programming work of the agency should be interrelated under the direct responsibility of the agency head. Each agency has a budget officer who transmits the agency's views and proposals to the central budget bureau. Budgeting is not an exclusively central function; it should permeate the entire administrative structure. The communication between the central office and the agency officers responsible for budgeting and programming is a two-way communication. India is federal state on the Union Budget starts with the officers preparing the estimates in September on the basis of the figures supplied by the Finance Ministry. The Finance Department consolidates these estimates in January. They are next scrutinised by the Account General.

(ii) **Legislation:** The budget is the most important tool of legislative control over the public purse and through the purse over the executive. It includes control of revenue and expenditure. No tax can be collected without its prior authorisation and no expenditure incurred without its prior approval. The Finance Minister presents the budget in the Lok Sabha towards the end of February. It is proceed by an Economic Review portraying the state of the economy during the current year. The Finance Minister presents the budget with a budget speech explaining at length the financial proposals of the government. The budget is presented in the Rajya Sabha at the same time. Parliament recesses for three days to enable the members to study the budget proposals. On reassembly a general discussion takes place for three days after which demands for grants are voted on the basis of the priority of demands previously agreed to by the leaders. Only the votable item are put to vote. Motions may be moved to reduce any grant. On the last day all the remaining items are put to vote en bloc. Voting on demands for grants is followed by the Appropriation Bill authorising the issue of money from the Consolidated Fund and vesting in the Government the authority to draw money from the Consolidated Fund.

Vote an account: As voting an demands for grants may take some time, a vote an account may be passed providing for the expenditure of a department for about four months in the new fiscal year. It is open to general discussion.

Consolidated Fund: The Centre and the States in India have each its Consolidated Fund to which all receipts are credited and all authorised payments are debited. Expenditure is of two kinds: votable and non-votable. The non-votable items, i.e., those that are charged on the Consolidated Fund are: (i) Salaries and Allowances of the President and expenditure on his Office; (ii) the salaries of the Chairman and the Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha and the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker of the Lok Sabha; (iii) debt charges including interest and amortisation charges on Government loans; (iv) salary, allowances and pensions payable to or in respect of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India; (vi) any sums required to satisfy any judgement-decree of any court or arbitrary tribunal; (vii) any other expenditure declared by the Constitution or by Parliament to be so charged. Expenditure on the counterparts of the above in the states are charged on the Consolidated Fund of each state.

The Finance Bill: The Finance Bill is the Bill embodying the Government's Financial (Taxation) Proposals for the ensuing financial year which has to be passed by Parliament every year. It is open to general and clause discussion. Amendments may propose the abolition or the reduction of any tax but not any new tax nor an increase in the rate of any existing tax. The Bill as amended is passed by the Lok Sabha and after consideration by the Rajya Sabha goes to the President for his signature on receipt of which it becomes an Act.

Money Bill: Money Bill is one dealing with taxation, borrowing, or expenditure, especially with one or more of the following matters:

- (1)
 - A. the imposition, abolition, remission, alteration, or regulation of any tax;
 - B. the regulation of the borrowing of money or the giving of any guarantee by the Government of India, or the amendment of the law with respect to any financial obligations undertaken or to be undertaken by the Government of India.
 - C. the custody of the Consolidated Fund or the Contingency Fund of India, the payment of money into or the withdrawal of any money from such Fund;
 - D. the appropriation of moneys out of the Consolidated Fund of India.
 - E. the declaring of any expenditure to be expenditure charged on the Consolidated Fund of India;
 - F. the receipt of money on account of the Consolidated Fund of India or the public account of India or the custody or issue of such money or the audit of the accounts of the Union or of a state; or
 - G. any matter incidental to any of the matters specified in (a) to (f)
- (2) A Bill shall not be deemed to be a Money Bill by reason only that it provides for the imposition of fines or any pecuniary penalties, or for the demand or payment of fees for licenses or fees for services rendered, or by reason that it provides for the imposition, abolition, remission, alteration, or regulation of any tax by any local authority or body for local purposes.
- (3) If any question arises whether a Bill is a Money Bill or not, the decision of the Speaker thereon shall be final.

A Money Bill differs from a Finance Bill in the following respects;

- (i) A Money Bill deals exclusively with taxation, borrowing, or expenditure whereas a Finance Bill has a broader coverage in that it deals with other matters as well.
 - (ii) A Money Bill is a Bill certified to be such by the Speaker of the Lok Sabha whereas a Finance Bill requires no such certificate.
 - (iii) A Money Bill must be returned by the Rajya Sabha to the Lok Sabha within 14 days of its receipt, with its recommendations, if any, which the Lok Sabha is not bound to accept. Disagreement over a Finance Bill, however, is resolved at a joint sitting by a majority of the total number of members present and voting.
- (iii) *Execution of the budget:* After the Appropriation Act is passed, the grants as voted by Parliament are distributed, care being taken to spread the cuts, if any, over numerous heads. Appropriation is the allocation of funds to a given unit as passed by Parliament. Within a grant, an intra-unit transfer of funds is permissible. Unspent balance, if any, lapses. Actual expenditure depends on two conditions: sanction by competent authority and provision of adequate funds. The spending authority shall exercise due care in the spending of public money. Public money shall not be spent for the benefit of a particular individual or community; and all orders sanctioning expenditure shall be communicated to the auditor. The Account-General monitors the progress of receipts and expenditure and brings irregularities, if any, to the notice of the competent authority.

Instruments of Financial Control

Four organs of government exercise financial control in a Parliamentary democracy-the Legislature, the Government, the Finance Ministry and the Audit Department. Parliament exercise control over revenue, expenditure, borrowing and accounts. Legislative sanction is required for the levy of new taxes or for the increase in the rates of existing taxes, for the withdrawal of money from the Consolidated Fund for public expenditure, and for the raising of loans. Public accounts are scrutinised by the Public Accounts Committee and are audited by a statutory authority which is independent of the executive. India follows four principles of financial control: (i) The Executive, acting through Ministers, cannot raise money by taxation, borrowing or otherwise without the authority of Parliament; and proposals for expenditure requiring additional funds must emanate from the Cabinet. (ii) The second principle vests in the Lok Sabha the exclusive control of the purse. Money bills must originate in the Lok Sabha which has the sole power to grant money by way of taxes or loans and to authorise expenditure. The Rajya Sabha may reject a grant but not add to it. (iii) The demand for grants must come from the Government. Neither the Lok Sabha nor a State Assembly may vote a grant except on a demand for grant from the Government. (iv) Likewise, the proposal for a new tax or for an increase in the rate of an existing tax must come from the Government.

The executive, in addition to the legislature exercises control over Finance. It determines the pay allowance, leave, travelling allowance to each of the administrative authorities. The Cabinet is assisted by an Economic Committee which decides on the financial matters to be referred to the Cabinet for decision. Its Secretary reviews with each Ministry its financial proposals in the light of the funds available. It coordinates the activities of the Government in the

economic sphere, determines the priorities of the development schemes in the Central and the State spheres and distributes the available resources among the competing schemes. Its orders on the estimates are final.

The Finance Ministry has a special responsibility in enforcing economy in expenditure. It has to ensure that the administrative departments get adequate funds, that they keep within their grants, that they surrender their savings well before the close of the year and that the spending departments send progress reports regularly, and on time. It coordinates the activities of the different ministries, reviews the results and monitors the general trends of government expenditure.

Under the Constitution, the executives are to formulate demands for money. The Lok Sabha has the prerogative to exercise control over taxation, to grant supplies for public expenditure. This is ensured by the audit of public accounts by an independent statutory authority-the Comptroller and Auditor-General and the subsequent examination of his audit report by a parliamentary committee-the Public Accounts Committee. The Comptroller and Auditor-General examines the annual accounts and satisfies himself that Parliamentary grants have been applied to the purposes for which they have been voted and in the amounts intended and they have been spent according to laws, rules and regulations. He reports on any waste, losses or departures from settled financial principles and procedure. This report examined by the PAC completes the cycle of Parliamentary control of public expenditure. It is a discretionary audit to ascertain whether the executive has observed the rule of prudent housekeeping in public expenditure.

The Committee on Estimates is a continuous 'Economy Committee' to suggest economies within the limits of accepted policy. It is not concerned with government policy as such. Its concern is with exploring how that policy could be achieved with minimum public resources. It has 30 members from the Lok Sabha elected on the principle of proportional representation by means of a single transferable vote. Its Chairman is appointed by the Speaker. By convention one-third retires every year. It works through Sub-committee.

Importance of Audit

Audit is an integral part of Parliamentary control of public finance. It is an external control over the administration; it seeks to enforce accountability to Parliament. The Constitution placed the entire financial administration of the Union and the States under the sole and undivided authority of the Comptroller and Auditor-General. He is appointed by the President and is removable like a Supreme Court Judge. He has a six-year tenure and cannot be reappointed. His salary, allowances and pension are not votable; they are a charge on the Consolidated Fund. He draws the same salary as a Supreme Court Judge. Nor can the conditions of service be varied adversely during an incumbent's tenure. His functions until 1976 embraced both accounting and audit of all financial transactions of all the central and state governments. Since 1976, when audit was separated from accounts, the compilation and maintenance of accounts are now done by the Departments themselves. There is now departmentalisation of accounts in the Central Government, with a Comptroller-General heading the expenditure. He examines and verifies the accounts after the transactions are completed in order to discover and report to the legislature any unauthorised, illegal or irregular payments, any financial practices

which are unsound and any shady transactions which the administration has entered into. He seeks to enforce accountability to Parliament.

Separation of Audit from Accounts: Audit was separated from Accounts in 1976. The combination of both before 1976 had proved unsatisfactory. Accounting is an executive function; it is a function of the executive head. Auditing is a quasi-judicial function and a combination of the two is incongruous. Accounting is the responsibility of the spending department whose responsibility it is to keep within the budget grants and appropriations. The spending department without accounting does not have the figures of expenditure and is likely to exceed the appropriations. Likewise, audit will be more efficient without accounting.

6 - Human Resource Development- Facing New Challenges

Today, we are living in turbulent times. We are put “on a daily diet of despair”, administered through the morning newspaper. To add to this, we have disastrous movies, nightmare scenerios of chemical and nuclear holocaust and violence of terrorism, apart from floods, cyclones and volcanoes. We have all become insurance-worthy. The complex future is rushing at us. “Everything nailed down is becoming loose”. With population explosion, there are more people everywhere wanting more goods and services. Poverty has become ubiquitous. There is a growing gap in the standard of living between the rich and the poor, between the North and the South, and within the third world countries, between the strangulated cities and the gaping countryside. There is tremendous challenge to be faced and overcome. Decision making is becoming more and more complex and difficult, with less margin for error, and the consequences of a wrong decision could be disastrous. Since time available is less, there is a need to push decision making to lower levels where information is readily available, or to organize a system where such information could be easily and quickly retrieved and obtained. To facilitate this, we have to energise and empower people at various levels. Hence human resource development (HRD) is vital for efficiency and effectiveness. Peter Drucker, the High Priest of management, once remarked, “There are no under-developed countries, only in the worked of things but in the world of people. The economic and technological miracles of Germany and japan, and their amazing recovery after a devastating was shows that human material and the skills developed, along with national concern and commitment took them over the hump to the forefront of developed countries.

In a though provoking research paper, publishing under ILO-ARTEP, Behraman raises the issue “to what extent is it possible for developing economies to change their comparative advantages from primary commodities and other low-skill, labour-intensive products for more skill-intensive goods and services through deliberate expansion of human resource”. He further adds, “there are those who argue that the success stories of several Newly Industrialised Economies (NIEs) in East and South East Asia in moving from simple manufacturing based on low-wage labour to high-technology production is he result of a deliberate adoption of human-resource-led development strategies”. In the preface to this paper, Gud Edgran calls attention to human resource development which “is taking centre stage in the development debate. This is not one day too early, since the human condition and what can be done to improve it are closer to the objectives of development than are the means an material requisites which have long been he preoccupation of economic development planners and policy-makers”.

Fast Changing Environment

Amongst the many, there are five important trends in society which seem to affect, direct and control social change.

1. First is the incredible growth of knowledge-doubling itself every five-years. Ever new techniques are always on the horizon, with administration and management trailing behind. If one doesn't keep in touch through continuing education, one faces the risk of obsolescence. It is “an age of the survival of the best informed”. There are haves and have-nots in the ecology of knowledge. Access to knowledge is itself a kind of power.

2. There is an emergence of new social forces with changes in the social cosmos. The concept of man, power and values are undergoing rapid changes. Man, today, is “nomadic and rootless” forever in search of an identity, either ethnic, religious, linguistic or caste-based. Power and authority do not invariably coincide. There is so much of collective bargaining by various interest groups such as trade unions, farmers, workers, students, etc. that there is a continuous shift in the power structure, knowledge, wealth and violence accentuating the shifts. Values are getting transformed and eroded with a revolution of rising expectations, a widening generation gap and a better informed youth maturing earlier. The competitive politics and up-manship have also lent a new face to the value system. With this continuous cataclysm, we are living in an “age of ambiguity and uncertainty” and callaesthetics – the science of the perception of beauty, form elegance grace and sublimity is fast losing its meaning. There is a need for flexibility; “asking basic questions about one’s future is not merely intellectual curiosity but a matter of survival.”
3. The third trend is the ever changing work climate. The general atmosphere of work is not congenial and conducive to discipline. There is a lack of working ethics and a crisis of trust-trust which signifies “a conviction that the leader means what he says”. In Peter Drucker’s words “effective leadership-and again this is a very old wisdom – is not based on being clever, it is primarily on being consistent..... Its essence is *performance*”. Today, a substantial part of executive effort is spent on counteracting each other rather than supporting common objectives. Examples of this can be found everywhere: the Army vs the Navy or the Air Force, the development vs regulatory administration or finance, the managers vs the trade unions, each talking to the other but not listening to what the other party says. Rules are made to avoid evasion and evasion means finding a breakthrough. In this work climate, an administrator or manager cannot remain insulated from his environment-impersonal and alienated and living in the safe retreat of air-conditioned rooms and five star hospitality. There is feeling of insignificance and frustration in the work force, which today’s manager has to remove. People need to be inspired. One has to induct a positive attitude for work, providing scope for job enlargement and job enrichment.

Einstein once remarked that one of the biggest problems of present day society is to let the ordinary man feel that he matters. For instance, Rommel and Montgomery, two generals belonging to opposite camps in World War II. Made their soldiers feel that they were the army; similarly, Napoleon said that there were no bad soldiers but only bad officers. Fear is no longer an effective way of managing people; nor can it serve as the incentive system by itself. We need a sense of identity perhaps of the kind which the Japanese inducted, giving the staff a sense of importance and belongingness in the organization. Russi Mody also tried to introduce this in TISCO. Willingness of the manager to listen to the employees and create in the staff a sense of development for personal growth provides energy and a feeling of power. Many years ago, Copernicus said that government exists on guns, rice and *faith*. The ability to reward and to punish must be buttressed by credibility. Mere efficiency is not enough; one has to be effective. Some managers “let the inbasket define the nature of their contribution and the clock as its limit”. But to be effective, one should set an example; also one should be a good communicator and negotiator. This is an “Age of Negotiations”- with our staff and its unions, with government agencies, with customers and with a large number of other organizations. There is, therefore, a need for effective leadership at various levels.

4. Globalization: Today, we are living in a world which is one global village. The deliberations of G7, G15 and G77, the North-South dialogue, the GATT discussions on trade and tariff, the macro-economic stabilisation and structural Adjustment Programmes of the IMF leading to liberalization and a market friendly instrument of economic restructuring have all shown how these forces have led to globalization of issues and policies. In an attempt to examine the consequences of such policies, Michel Chossudsky⁴, in a thought – provoking article, concludes that unequal exchange, internationalization of commodity prices, compression of real earnings and reinforcement of cheap-labour export economy, combined with budgetary austerity, trade liberalization and privatization may lead to globalization of poverty. These are, however, challenges for human resource management. “A truly global business probably needs a truly global management-a management that understands and is comfortable in a broad range of nations and culture. A firm that has taken the time to develop practices and programmes that build strong management teams which are able to provide a business with effective leadership has a most powerful source of competitive advantage”⁵. This is even more true of governments, particularly of the third world. They will have to give a new orientation to their public administration to face growing challenges and complexities of the new scenario. The key to this is human resource development, which enables one to perceive all the changes pervading the environment. We shall not be able to fit into the procrustean bed of Western policy makers without adopting policies to suit our own compelling realities. The Midas touch which boasts of turning everything into gold can also make things lifeless if the policies are not suitably fashioned to cope with the living conditions of the developing countries.
5. Man and Ecology: There is an integral relation between man and ecology. The urban-rural dichotomy and the transformation of “affluent” society into an “effluent” one have created a schism where market-friendly approaches are not necessarily environment-friendly. The Rio conference essentially stressed the need to conserve nature and restore ecological balance to ensure that phenomena like the green house effect and the formation of the holes in the ozone protective shield do not harm the earth. There is a strong need to develop this awareness for eco-conservation.

Basic Framework

Human resource is an important key to face the overpowering impact of the fast changes enveloping life and society. When we survey the field of Human Resource Development (HRD), one does come across deep aspects of personality which need to be borne in mind and taken note of. This is the basic framework which takes into account the psychological process of growth and the impediments that one can come across.

For the newborn child, the world is a “blooming, buzzing confusion”. It does not know whether the pain is in the pin or in the skin, the nipple in the mouth or outside. In infancy, the child goes to everyone, seeking human warmth. Then it starts differentiation. From childhood, adolescence and later, structurally, the ego becomes more and more differentiated and it secures increasing control over the instinctual sources of energy. One develops a sense of values seeing how parents, elders and siblings treat others or treat ourselves. They become the driving or inhibiting forces. Our conscience or super ego is primarily the internalization of wishes, demands

and ideals of the parents and early figures whom we respect or fear. Our parents talk to us about our being cooperative at home but stressing on competition outside. They ask us sometimes to tell telephone callers that they are not at home. We confuse between childhood values and adult values. If a child throws away a glass jar which gets broken, we scold it but if the same child throws a ball at great distance we rejoice in its ability to do so. Freud talks about the traumatic childhood experience of a young lady when she inserted a pin in the body of a butterfly. This enraged her governess whom she loved intensely. The governess, in turn, hurt her by pricking her body with the same pin. She suppressed her feelings associated with this event. This led her not to have any marital relations with her lover. She was afraid of the intense recall of her childhood experience. After psycho-analytical treatment, she fully recovered having known the real cause. Through learning, imitations and insight, one develops skills in dealing with frustration and anxieties. One of the major tasks imposed upon the ego is that of dealing with the threats and dangers that beset us and arouse anxiety. The ego may try to master danger by adopting realistic problem-solving methods or to protect itself, it may attempt to alleviate anxiety by using methods that deny, falsify or distort reality. The latter impedes development of personality. Primal repressions are culturally and innately determined barriers which are responsible for keeping a large part of the contents of the “id” permanently outside consciousness. There could also be racial experiences, e.g. taboos which we inherit through societal values and “collective unconscious” Repression proper, forces a dangerous memory, idea or perception out of consciousness and sets up a barrier. It may prevent a person from seeing something that is plainly in view. Similarly repression operates upon our memories that are associated with childhood traumatic experience. In extreme cases, contact with the external world is limited and one gives the impression of being withdrawn. In other cases, one over compensates. One exhausts one’s energy and nothing is left to deal with pleasurable and productive interaction with the environment or other people e.g. fear interferes with digestion; extreme hostility causes arthritis. A child who has repressed his hostility against his father may express it as an adult in symbolic form by breaking the law or rebelling against the conventions of society. A person is apt to carry around a lot of unnecessary fears that are a hangover from childhood. When the ego has acquired sufficient strength to cope with danger by more rational methods, repression is no longer necessary. Its persistence constitutes a drain upon the ego’s energy, leaving a debilitating experience behind. This leads to defence mechanisms of the ego, like rationalization (making excuses) repression (denying the danger) projection (externalising the danger) regression (not acting one’s age), substitution reaction formation (hiding the danger) escapism, fixation (exhibiting the same behaviour pattern over and over again or freezing old habitual responses). These are irrational ways of dealing with anxiety and frustration because they distort, hide or deny reality or hinder psychological growth. They tie up psychic energy. If these defences fail to hold, the ego has nothing to fall back upon and is overwhelmed by anxiety. These ego defences are adopted as protective measures because in childhood the infantile ego is too weak to integrate and synthesise all demands that are made upon it. In later life, these mechanisms persist if the ego fails to develop. The personality fails to develop because too much of its energy is tied up in its defence. This is particularly true in societies which have cross-cultural currents. In a more homogenous society which does not suffer from identity crises and where the social framework is clear to perceive, it is a bit easier. We thus seem to be trapped in a vicious circle. The defence cannot be given up because the ego is inadequate and the ego remains inadequate as long as it depends upon the defence.

The ego grows as a result of innate change. If during childhood, the environment offers a succession of experiences that are synchronized, one gets adjusted. At no time should the

dangers and hardships be so strong as to be incapacitating to the child or so weak as to be unstimulating. In infancy, the hazards of existence should be small ones, while in early childhood the threats be a little stronger. The ego should get an opportunity to shed its defence mechanisms as far as possible and replace them by more realistic and efficient responses.

Frustration is something that prevents an uncomfortable excitation from being discharged. We resolve it by identification, displacement, sublimation or defence mechanisms. In identification, we incorporate the qualities of an external object and assimilate its characteristic; displacement is to rechannel from one object to another. In sublimation, the psychic energy is directed towards more fruitful goals though the source or aim of the instinct remains the same to find a satisfying substitute, e.g. thumb sucking, lollipop, cigars, etc. The ego which controls the final object selection has to make many such compromises between the conflicting demands of the ID (pleasure principle) and super-ego (the conscience) and the external world. A boy's first object of love is his mother. Since he cannot have an exclusive possession of her, he looks for substitutes-his first grade teacher, next door neighbour, older girls, etc. Many great compulsive artists have sublimated expression of their love into creative channels.

Many adult interests and attachments are compensations for frustrated infantile wishes. The formation of ego and superego is accomplished by the displacement of large amounts of energy from Id processes. The same energy source can perform many different kinds of work. From early childhood, one is encouraged to look for the cause of one's behaviour in the external world and discouraged from examining and analyzing one's own motives. We are rewarded for distorting the truth.

The fundamental instincts of life and death, which are the source of psychic energy, branch out in all directions and provide the motive force. Ours is the tragic case of not growing old gracefully. If we accept the fact that we might have a problem, we are ready to find solutions. We instead ask, "Why does this always happen to me?". Our inner voice may say, "It is not different for you than for anyone else. It is just the way you take it". What one needs is to squash feelings of self-pity, and face reality. Then we grow, and we grow only as we want to and as our insights enable us to. We have to seek growth-a self realization and a widening awareness to transcend the nitty-gritty of life. With a sense of achievement and inner strength, with a sense of healthy self-esteem and self-confidence built upon a abiding faith, we can hope to grow and to mature. If "Freud supplied to us the sick half of psychology, we must fill it out with the other healthy half"- "how to get unsick".

It is true that sick people are made so by sick culture. But it is also true that sick individuals make their culture even sicker. If we see positively our potentialities and capabilities-true our inner nature- there is scope for growth. Sometimes we perceive, in a deep way, that we have done ourselves wrong. Out of this may come either neurosis or a renewed courage. Growth can come through conflict. Anxiety could prod us to improve. It keeps us from being complacent-brings into use our talents and energies, triggers off achievement, sparks imagination and innovations, creates a climate for change and provides instant insight into our Being. Much of our inner nature is buried deep within the unconscious-some repressed or feared and some forgotten or unused. Our capacities, ennobling emotions and finer judgements need to be awakened. From Freud we learnt that the "past" exists, we must now know that the "future" also exists in the form of ideals, hopes, duties, tasks and unrealized potential. The state of

“becoming” hopes to cash in on rewards, but the state of “Being” needs no future nor is it shaken up by the past.

The strong men and women of history have all had one common psychological characteristic. They always seemed to have “been themselves” as person. Gandhiji, the naked fakir, Michael Angelo, fighting against the odds for a chance to sculpt; Abe Lincoln, the black woodsman; Beethoven continuing to compose even after he became deaf; Milton who did not allow his blindness to interfere with his poetry; Hellen Keller, deaf, dumb and blind-they have all given meaning to the phrasing “fulfilling one’s destiny”. History is strewn with many more such examples.

In a less dramatic form, any strong person fulfils himself as he lives a life that is an unfolding of his potential. His personal power is directed towards seeking himself in relation to the fulfillment of his infinite potential. This is the secret of human resource development-releasing and setting free the potent forces of change within us ’and making the best of what one has and least of what one doesn’t’.

Human Resource Management

Everyone has a need for self-actualisation-to find fulfillment in their lives (in Carl Roger’s language, to be a “fully functioning self”). Machines are easier to plan for. They do not get frustrated as men do. But a machine cannot provide the superior performance that a motivated human can. Human resource management implies: (a) managing the self, (b) managing performance, (c) managing relationship, (d) managing growth and change.

Managing the Self

To understand others we have to understand ourselves first. Understanding oneself is the most difficult of all psychological processes. Samuel Johnson, in a cryptic sentences, summarized the dilemma when he said, “Adversity is a state in which a man most easily becomes acquainted with himself, being especially free from admirers then” Eric Hopper, in his book, “True Believer”, exemplified this apocryphal attitude, saying, “Our credulity is greatest concerning things that we know least about. And since we know least about ourselves, we are ready to believe all that is said about us. Hence, the mysterious power of both flattery and calumny” A large part of our psychic energy is wasted in analyzing others – what they say, what they do, etc. In feeling persecuted we persecute ourselves. Each one of us has an inner nature which is intrinsic, unique and generally resistant to change. While this nature persists, there is also a desire for growth and self-esteem. This nature of ours needs to be discovered, accepted, loved and respected if any changes are to be effected therein. If it is suppressed and rejected, sickness results. An adult develops relatively fixed attitudes. The central problem of learning and growth revolves around transferring some of the deep seated aversions and negative attitudes into warmly accepted values. The main task is to reinforce man’s willingness to change. One attains emotional maturity by having a better conception of oneself. Our ancient scriptures focused man’s attention on this central truth. “Know thyself” was an old Socratic adage. This is the crux of management of the self and of modern therapy. The first step in human resource development is to develop one’s personality-to free oneself of emotional problems. The mind can be the cause of one’s bondage, as also the instrument of liberation. Understanding oneself is the key to promote understanding of others. To achieve this, mere bookish knowledge and

expansion of cognitive map is not enough. Behavioural prescriptions cannot be dished out; what is needed is a flash of perception which generates the ability to see a situation in its totality. An insight into a feeling or value is an instant discovery of the living moment. Very often, we know our ailment, which may be anything from overpowering anger to all – consuming greed or intense, unreasonable jealousy. But our problem is how to be free from it-to be liberated from the excessive grip of these feelings. Emerson put it very succinctly when he said “You speak so loudly that I can’t hear what you ‘say’”. To be a well rounded personality, there is a need to internalize values like faith, hope, love, and discipline. This must be worked into our system, like the winding of a clock which keeps ticking and repeating to itself “If learn-I forget; I see, - I remember; I do, - I understanding”.

One must learn to remove the barriers to communication, which, very often, are established within oneself. An emotionally maladjusted person, for example, is in difficulty firstly because his communication with himself has broken down, and secondly because, as a result of this, his communication with others has been damaged. In such persons, parts of themselves which should be termed as unconscious, suppressed or denied to awareness become blocked off, so that they no longer communicate themselves to the conscious part of oneself. This results in disturbance in the way one communicates with other, and so one suffers both within oneself and in inter-personal relations. The major barrier to inter-personal communication is our very natural tendency to judge, to evaluate, to approve or disapprove. When in feelings deeply involved, it is likely that there is no mutual element in communication. There will be just two ideas, two feelings, two judgments- missing each other in psychological space. Very often, we actually are not talking about the same thing. In this connection, one recounts the story of a drunkard who was staying as a tenant on the first floor of a house where the landlord was occupying the ground floor. The tenant was a bachelor and used to go in the morning to his factory and return to his room late at night after visiting the nearby pub. He used to throw his shoes on the wooden floor, one after the other and then go to sleep. One day, the landlord, who was obviously upset by the noise the tenant made, rang him up and told him that while he appreciated his prompt payment of rent and keeping the surrounding clean, he was upset by the midnight hussle which woke up his family. The tenant offered his profound apologies and promised to go to bed quietly. As usual, that night, he returned from the pub and threw one of his shoes but then he suddenly remembered his promise to the landlord and so placed the second shoe very gently without making noise. After ten minutes, the telephone in his apartment rang and he heard the landlord remonstrating, “Do you punish me for ringing you up this morning? Please keep on the floor the second shoe also. The tenant suddenly realized his mistake and begged to the landlord to forgive him saying that he had already kept the second shoe on the floor quietly. The landlord realized how he had misjudged the tenant thinking that he had not changed and that he was vindictive.

Our relation with people is dependent upon what assumptions we make about them and what expectations we have about their behaviour; for example if we expect people to be lazy, this will affect our style of handling them. Based on our assumptions, some significant managerial policies, practices and programmes are likely to emerge; either, for example, authoritarianism-directing and controlling (if we assume people to be lazy), or those of offering opportunities for growth (if we consider them to be seeking their self development through work). Our perceptual processes significantly help us select a few cues from an array of many. We perceive what we want to perceive. This perception depends upon our individual needs,

attitudes, values, past experience and the process of socialization and upbringing that we have gone through right from our childhood.

Interpersonal Relationships

Today a substantial part of our management effort is spent in counteracting each other rather than supporting the common objective. Our own behaviour with others is based on perception, founded upon stereotypes and prejudices. Communication strains are experienced where expectations and perceptions do not coincide with external reality.

The first step to get out of the trap, according to Harry Levinson is to develop a clear self-image related to one's own ego-ideal. If both are nearer to each other it contributes towards self-esteem. Secondly, one should try to listen to others with understanding- to see things from the other's point of view. In such cases, we shall be releasing potent forces of change within them and establishing a realistic harmonious relationship. What is important is understanding with a person and not about him. For example, in a labour-management dispute or in any kind of dialogue, it will be good to resort to the rule-each person can speak up for himself only after he has first re-started the ideas and feelings of the previous speaker accurately and to that speaker's satisfaction. The illusion of communication lies in the gap between intent and behaviour – various filters operate. There is a lack of transparency. We should listen better and check for meaning. For every situation, there are three sides-one is mine, the second is yours, and the third are facts. So it is the third party which can reduce heightened emotions and assist greatly in listening with understanding. We have, therefore, to understand and not to prejudge. Interactions that are non-evaluative in nature will lead to better understanding of work goals and people's needs, about their roles in achieving them. Any progress that is achieved could be sustained not by the greatness of a few but by the cooperative efforts of the many. Improvement begins with "I"- the examination of right – not only to do things rightly, but to do right things. We minus I is they. Human Resource Development, which enables one to manage oneself, is the key to health in the interpersonal world. We have to get things done with and through people. John D. Rockefeller once said, "I will pay more for the ability to deal with people than any other ability under the sun".

Managing Performance

Many people tend to lose their way towards original objectives and anchor themselves on to activity. They lean heavily on inputs and turn their back on output, seeking pleasure in the volume of work. Many managers believe that if they are not behind their desk they are not working. To them a stomach ulcer is a "badge of honour".

To demonstrate the acquisition of power and prestige, they resort to empire building through overstaffing, stumbling from crisis to crisis, through union troubles. Entrapped in ceaseless activity, there is heavy wear and tear, with a debilitating effect on mental vigour. To demonstrate the acquisition of power and prestige, they resort to empire building through overstaffing, stumbling from crisis to crisis, through union troubles. Entrapped in ceaseless activity, there is heavy wear and tear with a debilitating effect on mental vigour. To them, "immediate" gets precedence over "important" Clogged up with ritualistic reports and procedural wranglers, they are at home with "routine" and buckpassing. President Truman once remarked

that the "buck stops here" -the kind of sense of responsibility which is the essential quality of an effective leader. But those who do not have this concern set no priorities, do not manage their time and have no time for reflection. They "lose sight of long ranging perspectives". They fell prey to an activity trap. For effective performance, goals should be high enough so that a person has to stretch to reach them but low enough so that they can still be achieved. President John Kennedy has three trays in his office: in tray, another-out-tray, and the third one was LBW- "Let the blighter wait". Duties constrain a manager, but objectives liberate him. He is, therefore, proactive rather than reactive. Peter Drucker once remarked, "Leadership is all the rage now". "We would want you to run a seminar for us on how one acquires charisma". The human resources' Vice President of a big bank said to me on the telephone in dead earnest. Books, articles and conferences on leadership and on the qualities of the leader abound. "Every Chief Executive Officer, it seems, has to be made to look like a dashing confederate general or a Board room Elvis Presley". To Drucker, leadership does matter. But it has little to do with leadership qualities, and even less with charisma. It is mundane, unromantic and boring. "Indeed charisma becomes the undoing of leaders. It makes them inflexible, convinced of their own infallibility"- "the foundation of effective leadership is thinking through the organization's mission, defining it and establishing it clearly and visibly. The leader sets the goals and the priorities, and sets and maintains their standards". The second requirement is that the leader sees leadership as responsibility rather than as rank and privilege. Effective leaders are rarely permissive. But when things go wrong-and they always do- they do not blame others. An effective leader knows that the ultimate task of leadership is to create human energies and a vision. "The final requirement is to earn trust-the conviction that the leader means what he says. It is a belief in something old fashioned called "integrity". A leader's actions and professed beliefs must be congruent or at least compatible". Socrates put it forcefully when he said, "Integrity is better than charity. The Gods love the depth than the tumult of the soul." For managing performance, Peter Drucker's panacea for leadership is very relevant.

Managing Relationships

"The art of governing consists in not letting men grow old in their jobs". This was Napoleon's faith, which inspired the men working under him. This is a key for self-renewal which promotes healthy relationships. According to Valecha some of the salient psychological aspects of excellence are: (a) a sense of mission-a vision, (b) intrinsic satisfaction, with jobs matching our talents and aptitudes and having opportunity and environment to like the job one does, (c) egalitarian attitudes and values with equitable rewards. The Japanese and some American organizations have achieved high levels of performance and competitive leadership because of deliberately and systematically developed egalitarian attitudes, in terms of providing same facilities of food, transport, health care and programmes, sets of dress (uniform), wash room, parking lots, various other welfare facilities- what the Japanese call "the Ringi system", with participative style of decision-making, (d) genuine, deep and abiding concern for the customer/client. In the book, "In search of Excellence"-so also Akio Morita of Sony in "Made in Japan". While technical and functional skills receive a lot of attention, adaptive skills do not. One has to come in terms with oneself and with the organisational reality and should know how to cope with stress. This involves listening, learning relationship of and with authority, self-awareness and the ability to motivate. More than 2600 years ago, the Chinese philosopher, Lao Tzu, said, "The leader is best when people barely know that he exists. He is not so good when people obey and acclaim him. He is worst when they despise him". One of the responsibilities of the manager is developing human resources and devoting time to nurture leadership-to make

the followers effective." Fail to honour people and they fail to honour you". But of a good leader who talks little when his work is done and his aim is fulfilled, they will say, "we did this ourselves". "The gravest indictment of a leader is for the organisation to collapse as soon as he leaves or dies".

Today, we have a revolution in communication technology with television, satellite and mass media, but we do not know how to communicate with each other, with our losses, peers or colleagues, subordinate, customers and even family members. An organisation is like an iceberg-below the surface, whispers abound. Therefore, there is a need for openness and transparency to establish credibility.

Managing Growth and Change

We, in India, seem to have got into a survival trap which made the eminent economist late Dr. Rajkrishna to talk about the "Hindu rate of growth"- the nose just above the water. Ours is a traditional society with a modern government superimposed on it. We have a split-image of ourselves, where while we seem to agree on global issues we are parochial and chauvinistic in our day to day life. In today's world, there are cataclysmic changes taking place all around us, and unless we have a vision and a dream with a passionate commitment to build a new world order, we are likely to slip and slide down with no hope of rising. Today's manager should have an awareness of social, economic and political realities and of broader international issues to face the future. For our survival in this intensely competitive world, we must develop a quality of mind which fosters "wholeness of outlook". Hence the need to know the idiom of change.

In his breathtaking trilogy, Alvin Toffler has focused attention on "change" and its various aspects and implications. In his 'Future Shock', he analyses the process of change; in "The third Wave" he predicts the direction of change leading to a post-scarcity society in the post-industrial period. In his disturbing and stimulating book "Power Shift" he is concentrating on control of change and its various manifestation in the form of info-wars, electronic money, etc. All these thoughts lead to one conclusion that man while transforming nature transforms himself and has to face with equilibrium and foresight the fast changing social and economic realities where power is constantly shifting. To face these changes, human resource development is the anchor which can provide strength and stability. It is sad that some very talented people manage their careers today in self destructive ways. Among other things, they get themselves into trouble by paying far too much attention to salary increases and promotions and far too little attention to their own development needs and ways of meeting these needs. In the growing uncertainty of the social milieu and the instability caused by political upheavals in East European countries and some other countries, the need for sustained effort to develop one's personality to tackle ambiguity and frustration are important. One has to develop the maturity to face sudden changes and a "vision" that would encompass all activities and enable one to face life with a sense of purpose. "A house without vision is so many walls and a road". Managing growth and change is as important a part of one's development as imbibing technical and managerial skills.

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7 - Women Empowerment

Shriniwas Joshi

I am going back seventy years in quoting Anne Besant, the founder of Theosophical Society who had then said, "The Rights of man have become an accepted doctrine, but unfortunately they are only rights of man in the exclusive sense of the word. They are sexual and not human rights and until they become human rights, society will never rest on a just foundation,... to deny these rights- liberty, property, safety and resistance to tyranny- to women is either to deny them to humanity or to deny that women form a part of humanity".

How could it be that 48.1 percent of population in India (49.23 percent of population in Himachal Pradesh) does not form part of humanity? Literature and Art sing praises for women. Even our land of birth is Bharat Mata. Tamil language is personified as beautiful and noble woman. Pahari miniature art has substance in the exquisite delicacy of feminine forms. A woman is glorified as a symbol of Shakti. Manu Proclaims, "By cherishing women one cherishes the goddess of prosperity herself, and by afflicting her, one is said to pain the goddess of prosperity." She, as wife, is ardhangini (equal Partner). But then Manu directs, "Be a girl or be a young woman or be advanced in years, nothing must be done even in her own dwelling place according to her pleasure". And also, "She should do nothing independently in her own house even. In childhood, she is subject to her father, in youth to her husband and during her widowhood to her sons; she should never enjoy independence". Tulsidas says, "A Drum, a lower human, a rustic and women require to be beaten". Even the English considered her "weaker sex". Shakespeare had said, "Frailty, thy name is women".

This so-called frail woman in the hills has the following percentage share in Agricultural and Animal Husbandry activities as collected from Mountain Women Development Centre Records, 1995:

Agriculture

Land preparation and stone breaking	85
Sowing and transplanting	72
Gap filling	100
Inter-culture	68
Weeding	94
Irrigation	50
Fertiliser application	45
Harvesting	71
Threshing and winnowing	58

Animal Husbandry

Tending cattle in shed	95
Grazing	48
Removing dung from shed	100
Fodder collection	93
Milking	96

From the above Table it is clear that except "plough in" activity which is done 100 percent by men, women's hand in great measure is there in all other activities. Negi, Rana and Sharma (1997) conducted a study in Mahim and Kwarag Panchayats of kandaghat Block. They record that during the peak agriculture season a women's work hours per day are seventeen. An assessment by Shiva (1991) on the workload on one hectare of land in one year in the Indian Himalayas discloses that it is 1,064 hours for a pair of bullocks, 1,212 hours for a man and 3,485 hours for a woman. Despite all this toil of her, it is the man who enjoys the power of taking Decisions in all matters concerning the family and housekeeping. A study of M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation in Chennai has shown that in Pichavaram and Muthupet. Two coastal villages near the temple town of Chidambaram, women take care of 75 percent of the responsibilities but are involved in less than 30 percent of the household decisions. Studies conducted in Sub- Saharan Africa and a 1984 study in Botswana all reveal that "She" works and 'He' takes decision. Do you think that such conditions can ever be conducive to sustainable development? Says Bina, "In spite of the key role of women in crop-husbandry, animal-husbandry, fisheries, forestry and post harvest technology, those in charge of formulating packages of technologies, services and public policies for rural areas have often tended to neglect the productive role of women". M.S. Swaminathan goes a step ahead and says that women are, in fact, "the largest group of landless labourers, with little security in case of break-up of the family through death or divorce; inheritance laws and customs discriminate against them". Subbiah Arunachalam, a gender expert, apprehends that the conditions are deteriorating so fast that the women's share of the world's poor has risen steadily in the past two decades and stands close to 70 percent today, making feminization of poverty a major issue.

But then, who does not know, that India is a land of opposite. Several bright spots dot this gloomy scenario. The constitution of India granting equality to women in various spheres creates the legal framework within which the Department of Women and Child Development, which came into being in the year 1985, functions for women's empowerment. The following are the major policy initiatives undertaken by the department in the recent past:

- establishment of National Commission for Women (NCW) in 1992. It covers issues relating to safeguarding women's rights and promotion of their empowerment. It works for review of laws, intervention in specific individual complaints of atrocities and sexual harassment of women at workplace, and remedial actions to safeguard the interest of women;
- setting up of Rashtriya Mahila Kosh (RMK) in 1993 which extends credit facilities to poor or needy women in the informal sectors. Since inception, the Kosh has sanctioned credit of Rs. 57.09 crore through 367 NGOs to benefit 2,77,662 women.
- adoption of National Nutrition Policy (NNP)
- implementing the world's largest and unique outreach programme of Integrated Child Development Services Scheme (ICDS) since 1975-76. It provides a package of services comprising supplementary nutrition, immunization, health check up and referral services, pre-school non-formal education, health and nutritional education.
- National Creche Fund, Indira Mahila Yojana, Balika Samriddhi Yojana (to change the community's attitude towards the girl child), Rural Women's Development and Empowerment Project (RWDEP) are a few other schemes taken up by the Department. RWDEP is a Project, started in 1998, and will strengthen the process of, and create an environment of women in the six States of Bihar, Haryana, Karnataka, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh.

- The National Policy for empowerment of Women is being finalised by the Department. The policy would prescribe strategies and action points to bridge the gap between the equal *de-jure* status and unequal *de-facto* position of the women in the country. It would seek to guide action at every level and in every sector by mainstreaming gender perspectives into laws, policies, programmes, regulations, and budgetary allocation of the Government;
- setting up of National Resource Centre for Women. This would be a nodal agency to maintain gender issues in policies and programmes for women by training, policy support, information dissemination, research and documentation.

All this shows that the approach of the Government towards women has also changed. In the first two decades after Independence, women were considered as "beneficiaries" and programmes were started for their "welfare". Later started the programmes for women development and now in the nineties the slogan is woman's empowerment. Woman is now considered as emissary of social change, at least on papers, where efforts are being made to involve her in various schemes-particularly in economic empowerment programmes.

Regarding political empowerment, while the political parties here are battling over whether or not the Women's Reservation Bill should be passed in Parliament, the Commonwealth Plan on Gender and Development specifically mentions India among those countries where actions have been taken to increase the critical mass of women in decision-making. With reservation in Panchayats, India ranks third in the series with 33.5 per cent representation of women.. Seychelles betters its record with a 54 per cent and Uganda with 40.8 per cent women representation. As against this, India does not figure among the ten top reporting countries on Women's participation in the National Executive or Cabinet and Parliament. While New Zealand tops the list with 30 per cent of women in its National Parliament or Assembly, India has only 7.8 per cent women representation in the Parliament. The representation in the Ministry was a mere 8.57 per cent as against the Gambia's 30.8 per cent, the highest. Antigua and Barbuda with 17.8 per cent follow the Gambia.

Having had the background of the *de-jure* and *de-facto* position of women, especially in India, and the shape of things to come, let us concentrate on what is required to be done for women empowerment in the coming future.

The Prominent Target

International Conference on Population and Development, 1994 at Cairo, World Summit for Social Development, 1995 at Copenhagen and UN Fourth World Conference on Women, 1995 held at Beijing, all agreed on a target of closing the gender gap in primary and secondary education by 2005. This has been widely emphasised as the target for progress towards gender equality and the empowerment of women.

The Missing Target

There are no targets for improving women's economic position or reducing the feminisation of poverty. Not only the governments but also the people in general should address women's

economic inequality and poverty, and to change macro-economic policies that hindered women from enjoying secure and sustainable livelihood.

The Position Target

The Beijing Platform for Action affirmed that women should have at least 30 per cent share of decision-making positions.

To assess the achievements made there is need of gender sensitive indicators. These have also been agreed to be the United Nations:

- ratio of girls enrolment to that of boys in secondary schools;
- female share of paid employment in non-agricultural activities (secondary and tertiary); Paid employment is important because it puts money in woman's hand. Women's share of paid employment has certainly increased in most regions from the mid-1980s to the late 1990s barring in some parts of Eastern Europe. But the quality of employment has not. Women's job tends to enjoy less social protection and employment rights than do men's job.
- Women's share of seats in national parliament and decision-making positions in the economy. It is rising but there is still a long way to go before it reaches 30 per cent or more in all countries. Her share of position as an employer or a self-employed worker was 30 per cent or more in only 28 countries in the 1990's. During the same period her share of administrative and managerial employment was 30 per cent or more in only 16 countries. The Law Ministry's Department of Company Affairs has mooted a proposal that a fifth of all Boards of Directors must be women. The move is intended to influence policy decision in terms of moderation and the overall welfare of labor as well as the elimination of gender basis in offices.

The age of Information and Communications Technology has already started but women are still very much in minority among Internet users. In the International Year of women Empowerment let an effort be made to reduce the imbalance in the ownership, control and regulation of these facilities so that women use them in a creative way:

- e-inclusion, to overcome the constraints of seclusion;
- e-campaigns, to mobilise-on-line for women's human rights and other objectives;
- e-commerce, to reach new markets;
- E-consultations, to get women's views made known.

The challenge is huge One is reminded of Robert Frost's famous words, "And miles to go before I sleep".

8 - State, Civil Society and Democracy: The Role of NGOs in India

Tejaswini V.Patil

The growing importance of the role NGOs play in democratizing development has brought into question how the relationship between state and civil society organizations can be connived in a democratic setup. The article is an attempt to problematic the role of NGOs in democratizing development. In view of the emerging issues and concerns from the case-studies, the author argues that in order to instill democratic attitudes and behavior that support democracy, civil society organizations must practice internal democracy in terms of decision-making and leadership selections and rotation. The civil society organizations must practice equal participation, accountability, transparency, and mutual respect that would strengthen democratic culture and enhance citizenship rights.

Introduction

The importance associated with the growth of civil society can be attributed to the desire of citizens to fulfill their democratic rights. In other words, the disappointment with the formal procedural structures of governance is a manifestation of the paradox of formal democracy. The need to bridge the hiatus between the formal structures of governance and participatory forms of democracy is to be emphasized. In particular, there has been state apathy towards the weaker sections of society, which needs to be reviewed.

Especially since the beginning of the 70's the state has become more centralized and has coercively quelled opposition from various movements, the prime example being the Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA). The coercive tendency of the state has led to the emergence of the civil liberties movement like the J.P. movement, and the Gujarat and Bihar movements thereafter, generating a gigantic struggle between the state and the movement fighting for the individual and collective rights.

The failure of the state to respond to the demands of the citizens had led to the veritable growth of many organizations in civil society. Here are four types of initiatives namely, widespread growth of social movements, gender movements, ecological movements, lower caste assertions, and the burgeoning of NGOs mostly in development sector in the rural areas seeking to alleviate poverty through the productive deployment of traditional in the activities of networking, documenting, research, training and acting as linkages between the grass root organizations) and left academicians who undertook participatory research, also provided training and expertise to those organizations involved in work with the poor people.

In the light of the aforementioned, it is relevant to outline the emerging contours of the civil society-democratization debates. The first section of the article focuses on delineating the relationship between civil society, democracy and the state. In other words, the first section linkages between democracy, civil society and state, independent concepts yet complimentary and indispensable for the growth and development of societies. The second section provides a brief outline of four case studies including Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA), Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP), India's Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS) and Joint Forest Management (JFM). It examines the origins, background structure, programmes and

policies and the impact and potential for empowerment. these case studies illuminate both the strengths and weakness of the Participatory model (PRA).

Theorising Civil Society

The scholarship on the nature of the civil society shows disparate understandings of the relationship between civil society and the state. Civil society is on one hand viewed as a source of legitimacy for the democratic state and on the other hand as a source of resistance against an arbitrary and oppressive state. It is sometimes conceived to have grown spontaneously with the state, at other times prior to and independent of the state and sometimes as dependent on the state of direct financial support. Civil society is described variously as having developed in association with the state and as a substitution for the failure of state. The civil society is also conceptualized as an agency for assuring the rights of individuals, equality etc. However, it has not always been possible for the institutions of civil society to fulfill its functions and normative objectives. Various events like the Gujarat violence, the projection of the Pokhran nuclear explosions, and the rewriting of history are some instances which threaten the democratic credentials of an ideal civil society, as the efforts of civil society in effectively generating a counter discourse to these events have not effectively generation a counter discourse to these events have not been able to bring a change in the oppressive government's stand. As a consequence the occurrence of these events has questioned what are the normative values which the civil society proposes to uphold vis-a-vis the rights of individuals. The need to recognize the underlying currents that shape and mould specific events or phenomena has significant theoretical and empirical implications not only for social scientists but policy makers as well. In this sectional effort will be made to understand the nature of civil India context. The most important questions that need to be examined regarding the nature of civil society are:

- (a) What is civil society? Is it co-terminus with the state or independent of the state?
- (b) What constitutes civil society? What is the basis for deciding which organizations are part of civil society?
- (c) What are the implications of the presence of civil society for the development and flourishing of democratic society?
- (d) How do we analyze the growth of groups base on religion and ethnicity to more fluid Voluntary associations organized around ideology, professionalism, social activities or the pursuit of money, status power etc?

The recent revival of interest in civil society promotes us to look into the historical origin of the concepts of civil society. Normally the origin of the concept of civil society is associated with Western political theory. It entered English usage via the Latin translation of *societas civilis* of Aristotle's *Koinonia politike*. It simply meant a community; a collection to human beings united within a legitimate political order and was variously rendered as 'society' or 'community'. In fact, the beginning of the 70th century, witnessed the establishment of various meanings essentially voluntaristic in nature were attributed to 'society', clustered around two views: association or partnership for a common purpose and, on the n the other hand, friendship, comradeship, companionability.¹ Historically, the term civil society was generally opposed to the condition of despotism and barbarism, or to natural society. I these traditions the problem oft he appropriate

¹ Keith Michae Baker, "Enlightenment and the Institution of Society: Notes for a Conceptual History", in Sudipta Kaviraj and Sunil khilnani (Eds), *Civil Society: History and Possibilities*, Cambridge University Press, 2001, p.86.

boundaries between political and civil authority, between public and private, has tended to be discussed in a number of political languages such as, constitutionalism, mixed government, rule of law, markets and the division of labour.²

The growth of civil society can be categorized into three theoretical formulations namely, Lockean, Montesquieuan and Hegelian. For Locke, the fundamental contrast defining civil society was the state of nature: a predicament in which deeply held beliefs about how to act collided, and where there could be no authoritative answer to the question, who will be judge? A civil society was one purged with as effectively as possible of this condition.³ Locke made no separation between civil society and political society-in sense that civil society was conceived of as distinct from an entity termed the state. In his conception society exists before government. But otherwise it is the possible scene of great progress in which we later called 'civilization', of economic development, the division of labour and the development of money and the accumulation of property. For Charles Taylor this idea of Locke laid the foundation for a much richer view of society as an extra-political realm.⁴ It is argued by John Dunn that civil society for Locke is a historical remedy for the inconveniences of the state of nature. What it provides us, in the first place, known standing laws, secondly, impartial judges and the *thirdly*, effective powers of enforcement friends and relations.⁵ In other words, there is an established political structure which ensures that the rights of the members are assured and guaranteed. In many ways Locke's formulations a departure from the Greek and the Roman belief that identity of the society was fundamentally rooted in either the political constitution or the monarchy which believed in a pretentious idea that this authority came from an act of the people. Thus, Locke laid the foundation for the development of an arena which at one level emerges only when the citizens' right to life, liberty and property is guaranteed by the law and on the other hand, the state (i.e. political society) acts as the supreme guarantor of the rule of law.

The second important formulation on civil society originates in the writings of Montesquieu. His portrait of monarchy offers an alternative anti-absolutist doctrine to Locke's. Unlike Locke he assumes a strong monarchical government. For the consideration of whether unlimited power would lead to despotism is important. Montesquieu suggests that limitation by law is ineffective unless there exist independent bodies which have a standing in law and are there to defend it. The rule of law and 'checks and balances' stand and fall together. Without law, bodies like Parliaments and estates like the nobility have no standing: and without such bodies the law has no defenders.⁶ In other words, he is arguing for a central political authority and the simultaneous existence of agencies and institutions that can limit the power of the state. Montesquieu is different from Locke in the sense that he clearly distinguishes between civil society and state. He tried to create equilibrium between the central power and the protection of individual rights.

In the context of the writings on civil society by Locke and Montesquieu, Hegel's conception combined elements from both the streams. Hegel was influenced by Locke's conception of a non-

² Sunil Khilnani, *op. cit.*, p. 19

³ John Dunn, "The Contemporary Political Significance of John Locke's Conception of Civil Society", in Sudipta Kaviraj and Sunil Khilnani (Eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁴ Charles Taylor, "Modes of Civil Society", *Public Culture*, 3:1, 1990, p. 99.

⁵ John Dunn as quoted in Sunil Khilnani, "The Development of Civil Society", in Sudipta Kaviraj and Sunil Khilnani (Eds.), *op. cit.*, p.19.

⁶ Charles Taylor (1990), *op.cit.*, p. 95

political dimension to society and, Montesquieu's picture of a society which is defined by political organization, but constitutionally diverse, distributing power among independent sources. For Montesquieu as Charles Taylor likes to call the 'corporate intermediaries' 'amphibious bodies', they have a life outside the political structure, and this is their primary purpose and the basis of their strength. But it is crucial to the health of the polity that they also play a role within it.⁷ Thus these different elements of Hegel's political society take up their role in the state, make up for the different estates and form the basis for a differentiated constitution, whose formula was inspired by Montesquieu.

Hegel in his enunciation of civil society argued that, "if a human being is to be a member of civil society, he has rights and claims in relation to it, just as he had in relation to his family and conversely that 'the individual owes as duty to rights of civil society.'⁸ In other words, he is arguing for the empowerment of the state to look after the education of children when parents fail in their duty and protect the individual from destitution, conversely, the individual is bound by the rules in civil society. In fact he argued that, "the corporations must act as a basic unit knitting together the multifarious concerns of civil society and binding them through representation in an estates assembly to the deliberative and executive functions of the state. He considered the corporations as the second family for its members". For him the corporations fulfill the role of intermediate institutions within civil society that would replace the destruction caused by prestige with the unending accumulation of individual wealth by no more civic and social forms.

of recognition and self-fulfillment.⁹ The features that distinguish Hegel from other civil society theorists are the need to protect individuals from the destruction caused by private property and at the same time the conscientiousness on the part of individuals to respect the rule of law and public authority. The welfare functions of civil society were discharged by the police who were responsible for 'the actualization of universal which is contained within the particularity of civil society. The role played by the police in preserving the rights of individuals was an 'external arrangement'.¹⁰ This mode of preserving the universal was more external than ideal. In other words, the state characterized the final realization of the ethical moment.

The universal state model of Hegel was critiqued by Alexis de Tocqueville. In his celebrated book *De la démocratie en Amérique* he tries to draw attention to the dangers posed by the universal state. Tocqueville's argument on the need to have voluntary associations for enlivening democracies is based on the Montesquieu's notion of corporate intermediaries. Tocqueville argues that, "the state becomes a regulator, inspector, adviser, educator and punisher of social life. Centralized administration succeeds without difficulty in imparting a regularity to the daily business, skillfully directs the details of the policing of society, represses small disorders and petty offences: maintains the *status quo*, such that society neither declines nor improves and perpetuates in the social body a type of administrative drowsiness which heads off the

⁷ Ibid., p. 96.

⁸ Hegel as quoted in Gareth Stedman Jones, "Hegel and the Economics of Civil Society", in Sudipta Kaviraj and Sunil Khilnani (Eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 123.

⁹ Ibid, pp. 123-124

¹⁰ Ibid, pp. 123-124

administration are inclined to call good order and public tranquility”.¹¹ The universal state in other words comes to pervade every aspect of our life and perpetuates its domination in the name of maintaining political order and harmony in society. The fears expressed by Tocqueville can’t be summarily dismissed since a democratic society is most vulnerable to such influence by the state.

To counter this danger he advocates the presence of strong political institutions (the resonance of this view can be established in John Lock’s thinking who advocated the need to have strong political institutions which would ensure the rights of the citizens) where political power is distributed into many hands. A legislative power subject to periodic elections, combined with a separate executive authority, and an independent judiciary minimizes the risk of despotism. He further emphasizes the need to have rich democratic citizen action groups within state institutions. To illustrate his point he cites the example of the American jury system where the principle of supplementing representative democratic mechanism with direct citizens’ participation. He opines that, “the jury facilitates citizen’s self-government as well as teaching them how to govern others prudently and fairly, they learn how to judge fellow citizens as they would wish to be judged themselves”.¹² The co-existence of an independent arena of civil associations are self-organizing and independent of the state is a must for the strengthening and deepening of democratic structures. This arena would always act as a guarantor against the oppressive state. His conception of civil society has found much favour in the non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) debate.

Surveying the vast theoretical maze of discourse propounded by liberal thinkers, the author has made the following observations. The idea of civil society as independent from the state or as Locke calls it Political society marks the beginning for the further elucidation of the concepts of civil society. It was Montesquieu who realized the importance of having independent and autonomous organizations which would lie outside the purview of the political organization. These two streams of thought laid the foundation for the emergence of writings on civil society. In fact, Hegel’s conception of civil society is based on a combination of these two streams.

Unpacking the Civil and Political: Contextualising the Concept of Civil Society in India.

In this section two important yet interrelated questions have been examined:

- (a) Does civil society exist in contrast to the state and/or the market?
- (b) How does the ‘political’ and the ‘ideological’ operate in civil society in India?

Logically speaking the question we need to address is : can we think of the ‘civil’ separate from ‘political? The assumption in the liberal tradition is that civil society represents the space where the democratic potential of independent citizens can be realized in the face of an unresponsive and autocratic state and also groups who pursue their narrow and anti-democratic interests. It is a matter of serious academic debate as to whether the classical liberal tradition holds true for

¹¹ Alex de Tocqueville, “Dela democratic en Amerique”, as quoted in John Keane Democracy and Civil Society: ON the Predicaments of European Socialism, the Prospects for Democracy and the Problem of Controlling Social and Political Power Verso, London and New York, 1988, p.49

¹² Ibid, p. 50.

multi-ethnic and plural societies. There is a need to examine how the 'civil' and 'political' arenas engaged in societies are at conflict is based on ascriptive identities.

Commenting on the nature of associations in India he argues that, "civic networks include both intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic ties...."¹³ Varshney is arguing that in multiethnic and multi-cultural democracies, political society may penetrate the interstices of civil society. The practices of democracy-elections, parties, close links of local politicians with business associations and traders pose a serious threat to individual rights. The best illustration of strong associational networks for communal violence production has been the recurring Hindu-Muslim riots.

In an interesting argument on the nature of civil society in India Partha Chatterjee demonstrates how the 'civil' and the political' engage themselves the colonial and the post-colonial set up. He argues that, "the most significant site of transformations in the colonial period is that of civil society whereas in the post-colonial set up the transformations are occurring in the political society... The agencies of the state and the NGOs deal with people not as bodies of citizens belong to a lawfully constituted civil society but as a population groups deserving welfare. The degree to which they will be so recognized depends entirely on the pressure they are able to exert on the state and the non-state agencies through their strategic maneuvers in political society...."¹⁴ Chatterjee's argument throws open the question of group equity and democratic development. In other words, state responds to specific demands from various competing groups through a policy of co-optation sometimes and domination at other times. This has been the dominant pattern of development politics or appeasement politics the Indian state had carried on in the post-independent phase more so after the late 60's.

On the other had, there are other dissenting (since many scholars in the Indian context believe that the normative goals which the civil society arenas represents is hardly manifested at the empirical level) voices that define civil society as a sphere of modern institutions and as a torchbearer of individual equality.¹⁵ Andre Beteille argues that, "the well-being of civil society depends on the emergence of open and secular institutions, and on their differentiation from each other".¹⁶ The basis of his argument lies in the liberal assumption of relative autonomy between the institutions in civil society and he state. It is important to note that he liberal argument does not fully dismiss the need to have a state which acts as a guarantor of rights and individual equality yet is it the civil society arena where organizations base on the governing principles of being open, secular, democratic and distinguishing themselves from politics and political parties like local neighborhood councils to organizations with national orientation and membership, social and cultural groups from fraternal clubs to dance and theatre clubs and NGOs working in development fields etc, from the basis of defining the contours of civil society in India.

¹³ Ashutosh Varshney, "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond". In Carolyn Elliott (Ed.), op. cit., p. 425

¹⁴ Partha Chatterjee, "On Civil and Political Society in Post-colonial Democracies", in Sudipta Kaviraj and Sunil Khilnani (Eds.), op. Cit. p 178.

¹⁵ Gurpreet Mahajan, "Civil Society and its Avatars: What Happened to Freedom and democracy", Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 34, No. 20, 1999, p. 1195.

¹⁶ Andre Beteille, "Civil Society and its Institutions", in Carolyn Elliott (Ed.), op. cit., p. 202.

Andre Beteille delineates specifically the features that determine the nature of the institutions that can exist in civil society . For the plurality of institutions go hand-in-hand with the autonomy of institutions. Though the state is the biggest threat to this autonomy it does not necessarily mean that they cannot co-exist. He is a firm believer in the differentiation of society as a long term ideal notwithstanding the reverses and setbacks in the short term.¹⁷ In fact for a healthy relationship to exist between the state and the civil society there is need to have intimidating institutions like schools, colleges, universities, banks, newspapers, clubs, publishing houses etc. based on democratic principles. Though this process has not wiped out the old social order it has created new institutions which reject ethnic and ascriptive identities. In other words, an examination of the views of Andre Beteille has set the tone of defining the contours of civil society in India.

Other conceptualizations of civil society fill in the 'third sector' with voluntary groups and refer to it as the 'voluntary sector' or 'the non-profit sector'. Here professional NGOs foundation and philanthropies shoulder welfare and community re-building activities, provide education health and community development in a modern that is different from the functioning of the state. These institutions are expected to operate independently from the state as well as the market. In the Indian case there is widespread perception that NGOs and voluntary associations constituting the non-profit or 'third sector' fall outside the purview of the state. In effect, both these conceptualizations are arguing that civil society acts as an intermediary sphere of association located between family and the state. It is not enough to discuss the nature of civil society but also delineate the features which would facilitate the presence of a healthy relationship between state and civil society. In this context, the article analyses the relationship between the democracy and civil society.

Democracy and Civil Society: Outlining the Contours of Civil Society

The idea of strengthening and deepening democratic structures based on our understanding of various theories on civil society. It was Tocqueville who stressed the need to have voluntary associations for enchanting democracies. This implies the civil society must be an arena independent of the state an arena which is in principle accessible to all citizens and an arena of free civil arrangement, deliberation, discussion and dialogue.¹⁸ This aspect implies the participation of the citizens in a democratic manner where every participant is bale to express his own opinion. This view emphasizes the role played by voluntary associations and institutions such as the media, the publication houses, journals magazines and other civic networks which act as pressure groups or resistance against the coercive state structures., In other words, these institutions act as a check against totalitarian and oppressive states. IN the context it would be relevant to go back to Hegel to answer this question. The Hegelian understanding of civil society is intrinsically linked to the idea of citizenship. He argues that institutions like family, corporation etc are embedded with the rights of citizens. An important aspect that distinguishes Hegel from thinkers like Tocqueville is the need to ensure the protection of citizen's rights in the family as well as the intermediary spheres. The idea of linking citizenship with a democratic state is significant since many third world democracies exist without protecting citizen's rights in

¹⁷ Ibid, 99. 202

¹⁸ Neera Chandoke. *State and Civil Society: Explorations in Political Theory*. Sage Publications. New Delhi/Thousand Oaks, London, 1995. pp. 107-112.

reality. Dipankar Gupta eloquently argues that Hegel was the first civil society theorists to systematize the rationale for the autonomy of intermediate institution that liberals cherish. For Hegel these institutions form part of the civil society and manifest the ethical imperatives of freedom which radiate outwards for the state., it is civil society that gives freedom to citizens.¹⁹ In other words, Hegel is arguing that the full realization of the ethic of freedom is intrinsically related to the rights of citizens.

The idea of strengthening democracy and enhancing the rights of citizens is not free from constraints or limitations. Walzer recognizes the fact that in actually existing civil societies, army associations do not teach the virtues of democratic citizenship. He states, "people are trapped in one or another subordinate relationship where civility they learn was deferential rather than independent and active. In these circumstances, he says, 'we have to reconstruct the conditions of freedom and equality'. Walzer calls his view "critical associationalism"²⁰ to signify that the associations of civil society may need to be reformed in the light of the principles of citizenship.

The communitarian notion of civil society provide an insight into the state-in-society approach that forms at the basis of their understanding. This approach reflects on the blurring of the civil and the political interstices in multi-cultural societies. They assume that the distinction which the liberal tradition makes regarding the state and civil society in practice is blurred and overlapping. It is argued that the separation between the state and civil society is implicit in most Western theorists. This separation based on the normative concern of pursuing the goals of freedom and individual equality. This implicitly means that any discussion of civil society should respect the relative autonomy and differentiation the civil society sphere enjoys from the state. In other words, politics must be differentiated from the secular, democratic traction which the institutions of civil society represent. This also clears the ambiguity between the 'civil' and the 'political' in understanding the sphere of civil society. Notwithstanding the fact that in practice the boundaries between the political and the civil are blurred in multi-ethnic and multi-cultural societies, the need to envisioning a civil society where there is a distinction between the state and the civil society, emphasizing a two way relationship between the state in terms of a complementary as well as space for independent resistance from the state structures, to build a relatively autonomous civil society based on open and secular institutions which achieve freedom by furthering the rights of citizens. This analysis forms the basis of our understanding of civil society.

The Role of NGOs in Civil Society

The previous section provides the setting for understanding the role organizations in civil society play in democratising development. A survey of the emerging trends in the post-liberalization phase points to the significant role various organizations like the media, advocacy groups and self-help groups play in educating the citizen of their rights. The role played by the NGOs and other organizations is important due to the democratic space vacated by the political parties as

¹⁹ Dipankar Gupta. "Civil Society and the State: What Happened to Citizenship?" in Ramachandra Guha and Jonathan Parry, *Institutions and Inequalities: Essays in Honour of Andre Beteille*, Oxford

²⁰ Michael Walzer, "The Idea of Civil Society", in Carolyn Elliott (Ed.) *Civil Society and Democracy-A Reader*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2003, p. 80. p. 80

the torchbearers of social and economic transformation. Consequently, there is greater awareness about the right of citizens. It has led to speculations about the new possibilities and the expanding opportunities for greater civic action. The opportunity for greater civic action has increasingly brought into focus the critical question of the future of democratic states.

NGOs within civil society play an important role in both the transition and consolidation of democracy. Civil society is succinctly described by Larry Diamond as the realm of recognized social life that is voluntary, self-generating, self-supporting, autonomous from the state and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules.....It is distinct from society in general in that it involves citizens acting collectively in a public adhere, achieve natural goals, make demands on the state and hold state officials accountable.²¹

The various organizations in civil society perform several key democratic functions which include empowerment, educative and advocacy roles.²² As a matter of fact, NGOs have great potential to generate self-help initiation. Clark in this context viewed NGOs as vehicles for development and strengthening democracy. He further emphasises the participation of the poor in the democratic process. It can be discerned from Clark's argument that NGOs form an important part of the development process especially in third world countries. Extending the argument further Noeleen Heyzer argues that NGOs need to be perceived as performing transformative roles, whereby the structures of economic and political power become more responsive to the people.²³

Against the above mentioned background regarding the role NGOs play in the consolidation of democracy, the author examines the following issues:

- (a) Do NGOs facilitate people's participation?
- (b) Does it empower the people involved in the development process?
- (c) To whom are the NGOs Accountable?
- (d) Finally, how does it impact the democratization development?

These questions are analyzed further by focussing on four specific case studies. They are:

- (a) Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA),
- (b) Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP),
- (c) India's Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS) and
- (d) Joint Forest Management (JFM)

²¹ Larry Diamond, "Rethinking Civil Society: Toward Democratic Consolidation", *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.5, No.3, 1994, p.4.

²² David Korten, *Getting to the Twenty-first Century: Voluntary Action and the Global Agenda*, Kumarian Press, West Hartford, 1990, p. 99.

²³ Noeleen Heyzer, "Toward New Government- NGO Relations for Sustainable and People-Centered Development", in Noeleen Heyzer, James V. Riker and Antonio Quizon (Eds.), *Government-NGO Relations for Sustainable and People-Centered Development*, in Noeleen Heyzer, James V. Riker and Antonio Quizon (Eds.), *Government- NGO Relations in Asia- Prospects and Challenges for People - centered development*, Asian and Pacific Development Centre and Macmillan Press, Hampshire/London, 1995, p. 101-10.

Outlining the Basic Features of empowerment and Participation

It is imperative to discuss the nature of empowerment. Empowerment according to Sandbrook, "...is a multifaceted process which involves transforming the economic, social, psychological, political and legal circumstances of the currently powerless".²⁴ Key components of empowerment are the group ability to influence political and personnel decisions of government of powerful institution. In this regard Bratton argues that empowerment can be measured by such indicators as the amount of political clout that the organization has acquired, by the ability of the collective to alter condition (socioeconomic, political or natural) that it finds intolerable, by its success as an educative role and its ability to choose or address popular concerns.²⁵ Empowerment of communities can be counter-checked by visible improvement in the standard of living whereas on the political level it can be checked by gauging whether people or community have more political voice in affecting their lives through action of the NGOs and whether they have greater access to policy-makers and policy formulation.²⁶ As Halfani argues, to change power relations entails equipping communities not only to develop themselves but also to become effective participants in public services and augment their political power. Empowerment as a conceptual tool is useful to understand the role played by NGOs as development actors. But the question rises; how is empowerment of the people achieved? What are the various ways and means of empowering the people?

The participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) enunciated by Robert Chambers provides the operational framework for enhancing and strengthening the participation of the poor in the development process. The PRA has been described as a growing family of approaches and methods to enable local (rural and urban) people to express, enhance, share and analyze their knowledge of life and conditions to plan and to act. Robert Chambers delineated the basic ideas that underlie the approach of PRA. He states, "PRA is a family of approaches and methods for learning about rural life to share, enhance and analyze their knowledge of life and conditions to plan and to act".²⁷ In other words, the beneficiaries of development programmes need to directly participate, formulate and construct data base on the project which would eventually influence how the policy-makers design the project. Some of the developed and tested methods of PRA are mapping and modeling, matrix scoring, well-being grouping, ranking, seasonal calendars, institutional diagramming, trend and change analysis. This model has developed some operational parameters which would be then implemented on various projects e.g., a reversal of learning, i.e., to learn from local people, directly on the site and face-to-face, gaining insight rapidly and progressively, offsetting basis, optimizing trade off between quality, relevance, accuracy etc.; these are some of the principles outlined in PRA. The PRA model has been implemented and tested in more than 20 countries. In fact, the National Environment Secretariat;

²⁴ Sandbrook, R., "Introduction" in R. Sandbrook and M. Halfani (Eds.), *Empowering People: Building Community, Civil Associations and Legality in Africa*, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, Toronto, 1993, p.2.

²⁵ M. Bratton, "Non-Governmental Organization in Africa: Can they Influence Public Policy", *Development and Change*, No. 21, 1990, p. 93.

²⁶ M.S. Halfani, "The challenge Ahead", R. Sandbrook and M. Halfani (eds.), op. cit

²⁷ Robert Chambers, "The origins and Practice of Participatory Rural Appraisal". *World Development* Vol. 22, No.7, 1994.

association with Clark University, conducted a PRA experiment in Mbusanyi, a community in Machakos district in Kenya which led to the adoption of a village Resource Management Plan. Around the same time, the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (India) (AKRSP) was evolved on the PRA model.

On the basis of the operational and analytical tools provided by the PRA model, the author with the help of case-studies raises issues and concerns arising from the interaction between NGOs, the government and the people. The article attempts to unravel the operational, political, economic, social and cultural dynamics of this trilogical relationship contextualising NGOs intervention in development.

An Examination of SEWA, EAS, JFM and AKRSP

To delineate the contours of participation of the poor people in different contexts it would be relevant to demarcate the contexts of intervention.

In the case-studies, the rise of SEWA can be attributed to the inadequate institutional credit support to the poor from the state. It was established to provide the poor especially women with timely and adequate credit at affordable rates of interest to rise their earning and consequently, their living standard, in the case of the AKRSP the main reason attributed to the establishment of this development NGO is the dissatisfaction with the state led development model. Referring the poor people's engagement with India the EAS, the project was sanctioned by the government, as an employment's provision programme which emerged in the 1990s as a major plank in the government's efforts to alleviate poverty. The EAS incorporated a number of innovative programmes intended to enhance people's involvement in employment projects. The underlying basis of this project was the PRA model. Finally, the JFM programme was an attempt to forge partnerships between forest department and the rural users. This project was launched in the context of growing dissent with the states policy towards forests and their management. The most prominent among them was the Chipko Movement. This led to the government formulating a JFM policy with the NGOs acting as the intermediaries. An important aspect that pervades all these programmes is the PRA model.

The Nature of Intervention

The case-studies reflect different form of intervention. In the case of the JFM project the NGOs act as facilitators between the government and the people. In other cases like the AKRSP and the SEWA, NGOs are directly involved in the development projects and they have laid down the parameters for the working of the development project. In the case of EAS, has been designed to establish a people-centric approach through the decentralized governing structures. All these projects differ in the decentralized governing structures. All these projects differ in the nature and scope of their interventions.

The interventions from these NGOs may offer conflictual as well as complimentary attitude towards the state. They may form the vantage point for the under privileged to fight for their rights against the state; they may strive to create a minimum space for people to engage with the

state.²⁸ Organizations like the AKRSP and the SEWA can be seen working towards engaging the people with the government mechanism by drawing up plans and programmes to solve the problem of people engaged in the development process. In fact, the development NGOs and AKRSP interacts actively with government functionaries to facilitate the process. In fact, the development NGOs and AKRSP interacts actively with government functionaries to facilitate the process of irrational development in four districts in Gujarat. On the other hand, we witness an interesting yet contradictory trend while studying EAS and JFM projects. These programmes have been designed by the state with the help on NGOs who mainly act as (nodal agencies). The interaction between the government and the people hasn't been satisfactory. They have not strengthened the PRA model on which they are based. Following are main features or the project.

Self Employment Women's Organizations (SEWA)

The origin of SEWA, and NGO functioning in Ahmedabad, can be traced to the TLA which was affiliated to the INTUIC. SEWA emerge form the women's wing to Textiles Labour Movement (TLM) in 1971. The main goals of SEWA area (a) fully employment (b) Self-reliance for al its members. For SEWA full employment means employment for every single family, which ensures food security, income security and social security. The aim of SEWA is to make its member independent both individually and collectively, not only economically but also in terms of their decision-making ability.

SEWA has an all-India membership of 2.2 lakh and countries to organize women to help them enter the mainstream of the economy through the twin strategies of struggle of struggle and development.

The politics adopted by the SEWA band are based on an integrate approach to provide not only financial services but set up work security or insurance fund with loan facilities. Perhaps, the most important feature of their policies is the emphasis on asset creation. the bank encourages women to create assets in their name e.g., acquisition of their own capital, bank accounts shares, shares, saving etc.

The growth of the SEWA bank has been phenomenal. In the year 1996, share capital has increased to 66 lakh from 17.5 in 1946, working capital from 1660 to 98, 206 in 1996 and profits from Rs.30 to1,001 in 1996. Realizing that the poor women ate vulnerable to all types of crises such as floods, riots, collapse of markets, the SEWA bank has started its won insurance scheme. In 1996, 20,000 members wee covered by the scheme run by SEWA bank in collaboration with the LIC and the United India Assurance Company (OIA, the SEWA bank members availed of the benefit of maternity protection insurance to the extent of Rs. 82,800 in 1966.²⁹

Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP)

²⁸ Robert Chambers, "The origins and Practice of Participatory Renel Appraisal", World Development Vol. 22, No.7, 1954. Pp. 118-119

²⁹ Ela R. Bhatt (1996), "Empowering the Poor Through Micro-Finance: The SEWA Bank", in M.L> Dantwala, Harsh Sethi and Pravin Visaria (Eds)., *Op. C/Y.*, p. 152

The AKRSP owes its origin to the exponential growth of many development NGOs during the 1970s and 80's. By 1997, about 14,000 NGOs were registered with the Home Ministry under the Foreign Currency Regulation Act (FCRA) and more were registered as societies under the Societies Registration Act, 1860. The AKRSP started working in three districts in Gujarat since, 1984, the AKRSP bases its activity on the principle of PRA, technical excellence, cost-effectiveness, sustainability, and accountability. It mainly works to build percolation tanks or check dams.

The AKRSP has been involved in setting up 19 percolation tanks, 71 check dams, 3072 canal irrigation, 219 lakh saplings, 8,503 (h.a.) plantation on public land and 15,813 h.a. of soil and water conservation and 5659 bio plants. Utilization of the percolation tanks/check dams where people have taken over the management under the guidance of the AKRSP is close to 80 per cent and recovery of water charges is almost 100 per cent survival rate of its saplings is over 70 per cent and more than 85 per cent of the bio-gas plants are working satisfactorily. Of the Rs. 1,766 lakh spent in 1997 by the AKRSP on their programmes, government funds account for one-third.³⁰ The AKRSP's representatives have been involved in influencing the government to broaden its irrigation management programme. The AKRSP has successfully carried out the rehabilitation dams in minor irrigation sector.

Joint Forest Management (JFM)

India's JFM is an attempt to forge partnership between forest departments and the resources, in order to regenerate degraded forest land. In formal existence since the passage of a resolution by GoI in 1990, it has involved the creation of village-based forest communities in forest communities in four Indian states- Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Orissa. In return for their protection activities, the villages are promised some intermediate benefits and shares of the regenerated timber when it is finally harvested. There are estimates to be some 10,000-15,000 committees protecting over 1.5 million (ha) of state forest land in India.

Some of the essential features of this project are: they aim to provide villagers fuel and fodder needs from private farm lands. This includes government resolution which facilitates community sharing of final harvests and specifies membership rules, duties and benefits. The project stresses on micro planning to be conducted through PRA; a preference for planting villagers choice of species, the provision of alternative most important basis of this project lies in forging a state-community partnership with certain NGOs acting as nodal agencies.³¹

EAS (Employment Assurance Scheme)

The EAS, an employment provision programme emerged in the 1990s as a major plank in the Indian government's attempt to alleviate poverty. The EAS was to initiate a number of innovations intended to enhance people's ownership and involvement in employment projects. In

³⁰ Anil C. Shah and Sudarshan Iyengar, "The contribution of NGOs to Development: Some Issues and a Case Study", in M.L.Dantwala, Harsh Sethi and Pravin Visaria (Eds.) op. cit. pp. 94-95.

³¹ Nandini Sunder. "Unpacking the Joint' in Joint Forest Management", Development and Change, Vol. 31, 2000, p. 266.

aimed to develop rural infrastructure by introducing a series of projects like minor irrigation works, soil conservation or building and repairing rural roads.

The EAS was to be a 'demand led' project. Unemployed laborers would demand that the local state find them work up to a maximum of 100 days year for any two adults within a household. Second, the grassroots participation was built into the planning, implementation and monitoring of the projects. All the labourers should be registered as unemployed labourers. The government would appoint a foreman responsible for hiring labour for the scheme and should be from the area in which the project is situated. Another requirement is that the individuals' projects budgets should be publicized at the time of implementation and the project accounts are meant to be signed off by a combination of government servants, elected members of the local council and the people participating in this project. The state envisaged this project based on the PRA model to usher social and economic development in the rural homelands in India.³²

'Participation' and 'Empowerment'; Are only conceptual tools or Empirical Reality

The PRA approach enunciated by Robert Chambers has its critics. Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari note two important reservations about participatory development. Their criticism is based on the technical/ methodological problems of participation and the constraining effects of PRA discourses and practices. In terms of the technical problem PRA methods are criticized for producing homogenous 'local' view points where none previously existed, of privileging certain voices while suppressing other, and of being insufficiently sensitive to the forms of knowledge they produce.³³ In terms of the participation discourses, David Mosses argues that the local knowledge produced through PRA is not always 'authentic' as claimed by the model. In fact, the 'local' knowledge necessarily reflects and is mediated by project community and intra-community power relations. He further states that participation's a discourse have important power effects for development agencies. It is an important legitimizing strategy and thus becomes central to his presentation of project activities to an audience of powerful outsiders.³⁴ Even if the project needs an overhauling, re-evaluation of its effectiveness a mirage of 'success' is created to suit the prevailing political context. It would be apt to describe such development projects in Stuart Corbridge's words, 'programmed to fail'?

In the context of the objections raised these scholars the author examine the operational dynamics of participation by critically examining the case-studies. An examination of the objectives, policies and programmes of SEWA bring forth interesting finding. Here an attempt is made to delineate the contribution of SEWA in the context of the often quoted paradox of participation-namely the fact that public participation is to, make policy responsive to the needs of the poor, their interests must be equitably represented, but as long as the poor, remain poor;

³² Glyn Williams, Rene Version, Stuart Corbridge and Manoj Srivastava, "Participation and poor People's Engagement with India's Assurance Scheme". *Development and Change*, VOI 34 (1), 2003, P, 165.

³³ Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari, "The Case of Participation as Tyranny", in Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari (Eds). *Participation: the New Tyranny*, Zed Books London, 2001, pp.1-15.

³⁴ David Mosses, "people's knowledge, participation and patronage: Operations and Representation in Rural development", in Bill Cooke nad Uma Kothari (EDs.), *Op. Cit* P. 18.

their position in the process of interest represent at in is disadvantageous. It is interesting to see how this paradox is over come in SEWA by examining the operational dynamics of SEWA.

The feminist understanding of the state arises from the fact that 24 percent of female population is classified as workers and the majority of 76 percent women are in the agricultural sector. Not only has there been consistent refusal by the state to transform agrarian relations, women are the worst hit by poverty and landlessness. But more fundamentally the women's work's in subsistence activities is not recognized as 'work' Feminist's economists have pointed out that planning in India did not consider women as productive.³⁵ In the light of these structural difficulties the methodology of 'self-reliance of women' followed by SEWA is significant. To enhance the capacities of women, SEWA has introduced special provisions which provide economic independence to women by creating assets. Women are encouraged to buy agricultural land and houses, acquire capital, bank accounts, shares, saving certificates etc. it is important to note that SEWA targeted specifically poor women. By enhancing, the economic capacity of women to meet any situation they create conditions for social as well as economic empowerment. With this women can break the male-dominated household structure in India. In many ways, economic empowerment also leads to social empowerment. The work of SEWA bank would help in overcoming a number of structural inequalities like women on an average earn lesser wage than the men and have fewer bonuses for paid work. The perception that women in the household do not contribute productively is unproven.

Secondly, SEWA's most innovative scheme was the introduction of the Integrated Work Security Scheme (IWSS) which protects women from social and familial contingencies. The introduction of this scheme brought to the fore one of the important aspects of PRA namely improving local capabilities of people by constantly reviewing, reformulation, reflexive learning and re-designing the programmes according to the grass roots requirements. SEWA bank initially did not think that the IWSS was an important component of protecting rural poor women, thus, by changing its focus in the due course proves Chamber's argument of the need for expansion of people capacities by evaluation the projects constantly and designing them according to new challenges.

Thirdly, the notion that the relationship between civil society actors and the state are conflictual is not necessarily true since SEWA seeks and often gets help from the state. In fact, the role of life Insurance corporation, a public sector undertaking in the IWSS is commendable, SEWA has sought co-operation and help from this undertaking. In fact the success of SEWA has made the state recognize the legitimate rights of the women. As pointed out by Nandita Gandhi and Nandita Shah, SEWA didn't succumb to pressure from the government. When the Reserve Bank of India tried to pressurize SEWA to give Credit to men or to organize men in the informal sector, the mass of women protested and their representatives firmly refused.³⁶

³⁵ Nivedita Menon, "Introduction", in Nivedita Menon (Ed.), Gender and Politics in India, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 199, pp. 14.

³⁶ Nandita Gandhi and Nandita Shah, "Organizations and Autonomy", in Nivedita Menon (Ed.), Gender and Politics in India, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999, pp. 333-334.

A careful examination of the function of SEWA by the researchers points the fact that democratic participation of the poor in this project is a reality, but his question of whether participation of women in micro-credit programmes leads to empowerment of women is still unresolved. The picture is complicate since women not only have to increase their access to resource but also fight household domination of men, into the words, empowerment in the fullest sense is possible only when women are able to break the strategic economic power of the male in the household. Though the experience of SEWA points to the success women have had in creating assets, there is no empirical evidence to show that thee assets created by the women actually from the basis of economic choices choice made by the family. In this regard, Simeen Mahmud argues that the effect of micro-credit programme participation on women's empowerment by applying on analytical framework that recognizes the conceptual shift in the emphasis in definition of empowerment, from the notions of greater well-being of women to notions of women's choice and active agency in the attainment of greater well-being. The micro-credit programme participation has only a limited direct effect in increasing women's access to choice-enhancing resources, but has a much stronger effect in increasing women's ability to exercise agency in intra-house household processes. Consequently, programme participation is able to increase women's welfare and possibly to reduce male bias in welfare outcomes, particularly in poor households'.³⁷I fact, to bring a two fold change in the existing societal structures involves greater long-term planning not only by development NGOs but a structural change in the way the Indian state views the role of women in development. In this context, the role of NGOs as facilitators of development process is significant. In spite of the above mentioned reservations one can argue that SEWA's model of micro-credit finance based the PRA has been largely successful in empowering the rural poor women in Gujarat.

A close analysis of the AKRSP by the researcher brings forth two kinds of linkages, one is the relationship established between the projects beneficiaries and the project officials, Secondly, the institutionalization of the relationship between the state and the NGOs. A study of this development intervention brings forth three interesting points. First, the question to who are NGOs accountable? Whether to the people they target or the donors. A study of this project points to the fact that AKRSPs mode of building minor irrigation facilities, managed by people is novel. The success rate of this project is high. There is 80 percent recovery of water charges, the survival rate of its saplings and plantations over 70 percent and more than 85 percent of the biogas plants are working satisfactorily. What is important to note is the fact that people manage these projects on a day- to -day basis with technical help form officials.

Another novel measure is the importance given to the cost-effectiveness of the project and the quality of the products. The proactive role of the people involved in the project comes to the fore when village leaders fore Dhandhalpur in Sapla Taluka, one of the three project concern of the AKRSP approached the district administration to improve the quality for the check dam being constructed by the contactor, Secondly, the success of AKRSP has put pressure on the government to make institutional changes. This is an important contribution since the AKRSP has forced the government to introduce the Participatory Irrigation Management (PIM) which had been neglected in pervious plans. The government was persuaded to broaden its strategy on irrigation. This point to the role development NGOs can play in facilitating the process of economic development.

³⁷ Simmen Mahud, 'Actually How Empowering is Micro- Credit?', Development and Change, Vol. 34, No 4,2003, pp.603-4

Thirdly, the contribution of AKRSP in breeding the scope of NGO-State collaboration can be summarized in the following ways: (a) the development NGOs can act as intermediary agencies which pressure the government to undertake specific policies for specific stations. The NGOs can provide first hand information and expertise gained by working at the grassroots. Besides it could make the job of the government can participate in the actual implementation of the programmes. An examination of the AKRSP project points to a dual relation at only level, between the people a development NGOs and secondly, the institutionalization of the state and the NGOs partnership vis-à-vis policy designing, and implementation.

The Study of JFM and EAS throws open the debate: whether the PRA model is successful and especially so in the case where the state has a major role to play. A study of these projects has provided critical insights to the operational dynamic of the PRA model. Some of the key issues raised by Glyn Williams and et al, are first, the rural social networks are hierarchical nature and in the course of the projects the local elite were of greater immediate importance than the poor for the powerful project outsiders. The stronghold of the local elite (derived from their economic and political power) has not been penetrated. To illustrate their arguments the land holding patterns and the main income source of the non-poor, poor and destitute homelands are examined. The land ownership among the non-poor was 90 percent whereas destitute occupied 53.3 percent and the poor hold 82 percent. Even though the land ownership is high because of the government's land redistribution, the vast majority of the poor and the destitute households are dependent upon agricultural work where labourers face lean seasons from mid-April to mid-January and mid-September to mid-November. These seasonal variations invariably reduce the daily consumption in the poor and destitute households. The non-poor in comparison are better off since nearly 20 percent of the people are engaged in petty business and the other 20 are engaged in petty business and the other 20 are engaged in white collar jobs.³⁸

Another important paradox emerging out of this study is the role played by intermediaries, who instead of connecting poor villages to government reinforces; seek the support of the powerful local elite. Since the state has failed in essentially targeting the poor, the responses of the poor, the responses of the poor to development activities was not satisfactory. To augment this point a reference is made to the empirical data provided by Glyn Williams and company on the participation percentage in the EAS district-wise in poor and non-poor households for example, of the average percentage of people aware of the EAS by name, attending public meetings of the EAS and those gained work under EAS reveals that lesser percentage of poor people; are aware of the EAS by name, and they hardly attend public meetings of the EAS. Though many people of the poor household have gained work under the EAS they are totally ignorant of the name of the project, and the participation in public meetings of the EAS is less among the poor though ironically the work gained under the EAS is highest among the poor in the four districts. This phenomenon can be explained by arguing that giving work does not guarantee full empowerment of the people.

To further substantiate the fault lines that exist in the PRA approach it is argued by Nandini Sundar that villagers' participation is mobilized for a specific namely the afforestation of degraded land, not for any other agenda they might have set themselves such as getting more non-timber forest products.³⁹ Secondly, not all villagers have equal measures of degraded forest

³⁸ Glyn Williams, Rene Veron, Stuart Corbridge and Manoj Srivastava (2003) OP. cit. pp. 168-69. p. 266.

³⁹ Nandini Sundar, "Unpacking the 'Joint' in Joint Forest Management", Development and Change, Vol. 31, 2000

land which they can protect: exclusion from the protected path, as well as from the development benefits and wages for plantation work that are associated with JFM, aggregates conflict between villages. Third, while villages may be active in protecting their degraded forest land, their needs don't disappear and pressure to fulfill these needs is often merely shifted to alternative, good forest land.⁴⁰ Participation is severely constricted since large-scale development projects such as tourism, bauxite mining in Boora in Padem divisions of Vizag, power plants in Sambhalpur are being planned. Moreover, the state as argued by Gadgil and Guha acts as proxy for the commercial-industrial sector. They further cite the instance where the Uttar Pradesh Government intervened to prevent a proposal for encouraging co-operatives to manage the forests. The Governor argued that, "the forest department is a sort of commercial department; it cannot be expected to extend concession in the transaction of its business, even to the co-operatives".⁴¹ The villages' opinion in these issues has not been ascertained and this seriously questions the credibility of these JFM Projects and level of people's participation in this project. The partisan attitude of these state leads to the erosion of the idea of people participating and deciding their own affairs. Consequently, the paradox used by the interaction with the state leads to questioning not only the role played by the state in guaranteeing the rights of citizens' but also how effective are civil society organizations in challenging the state.

Another important finding which both the projects seem to have reiterated is the paradox of the PRA model. Robert Chamber's principles of facilitating the investigation and learning, by local people, self-critical awareness and personal responsibility don't seem to impact the rural poor network these formal participatory methods have not been able to radically re-structure the power relation in these villages.

The case-studies discussed here portray the complexity in terms of the nature, substance and impact of PRA in ushering socio-economic development. On the one hand, SEWA and AKRSP projects to a large extent have designed their programmes to facilitate and foster greater participation and interaction among people. In other words, a conscious effort has been made to involve the people in the decision-making process and base on the needs and interest of the people involved in the project that have reformulated and introduced innovative programmes. These two case-studies have demonstrated effectively and conclusively how a democratic and vibrant partnership can be forged between the beneficiaries, NGOs and the state. On the other hand, the JFM and the EAS programmes have pointed to the fact that though the poor people have got employment (in case of JFM), the paradox namely; the guarantee to employment doesn't necessarily lead to empowerment or the realization of the rights of the poor. It is because the basic democratic principles of healthy participation in the decision-making process are lacking. Consequently, as long as the link between participation and citizen's rights is not fulfilled the paradox remains. Based on the findings of these case studies, the next logical question to be considered is: Are NGOs harbingers of Democratic Development.

⁴⁰ Nandini Sunddar, "Unpacking the 'Joint' Forest Management", *Development and Change*, Vol. 31, 2000

⁴¹ Madhav Gadgil and Ramchandra Guha, *The Fissured Land: An Ecological History of India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1992, pp. 231-38

NGOs play an important role in the development process in India, albeit, it is another matter what role they actually play as opposed to what role they are supposed to play has been a subject of heated debate. Part of the problem of understanding what role NGOs and civil society can play is related to how NGOs and civil society and democracy are defined. There are many polemic discussions on the relation between civil society and democracy. Statist approaches have focused on the state and excluded other societal actors and forces but the current focus on NGOs and civil society as vehicles of empowerment and democratization are also overstated and unrealistic. Other approaches call for the existence of many civil society organizations hence, arguing that these groups would uphold the democratic values. But the question really is: can organizations like caste associations; religion-based philanthropic associations strengthen and deepen democratic structures? In other words, the relationship between civil society and democracy should define the contours of democratic development.

In order for NGOs and civil society to be effective in promoting democratic participation there must be a democratic environment in place. Michael Walzer while outlining his vision of a democratic civil society argues that, "A democratic civil society is one controlled by its members, not through a single process of self-determination but through a large number of different and uncoordinated processes... Civil society is sufficiently democratic when in some at least, of its parts we are able to recognize ourselves as authoritative and responsible participant."⁴² To substantiate Walzer's argument on the role citizens' play it is imperative to not Barber's idea of how can citizens act authoritatively yet responsibly. He cites the example of an 18th century Swiss village where the citizens decided to declare war on a harassing neighbour and then armed themselves to conduct the war.⁴³ The action of the citizens acting responsibly in contemporary democracies. In practical terms, there are endless possibilities for common civic action especially in urban areas in particular. The crux of these arguments lies in the recognition of the fact that the presence of a democratic culture would lead to democratic civility. In other words, democratic states and a democratic civil society are mutually complementary and consequently, promote and facilitate the process of recognition of rights of citizens.⁴⁴

Another important conclusion that can be drawn from the case studies as well as Walzer's arguments the link between participation and citizens' rights. As long as the idea of citizens' right is not recognized and embedded in the functioning of societal institutions like family, corporation and the state the full realization of freedom would remain a distinct possibility. To ensure 'empowerment' and 'political participation', it is crucial that we respect the notion of rights based civility. In other words, the rights based conception of civil society which aims at not only creating an individual sphere from the state for development of an individual but at the same time builds institutions that guarantee basic rights and freedom which in turn would ensure the deepening of democratic structures. In this context, it would be pertinent to remember Barber's argument. He opined that, 'Democracy in neither government by the majority nor representative rule: it is citizens' self-government. Without citizens there can be only be elite/mass politics. Politics in the participatory mode relies in the final instance on a strong conception of the citizen.'

⁴² Michael Walzer (2003), *op.cit.*, pp. 79-80

⁴³ Benjamin Barber, *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age*, University of California Press: Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1984 pp.209. For further elucidation of how citizenship is linked to participation refer to Chapter 7, "Citizenship and Participation: Politics as Epistemology", pp.163-212.

⁴⁴ Benjamin Barber (1984), *op. cit.*, pp. 211-12

In this context, an examination of the four case studies broadly raises the same contradictions between the role of the civil societal institutions and that of the state in the development process. Though SEWA and AKRSP have been successful to a large extent in involving the people in the development process, a study of JFM and EAS points to paradoxes in participatory model. These contradictions arise since democratic culture, attitudes and behaviour has not been achieved not only within organizations in civil society but also the apathy of the state to foster citizen awareness and citizen participation in deciding the affairs of the citizens. This makes it imperative for organizations like NGOs to strongly evolve democratic culture in their functioning, planning and designing. This would facilitate and foster stronger participation of people within the organization but also instill democratic culture. However the fact remains that the Indian state needs to strengthen and deepen democratic structures by forging meaningful partnership with civil society actors and citizens.

The above arguments bring us back to the question were originally started with: Are NGOs harbingers of democratic development. Our study of the four case studies as argued earlier points to contrasting findings. The lessons learnt from our study point to three important pre-conditions.:

- (a) 'Participation' and 'Empowerment' as an ideal can prosper only in democratic societies where the rights of citizens are the main concern.
- (b) Democratic civil society and democratic state are mutually complimentary.
- (c) Democratic culture in NGOs and other actors involved in development is a pre-eminent condition for the success of development projects.

In the light of the above findings, the most important aspect that comes forth is the need to imbibe democratic attitudes and behaviour that support democracy; civil society organizations must practice internal democracy in terms of decision-making and leadership selections and rotation. Our study of Indian NGOs points to the fact that very few organizations follow these principles. It is not a standardized practice to follow democratic organizational structures. Based on the problems raised by the case studies, the author recommends a few proposals on how to democratic the organizational structure.

- (a) The internal structure in NGOs must be decentralized.
- (b) They must give adequate representation to the people who are going to be benefited in the development projects.
- (c) They need to involve people from different class backgrounds in the decision-making process since it has been observed in the case-studies that participation from the lower class rural households is minimal.
- (d) The project needs to be constantly monitored and re-evaluated in consultation between the people and the NGOs involved in the development activity.
- (e) The NGOs involved in these projects must have regular organizational elections.

(f) And finally, the financial costs audit need to be publicly placed for discussion not only involved in the project, but also be tabled in Parliament. These is need t have a public audit of the financial situation.

Thus, the question about the role of NGOs in democratizing development is contingent on the above mentioned conditions. As long as civil society actors and the state don't fully realize these conditions the disadvantaged sections of society will continue to suffer.

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9 - OVERVIEW OF THE INDIAN HEALTH SECTOR – INDIA

HEALTH REPORT

1. OVERVIEW

Introduction

It is increasingly being recognized that good health is an important contributor to productivity and economic growth, but it is, first and foremost, an end in itself. In a poor country like India, where the only asset most people have is their bodies, health assumes even greater significance. Good health, and its natural corollary—defence against illness—is fundamental to every man, woman, and child, not only for their well-being, but for their very survival. If the state exists to safeguard the right of its citizens to the fundamental prerequisites of survival, it must also own up to its responsibility to protect them from illness and premature mortality.

The Indian state has articulated this responsibility often enough. Since independence, the government, ostensibly driven by socialistic goals, has expressed its intentions to discharge this responsibility in one five-year plan after the other. Ambitious systems, programmes, and schemes have been drawn up to alleviate poverty while promoting the goal of universal health care, although the close linkages between the two have not been fully appreciated.

There have, indeed, been large gains in health status since Independence. Life expectancy has gone up from 36 years in 1951 to 62 years in 1995. Infant mortality rate is down from 156 in 1951 to 71 in 1997. Crude birth rate has been reduced from 36.9 in 1970 to 26.1 in 1998, and crude death rate from 14.9 to 8.7 in the same period. One of the major reasons for these gains has been the development of an impressively vast, three-tiered system of rural health infrastructure, with sub-centres for each 5000 population, Primary Health Centres (PHC) for each 30,000 population, and Community Health Centres (CHC) for each 100,000 population. Immunization to control communicable diseases has made a major contribution to these gains; success stories include small pox eradication, the near elimination of leprosy, and the extraordinary social mobilization for polio eradication. Improvements in determinants such as water supply and sanitation have also helped achieve outcomes. (These aggregations, however, mask the wide differentials between and within states.) The health indicators of Kerala are comparable to those of middle-income countries, while Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, and Orissa are almost at the level of Sub-Saharan Africa. There are huge disparities between urban and rural areas, and between developed and relatively remote areas inhabited by the marginalized sections of society.

Moreover, the figures regarding achievements present an impressive picture only when viewed in splendid isolation. First, a comparison of targets and goals dilutes the gains considerably. The National Health Policy 1983 set some targets for 1985, 1990, and 2000. A comparison of goals with actual achievements reveals the real picture: we are nowhere near targets, except for life expectancy, crude death rate, and polio

immunization. Second, while India seems to have performed better than countries with the same level of per capita income such a comparison is obviously misleading. With its knowledge base, its administrative and institutional strengths, and its growth potential India is capable of much higher levels of achievement.

It is clear that those health systems that direct their resources and energies towards the health needs of the poor have a better overall health status. This is a logical association, since the poor carry the large burden of disease. But the facts make a mockery of such logic as they establish the raw

deal the poor are getting from the public health care system. A recent study by the National Council for Applied Economic Research (NCAER) reveals that the richest 20 per cent enjoy three times the share of public subsidy for health compared with the poorest quintile. The poorest 20 per cent of Indians have more than double the mortality rates, fertility rates, and under nutrition levels of the richest 20 per cent. The poor suffer disproportionately more from pre-transition diseases such as malaria and TB. On an average, they spend 12 per cent of their incomes on health care, as opposed to only 2 per cent spent by the rich. Treatment or hospitalization for chronic illness often means the liquidation of meager assets, even permanent indebtedness. One episode of hospitalization is enough to wipe out all the assets of the family. It is not wonder then that the number of the poor who did not seek treatment because of financial reasons increased from 15 per cent to 24 per cent in rural areas and doubled from 10 per cent to 21 per cent in urban areas in the decade 1986-96.

This leads us to the obvious question: if the state has universal health care and poverty alleviation as its basic objectives; if there have been gains, however patchy and inadequate; if there are systems in existence though not actually thriving, why is the current health scenario so bleak?

The obvious and most important reason is that for a state that promises universal health care through the public health system. India has one of the lowest health budgets in the world. How is the objective to be met if there are no resources to put policy and schemes into actual practice? This gross mismatch between objectives and resources is at the heart of both the inadequacies and the inequities of the Indian health system. Higher public health expenditures are clearly and unequivocally associated with better health outcomes, and thus productivity, especially in a poor country. Any attempt at understanding the failures of the health system and setting these derailed intentions and structures back on course would involve, for a start, a much higher priority to the health sector. This higher priority will then have to be translated into increased allocation of resources. Otherwise, financial risk protection for the poor, who are beset by illness as well as the threat of loss of work, will remain what it has been for the last several decades: pious declarations on paper.

The state's role in health has fallen well short of its declared intentions. Not only has it failed to provide health care to the majority of the population through the public sector, it has also countenanced a large and thriving private sector to grow practically without regulation. In the context of a public health system that does not deliver services to those who need them, the private sector has grown to be the main provider of curative health care. It currently dominates both outpatient and inpatient care, and this evidence shows no significant variations by income group, rural/urban location, gender, caste, or tribe. The private sector is however, almost entirely unregulated so that its costs, its quality of care, and its spatial distribution are for the large part not guided by national health goals. It is not surprising then that the poor are forced into a situation where they have no pay for private health care they cannot afford. Their deprivation and make the poor ill more easily; and illness makes them even poorer. There is no dearth of evidence that establishes this nexus. A recent analysis of the World Bank (India: Raising the Sights- Better Health Systems for India's Poor, May 2001) concludes that the hospitalized Indian spends more than half of his total annual expenditures on buying health care; more than 40 per cent of hospitalized people borrow money or sell assets to cover expenses and 35 per cent fall below the poverty line. The study also suggests that out-of-pocket medical costs alone may push 2 per cent of the population below the poverty line in one year.

Given this context, the first task of policymakers is to define realistic goals and provide the necessary financial resources for their achievement. Besides, the lack of clarity on the

relative roles of the Centre and the states has caused the Centre to focus on the day-to day management of institutions and programmes, rather than concentrating on its stewardship role. The result is that even the meager available resources have not been put to optimal use. Clearly, along with increased resources, the need of the hour is wide-ranging systemic reforms, both at the Centre and at the states. We believe that the reform process must begin with a through restructuring of the ministry of health and family welfare (MHFW) on the lines indicated in the appendices of this report.

The Current Health Scenario: Issues

Present Challenges

COOMUN DISEASES

One of the biggest blots in the current health scenario is the failure to control communicable diseases, despite the availability of cost-effective and relatively simple technologies. These pre-transition communicable and infectious diseases constitute a major cause of premature death in India: they kill over 2.5 million children below the age of five and an equal number of young adults every year. The proportion of total deaths caused by communicable diseases (including maternity-related conditions and nutritional deficiencies) continues to be unacceptably high at 42 per cent. (Of the 269 million disability-adjusted life years or DALYs lost, communicable diseases accounted for 50.3 per cent.) Despite the global eradication of smallpox, and despite expectations that current efforts will ensure that elimination of leprosy and polio within the next five years, environmental and social factors impose severe constraints on the control of two communicable diseases that pose a special threat-malaria and TB. The total number of TB patients is estimated at fifteen million. Moreover, India has been identifies as a hot spot for multi-drug-resistant (MDR) TB, which is both difficult and expensive to treat.

The resurgence of malaria and TB in forms difficult to control or treat, along with the exponential rate of development of HIV /ADS has imparted a new sense of urgency to disease control. Special projects have been lunched for the control of communicable diseases such as malaria, TB, and leprosy with the support of the World Bank and other donors, and they constitute an appropriate strategic response to the increasing threat. They have improved performance considerably through stable funding and programetic reforms. However, except in the case of leprosy where the objective of elimination appears achievable, the coverage in other programmes is still low, and large uncovered areas have been receiving even less attention than before. These projects must cover the entire country, and Central funding support must be extended to 100 per cent, rather than matching 50-50 with the states, as in many cases at present. The sustainability of these special programmes once external assistance cases also needs to be addresses.

TB

India accounts for one-third of global TB, and the largest number of persons suffering from active TB in the world. According to available estimates, about 2.2 million people are added each year to the existing load of about fifteen million active TB cases. Of these new cases, about 800,000 are infections, and about 450,000 die. A most disturbing fact is that 20 per cent of fifteen -years-olds are reportedly infected; and among women in the reproductive age group of 15-44 years, it causes more deaths than all the various causes of maternal mortality put together.

Added to this are the facts that every sputum- positive case carries the potential to infect 10-15 individuals in a year, and that TB is the principal opportunistic infection of HIV. The result is the alarming possibility that deaths caused by TB can go up to four million in the next decade.

At present, the Directly Observed Treatment, Short-course 9DOTS) strategy is implemented under the aegis of the Revised Nations Tuberculosis Control Programme (RNTCP) in about 200 districts, covering a population of 350 million. The programme is supported by about Rs. 746.76 crore of external funding. The results of the RNTCP are impressive, but nevertheless the future scenario of TB control appears grim. First, only an estimated 20-5 per cent of TB patients in the country have been brought under DOTS. The same familiar reasons crop up as barriers to further expansion and better performance: low budgets, weak institutional capacity, the dangers of MDR exacerbated by unregulated private practitioners following their disparate, sometimes irrational, treatment regimes, as well as unplanned, unprepared, and hasty expansion of the programme.

Multiple systems of TB control-conventional, Short Course Chemotherapy (SCC) and RNTCP- are all being implemented with different financing mechanisms. And as in other programmes, poor community support is a hindrance. In addition to all this, the future of TB control has to be viewed in the light of the ominous fact that nearly two-thirds of opportunistic infection among AIDS patients is TB, portending a dual epidemic of TB and HIV in the near future.

Malaria

The prevalence of malaria was brought down to about two million cases by 1984. In 1994, however, there were several focal outbreaks resulting in high mortality. The most dangerous strain of malaria, caused by the parasite. *Plasmodium falciparum* (Pf), has been steadily rising to account for almost half of all malaria cases in 2001. As expected, the disadvantaged sections are the worst hit: in Andhra Pradesh, the rate of Pf malaria among tribal groups accounted for 75 per cent of malaria deaths in the state.

Several reasons have been cited for the failure to reduce malaria prevalence: parasite resistance to drugs and vector resistance to insecticides in some high endemic areas, environmental changes caused by development activities such as irrigation projects, and rapid urbanization. A three-pronged strategy was drawn up, which is now being implemented throughout the country under the National Anti-malaria Programme (NAMP). The main objective of the strategy is to interrupt the transmission of disease by:

- Early detection and prompt treatment to reduce the reservoir of infection;
- Reduction of the vector population through select vector control using anti-adult and anti-larval measures; and-
- Enhancement of community-based action, such as undertaking bioenvironmental control measures and promoting personal prophylactic measures.

The effectiveness of these efforts is hampered by weak and often non-functional public health systems, non-availability of required manpower, inaccessibility of areas most affected (e.g. tribal areas), and poor community participation. The removal of these constraints is a major challenge for the programme.

WATER-RELATED/SOIL-TRANSMITTED ILLNESS

Acute diarrhea, worm infestations, and digestive tract infections become illness to reckon with in view of their debilitating impact on the immunity system, particularly those of children and of the undernourished. In addition to comprehensive health education-which would promote community hygiene and healthy living-India needs to make adequate investments in water supply, sewerage systems, and sanitation to reduce the load of infectious disease. Local bodies must be involved for coordinated action on these major determinants of health.

ACUTE RESPIRATORY INFECTIONS (Am)

Despite the availability of inexpensive and effective anti-microbials, ARIs continue to take a heavy toll, particularly amongst children, accounting for almost a million avoidable deaths every year. This again is due to a dysfunctional public health system and lack of access to quality primary and secondary care. There is need to focus on interventions for treatment at all levels of care, as well as to address contributory factors such as air pollution through health education and community action.

MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH (MCH)

Children below five and women in the reproductive age group make up 36.2 per cent of the population of India. In terms of survival and well-being, they constitute the most vulnerable group in society. Income levels and social exclusion only serve to exacerbate this vulnerability; health indicators for Scheduled Caste (SC) and Scheduled Tribe (ST) women and children reveal that they are considerably worse off. As in other aspects of the health sector, the database so essential for planning and setting of priorities is not reliable. But the estimates available show that the maternal mortality rate (MMR) continues to remain at an unacceptable level-408 for 100,000 live births. The causes for these poor indicators of maternal health are well documented: the low socio-economic status of women, the undernourishment and anaemia rampant among them, the low proportion of institutional deliveries, and the absence of trained birth attendants in as many as two-thirds of cases. Again, only a revamping of the primary health care system, along with effective referrals for complications, and interventions to address under nutrition/anaemia will help improve antenatal and maternity care. Simultaneously, a fundamental link-between high mortality on the one hand and high fertility and age at delivery on the other-must be addressed to get handle on the problem of maternal survival and health.

The poor status of maternal health is inextricably linked with the gender disparities that pervade all aspects of the life in India. The results of the 2001 census seem to indicate that the reported decline in the sex ratio during the last century has, at last, been not only arrested but also marginally reversed. But the sex ratio in the 0-6 age group has worsened, and this is cause for serious concern.

Again, the tempo of decline in infant mortality rate (IMR) and under-5 mortality achieved between 1981 and 1991 has not been sustained. The critical point is that IMR has been hovering around seventy-two, and under-5 mortality around ninety-five per 1000 live births, during the last few years. The rate of decline has, during the last four years, reached a disturbing plateau. Programme interventions continue to focus on the major post-neonatal causes of death, though neonatal mortality now accounts for two-thirds of infant mortality. Policy and programmes must emphasize interventions that will address perinatal and neonatal mortality.

NUTRITION

The threat of communicable diseases, as well as perinatal morbidity and mortality, looms larger because of the poor nutritional status of a substantial part of the population. Despite a nationwide programme for nutritional supplementation of pregnant women and children, National Family Health Survey (NFHS) II (1998-9) shows only a slight improvement over 'NFHS I (1992-3). The percentage of underweight children has marginally reduced from 52 per cent to 47 per cent, and of the severely underweight, from 20 per cent to 18 per cent. The study revealed that 74 per cent of children were anaemic, 52 per cent women have some anaemia, which is a major cause of maternal mortality. There is an urgent need to focus on food / nutrition security as a high-priority intervention for improved health outcomes of India's population.

The present challenges of communicable diseases and maternal and child survival reveal the weakness of the health system. But even as the system struggles to meet the current demands of disease control, a new challenge, again a communicable disease is emerging in the form of HIV/AIDS, threatening to sharpen existing problems of resources, health infrastructure, and inequities.

Emerging Challenges

HI V/AIDS

The threat presented by the rapidly-growing HIV/AIDS infection has not received the priority attention that it deserves, partly because of the long gestation period between HIV infection and the development of full-blown AIDS. Also, it is the opportunistic infections (such as TB) that get noticed; the root cause of morbidity and mortality often remains undiagnosed. The major route of transmission in India is sexual contact, but sex as a subject is weighed down with taboos in a traditional society. The high prevalence of sexually transmitted disease (STD) in India also makes the country particularly vulnerable to the AIDS threat. In the year 2000, the number of Indians infected with HIV was estimated at 3.86 million, or roughly an adult prevalence rate of 0.7 per cent, quite low when compared to the cases of 25 per cent and more in South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Botswana. But the infection in India is no longer confined to high-risk groups or only to urban areas and it is spreading rapidly. Since the epidemic is more than a decade old, mortality due to AIDS is increasing in 1999 alone, nearly 300,000 Indian are estimated to have died from the disease. As of March 2000, 11,251 cases have been reported to National AIDS Control Organization (NACO): 79 per cent, males; 21 per cent, females. This is, however, only a fraction of AIDS morbidity in the country, reflecting the stigma and the ignorance surrounding the infection. Widespread discrimination against the infected hinders their access to health care. Similar, the low income levels of the infected, coupled with lack of resources in the government-funded programme-despite the manufacture and availability of the drugs in India at affordable prices- preclude the widespread use of highly active anti-retroviral therapy (HAART). As a result, morbidity and mortality of those infected continue to be high.

The most important contribution of the National AIDS Control Programme has been sentinel surveillance; it has also heightened awareness regarding blood safety. The programme has now begun its second phase, with preventive efforts as its focus, and targeted interventions among high-risk behaviour groups as a key strategy. But awareness levels are still low or uneven; information, education and communication (IEC) remain a crucial element. If India is to avoid the catastrophe that Africa is struggling with, far greater efforts will have to be made to keep the epidemic at bay. Fortunately, we have a model in the state of Tamil Nadu, which has

successfully arrested the increase in the level of infection by concentrating on high-risk segments of the population, raising general awareness levels, and devising innovative mechanisms for programme implementation.

India must act immediately and vigorously to control the level of HIV infection so that it does not grow beyond 3 per cent of the adult population.

Future Challenges

As if present and emerging problems do not present enough of a challenge to resource hungry and weak health system, there are also the challenges of the future for which provisions must be made. Projections of population increase indicate a changing demographic profile with profound implications for the health planners and economists. The next two decades will see a significant increase in the 15-59 age group the increase in longevity will almost double the population of the elderly (> 60 years). As more individuals survive till middle age, the years of exposure to the risk factors of chronic disease increase. Non-communicable disease (NCD) will gradually become the dominant contributors to the burden of disease-their share increasing from an estimate 33 per cent in 1998 to 57 per cent in 2020. In fact, even at the present stage of health transition, India contributes substantially to the global burden of NCDs. In 1990, India accounted for 19 per cent of all deaths, 1 per cent of all NCD deaths, and 17 per cent of all cardiovascular disease (CVD) deaths in the world. CVD in India alone accounted for around 2.4 million deaths, in contrast to nearly 3.2 million CVD deaths in all the industrialized countries put together.

In addition, recent evidence suggests that impaired fetal nutrition, reflected in small birth size, results in programmed susceptibility to adult cardiovascular disease, diabetes, and some cancers. Mental health disorders merit special attention, given the fact that neuro psychiatric disorders account for 26 per cent of the NCD burden. They contribute to the burden of mortality too: suicides are estimated to occur at the rate of 11 per 1 00,000. Indications are that women bear a high burden of these disorders. With NCDs positioned as a major public health challenge, the existing health systems will need to be recognized and reoriented to deliver the expanded mandate of health care-involving the prevention, surveillance, and management of chronic disease along with primary and secondary health care. The emerging burden of NCDs poses a special threat to the poor due to the often prolonged and expensive treatment required for these conditions, as well as much greater exposure to risk factors like tobacco and alcohol.

The management of NCDs is often technology intensive and expensive. Individual as well as societal resources are already being drained at a disproportionately high level by the tertiary care management of NCD, drawing scarce resources away from the unfinished agenda of infectious disease and maternal and child health. Though NCD epidemics usually originate in the upper socio-economic strata, they diffuse across the social spectrum, with the social gradient ultimately reversing and the poor becoming the most afflicted.

At present, programmes for NCD control in India are either non-existent or functioning at a low level. The exorbitant costs of treating chronic diseases make prevention the most suitable option for India. Traditionally, public health approaches to NCD control have consisted of a high-risk strategy, targeting those with high levels of risk factors and employing interventions, usually with drugs to reduce them; and a population strategy that attempts to reduce the levels of risk factor in the whole community, usually through lifestyle-related measures. Along with these approaches, effective low-cost case- management strategies are

required for those who manifest symptoms of disease. Such technologies are available, but they await widespread dissemination and application.

Tobacco control is a major public health imperative providing the largest benefit for NCD prevention. Tobacco-related cancers, CVD, and chronic obstructive airway disease can be effectively prevented if the tobacco habit is discouraged and overcome among the population. Tobacco control has received some attention in recent years, but it still awaits the passage of proposed legislation as well as a vigorous public education, campaign. The National Cancer Control Programme involves cancer-registries at selected sites and strengthening of facilities for clinical care (such as radiotherapy). Pilot studies for the control of CVD and diabetes have been initiated but have not had an impact on policy and programme development.

India as among the first developing countries to initiate a community-based National Mental Health Programme. However, the programme remains at its pilot stage in twenty- two districts of the country only, and awaits extension to the other districts. Given the high prevalence of mental disorders in the community and the complex nature of causation and treatment of mental illness, there is an urgent need to quickly expand the programme as well as to make it more comprehensive by providing the family and the community a central role in the prevention, early detection, treatment of neuropsychiatric disorders, and rehabilitation of the mentally ill.

Finance

The recurring refrain in any discussion of the Indian health system is finance, a refrain that grows more shrill and urgent because of policy failures and state neglect. The crux of the problem is an abysmally low public health expenditure around 0.9 per cent of gross domestic product (GDP), below the average of low-income countries and even. Sub Saharan Africa. Despite the increasing urgency of problems in the health sector, public health expenditure as a proportion of total government expenditure has in fact declined over the years. This has to be seen against a background of fiscal deficits: the combined fiscal deficits of the Centre and the states are estimated at 10 per cent of GDP. Following a temporary stabilization in the early 1990s, the fiscal situation has deteriorated, so that government ability to increase investments in health has been eroded further. Since the states typically account for about 75 per cent of public health expenditure, their financial health is crucial for both general development and specific health outlays. But the combined gross fiscal deficits of the states, which ranged between 2.4-2.9 per cent between 1993-4 and 1997-8, increased to 4.2 per cent in 1998-9 and to 4.9 per cent in 1999-2000. Fiscal, crises have meant sharp reductions in the, non-salary recurring expenditure in public health facilities, leading to further deterioration of quality. In addition, the increase in salary and pension liabilities after the Fifth Pay Commission has aggravated the resource crunch.

The share of health expenditure in the major states, in the range of 6-7 per cent up to the 1980s has come down to just over 5 per cent in the 1990s. This is significant decline in the proportion of health expenditure to the total expenditure in the states in over two decades. As far as the real per capita spending on health is concerned, the evidence o eleven states at 1980-constant prices shoes a steady increase though in varying degrees. The sole exception is Uttar Pradesh, the most populous state; the declining per capita public spending in the state with very poor health outcomes is indeed a disturbing trend. Moreover, trends of the real per capita public spending on health select major states, and their distribution among primary, secondary, and tertiary health care, sl1cv that between the period 1985-6 and 1998-9, per capita public spending increased at the primary and secondary levels by about 50 per cent, while spending levels

increased by more than 100 per cent in the tertiary sector. This has grave implications for both the equity and efficiency of the health system.

The state's policy objective to provide free universal health care to the entire population is totally divorced from ground realities. In fact, India has one of the highest levels of private financing (87 per cent), with out-of-pocket expenses estimated at as high as 84.6 per cent. The highly skewed pattern of health finance in India is a major contributor to the perpetuation of poverty. Indeed, the greatest failure of the Indian health system has been its inability to develop a financing mechanism for the health care of the poor. It is clear then that the foremost objective of the Indian health finance system should be financial risk protection for the poorer and weaker sections of the population. Access to health services should depend on individual need, not ability to pay. The most efficient way of providing financial protection is to pool the risk between the rich and the poor, the young and the old, and the employed and the unemployed, to enable cross-subsidization. At the international level, the main instrument used to achieve this objective is health insurance, but this concept has remained relatively undeveloped in India.

That there is a strong case for increasing the share of health in resource allocation is by now self-evident. But the extent to which tax revenues can be reallocated to the health sector would depend not only on political will, but also on the fiscal situation. In a poor country with a low tax base, mounting debt liabilities, undeniable security concerns, and a legacy of poorly targeted subsidies, one cannot rest content with merely advocating reallocation of resources for larger investment in health. Generally speaking, the available tax resources should be used primarily for provision of public goods, the health care of the poor-particularly those in the informal sector outside the reach of insurance mechanisms- and for community financing. To the extent possible, resources should be raised from dedicated sources to eliminate competition, and to provide stable and growing sources of revenue. At the same time, there must be improvement in the targeting of public subsidies towards the health care of the poor. This implies taking five steps:

- Increase allocation for public health and primary and secondary health care, which is better utilized by low-income families;
- Utilize user fees at secondary and tertiary levels to reduce the price advantage of public services, reducing their attractiveness to the well off and simultaneously making arrangements for exemption of the poor;
- Improve the efficiency of public services to encourage their greater utilization; and
- Promote establishment of private sector facilities in under-served districts and regions.
- Develop public-private partnerships for public health interventions and health care of the poor for more efficient and cost-effective delivery of services.

Various options for different categories of the population in different income groups need be considered in the course of developing a framework. As far as the rich are concerned, voluntary private health insurance deserves government encouragement, but there is no justification for public subsidies such as the recent tax concessions. Increased competition would automatically spread the coverage of voluntary health insurance, leading to improved products and services. The state's role is essentially to develop an appropriate legislative framework, and to appoint a dedicated and independent regulatory authority that will monitor the insurance sector and formulate procedures and regulations help avoid well-documented market failures. But even in the absence of voluntary health insurance, the rich, given their financial resilience, could continue to depend on out-of-pocket expenses.

The objective for the middle-income section is to cover all the employees in the formal sector via social insurance, primarily financed by employer and employee contributions. State participation should at best be nominal. People in the informal sector could join either voluntary health insurance schemes or community finance schemes wherever feasible. If none of these options is chosen, they could continue to rely on out-of-pocket expenses.

Schemes such as Employees State Insurance Scheme (ESIS), Central Government Health Scheme (CGHS), and employer-based schemes already cover the low-income formal sector, though ESIS and CGHS have demonstrated deficiencies of coverage and quality, well as high administrative costs. These schemes could be replaced by social insurance, with the government playing facilitator and financier, but not necessarily provider of services. The services for social insurance could be contracted out; this would enhance efficiency and reduce costs. The manufacturing and services sector would grow with economic growth and industrialization, so that social insurance could play an increasingly important role. At present, approximately 10 per cent of the population is covered by social insurance and employer-based schemes; this can be increased to around 21 per cent of households, including all income groups, wherever social insurance is feasible.

An estimate 46.6 per cent of the poor population is in the informal sector, and it deserves maximum state assistance since it is beyond the reach of social insurance. The preferred option is community financing schemes. Sub schemes require strong local leadership and organizational capabilities, often provided by NGOs. Most current schemes do not receive any government support. But state governments could design a set of incentives that will encourage NGOs to evolve such schemes in designate with the government contributing a fixed premium for every below-poverty-line (BPL) family covered by such schemes. Also, in order to genuine community finance organizations should be exempt from tax. But most of the population would still need health cover by the state, calling for a more efficient primary and secondary health care system with a strong referral link. Moreover, even community financing schemes and access to public primary and secondary facilities do not provide protection from financial risk to the poor against costs of hospitalization and serious illness. This requires the setting up of sickness funds in each district to directly reimburse such costs to the public or designated private facility. On current estimates, a fund to cover a BPL population of approximately 300 million would require Rs.2500 to Rs.4000 crore annually.

The total health spending in 1998-9 is estimated at Rs.161 billion or Rs.16,100 crore. This means that the levels of public investment will have to be more than doubled to reach the coverage of lower middle-income countries, or 2.4 per cent of GDP. The strategy is to develop dedicated levies that provide a sustained source of finance to strengthen the health sector and insulate it, at least partially, from fiscal crises, emergencies, and political upheavals, as has been done in the case of the road sector by a cess on petroleum products.

CENTRAL LEVIES

Reallocation from general revenues

Considering the tight fiscal position and the competing claims of different sectors, diverting significant resources from other sectors to health does not seem feasible. But a 50 per cent increase, or roughly an additional Rs. 2000 crore can be made available-partly from general revenues and partly by reallocation from other programmes that have failed to make the desired impact.

In crease external assistance

From 1990 to 1995, the average disbursement of external assistance to the health sector has been US\$ 216 million or Rs. 1000 crore-around Rs. 10 per capita. Considering the Indian context-population size, levels of income and the burden of disease-the quantum of this assistance is woefully inadequate. But despite this, external assistance has played a key role in directing to priority areas. Meanwhile, in view of a better absorptive capacity, it would not be unrealistic to expect -assistance to increase to at least three times in the coming years. The resulting yield would mean an additional Rs. 2000 crore a year.

The performance of externally aided schemes could be greatly enhanced by initiating the following reforms at both donor and recipient levels:

- Better project preparations involving full consultation with all stakeholders;
- Timely release of funds allowing advance preparatory action for procurement against the next year's allocation;
- Sufficient provision for maintenance of facilities created for the projects;
- Identification, training, and positioning of the project team before the project begins, and not shifting them during the project period;
- At least one year's preparatory time for all major projects to complete formalities such as land acquisition, preparation of building plans, finalization of technical specifications, and development of training modules;
- Improvement of monitoring mechanisms; and
- Simplification of procurement procedures, avoiding multiple references to, and approvals from, donor agencies.

Tax on tobacco

This tax has two main components—the basic excise duty—a central levy, and additional excise duty in lieu of sales tax, which is levied and collected by the central government on behalf of the states. This is a buoyant source of revenue with a mechanism already in place for the imposition of a cuss. The linkage between tobacco and disease is well established, and taxation serves the dual purpose of reducing consumption and yielding resources. There is a strong case for dedicating at least part of the revenue to preventive and promotive health, particularly to controlling the risk factor for NCDs. Even a 15 per cent cuss could contribute at least Rs 1000crores to the health sector without discussing existing sources of revenue.

Revenues from disinvestment

The government anmous programme of disinvestment in public sector increases has had a low start because of political pressures, resistance from trade unions, and procedural difficulties. But the establishment of a separate ministry for disinvestment, and the successful privatization of Bharat Aluminium Company (BALCO) despite political opposition, augurs well for rapid progress. The budget for 2001-2 set a target of Rs. 12,000 crore from this source. This, a sum of Rs. 7000 crore has been earmarked for restructuring public sector enterprises, and the remaining Rs. 5000 crore for investment in infrastructure and social sectors. Although infrastructure is a high priority, there are many other sources to support it, including the cuss on petroleum

products and private investment. It is in this context that we urge earmarking at least Rs. 2000 crore annually from disinvestment revenue for additional investment in the health sector.

STATE LEVIES

Levy on excise

The rationale behind a dedicated levy on tobacco for health applies equally to access on state exercise duties, which predominantly relate to taxes on alcohol consumption. Again, this is a buoyant source of revenue with an annual yield of about Rs 15,000 crore and a 33 per cent surcharge on existing excise revenue could yield Rs 5000 crore annually.

Property taxes

There are three categories of property-related taxes. The first one, registration and stamps, is a tax on transfer of property, and yield Rs 10,000 crore annually. A 20 per cent surcharge could yield Rs 2000 crore annually. The second surcharge is urban property tax, collected by local bodies. The estimated income, based on 1997-8 per capita estimates, works out to around Rs. 2300 crore. This is a rapidly growing source and the present yield would exceed Rs. 2700 crore. A 33 per cent cess could provide Rs. 900 crore per year for sickness funds and other health care services for the urban poor. The third source is land revenue, which yield around Rs. 1500 crore a year, a 33 per cent surcharge could yield Rs. 500 crore a year. Property taxes, that are currently both low and progressive, could make a significant contribution towards the new mechanism of sickness funds. These funds could be created by a suitable cess on both rural and urban property as well as on their transfers, so that it takes into account both equity considerations and ease of administration and collection. The collections could be pooled state-wise, then allocated to district-level societies proportionate to the number of BPL families. The identified BPL family member would be given free treatment in public facilities and designated private facilities, and the costs charged directly to the fund. These sources of earmarked levies could yield around Rs. 3500 crore a year, sufficient to support sickness fund.

User fees

This levy cannot be perceived only as a revenue-raising mechanism. It discourages the overuse of public facilities by the affluent while correcting some distortions in the use of such facilities. Revenues generated from this source can be used to improve quality of care, in turn improving the utilization of these facilities. User fees can also involve the local community in managing public health care facilities, so that a sense of participation and ownership is fostered. The present yield from this source is small, but it is capable of considerable expansion, as indicated by new initiatives in Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. There are, however, hurdles to a major expansion. These include the lack of appropriate mechanisms to review user charges, the minimal level of cost recovery caused by low fee structure, the absence of mechanisms to exempt the poor, and the lack of adequate arrangement to ensure fund utilization at the point of collection. But again, recent state initiatives provide lessons that can be applied to overcome these weaknesses:

- The income from user fees should be credited to a hospital-based fund managed at the local level with the authority to review the charges,
- The income from user fees should be additional to the budget allocations from the medical facility.

- Use of the fund should be exclusively for improvements in the relevant medical facility by the local fund management committee, in accordance with state government guidelines.
- All BPL families should have identification cards to secure automatic exemption. Additionally, effective mechanisms should be in place for the exemption of other indigent families.

The precise manner of mobilization of resources would depend upon the political economy and as such the suggested measures are the best only indicative. The bottom line resources should be increasing the sustainable and, to the extent possible, insulated against wide fluctuations. Since the object of the entire exercise is to provide financial risk protection, insurance as a mechanism must be promoted wherever feasible. So should community finance, which, however, calls for strong leadership from NGOs local bodies. For weaker and disadvantaged sections who do not have access to insurance and community finance schemes, mechanisms such as sickness funds are necessary. Above all, an improved primary and secondary health system is required to deliver care to those who need it most.

Health Systems

Public

Our vast rural health infrastructure received substantial financial support during the 1980s or the Sixth and Seventh Five-year periods. But this substantial investment has not yielded optimal benefits: many institutions are not fully functional as a result of staff shortage and lack of drugs and consumables. One of the major and persistent causes of a malfunctioning health care infrastructure in the rural areas is critical shortage of key health manpower, particularly doctors in public facilities. This is partly due to management failures such as inadequate incentives, poor working conditions, and the of transparency in posting of doctors in rural areas. The result is that the under- served areas, where even private sector facilities are not available, are completely deprived of any health care facilities. An analysis of manpower shortage at the primary suggests that more than shortfalls of personnel, it is the organization and management of existing human resources that is the key to better performance. The lesson is clear: efficiency in the use of existing resources should take precedence over mobilizing additional resources.

As far as the urban scenario is concerned, the deteriorating environment, the lack of safe drinking water, and poor nutritional status influence disease burden and health outcomes. These poverty-related health hazards threaten the growing slum population in cities which constitutes as much as 30-50 per cent of the total urban population. But in the absence of functioning institutional mechanisms, it is difficult to put the required coordinated and integrated action into practice. Divisions within the MHFW have also aggravated compartmentalization. The ministry is now divided in to three independent departments of health, family welfare, and Indian Systems of Medicine (ISN). Since population control as considered a priority, an independent department of family planning was created even though public health and family planning services had to be delivered through the common rural health infrastructure. The emphasis on family planning targets transferred the entire rural health portfolio to that department, divorcing it from other health programmes. The result was poor utilization; the P1-IC, in many states, was in the public eye, only a family planning facility.

An analysis of disparities in health outcomes shows that certain states in India have consistently worse health outcomes. In an analysis of development experiences in Uttar Pradesh, Kerala, and the south states, Jean Dreze and Haris Gazdar advance the hypothesis that a relevant

determinant of the development status of these states is the reach and functioning of public services. They support this argument with a comparative picture of select public services. This reinforces our hypothesis that the capacity of the public health sector in terms of providing services is a critical determinant for improved health outcomes.

This brings us to the importance of equitable access to health services by poor and disadvantaged groups. That access to health services is a key mechanism for better health outcomes is also indicated by utilization data: states that have high utilization rates several lower mortality rates. Data from the National Sample Survey (NSS) data show that the percentage of people who did not access health care for reasons of location is higher in states with poor performance. The analysis indicates a strong association between health outcomes and equity in the public financing of health care. Health outcomes appear to be strongly associated with higher per capita public health spending. Scarce financial resources are being inefficiently used, not only in terms of a locative patterns, but also in the management of fund flow and monitoring. Equity in terms of service coverage is important: states that are equitable in the delivery of basic preventive services to poor and disadvantaged groups, have consistently better health outcomes.

Access to health care is hindered not only by geographic, social, and, cost barriers, but also by the following inherent systemic and structural weakness of the public health care system:

- compartmentalized structures and inadequate definition of roles at all levels of care;
- inefficient distribution, use, and management of human resources so that people have to contend with lack of key personnel, unmotivated staff, absenteeism, long waiting time periods, inconvenient clinic hours/outreach, service times, unauthorized patient charging;
- inadequate planning, management, and monitoring of services/facilities;
- displaying insensitivity to local/community needs;
- ineffective or non-existent referral systems, resulting in underutilization of PHCs, over-utilization of hospital services, duplication of services, duplication of services and cost-ineffective provision of services;
- inadequate systems to enforce accountability and assure quality;
- inefficient systems for purchasing drugs, supplies, and services, which fail to ensure quality and value for money;
- inadequate attention to health education and public disclosure.

There are indeed no out-and-dried solutions to these problems. The performance of the public service dependent, to a large extent on the several quality governance, which takes us to the broader cross-communities of developing appropriate incentive and accountability mechanisms within the framework of government administrative systems in a major challenge. There is also great diversity among states in respect of administrative capacity. A great deal of research and experimentation would be needed to devise location-specific models, which could optimize public sector performance. Given political will, strong and informed leadership, adequate funding support, and a focus on systemic reform, the public sector could overcome most of the identified weaknesses. While each state would need to determine the precise measures keeping in view its political and socio-economic situation as well as administrative capacity, some board directions of reform are set out below.

Setting priorities in health sector policy and planning is a matter of intense debate. International opinion emphasizes the bias in favour of hospital care and the need to reform health systems in favour of primary care. Our analyses suggest that the state must focus on both primary and secondary sectors simultaneously, linked as they are for the delivery of basic health services. The focus on secondary care in the context of referral linkages with the primary sector and the welfare objective of insuring the poor against costs of illness, is considered as essential as the focus on primary care. Reforming administrative structures to integrate primary and secondary levels through administrative and technical controls at the level of referral hospital is of primary importance.

Capacity building to improve both management and clinical efficiency at all levels is considered essential. The capacity to lead and manage programmes is deficient in most health departments in states and needs to be addressed. The need to institute training programmes for improving clinical efficiency at all levels of care cannot be overemphasized. Redefining roles and responsibilities, building capacities, and instituting objective and transparent monitoring and evaluation systems that will hold health personnel at all levels responsible and accountable for specific outputs and outcomes is imperative. Simultaneously, an assessment of workloads at the peripheral level must be undertaken to rationalize workload distribution, and to assess the need for additional multipurpose health workers and community health workers at the village level. The anganwadi worker could perform the role of the community health worker to advantage, facilitating the convergence of health and nutrition services at the community level. Health personnel must also be supported with adequate infrastructure, drug and supplies, laboratory services, communication facilities and mobility to enable them to perform optimally. Information and communication technologies should be used to support health management systems.

A critical issue pertains to that of reporting systems and generating a reliable database. The capacity of the public health system to monitor morbidity and to respond to changes in disease patterns is greatly hampered by the lack of reliable epidemiological data. The current reporting systems are confined only to public facilities that deal with barely one-fifth of the illness episodes. Hence the huge under-reporting, generating a sense of complacency. The model developed by the Christian Medical College, Vellore, and implemented in Kottayam district, Kerala, needs to be replicated as soon as possible all over the country to improve the quality of epidemiological data.

Another important area that has suffered neglect is public health as a discipline. Even the highest technical positions in public health, whether at Central or state level, do not require a public health background; specialized institutions as well as faculties of preventive and social (community) medicine remain in an equally sad state of neglect. Unless public health as a field gets the recognition and importance it deserves, the planning of health systems will continue to overemphasize curative services.

The foremost problem in designing an efficient health system is the top-down approach with negligible community participation and ownership. Is it possible, for instance, to conceive of bio-environmental control of vectors, or improvement in sanitation and hygiene, without the active participation of the people making up the community? Similarly, the monitoring and supervision of peripheral health services from state and district headquarters has invariably failed, underscoring the need for active local involvement.

One of the ways to address this deficiency is devolution of powers to local bodies (panchayati raj institutions). However, decentralization could have conflicting results without sufficient preparation of local bodies to take on this expanded role. The Kerala experience

indicates that decentralization has to be preceded by a long period of planning, defining and clarifying responsibilities, capacity-building of local bodies as well as the community is an essential prerequisite to reap the full benefits of decentralization. It is evident, that such devolution encourages local bodies to consider health as integral to other development activities, facilitating coordinated action on other determinants of health such as water and sanitation. Simultaneously, it is imperative that inter-sectoral coordination mechanisms be institutionalized at all levels through the establishment of Cabinet sub-committees, and inter-departmental committees at state, district, and sub-district levels to facilitate convergence and coordinated action on health determinants that are outside the direct purview of the health department.

The states provide several examples linking the issue of community participation with institutional autonomy and delegation of powers to local committees to raise and use resources for improvement in public health facilities. The experiences of Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, for instance, show a marked improvement in the quality of services, availability of drugs and consumables as well as patient satisfaction. These are welcome initiatives; but they are yet to be converted into a comprehensive policy to secure community participation in all health programmes.

PRIVATE

Without in any way underestimating the importance of the public health system it must be recognized that the private sector has grown to be the main provider of curative health care. At the all-India level, the private sector dominates both outpatient and inpatient care; 82 per cent of all outpatient visit take a place in the private sector. An important dimension to the utilization of inpatient care in the public and private health sectors is the share between the rich and the poor. Overall for India, the percentage of the poorest quintile using private sector hospitalization facilities is, at 39 per cent, almost half that of the richest at 77 per cent. Tertiary care institutions, providing specialized and super-specialized care in the private sector constitute only 1-2 per cent of the total number of private institutions, while corporate hospitals, which have in recent times gained in visibility and publicity, actually constitute less than 1 per cent.

It is evident that the people of India, including the poor, make considerable use of the private health sector. But at what cost? This is a crucial dimension of the private health sector in India, unfortunately under-researched. NSS data reveals that the average cost of treatment in the private sector for rural inpatients was 2.1 times higher, and for urban inpatients 2.4 times higher, than in the public sector during 1995-6. Technology advances are usually associated with a decrease in costs, but the reverse holds true for the medical sector, where technological developments have been capital-intensive, making the provision of health care increasingly expensive. A proliferation of medical equipment and technologies in urban areas has led to excess capacities, and the consequent unnecessary and irrational use of these technologies.

In sum, rather than private providers developing into patterns with the state in the achievement of national health goals, the technical quality of care provided in the private sector is often poor-ranging from poor infrastructure to inappropriate and unethical treatment practices, to over-provision of services and exorbitant costs, to delivery by unqualified providers. Information asymmetry among users, arising out of a lack of information and an inability to make sound judgments about available types of health care, compounds the problem. The natural corollary to the concentration of qualified practitioners and facilities in urban areas, and the limited spread of the voluntary sector, has been the rise of unqualified, rural medical practitioners. The estimated one million illegal practitioners are said to be managing 50-70 per cent of primary consultations, mostly for minor illnesses, and, in this sense, form the de facto

primary curative health care system of rural India. A clear policy promoting private health facilities in the under served areas, along with a set of clearly defined incentives, would correct these imbalances.

Given the extent of private sector dominance in the health care system and significant improvement in health care is inconceivable without the active involvement and cooperation of the private sector, particularly the voluntary sector. According to a rough estimate, the number of voluntary organizations working in health care areas is more than 7000. Despite the lack of the comprehensive documentation on the contribution of NGOs, there is no disputing the fact that NGOs have the potential to improve access to, and the quality and equity of services, either through direct provision or through advocacy and other action. This potential to contribute substantially to public health goals has not been realized due to several reasons. Their limited size and spatial distribution is a major cause. That they are missing where they are most needed hinders effective partnerships with the public health system. The challenge is to find strategies that will facilitate a far more substantial participation by NGOs in the health sector, particularly in backward states and remote areas, and to ensure systems that will keep such participation accountable and transparent.

Public-private partnership would make a considerable contribution to the successful implementation of public health programmes. Also necessary are continuing medical education, and the active involvement of professional bodies to disseminate standard treatment protocols for disease such as TB and malaria, to check the irrational use of drugs, and to regulate unethical practices.

Equally important is the task of developing appropriate independent mechanisms for the regulation of the private sector-mechanisms that involve all stakeholders, setup and enforce standards, ensure quality control and transparency of charges and control unethical practices, and promote accreditation systems. The challenge is to devise innovative mechanisms that address the acknowledged distortions and malpractices, yet do not stifle private initiative- so important for the expansion of health care facilities to meet growing demand. The legislation under consideration in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, and the initiatives taken by Maharashtra in developing accreditation mechanisms appear to be steps in the right direction.

At the same time the issue of unqualified practitioners needs to be addressed. Each state needs to work out the problem of unqualified practitioners with a view to their eventual diminution. Awareness generation strengthening and expanding the reach of public and private qualified health care, will, in the long term, eliminate the demand for services of unqualified practitioners. In the interim, the registration and training of such practitioners, limiting the scope of their use of allopathic drugs for treating minor ailments, could be considered as a temporary measure.

Finally, it must be recognized that both public and private sectors are integral and equally important parts of the health system. They are like the two wheels of a cart; the system can never perform unless the two work in tandem and complement each other. It would require a great deal of imagination, innovation, and initiative to forge meaningful partnerships and develop institutional mechanisms for constructive cooperation between the two to harness the dynamism and enterprise of the private sector for the accomplishment of national health goals.

Drug Policy and regulations

The Indian pharmaceutical industry is already feeling the impact of globalization, even though the WTO-mandated legislations to recognize product patents is to be brought into force only in the year 2005. The agreement on TRIPS came into force with the formation of the WTO in January 1995. TRIPS obliges all developing countries to make available twenty-year patent protection for novel, non-obvious, and useful inventions, whether products or processes, in all fields of technology, including pharmaceuticals. Violations of TRIPS obligations can lead to trade retaliation or compensation to affected WTO members. India has so far recognized only process patents in pharmaceuticals, and the legislation to comply with the WTO obligations has been only recently enacted. The government now needs to urgently and actively explore ways in which the advantages of the new regime could be maximized and the disadvantages, minimized.

The question of public policy will have to be resolved in such a way that a balance is maintained between the need to keep new drugs affordable to those who need them while retaining strong incentives for the invention of new drugs and the development of new and better treatments. The selective use of compulsory licensing provisions for the manufacture of generic substitutes for patented drugs having major public health significance has to be explored with international cooperation. So far, the Indian pharmaceutical industry has paid scant attention to research owing to the absence of product patent protection, and concentrated its energies on producing generic substitutes for foreign-patented and branded products. But the Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) regime is set to change with the introduction of product patents in conformity with WTO maintained regulations. The Indian pharmaceutical industry already enjoys a major advantage over its rivals in the West since the cost of bringing a new chemical entity into the market is estimated at US\$ 2500500 million in the US, but only US\$90-100 million in India. According to a recent study by the Administrative Staff College of India (The Indian Pharmaceutical Industry, May 2000), 'India has the potential to become the hub of pharmaceutical research.' In order to harness the resources and skill of the Indian pharmaceutical industry towards the neglected disease of the poor, the government needs to develop an appropriate incentive framework.

At present, the administration of drugs and pharmaceutical is divided between the ministry of chemicals and fertilizers (MCF) and the MHFW. While the former is responsible for drug policy, the latter sets standards and deals with quality control, introduction of new drugs, and enforcement of relevant laws and regulations. This arrangement prevents the government from taking a holistic view that includes the interests of both the industry and the consumer. Often, the policy of one ministry is at cross purposes with that of the other. As early as 1975, the J. L. Hathi Committee recognized this dichotomy and suggested that an independent National Drug Agency be set up to take over all the drug-related functions performed by the two ministries. An autonomous National Drug Authority (NDA) needs to be set up to take over all the functions divided between the two ministries. The proposed NDA could be supported by a cess on the manufacture and import of pharmaceutical conveniently collected along with excise and customs duties. Significant public sector support would be necessary to motivate the pharmaceutical industry to invest in R&D in diseases of the poor such as TB and malaria, and the proposed National Drug Fund could provide one such avenue of support. The current situation is unlikely to improve merely by tinkering with the existing system. The only option that would make a noticeable difference is an independent National Drug Authority, supported by adequate financial resources from the National Drug Fund.

Elsewhere in the report, we have recommended greater decentralization and devolution of powers to the state. However, the indiscriminate licensing of drugs by the states, the poor

enforcement of quality standards, and the open violation of laws regarding sale of prescription drugs, compel us to suggest an enlarged role for the Central authority. The proposed NDA, armed by a new law that provides for more stringent scrutiny before licensing, could weed out irrational combinations and ensure stricter enforcement. The National Drug Fund should be used primarily to support the NDA, upgrade public health laboratories, and strengthen the enforcement machinery. The unauthorized and irrational use of anti-microbials by unqualified practitioners and registered practitioners of other systems of medicine—a situation encouraged by the free sale of prescription drugs across the counter—has been a major factor in the development of drug-resistant bacteria. Similarly, the proliferation of over 20,000 manufacturers without the requisite infrastructure to monitor good manufacturing practices (GMP), and the large-scale manufacture and sale of sub-standard and spurious drugs, pose a major health hazard. Only stringent laws that are effectively enforced can check these problems.

Health Research

India has great potential and unique capabilities in health research. Its acknowledged strengths in all knowledge-based activities, its infrastructure and trained manpower, its vast clinical material, rich bio-diversity, unparalleled heritage of traditional systems of medicine, and a dynamic and technologically capable pharmaceutical industry, all add up to this potential. But only a national health research policy that creates an incentive environment for both public and private sectors will help the country realize this potential to the fullest. Next, a substantial increase of public investment in basic and strategic research is required, with a specific focus on the neglected diseases of the poor. The international support for health research has so far been nominal—the estimate is 5 per cent of the total health R&D expenditure in 1992-3. India's potential in this area merits a major increase in external assistance. Health policy and systems research to date a neglected area except for the recent interest shown by the World Bank and some bilateral donors, should be priority.

The lack of available expertise in disciplines such as health economics, health finance, and epidemiology is a major constraint on health policy and systems research, and special efforts need to be made to train researchers in these fields. Research capacity should be strengthened through improvement of infrastructure, training of scientists, and new collaborations with institutions. In particular, capacity needs to be developed quickly to undertake clinical trials for new molecules likely to be introduced for the various communicable diseases. At the same time, appropriate mechanisms have to be put in place for close monitoring and enforcement of ethical guidelines. Existing public sector institutions could produce higher quality of research with more appropriate management structures. Also of paramount importance, for both public and private sectors, is a network of alliances among academia, research institutions, and industry. The utilization of basic and strategic research outputs by industry to take the process further towards product development should be the goal of such an alliance. The Indian Council for Medical Research (ICMR) should develop suitable mechanisms to facilitate such an alliance, and the intermediation between research outputs from academia and research institutions, and the pharmaceutical industry along the lines of TDR in WHO. It is also essential to establish institutional mechanisms that will promote interaction between policy-makers and programme managers on the one hand, and researchers on the other, for setting the research agenda and for utilization of research outputs.

Indian Systems of Medicine (ISM)

The term ISM comprises six different systems- ayurveda, siddha, unani, yoga, naturopathy, and homeopathy. Of these only ayurveda, siddha, and yoga are entirely indigenous. India's rich heritage in ancient systems of medicine with its veritable treasure house of knowledge can make a significant contribution to health care. But despite a vast parallel infrastructure of hospitals, dispensaries, and teaching institutions, and over 6,00,000 registered practitioners, this potential has not been realized. Over 90 per cent of illness episodes are treated by allopathy. Even registered practitioners of ISM treat patients with modern drugs though they are not authorized to do so, often with undesirable consequences. The failure to evolve the synthesized national system recommended by the ICSSR / ICMR Committee has prevented the use of even proven ISM remedies in public health care facilities. Also, the vast army of ISM manpower has rarely been utilized for public health programmes. The failure to evaluate traditional remedies scientifically has prevented their wider acceptance in India as well as abroad. It is most important for ISM to develop its strengths in providing relief in apparently incurable chronic ailments such as digestive disorders, asthma, and arthritis. At the same time, ISM needs to popularize preventive practices such as yoga, which could be an important element in the strategies being evolved to cope with the threat of NCDs. Some recent initiatives of the new department of ISM seem to address these deficiencies; but on the whole, this area requires priority attention to explore and realize its full range of possibilities.

Conclusion

The above analysis clearly underscores the need for a quantum jump in the public investment for health, accompanied by wide-ranging reforms at every level. This can be achieved only with strong political will and commitment, which can in turn be generated only through a Strong people's movement cutting across party affiliations. The first step is better awareness and the widest possible dissemination of information on health issues. It is only vigorous informed debate on health on health issues- in Parliament, in the state legislatures, in the media, and at various public forums-that will eventually grow and et into a broader people's movement. It is in the context to this long and complex process that this report seeks to identify, describe, and analyse the current issues in Indian health and the future directions of change.

Future Directions: Summary of Recommendations

Communicable Disease Control

- Acceleration of India's epidemiological transition by vigorous public policy to control communicable diseases malaria control to focus on endemic areas; rapid expansion of DOTS so that the entire country is covered for TB control.
- Enhances investment in the supply of drinking water, sanitation, and sewage systems of prevention and control of water and vector-borne diseases.
- Substantial increase of Central funding for Centrally sponsored schemes, without stipulation of matching contribution by the states.
- Establishment of a comprehensive disease surveillance system in all districts with Central funding.
- Vigorous and sustaining efforts to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS, with focus on IEC and interventions involving high-risk population; simultaneously, arrangements for

medical and home-based care of AIDS patients through clinical training in treatment protocols and sensitization of health workers, the community, and families of 1-IY/AIDS patients.

- Co-opting the private sector in communicable disease programme for reporting and training in standard treatment protocols; this should include continuing medical education and active participation of professional bodies like the Indian Medical Association (IMA).
- Development of community-based strategies, including comprehensive health education to promote public and personal hygiene and healthy living.

Facing the Rising Threat of NCDs

- Focus on prevention: reduce risk factor levels in the whole community through
 - Widespread dissemination of information on risk factors and unhealthy lifestyles,
 - Lifestyle-linked community programmes,
 - Tobacco Control Legislation, and
 - Inquiry prevention through institutionalized multi-sectoral mechanisms.
- Institute cost-effective case-management strategies through
 - Early detection of persons with risk factors and low-cost interventions, and
 - Development of a menu of core components to provide an ‘essential package’ of chronic care with possible extension to an ‘optimal package’
- Develop protocols for integration of prevention, surveillance, and treatment services into various levels of health care.
- Develop a comprehensive mental health programme that will not only build capacity within health systems but also provide the family and the community a central role in the prevention, early direction, and treatment of mental disorders as well as in the rehabilitation of the mentally ill.

Reduction of Infant and Maternal mortality

- Targeting of high-IMR states first, and within states, high-IMR district and regions; all CHCs and twenty-four hour PHCs in high-IMR districts and regions to be fully equipped to handle institutional deliveries, basic newborn care, and referral.
- Focus on the disadvantaged and poorest groups; trained Community Health Worker (CHW) to be located in identified remote and hilly regions; provision of essential MCH services in urban slums to be ensured.
- Policy and programme interventions to move from general focus on IMR to perinatal and neonatal mortality; clean delivery, timely treatment and control of newborn infections, treatment protocols for babies with low birth-weight.
- Comprehensive screening of every pregnant woman for anaemia, hypertension, diabetes, urinary and reproductive tract infections, malaria, arid TB, to be followed up with appropriate treatment.

- Arrangements to effectively screen and identify all high-risk pregnancies and low-weight features, and to follow up case for delivery in appropriately equipped health facilities; in general, active promotion of institutional deliveries by providing appropriate facilities and incentives, including emergency transportation.
- Provisioning unmet needs for family planning, a necessary intervention to reduce MMR and IMR.
- Developing specific protocols to address major causes of childhood morbidity and mortality at all levels of care: ARI, diarrhoeal diseases, measles, malaria, undernutrition.
- Converging action at the cutting-edge level by using anganwadi workers to support delivery of basic health services on a case-payment/honorarium basis.
- Mobilizing women's groups for improved health/nutrition-seeking behaviour. Finance
- Public health expenditure to be more than doubled to raise the level of public investment from the present 0.9 per cent of GDP to at least the level of the average of lower middle-income countries (2.2 per cent of GDP); additional resources to be mobilized largely through dedicated levies to avoid competition from other sectors and to provide increasing and sustainable funding.
- Increase of allocation for public health and primary and secondary health care that is better utilized by low-income families.
- Differential planning and deployment of budgets in line with the extent of disease burden, economic back-wardness of the state/region, and poverty levels.
- Utilization of user fees at secondary and tertiary levels to reduce the price advantage of public services, reducing their attractiveness to the affluent and simultaneously making arrangement for exemptions of the poor.
- Setting up of mechanisms such as sickness funds to provide financial risk protection to be poor against serious illness and hospitalization.
- Coverage of employees in the formal sector with social insurance primarily financed by employer and employee contributions; social insurance to replace low-coverage existing schemes, especially in the low-income formal sector, with services contracted out to enhance efficiency and reduce costs.
- Package of incentives to encourage NGOs to develop community finance schemes in designated areas, with the government contributing a fixed premium for every BPL family covered by the scheme.
- Arrangements for systematic compilation of national health accounts and their regular analyses.

Health Systems

PUBLIC SECTOR

- Restructuring of the MHFW at the Centre so that it withdraws from day-to-day management and concentrates on its stewardship role by strengthening its planning and analytical and public health expertise.
- Restructuring of the health systems of the states based on four principles: (i) decentralized authority, responsibility, and decision making; (ii) integration of preventive, promotive and

- curative services; (iii) adequate skilled human resources to deliver services at peripheral level; and (iv) local community participation.
- Removal of identified constraints and inadequacies at the primary health care level to improve efficiency and utilization: reducing the load on over-utilized hospital services by providing essential drugs, consumables, and diagnostics; simultaneously providing cost-effective primary health care services for urban slum population, preferably by contracting out services to private providers.
 - Improving maintenance of facilities and transport, providing essential communication facilities like telephones, and rationalizing deployment of manpower on the basis of workload assessments.
 - Addressing manpower shortages through an appropriate combination of incentives, legislative measures, and management reforms.
 - Instituting efficient procurement and distribution systems for drugs and consumables based on the Tamil Nadu model.
 - Mapping the availability of health facilities in hilly regions and areas inhabited by tribal populations; the provision of mobile health teams and CHWs to cover identified gaps.
 - Institutionalization of inter-sectoral coordination arrangements at different levels for effective action on major health determinants outside the direct purview of health departments: nutrition, water supply, sanitation, sewerage systems, air pollution.
 - Experimentation and piloting in a wide range of areas, in particular, innovative ways of service delivery (public-private partnership) and testing new financing mechanisms, such as community financing, sickness funds for the poor, and expanded social insurance.
 - Higher investment in development of infrastructure for basic and strategic research in the public sector, with changes in the management structures promote quality research.
 - Development of alliances among academia, research institutions, and the pharmaceutical industry to promote the utilization of research leads by the industry for product development; JCMR to develop capacities for such intermediation on the lines of TDR in WI-JO.
 - Emphasis on health policy and systems research and reducing the deficiency of researchers by providing training avenues in epidemiology, health finance, and health economics.
 - Creation of an incentive environment for the pharmaceutical industry to invest in research through tax concession, pricing incentives for new molecules, facilitating clinical trials and regulatory approvals, and supporting promising products for the neglected diseases of the poor with financial support from the National Drug Fund.

Indian systems of Medicine

- Development of a national health system incorporating the best of all systems, including proven remedies of ISM as first drugs of choice in the public health care system.
- Encouraging scientific-evaluation of traditional remedies.
- Utilization of ISM manpower in public health programmes.
- Emphasis on the special strengths of ISM in treating chronic ailments such as digestive disorders, asthma, and arthritis.
- Popularization of ISM practices such as yoga to prevent and treat NCDs.

10 - What is E- Governance?

1.1 E-GOVERNANCE - AN OVERVIEW

E-governance is form of e-business in governance comprising of processes and structure involved in deliverance of electronic services to the public, viz. citizens. It also involves collaborating with business partners of the government by conducting electronic transactions with them. Besides, it entails enabling the general public to interact with the government, through electronic means, for getting the desired services. In other words, g-governance means application of electronic means in the interaction between

1. government (G) and citizens (C), both ways (i.e. G2C and C2G),
2. government or business (B), both ways (i.e. G2B and B2G), and
3. internal government operation (G2G),

The aim, ultimately, is to simplify and improve governance and enable people's participation in governance through mail, and Internet.

E-governance is much more than just preparing some websites. It ranges from the use of Internet for the dissemination of plain web based information at its simplest level to services and online transactions on the one hand and utilizing IT in the democratic process itself, i.e. election on the other.

E-governance implies e-democracy (Backers 2001), wherein all forms of interaction between the electorate (i.e. general public) and the elected (i.e. the government) are performed electronically. E-government, as distinguished from e-governance, comprise a pragmatic application and usage of the most innovative technologies in computer and communication technologies, including Internet technology, for delivering efficient and cost effective services, and information and knowledge to the citizens being governed, thereby realizing the vast potential of the government to serve the citizens.

Various manifestations of e-governance initiative will be in terms of the government delivering services to citizens of transacting business, offering general information, or conducting interactions with the general public and business using such IT tools as:

- E-mail
- Internet web sites publishing (including online interactive transaction)
- WAP application and publishing
- SMS connectivity
- Intranet development and usage
- Promotion of citizen access

The advent of these other components and of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) as a highly leveraged enabling tool for delivery of services in the public and private sector has now been universally recognized. This has resulted in a redefinition of the fundamental concept of governance and also in recognizing its potential to change both institutions and delivery mechanisms of services for betterment of people.

1.1.1 Why E-governance ?

The fundamental motivation for the campaign of e-governance in India and elsewhere is a slogan - to provide SMART government - "SMART" being an acronym for Simple, Moral, Accountable and Responsive Government, a laudable ideal, though difficult it may be to achieve in reality. Thus we may conceive a Smart Village or Smart Municipality or a Smart State, all very difficult, but ideal models. Notwithstanding the difficulties involved in achieving this, a clear objective of e-governance can be cutting the cost of governance and also minimizing the complexities of procedures by possible business process reengineering. The concomitant benefit is empowerment of people through what is called 'disintermediation' ; in other words, eliminating the middleman or tout between the government and the people. For example, by doing so, property tax assessment and collection system can reduce the element of corruption in the system apart from increasing consumer convenience. The online system based on Internet will reduce contact with mediating officials, thereby reducing the possibility of malpractice. This does not however mean that the primary objective of e-governance is tackling corruption, even though it may be a fallout (though not necessarily).

Evidently, the objectives of achieving such e-governance go far beyond mere simple computerization of stand-alone back office operations in government offices. It should mean a drastic change in the way the government operates, and this means a new and redefined set of responsibilities for the executive, legislative and the judiciary. This requires bringing about a social catharsis, which needs to be done in a comprehensive, concerted and planned manner.

Historically, it was in Chile that a real e-governance initiative was taken up as early as in 1972, when the IT applications were unheard of in government and were limited even in business. They used techniques of IT not to just make government paperless or less of paper (as is presently being done) but to perform government work efficiently. They realized that transparency is the ability to regulate the conditions, not the transactions. Prof. Stafford Beer implemented for President Allende of Chile, the first e-governance software that would help the government survive a severe crisis. The question that was asked to and answered by the software was whether the government would survive by getting adequate grip and control over the situation in time of a severe inflationary crisis due to economic blockade resulting from stopping of copper exports (which was accounting for 80% of the foreign exchange earnings of Chile). The software which was developed did help in restoring prices back to normal, thus making the government survive. Chile thus became the first country to have successfully implemented e-governance.

Even though the Chile experiment of the real e-governance early in 1972 was a success story, the subsequent efforts in implementing e-governance in various countries, including the developed ones, were not aimed at such profound or sweeping purposes of critical nature. Generally, the e-governance applications have been more mundane, simple and straightforward. As the winds of e-governance and e-government blow widely through public organizations across the world, more and more governments in different countries have been harnessing the Internet and the powers of IT to provide services of varied nature as follows:

- G-to-G (Govt. to Govt.-within and across the Govt.)
- G-to-G (Services by the Govt. to Citizens)
- C-to-G (Interaction of Citizens with the Govt.)
- G-to-B (Services of the Govt. to Business)
- B-to-G (Business interaction with the Govt.)

1.1.2 Issues in E-Governance Applications and the Digital Divide

Initially, the e-Governance activity starts with providing information services by the government departments to the public in terms of State websites. These websites provide information about the department concerned, its aims, objectives, citizens' charters, organizational details, facilities available and services provided to the public along with the fees payable, etc. However, as the role of IT in the specific organization increases, the web sites of government departments attempt at providing more advanced services such as dynamic information and also specific transactions such as making utility payments. Gradually, this e-interaction of the public with the government leads to organizational transformation, transparency of public services, speed of service performance, increased citizen participation in the government, and thereby greater facilitation of participative democracy. Ideally, as the public agencies such as government departments and public sector undertakings begin implementing e-governance and e-government initiatives, their performance improves and they are better equipped to interact with citizens and provide services over the Internet. Thus, the citizens are enabled access to government documents, file taxes, make payments as utility bills, obtain or renew licenses and permits of different kinds, make bookings and reservations for public services, lodge complaints or file applications for various benefits, and even employment.

How much of these actually happen? What are the problems encountered in achieving them? The enthusiastic initiatives in e-governance and e-government are not without consequential problems, as any technological innovation has. These initiatives have the potential to create a digital divide within the society, especially in the poor and developing countries. While the e-governance initiatives may benefit certain privileged sections of the society, the underprivileged, those who do not have a access to Internet or not well qualified or equipped to use Internet will be all the more distanced from the government, leading to disenchantment. Also, this will aggravate even further the existing divide between the privileged and the underprivileged. Thus, it is essential that governments concerned ensure that all citizens of different socio economic and educational strata will have adequate access to the basic skills and infrastructure to participate in an increasingly technological society. As the digital divide becomes perceptible in different countries, public policy makers need to devise becomes perceptible in different countries, public policy makers need to devise policies that would address issues of universal access and educational needs of their citizens, so as to match the requirements of an IT enabled e-government and e-society.

In addition, as the e-governments make Internet as the primary access point for all citizens to interact with the government, the issues that need to be focussed are:

1. How will the performance of the government departments/public bodies be improved by e-governance initiatives?
2. What are the organizational effects of e-government and IT?
3. What are the correct strategies for success in e-governance projects?
4. What are the skills that are required by the government employees in an e-governance in the Information Age?

While detailed research is required to address these issues, preliminary indications are already available that e-governance increases efficiency, speed, effectiveness and citizen satisfaction. However, these will be true only if the e-governance services provided to citizens are fool-proof, reliable and inexpensive. The structural effects of e-governance and IT in government departments and public agencies are yet to be studied. More research is required to be taken up to answer questions as to whether e-governance leads to decentralized decision

making, and whether it results or calls for business process reengineering in the government departments and public organizations.

IT implementations do indicate the required business process reengineering (BPR) within the concerned government department. However, whether such reengineering is viable, can be implemented without any repercussions, what legal changes is required-these issues are open for discussion. Often, the prerequisites for reengineering of the processes in the government are not easy to meet: radical changes in the processes or procedures are not acceptable as they may lead to considerable repercussions, sometimes too radical to be acceptable or implementable, with many side effects.

A number of organizations are involved in studying these issues. The e-governance initiative, a part of National Centre for Public Productivity at Rutgers University, Newark, New Jersey; Centre for e-government, an international body; Centre for Electronic Governance, IIM-Ahmedabad; Centre for Good Governance and also National Institute of Smart Governance, both at Hyderabad, India. Centre for e-governance at Department of Information Technology and Ministry of Communications and Information Technology, Govt. of India, New Delhi, are some such institutions.

1.2 EVOLUTION OF E-GOVERNANCE, ITS SCOPE AND CONTENT

Even though historically it was Chile which implemented real e-governance solution as early as the seventies, the current interest and attention on e-governance applications all over the world has its roots in the "Information Super Highway" concept initiated by the US Vice President Al Gore in early 1990s. The Information Super Highway was defined largely in terms of the information infrastructure at the national level by many countries including the US, UK, Canada, Australia and India. The focus was then largely on development of components of the infrastructure, such as fibre optic networks across the States or Nations. Subsequently, the interest was widened to include socio-economic considerations encapsulated in the concept of Information Society or Knowledge Society, which naturally has to encompass e-governance. That is how e-governance concept came into being in a formalized and focussed manner, even though attempts to implement Information Systems in the government departments and other public organizations have been made with partial success in various countries including India. Such earlier attempts did not receive the state patronage on a broad-based manner while individual or stray attempts may be cited to have succeeded.

In general, during 1980s and 1990s, the governments all over the world lagged behind the commercial world in accepting and implementing Information and Communication Technology (ICT). The commercial world, including the industrial world, had gone far ahead of the governments all over the world in harnessing the potential of ICT in their core and also peripheral activities. Commercial enterprises utilized ICT increasingly to reach out to their customers and business partners, thereby impressively enhancing their service quality, speed and convenience. E-commerce thus became a big boom (even though the boom never reached the expected levels). However, visible success cases of ICT application include the 24 hours ATM (Automated Teller Machines) services, 24 hours call centers, electronic shopping on the Web, the use of DTV, integrating cable TV with Internet, etc. The list could be unlimited. Examples can be cited for typical information systems that run the 'back offices' in the financial and other sectors of business and industry. In fact, such 'back office' computerization could be even handled offshore in developing countries like India, where the skilled software manpower and also unskilled operational manpower have been available at low cost. The cost-effective satellite communication infrastructure facilitated such remote development and maintenance of software

of these banking, financial, aviation and industrial sectors. This formed the bulk of the 'software exports' activity in countries such as India, Ireland, Israel, and China. Similarly, in 1990s and 2000 till now, the IT enabled services (ITES) formed the major component of remote services such as call centers, data entry, etc. However, as indicated earlier, all these activities were not concerned with e-governance. Government were the last in the bandwagon of institutions attempting to harness ICT in their activities. However, though late, the governments all over the world finally woke up to realize the potential of ICT in all their activities.

The initial efforts of e-governance simply resulted in only partial automation of the existing paper based manual procedures and did not result in any significant reengineering or optimization. While implementation of ICT in the business has resulted in good amount of Business Process Reengineering (BPR) as to move away from redundant and inefficient functional business units and to restructure organizations around processes that support core business, in the government enterprises such radical or significant changes have failed to happen to a large extent. This situation could be traced to various factors in government functioning such as conservatism, resistance to change, and rigidity of legislation which impedes the amendment of rules and procedures.

As a result, ICT based management methodologies such as Business Process Reengineering, Supply Chain Management, Just In Time (JIT) methodologies, which had salutary effects in business and industry had left the government system practically untouched. The scope and extent of e-governance have been largely limited to simple applications with the maximum of computerized MIS and database management within the government departments along with gradually enhanced usage of simple ICT technologies such as e-mail, and limited usage of Internet and videoconferencing for government functions.

In additions to potentially delivering significant improvements in government services, ICT has been visualized by some as having much deeper and wider impact on society and even capable of affecting the quality of life and nature of democracy.

However, the significant issues that has become highly relevant for large scale implementation of ICT in governance are the issues of security, privacy, vulnerability of public ICT infrastructure to crime, potential for abuse, terrorism, and general crime, in addition to issues related to social cohesion, and social exclusion following what is popularly known as the digital divide.

Notwithstanding the issue of digital divide which basically refers to lack of access of poor people and rural people to Internet, the indirect benefits to all citizens from computerization and ICT in the government machinery will go a long way in improving the quality of life of people.

Thus, the scope of ICT implementation in government machinery can result in

- Improvement of efficiency and effectiveness of the executive functions of government, including delivery of public services;
- Greater transparency of government to citizens and business, permitting greater access to the information generated or collated by the government;
- Fundamental changes and improvement in relations between citizen and the state thereby improving the democratic process; and
- Better interactions and relationships amongst different
 - wings of the same government,
 - state or local governments within a country,
 - countries whose governments are web-enabled.

Any e-governance activity/project involves appropriate

- hardware and corresponding system software,
- networking of the hardware identified above - both the Internet and Intranet environment, and
- application software along with appropriate database management software.

1.3 PRESENT GLOBAL TRENDS OF GROWTH IN E-GOVERNANCE

Press reports (during the end of 2002) indicate a trend of global growth in e-governance utilization by people in different categories. They indicate the following: The proportion of adults worldwide using the Internet to access government services or products during the past 12 months has increased by around 15 percent, according to the findings of the second Government Online Study published by Taylor Nelson Sofres. Three out of ten citizens (30 per cent) globally said that they had accessed government services online compared with only a quarter (26 per cent) questioned a year ago.

Government online services are most commonly used to search for information (24 per cent of users) and to download information (11 per cent of users). The increased use of government online services is primarily due to the rise in the proportion of people searching for information (from 20 to 24 per cent during the period from September 2001 to September 2002). Globally, online government transactions increased from just 6 per cent to 7 per cent during this period and the percentage of those providing personal details to government increased from 7 per cent to 8 per cent.

In some countries, percentage increase has been significantly higher than in others. Among the most significant increases in the use of government services online are Australia (from 31 per cent to 46 per cent), Turkey (from 3 per cent to 13 per cent), the Netherlands (from 31 per cent to 41 per cent), and the US (from 34 per cent to 43 per cent). In contrast, in Japan, however, government online usage fell by 4 per cent (from 17 per cent to 13 per cent of citizens) between 2001 and 2002.

While security issues about accessing government services online were the main concern for many countries during 2001, perceptions of safety improved globally during 2002. When 23 per cent of citizens worldwide said that they feel safe disclosing personal information such as credit card and bank account numbers online compared to just 14 per cent of citizens in 2001, representing thus an increase of almost two-thirds (64 percent). As for the use of government online, the Scandinavian markets (Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden), together with some South East Asian markets (Singapore and Hong Kong), have perceived the highest levels of safety (around one-third of users, in the system. In contrast, the greatest safety concerns were expressed by citizens in Japan (90 per cent said they felt accessing government service online was "unsafe"), Germany (82 per cent) and France (76 per cent).

Other Key Findings

Globally, government online use is more prevalent among men (33 per cent) than women (26 per cent), and among those aged under 35 compared with other age groups.

During the past 12 months substantial increases in government online use have taken place among 35-44 year-olds (from 22 per cent to 36 per cent) and 55-64 year-olds (from 2 per cent to 18 per cent). In contrast, use among those aged 65 and above decreased (from 7 per cent in 2001 to 5 per cent in 2002).

Globally, the proportion of Internet users who have made transactions using government services online is equal to the proportion of users who made online shopping transactions.

Fifteen per cent of internet users have made an online government transaction and in addition 15 per cent have made an online purchase at least once during the past 12 months.

The percentage of Internet users who access government online services varies considerably across different countries from 16 per cent in Hungary to 81 per cent in Norway.

Wendy Mellor, Director, Taylor Nelson Sofres commented: The increase in the use of government online services at a global level suggests that the public see the Internet as a more acceptable means of getting involved in government activity at both national and local levels. However, significant differences exist between countries, may be due to, awareness of services, perceptions of safety, relevance of the site to users, and access to the Internet, among others.

In countries such as Singapore, Norway and Sweden, where the use of government services online is high, it is likely that a significant proportion of citizens feel comfortable with this approach of dealing with government. Yet in countries such as Britain, New Zealand and South Korea, where usage lags behind general Internet use, more needs to be done to assess why uptake of online services is slow and what steps need to be taken to address this.

All the above statistics on usage is time bound. Over the years there has been a definite rise in the usage of e-governance all over the world.

Conclusion

While the growth in the use of e-government is encouraging, our research shows that the majority of this growth is from citizens searching for information online rather than making transactions or providing personal information to government. This may be due to perceived security risks but if the use of these services is to increase, message about the safety of government online services need to be communicated effectively.

11 - Constitution's 73rd Amendment Act and Gram Sabha : Problems and Prospects

Mohinder Singh & Brij Pal

The success of democracy depends on the effective involvement of grass-root institutions. Mahatama Gandhi Said, " The democracy could not be worked by some men sitting at the top. It has to be worked from below by the people of every village". To ensure the participation of the people, there is a provision of local self-governments both in urban and rural areas. A three-tier system of Panchayati Raj has been in operation to bring about an element of transparency between the people and the government system. Apart from three-tier, there is another institution known as Gram Sabha-a general body of all the voters in the jurisdiction of a Gram Panchayat. Virtually, it is the "house of the villagers". It is hoped that all the activities carried out by the Gram Panchayat would be approved by the Gram Sabha. This provision is meant for developing a system of internal checks and balances on the working of the officials of different departments at the village level. In other words, it is the ultimate repository of power over development decision-making, over the local bureaucracy, over the management of natural resource, etc.

If we look into the history of the local self-government, it was Lord Ripon's famous Resolution of 1882 in which he had recommended: "the smallest administrative unit, the sub-division or taluka or tehsil, small ordinarily be placed under a local board, which would further be controlled by the district boards". According to Resolution, the Governor-General-in-Council did not believe that the introduction of local self-government would, by itself, immediately bring about an improvement in administration, as a matter of fact that there may initially, be some deterioration. He also felt that "it is not bad policy but sheer waste of power, to fail to utilize".

Indian National Congress in its 24th Session at Lahore, urged the government to take early steps to make all local bodies from village Panchayats upwards elective and to provide them efficiently manage the local affairs.

Both the Royal Commission and the Congress in its Allahabad session had recommended the constitution of village panchayats and endow them with real powers so as to enable them efficiently manage the local affairs.

The Lord Ripon's scheme of local self-government could not take much progress due to a number of reasons. Similarly, the other efforts made by the commissions, committees and the Acts also could not make a dent in promoting real decentralization.

Gandhiji also laid emphasis on decentralization of powers at the village level and wanted that every village should become a republic having full powers. On 25 January 1948, he noted that "the charter of India's independence as conceived by the congress was based on village autonomy". In fact, he was the pleader of decentralisation. He had clear idea of the Gram Sabha even before the framing of Indian Constitution.

The local self-government ministers' conference held at Shimla in 1954 mooted the concept of Gram Sabha as more than as electorate. It was suggested that the entire village should meet at least twice a year.

On the recommendations of the Balwant Ray Mehta Committee (1957), a three-tier system of Panchayati Raj was first inaugurated by the then Prime Minister Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru on 2 October, 1959 at Nagour in Rajasthan, the other states also followed the suit.

73rd Amendment and Gram Sabha

Constitution 73rd Amendment Act, 1992 provides constitutional status to Gram Sabha. But as regards its powers and functions, it has been left to the state legislature. Thus, this institution performs such functions and exercise such powers as are entrusted to it by the state legislature.

Regarding the body of Gram Sabha, Article 243(B) says, "Gram Sabha means a body consisting of persons registered in the electoral roles relating to a village comprised within the area of panchayat at the village level". Article 243(g) of the Act defines a village as one specified by the Governor by public notification to be a village for the purpose of the Act and may include a group of villages so specified. To fulfill the constitutional obligation, all the state governments have made provision for the institutions of Gram Sabhas in their respective Panchayati Raj Acts. The Gram Sabha being a statutory body is an integral part of the Panchayati Raj system. It facilitates direct participation of the people in local activities. The membership of the Gram Sabha is confined only to the registered residents.

Gram Sabha should meet frequently for the effective functioning. For this purpose, every Gram Sabha should meet at least twice a year. It has been observed that in a number of states, the meeting has been called mostly on the direction of the Zila Parishad or the Panchayat Samiti concerned at a very short notice. Such meeting will be presided over by the Sarpanch. The Secretary of the Gram Panchayat will act as Secretary of the Gram Sabha. A prescribed number of members will form the quorum. It is the duty of the Sarpanch to ensure the quorum. In some states, the Sarpanch is empowered to call a special meeting of the Gram Sabha. The special meeting will be called on the written demand not less than one-fifth members of the Gram Sabha. The period within which such a meeting is to be called is generally of 21 days. The quorum in U.P. and Punjab is one fifth of the total members. Whereas, in M.P. and West Bengal is one-tenth. In Maharashtra and Gujarat the meeting can be presided by the third person elected by the Gram Sabha in the absence of Sarpanch and co-sarpanch.

The paper is devoted to discuss in brief the historical perspective, provisions in the 73rd Amendment about Gram Sabha and its problems. On the basis of discussion, some measures have been suggested for strengthening of the institution of Gram Sabha.

Functions and Responsibilities

Some of the common functions and responsibilities of the Gram Sabha relating to village development are:

- (a) To examine the annual statement of accounts and the audit report of the Gram Panchayat for the preceding financial year;
- (b) to discuss the annual report of the administration of the Gram Panchayat for the preceding financial year;
- (c) to discuss the programmes proposed to be undertaken next year;
- (d) to discuss the budget of the Gram Panchayat for the next financial year;
- (e) to discuss the report of the development programmes implemented by the Gram panchayat in the preceding year;
- (f) to scrutinise the ongoing and completed schemes and works of the Gram Panchayat;
- (g) to identify the beneficiaries of various rural development programmes to be implemented in the village;
- (h) to undertake programmes of adult education and family welfare in the village;

- (i) to maintain records of all development works undertaken by Gram Panchayat and by other governmental and non-governmental agencies;
- (j) to render assistance in the implementation of village development schemes;
- (k) to mobilise voluntary labour and contributions in kind or cash or both, for community welfare programmes;
- (l) to seek clarifications from the Sarpanch and members of the Gram Panchayat about any particular activity, scheme, income and expenditure.
- (m) to examine and act upon the reports of the vigilance committee; and
- (n) to promote unity and harmony among all sections of society in the village.

Problems

There is no doubt in it that a number of functions and responsibilities have been given to the Gram Sabha by some of the States. But practice, there are several problems due to which this institution could not prove its utility. Some of them are being discussed in the following paragraphs.

Inadequacy of powers

No institution can become effective in the absence of adequate powers. So far as the powers of the Gram Sabha are concerned, these are not reported adequate. For example, if the meetings of the Gram Sabha are convened, it is with the Gram Panchayat as to whether it convenes the same or not. Generally, it has been observed that most of the Gram Panchayats do not take keen interest in convening the meetings of the gram Sabhas. If some meeting is convened that too lacks sincerity. Sometimes bogus signatures are obtained just to fulfill the requirements of quorum. As this institution does not enjoy sufficient powers, therefore villagers also do not take keen interest in attending the meeting of the Gram Sabha. In some of the states, the gram Sabha has been empowered for social audit. This has also been laid down in the "provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996". According to the Act, the completion certificate for all village development works can only be accorded by the Gram Sabha. This power needs to be made mandatory because the power of the gram Sabha for such audit is necessary corollary of and arguably even more important than the power of development planning and implementation. Another reason for the necessity of social audit power that untrammelled power of the development bureaucracy and even elected representatives to implement and monitor these programmes have led typically to huge leakages and malfeasance, and official channels of control and redress have mostly proved ineffective. This provision would potentially enable a despairing and victimised public to rein in corruption.²

Problems regarding meetings, agenda, time, venue and quorum

The meeting of Gram Sabha as provided in the Constitution 73rd Amendment Act to be held at least once in a period of 6 months. On the basis of the working of the Gram Sabhas, it has been found that the meetings of the Gram Sabhas are more often convened by the Sarpanches, under pressures from the Zila Parishad or the Panchayat Samiti.

"Meetings called are mostly without or adequate notice. Despite special efforts, very few Panchayats convened the minimum prescribed number of meetings. In most places, only a

formality was observed; proxy meetings at times were convened and proceedings were written even without the knowledge of those who attended".³

Meetings are also not convened timely with adequate notices. Agenda of the meeting is also not made available. As regards quorum, the presence of a minimum number of persons is insisted upon and there is no uniformity in the provisions of the state Acts. Thus, the quorum does not determine the maximum number of individuals. Only those having vested interests attend the meetings.

Lack of keen interest

It has been observed that those living below the poverty line do not take interest in the meetings of Gram Sabha as they fear that attending the meeting will render them jobless for the day. On the other hand, those belonging to the middle class think that it is mainly for the persons living below the poverty line. In this way, people do not take keen interest in the meetings of the Gram Sabhas as they are not going to get any benefit.

Lack of awareness

If the people concerned are well informed and fully aware, they may take active part in the activities of some institution. In the case of Gram Sabha, the general masses do not have sufficient knowledge and information about the importance of the Gram Sabha. What to talk about this institution even the members of the Panchayat are not fully aware of their powers, functions and responsibilities. Had the rural people in general been made fully aware of the role of relevance of Gram Sabha, the scenario would have been different one.

Problem of bigger size and scattered area

There is problem of bigger size of Panchayat and scattered area, sometimes spread over distance of 5km. The membership of Gram Sabha varies from state ranging from 250 to 5,000. The size of a panchayat in a state like Kerala is reported to be in the range from 10,000 to 75,000 persons. It becomes difficult rather impossible for a Gram Sabha to meet at one place. However, the Kerala Panchayati Raj Act, 1994, provides for the constitution of Gram Sabha separately for each ward. In a number of cases, more than one village have been grouped together to form a Gram Sabha, it becomes difficult for the members from the villages, other than the one where the meeting is held, to attend due to long distance to be covered. The problem is more serious in case of tribal areas or the hilly areas as the members do not attend the meetings of Gram Sabha on the pretext that they will have to cover longer distance causing wastage of time.

Lack of recognition

Most of the States have not recognized the contribution of the Gram Sabha that is why they have not shown commitment in giving appropriate and required powers. As a result of it, this institution has remained mere consultative/advisory body. It has been pointed out by those scholars who have conducted their studies on the Gram Sabhas that usually no care is taken about the recommendations of Gram Sabhas by the Gram Panchayats. If we want to imbibe real democratic values, the state government should not allow bypassing the gram Sabhas by the Gram Panchayats. Specific provision should be made through the legislation.

Problem of relationship

As the Gram Panchayat is the executive body of the Gram Sabha, therefore, it has to be made more powerful to control the Gram Panchayat. But there is a problem in determining the role of both the institutions. If the Gram Panchayat is made a part of Gram Sabha, it is doubted that day-to-day working of the Panchayat of the Panchayat will be effected. However, greater harmony and better relationship between both the institutions can be achieved by making the Gram Panchayat a part of the Gram Sabha.

Rare participation of women

The Gram Sabha is considered to act as a larger forum for the participation of all sections of the rural community. But it is a matter of greater concern that women rarely participate in the Gram Sabhas due to hesitation, traditional ideology and idealisation of self-effacement. The Gram Sabhas cannot be considered more effective in the absence of active participation of women.

Indifferent attitude of the sarpanches

Most of the Sarpanches of the Gram Panchayats generally avoid to meet the people in Gram Sabha meetings because they do not want to share informations and seek active participation of the villagers in the related discussion and in the decision-making. They fear that their manipulations and other corrupt practices may be exposed by the members of the Gram Sabha while seeking the related clarifications. Thus, they try to avoid the electorate.

Problems of accountability

There is no substitute of making Panchayats accountable to the gram Sabha. Our past experience shows that accountability has not been ensured as "Gram Sabhas have turned into discussion forums and at many places these discussions are hijacked by the rural elite. In some other cases, holding of a Gram Sabha meeting has become more ritualistic, where locally powerful people come to give sermons. There is no fixed agenda for the meetings. A number of studies conducted have shown that there is a gradual decrease in people's participation in the Gram Sabha meetings. These studies have attributed ineffective functioning of Gram Sabha due to lack of awareness among rural people about the functioning of Gram Sabha; dominance of Sarpanches; absence of people understanding between the members of village panchayat and Gram Sabha; and interference by the politicians.⁴

On the basis of various facets of the Gram Sabha discussed, we can infer that the institution of the Gram Sabha is not playing an effective role in expediting the process of democratic decentralization due to the problems and weaknesses such as inadequacy of powers, bigger size and scattered area, lack of keen interest and awareness, problems of relationship, lack of recognition, poor participation, procedural drawbacks, and lack of accountability which require immediate attention of the state governments. The following suggestions may go a long way in the establishment and effective working of the Gram Sabha.

Suggestions

To strengthen the Gram Sabhas and provide them with necessary powers, the message of the President of India which was given wide publicity on 4th July, 1999 requires special attention.

In his words,

"Concerted efforts are necessary, therefore, to equip the gram Sabha and other Panchayati Raj Institutions, through effective devolution of powers, finance and responsibilities along with necessary training and capacity building".

- It is suggested that appropriate provisions in the Acts of the states relating to the PRIs should be made so as to make the Gram Panchayat an executive body of the Gram Sabha. All aspects of village governance falling within the Jurisdiction of the Gram Panchayat should be approved by the concerned Gram Sabha.
- The Gram Panchayat should not be given the power to over rule the decisions taken by the Gram Sabha.
- There is a need to establish linkages of Gram Sabha with the Gram Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad. Clear-cut relationship should be provided in the Act itself.
- As the Gram Sabhas are generally ineffective, therefore, they are in the need of supportive and facilitative attitude of the lower level of functionaries including the teacher panchayat secretary, health workers, etc. These officials should act as guides, friends and philosophers. There has to be better rapport of lower officials with the village electorate.
- Efforts should be made to develop general consensus among the villagers with regard to the constitution of Committees of the Gram Sabha and at the time of deciding about the planned development of the village.
- As there is a lack of general awareness about the Gram Sabha's role and relevance, therefore, a special campaign should be launched by involving the NGOs, Youth Clubs, NSS volunteers, officials, retired personnels and elder leaders to make the common masses fully aware. As regards women's participation which is almost negligible, a special channel for women should be started.
- In such cases where the size of the Gram Panchayat is bigger and the population scattered, Sub-Gram Sabhas/Ward Sabhas should be created and as suggested by the Satya Brata Sen Committee, the Gram Sabha should meet as frequently as possible, at any rate not less than once in three months; there should be written invitations to every household to ensure 10 per cent quorum; and every member should be given a copy of the government order detailing the rights and responsibilities of Gram Sabhas with a covering letter by the Gram Panchayat President.⁵
- If openness and transparency are ensured and people have clear vision about the activities of the Gram Sabha, it can make them more vigilant and confident. Their active participation may keep working of the Gram Panchayat on right track.
- To facilitate villagers' participation in the process of governance, need-based committees of the gram Sabha should be constituted and they will be responsible for their activities. Moreover, it must be ensured that the weaker sections of society including women, SCs/STs are not ignored at all rather their adequate representation should be mandatory.
- For the success of democratic decentralisation committed leadership is required not only at the lower but also at the block, district, state and national level. The Gram Sabhas

should be kept aloof from political interference. Special awards should be introduced for those Gram Sabhas which really play an effective role in the establishment of good governance at the grassroot level.

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12 - An Approach to Disaster Management

Mankind has faced many a challenge since times immemorial. History is replete with instances of disasters, which have challenged survival. Disasters of the natural or man-made kind are a worldwide phenomenon. Natural disasters are a part of the environment, in which we live. The magnitude of disaster however, varies in accordance with the degree of human negligence. Human activity invariably aggravates the risks through insufficient attention to "where and how" settlements are built. Rapid urbanisation and unplanned expansion of townships, coupled with environmental degradation have increased disaster risks manifold. All countries and areas are exposed to some natural occurrences like drought, cyclones, floods, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, tornadoes etc. at one time or the other. Frequencies and magnitude of such occurrences may vary in accordance with the environmental conditions peculiar to the concerned areas. These are quite often aided by human failings and acts of omission. Very often, they take a heavy toll of human life and property, and cause serious disruptions in the developmental processes.

Varied nature of terrain, industrial and climatic conditions in India, make us vulnerable to almost all kinds of disasters, be they natural or the man-made kinds. While some parts of the country face floods, there are others facing drought conditions. Cyclones, cloudbursts, flash flood, landslides, earthquakes, avalanches, internal disturbances, arson, accidents (including the industrial kinds), fires, deforestation and epidemics are common occurrences in our country. We are disaster prone. Our ever increasing population further aggravates the adverse effects of disasters. While some disasters like accidents may be localised, wherein the administrative machinery is able to concentrate all resources, specially those from unaffected sectors, in the event of disasters like the earthquakes of Uttar Kashi, Latur and Gujarat, such a luxury is not available to the administration of the District/State. Resources in terms of manpower/specialist personnel, equipment, food supplies and medical resources, etc., will not only get committed in situ, but will also be partially immobilised as they themselves will suffer casualties/damages. Management of such disasters needs foresight, planning and great coordination. While the administrative machinery would generally get time to gear up its act in calamities like drought, excessive rain/snow disasters, floods and epidemics, etc., an earthquake would literally catch the administration unawares.

Year after year, our people get subjected to miseries caused by numerous disasters, yet our efforts at disaster management remain inadequate. We have not been able to constitute or workable disaster management organisation at the national, state or district level to conduct coordinated prevention, mitigation, response and recovery activities. Our approach is generally not anticipatory and systematic. It is generally reactive and consequently unplanned. There is therefore, a need for management of disasters through a dynamic process.

State Responsibility

Disasters would generally have wide-ranging effects on the state, its government and the people. It needs to be emphasised therefore, that coping with disasters is primarily a government responsibility. The government is responsible to the people for management of the needs created by disaster in the same way that it is responsible for other aspects of national life. However, a government may, and usually does need assistance from non-governmental organisations, private sector, the general public and outside agencies/governments. It is the government organisation and government resources which necessarily have to bear the brunt of counter disaster actions.

An assessment of the scale of organisational planning and other measures which need to be undertaken to deal with a disaster, can be made by the range of responsibilities and tasks which need to be addressed. Some of the important ones are as under:

- (a) Provision and dissemination of warning.
- (b) Search and rescue.
- (c) Survey, assessment and reporting of disaster effects.
- (d) Treatment and care of victims.
- (e) Clearance of debris and rehabilitation of roads, airfields, railway systems, and other key areas.
- (f) Provision of emergency food and water supplies.
- (g) Provision of shelter.
- (h) Evacuation of individuals, groups and communities; and livestock.
- (i) Provision of health and sanitation measures.
- (j) Restoration of essential services such as communications, water supply and power supply.
- (k) Direction and coordination of counter-disaster measures.
- (l) Information and advice to the public.
- (m) Immediate financial assistance to victims.
- (n) Maintenance of public morale
- (o) Counselling of victims and relatives.
- (p) Control and distribution of emergency supplies.
- (q) Liaison with the media.
- (r) Rehabilitation and subsistence.
- (s) Emergency building programmes.
- (t) Measures for long-term recovery.
- (u) Application of emergency regulations.

It is also important to bear in mind that the disaster management organisation does not duplicate the normal government organisation, it does not act independently of the government, it does not control other government departments and it acts within the charter laid down by the government. This organisation is essentially, an adjunct of the government system, designed to enable the government to deal effectively with special demands which may arise from disasters. The system is not some form of specialised setup superimposed on the existing resources for disaster purposes. It would normally comprise of senior government officials (e.g., Heads of departments and representatives of NGOs) because they are the best people to understand and be responsible for the utilisation of available resources in their respective spheres. The system utilises the existing government structure from state level, down to local government and community level. As this structure, by its nature, is permanent, it is best suited for disaster related purposes.

Handling of disaster situations in emergencies calls for a high degree of initiative and coordinated efforts by various departments at different levels. Concerned authorities must not waste time in getting their act together on occurrence of disasters. A well organised predetermined structure becomes a prerequisite for prompt and well coordinated action to face disasters.

At the national level a nodal ministry is assigned the task of coordinating all activities of the state and district administration and the other support departments/ministries. The Ministry of

Agriculture has been designated as the nodal ministry by the Central Government for dealing with natural disasters management. The Central Relief Commissioner functions as the nodal officer to coordinate relief operations for all natural disasters. The nodal ministry is supported by other ministries like Home, Defence, Finance, Health and Family Welfare, etc., also, based on requirements.

While we do have crisis management committees at various levels starting from the National Crisis Management Committee down to the district level, we lack quick response capabilities.

Shortcomings Noticed in Disaster Management during Earthquake in Gujarat

Our people seem to have short memories, and we also do not take lessons from others mistakes. Or else, the devastation in Gujarat would not have been so severe. The earthquakes of Latur, Uttar Kashi and Jabalpur should have cautioned people in seismic prone regions, to undertake safeguards and preventive actions, formulate suitable preparatory and response plans, tie up coordination aspects and so on. This however, had not been done. Some of the major shortcomings are as follows:

- (a) **Preventive Actions:** The most glaring human error/negligence in the Gujarat earthquake was the poor construction norms followed by builders while constructing high-rise residential blocks. Having known the vulnerability of Gujarat to earthquakes, seismic-proof construction norms should have been ensured.
- (b) **Response:** It appears that no worthwhile disaster management plans existed in the state, to cater for such eventualities. Hence, the response to the calamity was slow and delayed. There was a lack of planning, coordination and direction.
 - (i) Coordination between various relief agencies was lacking. The nation and the world at large flooded Gujarat with relief personnel and material, but these could not reach the affected areas/people with desired speed.
 - (ii) There were no dedicated disaster management resources. All relief work commenced in an ad hoc manner. Order was restored only when resources poured in from outside the state.
 - (iii) Management of relief supplies left much to be desired. In spite of relief material pouring in, the administration was not able to provide these to affected people due to lack of coordination.
 - (iv) Plant and equipment for clearance of debris were not available in adequate numbers. This resulted in excessive casualties.
 - (v) Medical aid too was inadequate. This further aggravated matters.
 - (vi) There was a general shortage of drinking water, food supplies, warm clothing and other such basic needs.
- (c) **Communications:** Total disruption in communications precluded quick response to the calamity. The import of the disaster was not known to the nation till mid-day 26 January 2001. The responses at all levels were therefore, woefully slow and delayed.
- (d) **A Paralysed State Administration:** It seems the administration itself was in a state of trauma, after the earthquake struck. A quicker response from the national disaster management committee would have helped. The armed forces and NGOs played a stellar role in relief and rescue.

- (e) **Slow Mobilisation of Resources:** There were no dedicated resources like medicines, equipment, technical help, shelters, plant and machinery, etc., for an earthquake disaster. These had to be mustered in an unplanned manner, further delaying relief work.

An Approach for Management of Disasters

Anticipatory Actions

Prevention and Mitigation: Disaster prevention and preparedness consists of a wide range of measures both long-term and short-term, which are designed to save lives and restrict losses to the minimum. Prevention is concerned with the long-term policies and programmes to prevent or eliminate the occurrence of disasters. Disasters cannot be prevented/eliminated, but their disastrous effects can be mitigated. There is a need to rectify the existing situation in vulnerable areas to safeguard valuable life and property in the event of disaster. Land-use legislation and other regulations of the town planning departments exist but these have been disregarded and flouted by private enterprise. The government has to enforce existing regulations. Several broad strategies need to be incorporated into a general safety programme such as reducing structural vulnerability, land-use regulation and public information programmes. Although these cannot guarantee total safety against loss of life from disaster, they certainly can reduce damage to life and property.

- (a) The government and administration should:
- (i) Establish vulnerable geographic zones and populations through hazard mapping and collection of other related information.
 - (ii) Establish an extensive public awareness programme disseminating information about earthquakes, cyclones and related hazards, and disaster mitigation and preparedness measures.
 - (iii) Establish a technical programme including architectural and engineering inputs to improve building design, construction and siting, demonstrating the techniques, and training local residents.
- (b) Following actions will help reduce disaster related damage:
- (i) Develop seismic or cyclone resistant construction techniques.
 - (ii) Conduct a programme to introduce improved construction techniques to the building industries and educating the general public.
 - (iii) Analysing soil types and geological structure to determine relative safety of construction sites.
 - (iv) Instituting incentives to remove unsafe buildings or buildings on unsafe sites or more feasibly, to upgrade their level of safety.
 - (v) Instituting incentives to encourage future development on safer sites and safer methods of construction, through:
 - 1. Land-use control and zoning.
 - 2. Building codes and standards and means of enforcing them.
 - 3. Favourable taxation, loans and subsidies for qualified building sites and use of building methods.
 - 4. Land development incentives.
- (c) Reducing possible damage from secondary effects by:
- (i) Identifying possible landslide sites in hills and banning construction in these areas.

- (ii) Installing devices that will keep breakages in electrical lines from producing fire.
- (iii) Ban construction in cascading fashion on steep slopes, in hills.

Preparedness: Disaster preparedness is the detailed planning for prompt and efficient response, once disaster strikes. It is concerned with operational planning, education and training of the population, especially of the disaster prone areas, and technical as well as management training of the personnel who will be required to help in a disaster situation with respect to relief operations, stocking of supplies and other arrangements. The more effectively these tasks are carried out well in advance, the more readily will it be possible to take the required action during emergency phase and later during post-disaster phase such as relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction. Disaster preparedness involves a wide variety of different services and skills, all of which must work harmoniously, aiming to get right things to right place in the right quantity and in time for managing a disaster. Hence, interdependence on each other is necessary.

- (a) **Preparation of Disaster Management Plans:** There is need to prepare a disaster management plans for likely disasters. The plans must formalise the composition of the disaster management committee and their duties in detail. It is recommended that contingency plans be made to counter disaster situations, keeping in view, options for move of resources in terms of manpower, equipment and relief material as permissible in specific disaster scenarios. An important factor to be considered is that some of the key personnel of the disaster management committee and a fair portion of the relief personnel, would also be affected by the disaster and may not be in a position to help in countering the disaster effects. There would therefore be a need for training larger number of people for shouldering responsibilities for countering disasters. In the case of a District Headquarters it is pertinent to bear in mind that they are the nerve centre of the state government, as well as the district. Crisis situation in the nerve centre itself is likely to jeopardise or at least slow down the response for the counter disaster actions as coordination and directions will get affected. It is therefore vital, that a fair degree of decentralised actions be authorised in such a situation, viz., earthquake disaster. Optimum arrangements should be established for direction/coordination.
- (b) **Viability of Plans:** Once plans are finalised and approved, continuous attention needs to be given to them, to maintain their viability. This can be achieved by:
 - (i) *Exercise and Tests:* The plans must be put to test by simulating disaster conditions and exercising the departments/personnel in some or all aspects of disaster management as feasible. If not much, at least activation and mobilisation of resources can be exercised. This would help improve the plans.
 - (ii) *Functional and Readiness Checks:* These need to be done periodically, to ensure that key facilities and systems are serviceable and ready for use (e.g., emergency shelters, health centres, etc.)
 - (iii) *Training Activities:* All training activities (in addition to exercises and tests) be based on the plan so as to develop and maintain awareness of the plan and its key role in disaster management.
 - (iv) *Public Awareness Activities:* Some public awareness activities offer a good opportunity for maintaining viability of the plan. Designating one day in the year as 'Earthquake Preparedness Day' to raise the level of awareness of both official agencies and the community, can pay rich dividends. On such a well-publicised day all government officials having responsibilities under the plan

would check all aspects of planning, preparedness and response relevant to these responsibilities. Non-government organisations should be asked to do likewise. Test activation should be carried out. Public places like bazaars, hospitals, and schools, etc., can also be tested by simulated activities. Involvement of officials and community at large in such an activity will improve general awareness as also test the viability of the plans.

- (v) *Publicity on Preparedness:* Suitable media coverage should be given to various aspects of disaster preparedness measures for public awareness.
- (vi) *Education in Schools:* There is a need to introduce appropriate disaster preparedness education into school syllabi. This can be based on relevant plans to assist community awareness.
- (vii) The plan itself should be attractively presented, clear and easy to read so that people refer to it. A badly presented document, with confusing language, with a mass of statistics will not be read by anyone.

(c) ***Provision for Emergency Actions:*** The administration should undertake following actions to support their emergency action plans:

- (i) Review the structural soundness of vital facilities for counter-disaster response, such as hospitals, fire stations, communication installations, vital bridges on the road and upgrade their strength if needed.
- (ii) Identify safe sites in close vicinity of cities where vulnerable population can be relocated.
- (iii) Plan the alternate water supply means like wells, hand pumps, water tankers, temporary pipelines, etc.
- (iv) Relocation of medical aid centres, recovery vehicles, dozers, mechanical excavators, and other earth moving plants keeping in view the accessibility of vulnerable areas.
- (v) Storage of emergency food supplies for public distribution in emergency. The sites for storage would need to be least vulnerable and should have an easy access.
- (vi) Stocking of warm clothing, blankets, tents and tarpaulins for the homeless. These would be need to be close to areas selected for relocation of the homeless.
- (vii) Means of transportation, air/helicopter-based supplies and evacuation.
- (viii) Training of personnel in trauma care, street clearance and excavation, search and rescue operations.

(d) *Education of the Public:* An important aspect of disaster preparedness is the training and education of the population of the disaster prone area. This would greatly improve the response to disaster emergencies and prepare the public to face disaster challenges with confidence.

(i) ***Information to be Communicated to the Public:*** The information to be communicated to the public can be divided into the following categories:

1. *Basic Community Needs:*

- What the earthquake or cyclone disaster will do.
- The best immediate action to take personally and by families and other kin groups.
- How best to help other members of the community.
- What the government has planned to do, to assist the community.
- How to participate effectively in the disaster communication and warning process.
- How to improvise shelter and sustenance until assistance is available.

2. Information of Government Assistance Programmes:

May include:

- Community relevant details of the disaster management system.
- Any essential information required to amplify the above-mentioned basic community needs. This could include special warning signals, designated shelters or safe areas, evacuation process and so on.
- Government limitations e.g., logistic problems in providing relief supplies, and priorities for relief measures.
- Any other information which is applicable to particular circumstances.

3. Periodic preparedness reminders to keep the public updated.

(ii) **Information Format:** The format for communicating information to the public can vary. Some of the possible methods are as under:

1. Notices.
2. Posters.
3. Cartoons.
4. Photographs.
5. Films, film clips and videos.
6. Inserts into ongoing programmes on other subjects.
7. Short radio and TV features.
8. Talks or presentations at different fora like community gathering/meeting and religious places like Temples, Church, Gurudwara, etc.
9. School programmes, which offer good long-term dividends.

(iii) **Effectiveness of Information:** It is important to check where possible, the effectiveness of public awareness programmes. The programmes must have the ability to gain and maintain the interest of the target population. The information should also be received by the public in the intended sense.

(iv) **Maintenance of Awareness Levels:** There is a need to continuously monitor the adequacy of awareness levels to ensure that public interest does not fade.

(e) **Training:** Training is a means to improve performance and problem solving capabilities of people. It is a continuous process to build capability in sufficient number of concerned individuals, to bring about planned changes in the system. Besides education of the general public, there is a need for technical training for utilising specialised skills to greater extent, and management training for disaster managers and planners.

(i) **Training Needs:**

1. The range of functions and skills which need to be addressed by training may include:

- Planning and organisation.
- Day-to-day management activities.
- Counter-disaster operations.
- Crises management activities.
- Logistic functions.
- Recovery management.

- Participation in major programmes such as development, prevention and mitigation.
- Specialist skills applicable to rescue, first aid, assessment, emergency relief and welfare, communications, information management and so on.

2. All the above-mentioned skills do not call for specialist full scale training because a certain degree of competence already exists. The government departments entrusted with disaster management responsibilities would already be proficient in their basic roles. For instance the public works departments do not need training for clearance of debris from roads, fire department and police department too are trained in their respective tasks in crises. Hence, they do not need further specialised training in their specialised roles. Nor do government officials need training in day-to-day management aspects.

3. The types of training which need to be conducted are as follows:

- **Disaster Related Management Tasks:** Training for existing or potential managers (both government and NGOs) in order to equip them for specialist disaster related tasks and to orientate them to various aspects of crises management.
- **Skills Training:** Training of those people from government agencies, NGOs and community volunteers who may be required to undergo duties in:
 - Emergency operation centre.
 - Rescue.
 - First aid.
 - Emergency feeding and welfare.
 - Communications.
 - Damage assessments and survey of needs.
 - Auxiliary support for police, fire department, rescue teams, etc.
- **Coordination Training:** Training for coordinated disaster management is required for all key personnel in:
 - Standard emergency services.
 - Government departments and agencies.
 - NGOs.
 - Community/Private sector groups.
 (Combined exercises periodically would give best results).
- **Specialised Training:** Training can be organised through workshops and seminars to cover specialised subjects such as mitigation, review of disaster preparedness, evolution of new concepts and plans.

(ii) **Training Strategy:** Disaster preparedness training should be based on the following lines:

1. *Institutionalisation of Training Efforts:* Training efforts should be institutionalised at the state level. For this, there should be an apex institution, through which training can be imparted regularly and in a sustained manner. Efforts should also be made to include significant aspects of disaster preparedness in the curriculum of school and college education.
2. *Training of Trainers:* Preparing a state cadre of experienced trainers in various fields of disaster management is the first step. This will be an ongoing process, given the variety of disciplines that disaster preparedness encompasses and its expanding scope. The first few batches may be trained at the disaster management institute,

Bhopal, National Civil Defence College, Nagpur, Administrative Staff College of India, Hyderabad and so on. Once a core group is trained further training can be organised at the state level through courses, workshops etc.

3. *Training Courses, Workshops, Seminars and Exercises:* To create awareness and develop skills necessary for disaster preparedness, a variety of training courses, workshops, seminars. And exercises should be organised for general and specific target groups.
4. *Developing of New Areas of Technical Expertise:* Having established a mechanism for transmitting general skills, efforts should be concentrated on developing new areas of technical expertise. Training programmes and material should be dynamic and up to date.
5. *Development of Training and Educational Material:* Training and educational material should be developed in the form of books, pamphlets, films/video cassettes, etc., by reputed agencies, institutes and experts on specific disaster fields. This material should be used for various training programme, to make the "multiplier effects" of training, a success. A "Centre for Lessons Learnt" must be established at the state level Disaster Management Institute, which must collect data on disasters from within and outside state, so as to draw lessons from previous experiences and suggest changes in disaster management/preparedness techniques. This process of evolution of techniques would need validation at seminars through discussions by experts.

(f) *Resource Utilisation:* One hard fact which emerges from analysis of previous disasters is that resources are seldom adequate to cope with the requirements. In an earthquake disaster, high priority requirements would be for heavy earth moving equipment, search and rescue and special medical skills. Optimum utilisation of available resources entails:

- (i) Maintenance of an accurate and up to date inventory of all available resource organisations e.g., Government Departments, NGOs, outside assured help.
- (ii) Clear allocation of roles and responsibilities which resource organisations are required to undertake during response operations and recovery phase.
- (iii) Suitable preparedness arrangements within resource organisations to ensure that they are able to fulfil their roles when required.
- (iv) Periodic monitoring of capabilities of resource organisations to ensure operational preparedness.
- (v) Drawing of plans for reception, storage and distribution of relief commodities; utilization of assistance teams like rescue workers, medical personnel, technical teams, etc.

Response

Immediately on occurrence of an earthquake disaster the Disaster Management Committee will convene and meet under the Chairman. If planning and preparedness has been properly carried out, the majority of the response tasks (as designated before hand to appropriate government departments and other resource organizations) would automatically get activated. For example, PWD would undertake clearance of debris on access roads; the medical and health department would undertake triage, police would maintain law and order and enforce security, etc. the

disaster management committee would need to meet other emergency conditions, which are other than routine and allocate priorities for implementation of response tasks. Major response aspects which will need to be addressed are:

- (a) **Rescue:** Persons who may be trapped in buildings under debris would need to be rescued and evacuated for medical attention. Others rendered homeless will need to be evacuated to safer places.
- (b) **Treatment and Care of Victims:** Establish casualty collection points:
 - (i) To render first aid.
 - (ii) Arrange medical evacuation, hospitalization, and treatment.
 - (iii) Identification and tagging of casualties.
 - (iv) Disposal of the dead.
- (c) **Evacuation:** To determine the need for evacuation of affected people to safer places.
- (d) **Shelters:** Provide shelter for victims whose housing has been destroyed and the floating population like tourists/other visitors in need of shelter.
 - (i) Arrange for temporary shelters like tents, sheds, tarpaulins, community buildings, etc.
 - (ii) Arrange urgent repairs of houses where required/feasible.
- (e) **Food:** organize and distribute food in disaster victims and emergency workers
- (f) **Communications:** Re-establish essential radio and telephone links.
- (g) **Clearance of Roads and Access:** Arrange clearance of key roads, railway line and access to air fields and helipads including repair of bridges and construction of temporary bridges where required
- (h) **Water and Power supply:** Potable water will need to be provided to the affected population at priority. Alternative measures like water purifying equipment will need to be ensured. Power failures are also very likely. Alternate power supply, specially for emergency services, will need to be made through use of captive generators.
- (i) **Fire Fighting Arrangements:** Fires are likely to be a great source of concern as secondary affects of an earthquake. The fire department, will be hard pressed due to lack of road access post-disaster, non-availability of water due to disruption in water supply and its limited resources. Priority will need to be allocated to safeguard against excessive casualties.
- (j) **Health and Sanitation:** The health department will need to maintain sanitation facilities, specially in congested and worst affected areas to safeguard health of the people.
- (k) **Temporary Subsistence Supplies:** The administration will need to provide supplies such as clothing, disaster kits, cooking utensils and plastic sheets in addition to food, to enable victims to subsist temporarily in their own areas/safe areas.
- (l) **Security:** The police will need to provide security against looting and law and order problems. Assistance from paramilitary forces/civil defence agencies will need to be requisitioned for these.
- (m) **Public Information:** The administration will need to keep the community informed on what they should do, specially in terms of self help and what action is being taken to assist them. Efforts will also need to be made to prevent spread of rumours and panic.
- (n) **Construction Requirements:** High priority building repairs will need to be estimated and work undertaken on a war footing.
- (o) **Maintenance of Public Morale:** Welfare bodies, religious organizations and other appropriate organizations will need to provide moral and spiritual support to the stricken people to sustain them in the prevailing circumstances.

(p) Requisition of Army Assistance: The magnitude of earthquake disaster will dictate the need for requisition of army assistance. The armed forces are well-organised to provide support to a full range of public services such as public works, communications, transport, health and emergency medical services, rescue and support activities. They can react quickly and respond rapidly in a fully self-contained and self-sufficient manner. The armed forces may be called upon to provide following type of assistance:

(i) Infrastructure for Command and Control: The army could set up a command and control organisation at a suitable location. This would involve provision of communications, both telephone, radio and specialist manpower.

(ii) Medical Aid: Army can provide medical care with the help of medical teams in affected areas and treatment at the Military Hospitals.

(iii) Transportation of Relief Material: Provision of logistics backup aircraft/helicopters and vehicles for transportation of relief material to/from supply bases, etc.

(iv) Establishment of Relief Camps: Setting up and running of relief camps can be undertaken by the army.

(v) Construction and Repair of Roads and Bridges: Army engineers can undertake repair of roads and bridges including provision of technical and plant equipment such as cranes, bulldozers, bridging equipment, etc.

(vi) Maintenance of Essential Services: Repair and maintenance and running of essential services like electricity, water supply and communications can be undertaken in the initial stages of disaster relief.

(vii) Evacuation of People to Safer Areas: One of the important tasks which can be handled by the army is to assist in evacuation of people to safer places.

(viii) Stage Management of Relief Supplies: The army can also be entrusted with the task of stage management and handling of relief supplies from outside agencies to affected areas.

Resource Mobilisation

A sudden disaster of the natural or man made kind, is a distinct possibility in our vast country. Our response to an earthquake or a nuclear strike should be quick and spontaneous, to be able to save valuable human lives. For other calamities too, dedicated resources could pay better dividends. Disasters like floods, cyclones, droughts, epidemics are a common annual feature in our country. Should we therefore not have dedicated Task Forces to deal with such calamities? These could be established as dual purpose organisations i.e., they could undertake development tasks, under normal conditions but be able to mobilise to affected disaster struck areas with speed when called for. They would need to be staffed, equipped and trained accordingly. It is recommended that the Task Forces be raised and organised on the lines of the Territorial Army. Two to three Battalions each of the following units, be raised in each state.

Ecological Battalion

To be financed by Forest and Environment Departments. Undertake tasks related to environmental protection and afforestation during normal times. Help in relief and rescue work in times of disasters.

Engineering Service Battalions: To be financed by the PWD. Undertake construction tasks like roads, bridges, canals, etc., during normal times. To be equipped with plant and machinery

accordingly. Assist in relief, rescue and reconstruction during disasters, to include provision of temporary shelters to the displaced population.

Medical Battalions

These should be financed by the Department of Health. During normal times, these units should be employed for providing medical cover including well appointed hospitals in rural areas. They should have access to stocks, of medicines, to cater for preventive and curative needs in times of calamities.

Store Holding Organisations

These must be created to maintain stocks of stores, equipment and plant at the state level which could be issued to the various departments in normal course. Reserves should be maintained to cater for disasters. Procurement of stores could be financed by the department concerned.

Communication Infrastructure: It would be best suited to build-up the communication network alongside/within the State Police department. Resources in terms of radio equipment must be held in reserve, to cater for calamities. There is also a need to organise coordination of all communication facilities to include All India Radio, Doordarshan, Satellite communication, P&T and NGOs.

Resource Management

The National Disaster Management Council should coordinate in mobilisation and deployment of the above-mentioned Support Battalions from various states. Means for mobilisation by air or surface transport would need to be catered for. Speed would be of essence. At the state level, it would need to be ensured that resources are deployed in correct places without delay, by proper planning, coordination and direction.

Concluding Remarks

Disaster occurrences of the man-made or the natural kinds, are an increasing phenomenon, with expanding population, urbanisation, industrialisation and other modern human activities. It is therefore imperative, that disaster management by given its rightful place in administration, by the government. Preparatory actions would always pay better dividends in terms of safeguarding human life and property, than post-disaster reconstruction and rehabilitation. Anticipatory actions, evolution of suitable plans to deal with various contingencies and enforcement of safety norms would greatly mitigate disaster impact. Involvement of both, the administration and the public in implementation of safety norms, and facing disaster situations with confidence is called for.

Public awareness about vulnerability to disasters, their consequences and how best to cope with such eventualities by the people themselves are important aspects of disaster management. Precautionary steps taken by the general public as part of their civic responsibilities can help reduce disaster impact.

13 - Sustainable Development: Gandhian Perspective

Saroj Malik

It has been universally recognized that development is the key to meet people's need and to improve the quality of life. Though the idea of development has dominated human thought for centuries, but it became a general human concern only after the industrial revolution. Most of the theories of development are based upon the assumption that industrialisation and continuous growth and technological advancement are the prerequisites for development. On the one hand, industrialisation has created an earthy utopia for the human being, by wiping out poverty, ignorance disease and illiteracy but on the other hand has contributed to smoke, pollution and suffocating the atmosphere. Man has been intervening in nature for a long time. However, the growth of industrialisation during the present century has accelerated the process of intervention to worrying levels. Human species is part of an immensely complex variegated and interrelated structure. What we sow in terms of industrial pollution, we will reap from the instability of the ecosphere. If our activities interfere too radically with the working of nature, then nature might no longer be capable of providing the benefit, we now take for granted and upon which our survival depends. All ecological schools are concerned to raise questions about the limits of economic growth in industrial societies. Hence the growth oriented theories must be replaced by sustainable theories, which will not damage but will exist harmoniously with the eco-system. Thus in the backdrop of this scenario, the present paper is divided in to two parts:

- I. In the first part, an effort has been made to conceptualise the sustainable development and to establish its relationship with eco-system and other systems.
- II. In the second part an attempt has been made to explore the compatibility of sustainable development and Gandhian development. Can they meet the present crises generated by industrialisation?

I

Sustainable Development: conceptual Framework

Sustainable development has become a buzzword of 1990s. it refers to creating a style of economic development, which is sustainable within the context of the planet's eco-system and human society. The concept is a synthesis of economic and ecological ideas. This concept is being exploited by marketing and media type. It is a collection of concepts, ecological, economic, social and political that have been put together to address what is perceived by many to be a world environmental crises. It originated as a global concern in its embryonic form for cleaning up the effluent of affluent. (Stockholm, June 1972) matured in (UNEP) and defined in Brundtland Commission in 1972) and comprehensively reviewed and chalked out its educational programmes on training and public awareness in Earth summit 1992).

Sustainable Development was defined "as development that meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generation to meet their own needs.

At the ecological level, it is designed as a science dealing with systematic relation between plants and animals and their habitat or environment. From its beginning as a science, it has had powerful and fruitful cross-disciplinary connotations. It is inter-disciplinary and has a distinct scientific character which has been of interests not only to biologist but also to zoologist, geographer, physical scientist and social scientists.

The concept of sustainable development is not only an ideology but a movement and a vision too. At the levels of ideology not in the dogmatic but pragmatic sense, it has drawn our attention to the global responsibilities and indicated that human beings are inter-related with eco-sphere. Certainly it has a clear role to play in public policy-making. Like ecology, it has a concern for nature of reality, human nature and role of human in world evaluations and assessments of the constituents of the best political, economic and social life and a set of recommendations as what ought to be done in these spheres.

At the level of movement, it suggests a way of life and active participation of all the members of society. Science and technology are not inherently wrong but if the humans do not encapsulate them in right vision, we will use them to exploit the earth and other fellow beings, we can veer away from this malaise through the recovery of the nurturing bonds that connect us to the natural world.

It is based upon a total value shift in production consumption, habits, political structure, etc. it places more emphasis on moral responsibility of the individual at personal, social, national and universal level. The vision places a heavy emphasis on the virtue of personal moral responsibility of the individual.

Before explaining the futuristic vision of sustainable society, it is essential to know the place of this society in the larger eco-system. Though there is great diversity within the ecological movement but at philosophical and political levels, two broad tendencies can be identified. The first school is known as “Light Anthropocentrists”, who believe that natural world has value because human beings give it value. Their major appeal is most usually based on the importance of retaining some aspects of the environments for the benefit or survival of human beings. They work within existing institutional framework and political process. The other school is known as “Bio-centrist” or “Deep Ecologist”. They do not give primary value to human individual but to the eco-sphere as a whole of which man is a part. They are also called “Eco-centric”. They want to set up alternative communities based upon alternative technology and bio-regionalism. The radical wings of ecologists are called “Eco-Fascist”. But one common thread which binds them together is the central theme of sustainable development which will not damage but will exist harmoniously with the Eco System.

Closely linked with sustainable society is another question, as to how to achieve it and what kind of society will emerge out of it? Two visions of futuristic society can be identified:

- i. Maximum Sustainable Society,
- ii. Frugal sustainable society.

Vision of Maximum Sustainable society is supported by anthropocentrists. They are of the opinion that though market capitalism may have been part of the problem, it can also become a part of solution. For them, development is one, which via market adjust to recycle cleaner technologies, infrastructural investment and alternative energy which is also labeled as “The New Age Capitalism.”

Frugal Sustainable society- is the economic vision of a decentralised commune of Post-industrial age. James Robertson describes this as SHE (Sane, Human, Ecological) Economy as opposed to HE (Hyper Expansionist) Economy. They believe in personal self-sufficiency and voluntary frugality. It will link human beings intimately with nature. It put faith in decentralised commune life where needs and wants are reduced to bare minimum; concept of work will significantly change. It is a vision of self-reliance, self-help, decentralisation, labour intensive localized and small-scale in terms of technology, qualitative goals of a satisfying and meaningful life are seen as more important than quantitative values. Extension of workers cooperatives, wealth will be measured not just by monetary value or capital interest but also by the health and well-being of people. The informal own work to replace the concept of formal employment. Conversely the New Economics is based upon different perception of reality itself; it embodies a change in outlook as fundamental. One of the central arguments of the New Economics is that they assume that growth can go on infinitely. But in a world where resources like non-renewable fuels are finite, how can growth be infinite. Sustainability from a social viewpoint is quarterly recognized as requiring equity, freedom of individuals, community cohesion availability of jobs, maintenance of service and preservation of cultural diversity and heritage value.

The vision of sustainable order varies. One vision poses and decentralised commune, agrarian and non-state order as the ideal. The other envision a technologically sophisticated the picture of Eco-capitalism. They say, "All that has happened is some companies are making a lot of money causing pollution and then making even more by cleaning up some of the mess." Thus eco-capitalism is seen as a classic case of double standards, offering no answer to the massive destruction of the environment by industry, like Paritt a half-hearted deep ecologist still does not want to do away with the State. A society needs to respect ecological carrying capacity. People need to dwell in place and it needs to be human scale. It is probable that only in the small community can a man or a woman be an individual. Thus introduction of the concept of environment in the context of development is still in the process of formation. It has drawn our attention to the global responsibilities and indicated that human being are inter-related with eco-sphere. However, it is worth pointing out a number of damaging internal disjunction within the concept of sustainable development since 1970s. While the fact of global environment deterioration is widely recognized, it is in many instances incremental. Its levels have yet to have disastrous consequences for most of the globe's present human inhabitants.

Due to its political origin the application of sustainable development tends to be the process oriented and bypass economics. It often starts with a political view and ends with codification of production processes without resort to economics in either the decision-making as its application. Tokar mentions of bio-region. They not only link the human beings instrumentally with nature. These small scale communities would be characterized by grass- roots participatory as opposed to representative democracy. The idea of decentralised public participatory assembly meeting within bio-region to decide on policy appears as the central feature. This will be a totally egalitarian Post Patriarchal society envisages an eco-empire. But whether this overarching state will be democratic or authoritarian is not clear. Coming over to the second part of the paper, an attempt will be made to explore the compatibility of Sustainable Development with Gandhian Development.

II

Though the concept of Sustainable Development is the out-come of 1970s. But Gandihi warned about the havoc related by industrialisation in his book *Hindia Swaraj* in 1909. External pressures generated by over-exploitation of natural resources, consumerism, rapid growth of population and change in the production pattern caused by new technology have primarily been responsible for pollution and environmental degradation. Industrial development is no answer to environmental problems, they can provide temporary success but they cannot provide lasting solutions. He mentions, we need a development which is free from external dichotomies arisen out of environment degradation, economic disparities and social tensions. Environment protection and economic development “both reinforce each other. Environment quality itself part of the improvement in welfare that development attempts to bring. Environment damage can undermines future productivity, soils that are degraded, ozone layer which is depleted and the eco-systems that are destroyed in the name of rising income today can jeopardize the prospects for earning tomorrow.

Though he was not a system builder, but he had a scheme of concepts on the basis of which a most appropriate model of sustainable development could be built. There is no finality in the Gandhian approach. He himself kept on modifying, elaborating and enriching his own concepts on the basis of his experience. He attempted to evolve a comprehensive system which denounce both capitalism and bureaucratic statism. His sustainable development was a holistic paradigm which lays stress on all round development of individual and society in harmony with nature. On the pillars of truth and non-violence, he erected a moral, social, economic and political structure. His entire thinking was based on the ethical vision in which individual had the central position. Material progress beyond the requirement of the satisfaction of basic needs and comforts leads to the deterioration in the inner self of man. He started that, “If inward change is achieved, outward change takes care of itself.”

The individual as perceived in the western society is self-centred entity, separated from each other by motive of selfishness. False needs are superimposed on the individual by social interests of the capitalists. Excessive pursuit of wealth makes a monster of man. The greater the possession of riches, the greater was the moral turpitude. Real development is moral.

He believes the nature of environment is dynamic holistic, which continually underwent change. Whole universe is interconnected, inter-related and interdependent. The physical bodies of all creatures, human being, birds, animals and plants are composed of five great elements (*panch mahabhutas*), that is earth, water, fire, sky and wind. No one is an island; we are interwoven in the intricate tapestry of life. Cause of our civilization crisis lies in our disconnectedness with nature. Bateson has referred to this alarming individualism as the epistemological error of Western civilization. Berry and Brian Swimme have attempted to build a new cosmo-vision through integrating evolutionary theory and a spirituality of connectedness with the earth and the universe. David Abram mentions, we are human only in contact and conviviality with what is not humanity can be completed only through a sensuous and fulfilling relationship with nature. Suchumacher the proponent of sustained development emphasized on meeting

human need and caring for the environment. This would be a society where energy would come from renewable sources like the sun and wind and all non-renewable energy would be conserved and recycled technologies would be appropriate not harmful.

The rise of modern technology has assumed the shape of large-scale machinery with the result that its production requires large functions. Naturally those who can undertake to finance the production of such a large technology control it. Thus power and control tend to be concentrated in the hands of financier. Such a concentration of economic power in the hands of few is bad, because it leads to the process of exploitation and alienation. Gandhi stated that “concentration of wealth should not be in the hands of few but in the hands of all. Today machinery merely helps a few to ride on the back of millions.” Any mechanism may be misused, but if it is, the moral evil is in the man, who misuses it not in the mechanism.

He comes very close to the ideals of *Vasudhaiva Kutumbkam*- the whole universe is the family. His principle of non-possession was designed both to create a quick rate of growth and full employment, less on the basis of individual profit incentives and more on the basis of joint efforts and community advantage. His ideas of bread labour trusteeship and charkha are answer to modern civilization. Charkha stood for new lifestyle, a non – exploitative economy and technology which could be controlled by human being. A judicious shift from a “consumer society” to a “conserver society” seems to be the demand of modern age. One may argue that the origin of the present global crises does not stem from inherent human weakness or human evil. The roots lie in a serious defect of vision that allows us to be callous to the earth and fellow human beings. He was of the opinion that there is enough in this world or everyone’s need but there is nothing in this world for anyone’s greed.

At political level, he dismissed liberal democracy as a fish market. He believed that consensus was the basis of Good Government and dissent is the oxygen of democracy. He believed in the qualitative and not quantitative aspect of democracy. He pleaded for decentralisation of power in society. He believed that power resides in the people. He visualized Swaraj at the individual level, Gram Ganraj at the local level and Sarvodaya at global level. He pleaded for decentralisation of power in society and gave the concept of “oceanic circle”. In his political set-up village was to be made nucleus of all life. Village should be economically self-supporting and politically self-governing. He stressed on moral clause in politics. For him, there is no politics bereft of religion, but religion for him is the identification with the universe and with the service to all. He had given for post-Independence India the process of knitting the nation and people as communities living in harmony, where each one would have been able to complement the life of the other and serve the nation with a spirit of true voluntarism. He had a very valid logic behind this thinking.

For Gandhi all activities of man constituted an indivisible whole. But today we dichotomise life into exclusive compartments of politics, economic, society and religion, which are devoid of morality. There is a lack of harmony between man and man, class and class, nation and nation and between man and nature. Consequently our present miseries are mainly due to lack of a holistic approach. When all life is one and whole universe including everybody is the manifestation of God, then why these petty conflicts

should arise? Absolute truth justifies man's being, consequently devotion to truth is the sole justification for our existence. The entire cosmos is co-operative. The sun, the moon and the stars live together as a co-operative. The same is true for humans, animals and trees, and the earth. When we realize that the world is a mutual, interdependent, co-operative enterprise, then we can build a noble environment. If our lives are not based on this truth, then we shall perish, only the common spiritual field of our inter-being with the natural world can give us the fulfillment necessary to distance ourselves from the over-determination of material and technological props.

The future of global understanding and co-operation may be in these endeavors. The ideas of inter-connection and inter-dependence of all creatures, holistic view of development, mutual co-operation as a way to sustainable development of which the world community is talking today-have already been focused and incorporated in Gandhian philosophy.

It can therefore, be concluded that the growth models based on consumer philosophy will be suitable for environmentally sustainable development and developing such models is a big task as well as a challenge before all humanity. Despite their widespread promotion by many different and politically diverse groups throughout the twenty century, it is accidental conjunction of circumstances, individuals and events in the 1970s that has provided a dynamic reform for the ecological vocabulary. Think globally and act locally in a world that has shrunk metamorphically into a village because of communication technologies and global economies. Future of Sustainable Development lies somewhere between the two extremes acting as a pure and good conscience for environmentalism which has become a part of the developmental policies of the present-day nation states. It will continue to play an active role in the environment movements throughout the globe. Because of the economic growth, environmental nexus, the future of all countries industrial and agrarian are inextricably linked together.

Gandhi's ideas and Sustainable Development are closely linked with each other. Interpretations may be different but they are alike in essence and form. Like an old reformer, he did not systematize his ideas. No one should be misled into believing that his actions were sporadic or merely contextual unsupported by vision or thought. He himself said, "The root of all actions is in thought. Right Action has its roots in right thought. Thought is never complete unless it finds expression in action and action limits your thought. His philosophy is contained in politics is praxis. Praxis in turn is unity-a unity of theory and practice, thought and action, subjective and objective arrived at dialectically. It is only when there is a perfect accord between the two that there is full natural life. In his life precept and practice went hand in hand that is why he said. My life is my message.

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14 - Creative Leadership in the Global Knowledge Society

(Address of Shri A.P.J. Kalam to the participants of Mid-Career Programme Phase-IV at Lal Bahadur Shastri Academy, Mussoorie 15 June 2009)

**creative leadership means exercising
The vision to change the traditional role.**

Dear friends, I am delighted to address and interact with the participants of the mid career training programme and Faculty Members of Lal Bahadur Shastri Academy in this beautiful environment of Mussoorie. My greetings to all of you. The country today has an ambience with accomplishments in various sectors and with a spirit that "we can do it". All of you have contributed in your own way to this ambience. Yes, we have many challenges before us to meet our vision for 2020. But then we have to see them as opportunities for using our experience, our innovative capabilities, our technological potential, our networking skills and our values based on our civilizational heritage to achieve our vision and development profile.

For the sustainable growth in the global knowledge economy, the thrust has to be on the development of large number of creative leaders. I would like to talk on the topic

"Creative Leadership in the Global Knowledge Society"

Dr. APJ Abdul Kalam
www.abdulkalam.com

My experience with Civil Service officers

Friends, when I am in the midst of senior IAS Officers undergoing mid-career programme, my thoughts go back to three senior Civil Service officers whom I came across during different phases of my life. Shri TN Seshan was the Joint Secretary and later Additional Secretary during the seven years of SLV3 programme from concept to launch. One unique quality in him which I saw and cherished is, as a board member of SLV3, he would read the agenda papers fully and come ready with suggestions and questions on each one of the agenda points. Also, he will insist on reporting of the action taken on the minutes of the previous board meeting. Both these actions of the previous board meeting. Both these actions of Shri Seshan enhanced the contribution of the board to the project and enabled me as a Project Director to keep up the project time schedule. His major trait was his determination to achieve the goals of the missions in-time.

During the guided missile programme phase in 1982-1983, Shri Rao Saheb Krishnaswamy was the Cabinet Secretary when I was the Director, DRDL. Before the submission of the cabinet paper of the missile programme to the cabinet, there was pre-meeting with Shri Venkataraman, and the three vive chiefs of the Armed Forces were present. In the high level meeting, I was called to present the missile programme study report. There was tremendous

criticism from the Armed forces that, not a single missile has been successfully developed so far, and how you can sanction development and production of five missiles together. Dr. Arunachalam, the then SA to RM and myself explained the technical and leadership path of the programme. Still the members were not convinced. That was the time, **Shri Rao Saheb Krishnaswamy** made a remark which is still ringing in my mind. **He said "Hon'ble Minister sir, I heard all the discussion. But I would like to convey one think. The time has come, we have to take a decision, exploring new path with courage. We should not be mixed-up with the past. Presently, we are seeing a committed passionate leadership for the missile programme. I consider that all the missiles should be developed, simultaneously in an integrated way."** Based on this remark, Shri Venkatraman named the programme as Integrated Guide Missile Programme. After this meeting, within two months, the programme was approved by the cabinet, I got the necessary funds, human resource and a new management structure including the funds required for establishing certain key production facilities. Two strategic missile are in production and other projects and progressing.

The third unique instance happened when the missile programme was in progress. The missile programme is steered by a high level board called the Guided Missile Board. It was chaired by SA to RM with Defence Secretary, Secretary-Defence Production, Secretary - Expenditure, three vice chiefs - DGOF, CMD - BDL, HAL and BEL, Director - VSSC and Director - DRDL as members. When the programme was in the initial stages of progress, there was a large demand for development space, environmental facilities and assembly facilities due to safety considerations leading to a creation of a new complex. Fortunately, we had 2500 acres of land, but we needed additional funds rupees 60 crore for creation of the new facilities with equipments for the project. Many of the members thought that it was very difficult and there would be a need for a new cabinet paper for sanction. Within a short span of six to eight months of the previous sanction, whether the government will sanction additional funds, was in doubt. I still remember Shri R. Ganapathi, the then Secretary- Expenditure said, "I like this programme. We must support the programme in full." He said that if the board approved, he would visit the site, discuss with the scientists and come up with a proposal for sanction. Board authorize him to do so. He visited DRDL and RCI area and recommended approval of the funds for the additional facilities which are vital for the timely completion of the missile programme. We got the funds and the programme progressed without any holdup. The programme was empowered to give a technology project for completion of the special facilities in two years.

I am referring to you friends, these incidents to illustrate, how the nation can progress exponentially through a fast decision making process by the policy and procedure making team in the government which has to be synchronous with the project team members who are executing the project. When you take a decision on a focused problem, you have to ask yourself "what can I give" or "how can I help". These are the two action oriented thoughts needed for accelerated national development today. Now I would like to discuss about the integrated thinking and action needed for second green revolution.

Second Green Revolution

I would like to visualize a system how district administration can become a partner to a mission. Let us take second green revolution as a mission by the Agricultural Ministry as a model. Agricultural Ministry has a target of producing around 340 million tonnes of food grains by the year 2020 with reduced land, reduced availability of water and reduced human resource.

Now let us identify the stakeholders. The stakeholders are farmers, agricultural scientists, meteorologists, agricultural planners, seed bank, water and irrigation system managers, organic and inorganic fertilizers manufacturers, chemical and bio-pesticides manufacturers, farm equipment lending agencies, co-operative banking system and financial institutions, warehouses and godowns, procurement agencies, distribution system and the coordination ministries form the Central and State Government. The success of the mission is totally dependent on the synchronized integrated action among all the stakeholders and also the integrated planning, funding, scheduling and proper execution.

I have been discussing with another great civil service officer, Shri MR Sivaraman, who along with the political leaders and scientists played a key role in the first green revolution. As you all are aware, the first green revolution of the eighties was the product intensive and extensive extension work done by everyone connected with agriculture under the leadership of the District collectors. That was the time when the Blocks were the unit of development and were functional. Dr. D. BENOR was the person who had laid the ground plan in coordination with ICAR for a national agricultural extension system. He defined extension as it relates to the process of carrying the technology of scientific agriculture to the farmer in order to enable him to utilize the knowledge to better his economy. Agricultural extension service seeks to impart the necessary skills to the farmers for undertaking improved agricultural operations, to make available to them timely information on improved practice in an easily understandable form suited to their level of literacy and awareness, and to create in them a favourable attitude for innovation and change."

The extension organization structure commenced with VLW- the village level worker who was the kingpin. At the block was the agricultural extension officer, the BDO was the team leader at that level. At the district level, district agricultural officer provided the technical support. The collector was the leader. They collectively prepared an annual agricultural plan including plans for increasing irrigation potential, use of improved seeds and fertilizers. Plans were also drawn up for pesticides distribution. The village plan was executed at the village level by the VLW closely supervised by the agriculture staff. Inputs were arranged at the block level. Payments and supplies were made invariably through cooperatives. The collector's role and effectiveness were judged by his performance in all these areas as they were measurable in a quantitative manner. This system has somehow gradually collapsed after the stoppage of World Bank funding in 1989.

Now there is a need to bring back the extension structure from the village to the district, so that we can ensure minimum growth rate of 4% per annum in our agriculture. Simultaneously, we should also use the growth in IT for improving the communication to the farmers. Also, we can screen films which can give first hand feel to the farmers on the use of technology. We should aim at synchronous seamless action from Secretary (Agriculture) GOI to the village level extension worker. The collector should take the leadership role the second green revolution.

Rehabilitation after tsunami

I have visited Nagapattanam and adjoining villages in 2005 after the devastation created by tsunami of 2004. In a short period of five months, Shri Radhakrishnan, the then collector of Nagapattanam had adopted a unique method of rehabilitation of all the people affected by tsunami. He had created a rapid productive partnership with NGOs, relief organizations, citizens

and the government functionaries to plan and execute the relief, so that the relief reached the people very fast and people were lifted away from the trauma created by tsunami. His work has been fully documented and I am sure it would have become a case study at LBSNA.

Dimensions of knowledge society and Economic Development

Dear friends, the world is graduating towards the knowledge society. In the knowledge economy the objective of a society changes from fulfilling the basic needs of all-round development to empowerment. The education system will be promoted by creative, interactive self learning - formal and informal education with focus on values, merit and quality. The workers instead of being skilled or semi-skilled will be knowledgeable, self-empowered and flexibly skilled. The type of work instead of being structured and hardware driven will be less structured and software driven. Management style will emphasize more on delegation rather than giving command. Impact on environment and ecology will be strikingly less compared to industrial economy. Finally, the economy will mostly be driven by knowledge and knowledge driven industry. What is the linkage between the growth of the economic development and knowledge society. Let us look at:

- Nations Economic development is powered by competitiveness.
- The competitiveness is powered by knowledge power.
- The knowledge power is powered by Technology and innovation.
- The Technology and innovation is powered by resource investment.
- The Resource investment is powered by revenue and return on Investment.
- The Revenue is powered by Volume and repeat sales through customer loyalty.
- The customer loyalty is powered by Quality and value of production.
- Quality and value of products is powered by Employee productivity and innovation.
- The Employee Productivity is powered by Employee Loyalty, employee satisfaction and working environment.
- The Working Environment is powered by management stewardship.
- Management stewardship is powered by Creative leadership.

For success in all missions we need creative leaders. Creative leadership means exercising the vision to change the traditional role from the commander to the coach, manager to mentor, from director to delegator and from one who demands respect to one who facilitates self-respect. Creative Leader will have a mission to work with integrity and succeed with integrity. Also creative leaders are concerned about their corporate social responsibility and they would like to give more to the society than what they have drawn. For a prosperous and developed India, the important thrust will be on the growth in the number of such creative leaders who can create wealth to their institutions and also contribute to the upliftment of environment and people in their neighbourhood.

During the last five decades of my professional career, I have come across great human beings who have become examples for various dimensions of creative leadership. I would like to present few examples of creative leaders who have made unique contribution to the growth of India.

Now I would like to talk about creative leaders

Space Visionary

I was fortunate to work with Prof. Vikram Sarabhai for seven years and while closely working with him, I saw the dawn of the vision for the space programme in a one page statement. Witnessing the evolution of this one page by a cosmic ray physicist, a great scientific mind and be a part of the team which has been working ceaselessly for many years to realize the vision have been of really great learning for me. Also I am thrilled to see the famous vision statement of Prof. Vikram Sarabhai made in the year 1970 which states “India with her mighty scientific knowledge and power house of young, should build her own huge rocket systems (satellite launch vehicles) and also build her own communication, remote sensing and meteorological spacecraft and launch from her own soil to enrich the Indian life in satellite communication, remote sensing and meteorology. The projects selected in space programme, are designed to meet the societal needs”. Total 150 transponders are there in the geo-synchronous orbit for providing connectivity to the nation. If I look at this vision statement today, I am overwhelmed to see the results of this statement. Today India can build any type of satellite launch vehicle, any type of spacecraft and launch from Indian soil. India also has launched Chandrayaan and has successfully placed the satellite in Lunar Orbit and now it is preparing for manned missions to other planets. India has proved that through space science and technology, we can provide effective communication, resource mapping, disaster predication and disaster management systems. I would like to given an incident which demonstrate the vision of Dr. Vikram Sarabhai. How spiritual leader and scientific leader can come together for assisting the realization of foundation of space programme.

Purpose of Life: It was during early 1960’s, the founder of Indian Space Research Programme Prof. Vikram Sarabhai with his team, had located a place technically most suited for space research after considering many alternatives. The place called Thumba in Kerala, was selected for space research as it was near the magnetic equator, ideally suited for ionospheric and electrojet research in upper atmosphere.

The major challenge for Prof. Vikram Sarabhai was to get the place in a specific area. As was normal, Prof. Vikram Sarabhai approached the Kerala Government administrators first. After seeing the profile of the land and the sea coast, the view expressed was that, thousands of fishing folks lived there, the place had an ancient St. Mary Magdalene Church, Bishop’s House and a school. Hence it would be very difficult to give this land and they were willing to provide land in an alternative area. Similarly the political system also opined that it would be a difficult situation due to the existence of important institutions and the concern for people who were to be relocated. However there was a suggestion to approach the only person who could advise and help. That was “Rev Father Peter Bernard Pereira” who was Bishop of the region. Prof. Vikram Sarabhai, approached the Bishop on a Saturday evening, I still remember. The meeting between the two turned out to be historical. Many of us witnessed the event. Rev Father exclaimed, “Oh Vikram, you are asking my children’s abode, my abode and God’s abode. How is it possible?” However, both had a unique quality that they could smile even in difficult situations. Rev Father Peter Bernard Pereira asked Prof. Vikram Sarabhai to come to church on Sunday morning at 9.00 AM. Prof. Vikram Sarabhai went to church with his team again on Sunday. At that time the prayer was progressing with the recitation of Bible by Father Pereira. After the prayer was over, the Bishop invited Prof. Vikram Sarabhai to come to the dais. The Rev Father introduced Prof.

Vikram Sarabhai to the people, “Dear children, here is a scientist, Prof. Vikram Sarabhai. What do sciences do? All of us experience, including this church, the light from electricity. I am able to talk to you through the mike which is made possible by technology. The diagnosis and treatment to patients by doctors comes from medical sciences. Science through technology enhances the comfort and quality of human life. What do I do, as a preacher? I pray for you, for your well being, for your peace. In short, what Vikram is doing and what I am doing, are the same – both science and spirituality seek the Almighty’s blessings for human prosperity in body and mind. Dear Children, Prof. Vikram says, he would build within a year, near the sea-coast, alternative facilities to what we are having. Now dear children, can we give your abode, can we give my abode, can we give the God’s abode for a great scientific mission?” There was a total silence, a pin drop silence. Then all of them got up and said ‘Amen’ which made the whole church reverberate.

That was the church where we had our design centre, where we started rocket assembly and the Bishop’s house was our scientists’ working place. Later the Thumba Equatorial Rocket Launching Station (TERLS) led to the establishment of Vikram Sarabhai Space Centre (VSSC) and the space activities transformed into multiple space centers throughout the country. Now this church has become an important centre of learning, where thousands of people learn about the dynamic history of the space programme of India and the great minds of a scientist and spiritual leader. Of course, the Thumba citizens got the well equipped facilities, worshiping place and educational centre in an alternate place at the right time.

When I think of this event, I can see how enlightened spiritual and scientific leaders can converge towards giving reverence to the human life. Of course the birth of TERLSW and then VSSC gave the country the capability for launch vehicles, spacecraft and space applications that have accelerated social and economic development in India to unprecedented levels.

Today, among us, Prof. Vikram Sarabhai is not there, Rev Peter Bernard Pereira is not there, but those who are responsible for creation and making flowers blossom will themselves be a different kind of flower as described in the Bhagwat Gita: “See the flower, how generously it distributes perfume and honey. It gives to all, gives freely of its love. When its work is done, it falls away quietly. Try to be like the flower, unassuming despite all its qualities”. What a beautiful message, to the humanity on the purpose of life reflected the spiritual component.

Success and Failure Management

Three decades ago while I was working at ISRO, I had the best of education which won’t come from any university. I will narrate that incident. I was given a task by Prof. Satish Dhawan the then Chairman, ISRO to develop the first satellite launch vehicle SLV-3, to put ROHINI Satellite in orbit. This was one of the largest high technology space programmes undertaken in 1973. The whole space technology community, men and women, were geared up for this task. Thousands of scientists, engineers and technicians worked resulting in the realization of the first SLV-3 launch on 10th August, 1979. SLV-3 took off in the early hours and the first stage worked beautifully. Even though all stage rockets and systems worked, the mission could not achieve its objectives, as the control system in 2nd stage malfunctioned. Instead of being placed in the orbit, the Rohini satellite went into Bay of Bengal. The mission was a failure. There was a press conference at Sriharikota, after the event. Prof. Dhawan took me to the press conference. And there he announced that he takes responsibility for not achieving the mission, even though I

was the project director and the mission director. When we launched SLV-3 on 18th July 1980, successfully injecting the Rohini Satellite in to the orbit, again there was a press conference and Prof. Dhwan put me in the front to share the success story with the press. What we learn from this event is that the leader gives the credit for success to those who worked for it, and leader absorbs and owns the responsibility for the failure. This is the leadership. The scientific community in India has the fortune to work with such leaders, which resulted in many accomplishments. This success generated great happiness among all my team members. This is an important lesson for all youth who are aspiring to be tomorrow's leaders.

Leadership for self-sufficiency in food

The vision for the First Green Revolution emanated from the political leadership of Shri C. Subramaniam. With the Visionary leadership of Shri C. Subramaniam, the team with the scientific leadership of Nobel Laureate Dr. Norman Borlaugh and Dr. M.S. Swaminathan, with the active support of Shri Shivaraman, Secretary Agriculture, Dr. M.S. Swaminathan in partnership with agricultural scientists and farmers liberated India from the situation of what was called "ship to mouth existence". Through an effort of historical magnitude, India attained near self-sufficiency in food through "Seed to Grain" mission. As part of this first green revolution, the country has been able to produce over 230 million tones of food grains per year now.

The political leadership and the scientific leadership has been able to build the capacity among our scientists, researchers and farmers to take up the mission of "second green revolution" which is indeed a knowledge graduation from characterization of soil to the matching of the seed with the composition of the fertilizer, water management and evolving pre-harvesting techniques for such conditions. The domain of a farmer's work would enlarge from grain production to food processing and marketing.

India has now embarked upon the Second Green Revolution which will enable it to further increase the productivity in the agricultural sector. By 2020 India would require to produce over 340 million tones in view of population growth and increased purchasing power. The increase in the production would surmount many impeding factors such as reduce availability of land, shortage of water and reduced availability of agricultural workforce. Our agricultural scientists and technologists in partnership with farmers have to work for increasing the average productivity per hectare from 1.2 tonnes to better than 3 tonnes. The type of technologies needed would be in the areas of development of seeds that would ensure high yield varieties even under constraints of water and land.

Leadership with transparency

The Delhi Metro Rail Project has given to the nation the potential of executing a fast transportation system using high technology with reliability through a time bound mission mode operation. Delhi, the Capital of the country with over 14 million populations, has the distinction of having a world class metro rail with frontline technologies. The work on the metro rail commenced on 1st October 1998 and the first phase with three lines covering 66 kms has been completed by December 2005. The second phase with 121 kms of line length is in various stages of completion and they all will be functional before 2010.

Delhi Metro Rail Corporation has brought to the country, the most advanced rail technologies for the first time. The notable gains to the country are, light weight stainless steel, sleek, modern trains with pneumatic springs, regenerative braking, public information display, wide vestibules and automatic doors. The sophisticated coach technology which was not available in the country so far, has been transferred to M/s Bharat Earth Movers Ltd., Bangalore, which is now assembling these trains with progressive indigenization. BEML is now in a position to supply train sets needed for Phase-II of Delhi Metro Rail Project and meet the requirement for Metros coming up in other cities of the country.

Mr. E. Sreedharan, the Managing Director of Delhi Metro has ensured that, all the scheduled sections were completed by their target date or before and within their respective budgets through his programme management skills. The dedicated and transparent leadership backed up with professional competence of Mr. Sreedharan has given to the nation, one of the best transportation systems of the world at the most economic cost. He is a recipient of many national and international awards. Also, he is in demand for undertaking the development of metro system in different countries of the world which he has politely declined due to pre-occupation with committed Indian programmes.

Leadership for science

I was reading the two volumes of the book titled “The Big and the Small” from the Microcosm to the Macrocosm written by Dr. G. Venkataraman. In this latest book, author establishes fascinating link between particle physics and cosmology in two volumes. Since I am in the midst of the youth, I thought of sharing with you an incident narrated in the book about Sir CV Raman. Raman was in the first batch of Bharat Ratna Award winners. The award ceremony was to take place in the last week of January, soon after the Republic Day celebrations of 1954. The then President Dr. Rajendra Prasad wrote to Raman inviting him to be the personal guest in the Rashtrapati Bhavan, when Raman came to Delhi for the award ceremony. He wrote a polite letter, regretting his inability to go. Raman had a noble reason for his inability to attend the investiture ceremony. He explained to the President that he was guiding a Ph.D. student and that thesis was positively due by the last day of January. The student was valiantly trying to wrap it all up and Raman felt, he had to be by the side of the research student, see that the thesis was finished, sign the thesis as the guide and then have it submitted. Here was a scientist who gave up the pomp of a glittering ceremony associated with the highest honour, because he felt that his duty required him to be by the side of the student. It is this character that truly builds science.

Conclusion

Dear friends, I have seen three dreams which have taken shape as vision, mission and realization. Space programme of ISRO (Indian Space Research Organization), AGNI programme of DRDO (Defence Research and Development Organization) and PURA (Providing Urban Amenities in Rural Areas) becoming the National Mission. Of course these three programmes succeeded in the midst of many challenges and problems. I have worked in all these three areas. I want to convey to you what I have learnt on leadership form these three programmes.

- a. Leader must have a vision.

- b. Leader must have a passion to transform the vision into action.
- c. Leader must be able to travel into an unexplored path.
- d. Leader must know how to manage a success and failure.
- e. Leader must have courage to take decision.
- f. Leader should have Nobility in management.
- g. Every action of the leader should be transparent.
- h. Leader must work with integrity and succeed with integrity.

For a paradigm shift in national development, we need large number of creative leaders and statesmen in the world. I am sure, Lal Bahadur Shastri Academy is in the mission of developing such leaders for the country.

My greeting and best wishes to all of you for success in your professional career.

May God Bless you.

15 – Education

One hardly needs a reminder that the Right to Education is different from the others enshrined in the Constitution, in that the beneficiary cannot demand it nor fight a legal battle when the right is denied or violated.

Now that India's children have a right to receive at least eight years of education, the gnawing question is whether it will remain on paper or become a reality. One hardly needs a reminder that this right is different from the others enshrined in the Constitution, in that the beneficiary — a six-year old child — cannot demand it, nor can she or he fight a legal battle when the right is denied or violated. In all cases, it is the adult society which must act on behalf of the child. In another peculiarity, where a child's right to education is denied, no compensation offered later can be adequate or relevant. This is so because childhood does not last. If a legal battle fought on behalf of a child is eventually won, it may be of little use to the boy or girl because the opportunity missed at school during childhood cannot serve the same purpose later in life. This may be painfully true for girls because our society permits them only a short childhood, if at all. The Right to Education (RTE) has become law at a point in India's history when the ghastly practice of female infanticide has resurfaced in the form of foeticide. This is symptomatic of a deeper turmoil in society which is compounding traditional obstacles to girls' education. Tenacious prejudice against the intellectual potential of girls runs across our cultural diversity, and the system of education has not been able to address it.

The new law has many critics. Some of them are among the nation's best known educators and, therefore, their concerns must be heard. They have raised two major issues: one, the law does not cover pre-school education; and two, it offers no vision of systemic reforms leading to a decent common school system. Both issues are valid and the government's strategy to implement the law must cover them. As for the first issue — coverage of early childhood — a first step can be recognising the year before Class I as a necessary pre-school year to provide an enabling experience for the success of eight years of formal education stipulated by law. This step would require substantial planning and coordination among the departments of Child Development, Health and Education. The second point the RTE critics are making draws attention to the divisive, and not just divided, character of our system of education. A vast gap of resources, facilities and efficiency exists between the private schools which cater for the better-off strata of society and the ones run by the government. Within government schools, there is a vast difference between Central schools and those run by municipalities and village panchayats. It is not true that RTE offers no vision of improving our fragmented system. The provision for 25 per cent reserved seats for poor children in all private schools as well as Central schools makes a gesture towards the common school model. Critics of the RTE rightly find it a weak gesture but they forget how difficult the execution of even this diluted form of common schooling is going to prove in a stratified and divided society.

Already, lobbyists of private schools have gone to court, challenging the legal validity of the RTE. The private sector in school education has grown quite substantially and rapidly over the last two decades. Not just private schools, a strong ideological lobby which favours privatisation has also grown. Members of this lobby believe that the RTE can best be implemented by market forces and the government should subsidise these forces by distributing school vouchers. This remarkable philosophy sees the RTE as a crowning moment in the ongoing history of the state's

withdrawal from education. Critics of the RTE rightly suspect that it could speed up commercial privatisation. Considering how fast popular disillusionment with the state's capacity to provide education of reasonable quality is spreading, we should not be astonished if the critics are proved right. Many State governments see privatisation as a real option, and the signals coming from the Centre seem to endorse this view.

However, the debate over private versus public interests conceals the single greatest problem both private and government schools face: the shortage of qualified teachers. Behind this shortage lies a long history of neglect of teacher training and the poor social status of the elementary school teacher. Teacher training has remained on the margins of the Indian academia, and the training of primary school teachers outside it. The National Council for Teacher Education (NCTE) has reinforced this message of the RTE by demanding a higher entry-level qualification for elementary teachers' training. The NCTE has also sent a strong policy signal that all courses for this level should come under the purview of universities. These signals will require sustained follow-up action, for which the NCTE will have to improve its own functioning and image as a regulatory body.

Going by RTE norms, at least a million teachers will need to be freshly recruited and trained. The challenge of teacher recruitment and training will prove especially grim in the Hindi belt and the northeast, West Bengal, and Jammu and Kashmir. In Bihar, the number of teachers required is very huge and the institutional capacity for training very low, and in Madhya Pradesh, no one knows how to undo the decision taken long ago to stop the recruitment of career-path teachers. In West Bengal, overlapping structures have impeded curricular and administrative reforms. These States are not the only ones battling internal legacies of neglect or confused planning. The northeastern States have a vast number of untrained and poorly qualified teachers who are already in the system. Violent conflict between the government and the people has cast a shadow on childhood in many parts of central and northeastern India. The progress of the RTE in these parts cannot be easy or smooth. This also holds true for mega-cities like Delhi, Kolkata and Mumbai where children of the poor live in Dickensian misery.

For the southern States where the system is in better health, the RTE will pose the challenge of radical improvement in quality. How things turn out will depend on the willingness of the directorates to adjust their outworn perspective and policies to the new expectations the RTE arouses in syllabus design, teacher preparation and deployment. Kerala and Tamil Nadu are better placed than any other State to implement the RTE with confidence, but even they require radical measures to improve teacher training. The courses available are uninspiring and based on obsolete ideas. The pedagogic perspective of the National Curriculum Framework (2005) is yet to percolate into teacher education programmes.

While the RTE's future depends on the initiative and resolve of the State governments, the Centre's role is going to be crucial too. If its policy signals remain coherent, the States will have a better chance of staying on track. One major signal the Centre must send pertains to institutional strength and capacity to deliver the RTE. No case illustrates this better than the National Commission for the Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR), which has the responsibility to monitor the RTE. It is supposed to keep a vigilant eye on several million classrooms where children are to be taught and protected from corporal punishment, mental harassment and discrimination.

How is the NCPCR going to perform this huge task with the extremely meagre infrastructure it has today? When a child falls victim to neglect, abuse or violence, the protective arms of the state must reach out fast. For a national commission to serve children in every corner of the country, it must have good State-level units with district-level branches. As of now, the NCPCR's presence in most States is barely symbolic. Between the responsibility entrusted to it and its apparatus, there is a vast gap. It has no academic staff to study cases and to work with the States to find solutions. Its first chairperson, Professor Shantha Sinha, was a tall academic figure who put in a monumental effort to make its presence felt. Asking her to stay on to initiate institution-building would have been a sensible step, and one hopes that the Ministry of Women and Child Development might still take this decision. If the NCPCR becomes an empty shell, so might the RTE.

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