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THE ADMINISTRATOR

Journal of the Lal Bahadur Shastri
National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie

2001

Foreword

We have in our hands the second issue of the "Administrator" for the year 2001. This has been a momentous year and has changed the course of the current history. It has in the process altered many perceptions, beliefs and the way we conduct our lives. The world is coming together as never before and new frontiers of collaboration as well as confrontation are opening up. No country can remain insulated form the happenings in the world around it. This throws open new challenges for administration-not just in ensuring the rule of law and maintaining internal security but also in ensuring equity, justice and fair play in governance. At the same time the increasing liberalization and opening up of the economy has placed greater onus on the administrators to ensure the well being of the marginalized. This, in effect means a greater emphasis on system building and sustenance, ensuring that the services, schemes and programmes meant for the poor reach them in the same manner as they are intended to, and that the rent seekers do not frustrate the objectives of the "safety nets" for the poor.

In the current scenario, administrators need to handle issues with greater sensitivity than before. Intelligence quotient or IQ now had to be seen in conjunction with EQ or emotional intelligence. This is brought out in the article by Dr. Dalip Singh. In a similar vein is the article entitled "Our composite culture and the IAS" by Sh. G.S. Cheema which calls for a greater appreciation of all religions. "Has something gone wrong with the IAS "also asks and answers questions that pertain to governance by the IAS.

The issues of district level administration are further addressed in the article by Prof. S. Maheshwari entitled "The District Magistrate and Police". The article by Dr Y.S.Chaturvedi also addresses the concerns regarding the interface between officials and non officials and lays down certain prescriptions for the same. A SWOT analysis of the participatory forest management programme is given in the article by Sh Alind Rastogi. The experiment conducted in Haryana to ensure attendance in the gram sabhas is reported by Dr CS Singhal in his article.

The "Administrator" would like to be a forum for highlighting "best practices", which whether as a result of government or non governmental

initiative, have demonstrated their sustainability. In this issue, we have the story of a village in Gujarat that has shown the way. Dr Medha Dubashi gives us a glimpse of the working of women's cooperatives that came about as a result of non governmental action.

Some macro issues of administration are addressed in the article by Dr Pratima Kapoor entitled "Ethics in Services" Dr. KB Rai's article highlights the initiative of the Delhi Govt. in cutting down the levels of file clearance. The functioning of the child adoption mechanism in India and suggestions for it's improvement are given in the article by MP Vijaykumar and Supriya Sahu. The other articles in the volume as well as the book reviews present a diverse and kaliedoscopic view of the issues pertaining to the civil service.

We solicit articles and book review from our readers. Your views and analysis make the "Administrator" relevant and contextual. Kindly send in your articles at the e-mail address mentioned below. We look forward to your continued support and encouragement.

Arti Ahuja

Contents

Our Composite Culture and The I. A. S.

.... G. S. Cheema*

The Argument: Although appointments to the IAS are made after a highly competitive countrywide examination and the officers are supposed to be the cream of Indian youth, not many of them (in the viewpoint of the author) really share the supposed values of our much talked about Composite Culture. Very few have more than the most cursory acquaintance with religious groups and communities other than their own, and what is more disturbing, most of them are singularly incurious and lack any strong desire to acquire knowledge of this kind. Since IAS officers are expected to administer people, at least during their field postings, this relative ignorance on their part makes the encounters between officialdom and the public frequently awkward, embarrassing and prone to misunderstandings. This is further aggravated by the fact that at least half the members of the service in any state cadre are expected to be from outside the state. The situation is really not very different from colonial times and most of the officers remain 'outsiders' to the state all their lives. But while the foreign-born ICS officer was at least expected to acquaint himself thoroughly with the territory and people he was expected to administer, there is very little emphasis on acquiring this kind of knowledge today. The officers are expected to 'know', their knowledge is presupposed, after all they are Indians. But unfortunately their knowledge is usually very shallow. The author feels that there is an urgent need to remedy this state of affairs. A working knowledge of the local language is not enough. But at present that is about all that is considered necessary.

The composite culture and the IAS

The other day I had gone to attend a conference in a certain State capital. The city was noted for the archaeological monuments in its neighbourhood and for those of us who had not seen them before a short tour was arranged. Among the various monuments on the itinerary was a mosque. Typical of a

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certain period, it had been built on the site of a former temple. The superstructure had been demolished, and after the base had been suitably widened, a mosque had been erected, pointing in the appropriate direction. An unremarkable structure, without dome or minarets; only a shallow verandah like hall with a simple *qibla* pointing towards Mecca and a stepped *mimbar* from where the imam delivered his sermon. The pillars were all carved, each in its own unique design, recalling the Quwwat ul Islam mosque of the Qutb and the Arhai Din ka Jhonpra at Ajmer, though far less impressive. It had been recommended by our host (needless to say, a very senior IAS officer) with the explanation that, although not very beautiful, 'it had undeniably been built on the base of a former temple, and particularly noteworthy because so much of the temple had survived.' Doubtless he was alluding to another temple/mosque in a far off city in U.P., which had been the occasion of so much controversy and bloodshed in the not too distant past.

The mound on which the mosque stood had been extensively excavated, bringing to light more temple remains. While carved stones were lying all around, the more remarkable pieces of statuary had been stored in the hall of the mosque, which had been closed with steel barricading and a barred doorway. Quite literally, the mosque was once more a *butkhana*! Fortunately, it had not occurred to anyone to start worshipping the idols (which were mostly mutilated), or we should have had another controversy to deal with. The Department of Archaeology was fully in control and the mosque was obviously a 'dead' monument, out of use since a long time, notwithstanding the presence of Muslims in the adjoining mohallas.

The chowkidar opened the barred gate and let us in. We were wandering around, looking at the shivlings, the statues of assorted deities and the usual gorgeous *apsaras* and *nayikas* when my companion stopped in front of the *qibla* and asked abruptly, 'What is this?' Then he repeated the question in Hindi. I was puzzled; the qibla and the mimbar are standard features of every mosque, surely he could not be seeking any explanation about them? The chowkidar also seemed surprised. After a moment's pause, slightly embarrassed, he ventured, 'Sir, this is a mosque, you see…' and he left it hanging at that.

'The old temple was destroyed,' I added carefully, 'and they built the mosque with its debris on the old base.'

Oh, I see,' he responded blankly. But it was obvious that he wasn't seeing anything, and that he had probably never entered a mosque before,

and had no idea what it was supposed to look like from inside. He had probably only noticed the domes and minarets, and he could scarcely be blamed since this poor mosque (however venerable its age) had none.

He was otherwise a serious and earnest officer - not particularly young, being in his mid forties - keen on his job and anxious to 'do something' in his limited sphere. True he belonged to the 'majority' community and might, therefore, be justified in his ignorance, but he came from a state with a sizeable Muslim population, and was serving in one with an equally considerable percentage of that community. I found it odd, but he obviously did not think it mattered.

This reminded me of another conversation I once had with another colleague of mine - a close friend - who was serving in a state in Western India. He had, suddenly, in the midst of a rambling conversation, mentioned that he had recently visited a popular Muslim shrine which he had often passed on his way to work. Had I ever visited it? I shook my head. 'No but I have seen it so often in films.'

'Well, I actually went Inside,' he continued. Obviously it had been something of an adventure. 'It was quite an experience. It seemed to be reeking of Samarkand and Bokhara.'

Of course he had never been there. IAS officers are far more likely to visit Washington or Geneva than Central Asia. He means Baghdad, I thought. Probably has had a surfeit of the Alaf Laila - the tele-serial I mean. Then he leaned forward and asked me confidentially, ' Have you ever been to a mosque, or a dargah?'

I was astonished. 'You mean you've never even visited the Jama Masjid?' I asked.

He shook his head, ' Never been inside. Is it allowed?' I thought of the dargah of Nizammuddin Auliya; that of Sheikh Salim Chishti, the mazar of Sarmad. Surely he must have seen the Moti Masjid in the Red Fort! He probably meant that it was his first visit to a living shrine, where people actually went to worship and made offerings. Had he been to Nizamuddin, Haji Ali's would not have seemed so exotic.

This really set me thinking. There is definitely something wrong in the way we train our AIS officers. I recalled another incident, years ago, in Calcutta, where I was attending one of the first three week training programmes started by Chidambran. And this time the boot was on the

other foot, proving that it is not only the 'majority' community that is guilty of crass ignorance, and indifference towards the followers of the lesser vehicles; the latter are equally culpable.

On one of the off-days the institute placed a minibus and guide at our disposal, to enable us to see the sights of Calcutta. The first stop on the itinerary was the famous Kali temple at Kalighat, from which the city derives its name. Among our group were a number of officers from the minority communities- mainly Christians from the South, a Khasi from Meghalaya, and I think there was even that rarest of *rara avis* (for the IAS), a Muslim from somewhere. Besides of course the present author, 'representing' the hirsute and turbanned fraternity of the Punjab.

The approach to the temple is not very inviting, and the bus had to be left behind some distance from the temple. But most of us - particularly those belonging to the majority persuasion - quickly jumped off the bus and got busy purchasing the parshad and floral tributes which were on sale outside. I was still unlacing my shoes when I noticed that none of my non-Hindu colleagues seemed to have any intention of getting off.

'Aren't any of you fellows coming?' I asked surprised. Though no devotee of the goddess I had heard gory stories about this temple from my childhood, and had read about it in umpteen travel books (mostly of the sensational variety), and therefore had every intention of paying my respects to the bloodthirsty deity. But not so my Christian/Muslim colleagues. They adopted a superior pose. '*Are chhodo*!' said one; '*Come on yaar,* what's there to see', remarked another. 'Why dirty our feet,' said a third, with barely concealed contempt, 'we'll wait here for the faithful.'

'Why, have you been here before?' I could not resist asking. Since none of them responded, I continued, 'In that case you must. It is one of the sights of Calcutta - the city's named after it. See all those *goras* are going there too!' I pointed at a couple of caucasians, walking past, their copies of the *Lonely Planet Guide,* clutched firmly in their hands.

What I really wanted to say to them was, 'Nothing will happen to your religious faith if you go inside. You may not be devotees of Kali, or even Hindus; but just for the sake of general knowledge. Even if your stuffy bigotted minds aren't the least bit curious. Broaden your minds for God's sake! Take some interest in other communities!'

May be, I think in retrospect, I was being too hard on them. After all none of their colleagues of the majoritarian persuasion had tried to interest

them in the temple and so many shrines nowadays have signs prohibiting all but the faithfully from entering. But I have rarely seen those signs deterring the European tourists, and even where the pandas are serious about it, the ban is usually restricted to the *sanctum sanctorum*.

Eventually they all came. Fortunately a goat had just been slaughtered in the sacrificial kund and everyone admitted it was 'an experience.' Maybe they had gone for the wrong reasons, and the cult of Kali is probably not the best introduction to Hinduism, but at least their inhibitions had been overcome.

The last stop on the day's circuit was the Dakshineshwar temple where Lord Ramakrishna received enlightenment. But by that time it had become uncomfortably warm, and the hordes of maimed and leprous mendicants that swarm outside the temple are enough to repel all but the most determined adventurers. Here I did not try to insist. Even some of the 'believers' decided to remain behind in the bus, but a couple of the unbelievers for whatever reasons - did venture forth to explore.

At that time I did not think much about the incident. But come to think about it, here were a bunch of officers belonging to the country's premier civil service; all professedly secular but suffering from a curious diffidence on the subject of religion. We had all been brought together by chance; were more or less a random selection, but we were surprisingly hesitant to talk about it, apprehensive lest we step on someone's toes and offend his or her religious sensibilities. As well as anxious not to appear in any way interested in the religions of others. And curiously ignorant. Religion is no doubt a personal matter, and should remain so, but for an administrative officer, who administers not merely an office or a department of government but the people at large, it is essential that he should know the inhabitants, the various communities, castes and tribes; their history (if any), their likes and dislikes, myths and beliefs.

The British were foreigners to this country. They were Christians (of various persuasions) and I do not know of any notable personage - at least from the official class - who converted to Islam or Hinduism, but they nonetheless considered it important to study their subjects and learn as much as was possible to know about them. Sir William Jones, Richard Temple, Prinsep or Metcalfe, were not mere scholars working for their Ph.Ds., but primarily administrators who sincerely believed that a fuller knowledge of this country and its various peoples, races and communities, was essential to enable them to rule this country in a better or more effective manner.

Of course they were foreigners, while we are not. We ought to know our people better. But do we? My feeling is that this is largely a misconception. The British ruling class, that is, the old ICS (before its Indianization) was a fairly homogeneous lot. Few among them were sons of peers (the governors and governors-general were a class apart), but they were almost all the offspring of gentlemen. Whether High Church or Low Church, Anglican or Presbyterian, Irish or English, they had studied in a handful of public or grammar schools, and an even smaller selection of colleges and universities. The civil servants of the modern republic, however, come from a far wider social spectrum, and the year they spend in the LBSNAA at Mussoorie is not enough to develop a common ethos and point of view. Some of them may be the sons (or daughters) of parents belonging to the military or one of the other central services, and thus may have had the opportunity of living and studying in different parts of the country, but most tend to be provincial in their outlook, having seldom ventured beyond their home district and state. Thus their ideas about other people are usually a strange bundle of prejudices and quaint beliefs, stemming from a mass of misinformation. They usually know very little about each other and attempt to hide their ignorance in a cloak of indifference. Moreover it is fashionable to pretend that regional differences do not really matter; after all we are all Indians.

Among members of the service these should not matter but unfortunately since most of us have had limited exposure it is important to know more about the people one is supposed to serve. Unfortunately there is very little emphasis on this important aspect in the institutional training of the officers. The old gazetteers were, once upon a time, a mine of useful information. They were originally official publications meant for limited circulation, and written with little regard to popular beliefs and native sensibilities, but their modern versions have been compiled by less impartial scholars. They are much more cliché ridden than the earlier works, and far more apt to pass off popular myths as accepted truths.

Of course, as Said has shown, the Orientalist texts were hardly the last word in wisdom, and their point of view was certainly blassed. Sven Hedin, the Himalayan scholar, often reads like a white supremacist, Trumpp (the translator of the Sikh scriptures) was absurdly wrong in his conclusions, and Jones or Max Muller were never in doubt about the superiority of their own religious beliefs. But the depth of their studies was remarkable, and even more so was the dogged perseverance of their labours.

I have in my hand a slim 180 page work by a certain Captain Bingley, entitled *Handbook on Rajputs*. It is a very business-like manual meant for the use of recruiting officers, for the Rajputs were one of the old so-called 'martial races' favoured for military service in the Raj days. But what a wealth of information is included in that official manual. The region covered is mainly U.P. and Bihar, with a little bit of Rajasthan thrown in (Rajasthan was relatively unimportant as a recruiting ground in the nineteenth century, it seems; most Rajputs from that region apparently preferred to join the armies of their respective states). Seventy-eight clans are described, their approximate male population enumerated, geographical distribution explained, and principal families and chiefs carefully described. The clans to whom they gave their daughters, and those from whom they took their wives, are equally carefully listed. Their religion, particular family deities, totems and taboos are all there. The clan history is given- such as it could be ascertained, along with trenchant comments on their military qualities, and their record during the Mutiny, all for the guidance of the recruiting officer. The questions that should be asked of a candidate for recruitment are suggested, and hints given by which a true Rajput might be distinguished from an imposter.

A similar handbook on the Dogras, a regional sub-division of the Rajputs, explains the etiquette involved in the exchange of the *Jai diya*, the traditional greeting among top drawer Rajputs from Jammu and Kangra, and neatly classifies all the principal clans into superior and inferior classes and three different grades, making the fixation of relative precedence as arcane as the classification of French wines. As I discussed it with an old friend of the last generation his face lit up as he recalled the old days in Lahore and Kangra when these things mattered. Many of the facts given in that manual were unknown to him, quite possibly some of them were wrong, and no doubt many of the restrictions are obsolete today. The author may well have been misled by his informants who could have been influenced by their own prejudices. And he might well have been carried away by his enthusiasm to neatly categorise and classify each clan in its proper place and station.   In India things are rarely as clear and straight-forward as the precedence between the different grades of the peerage of Great Britain and Ireland. Mistakes there must have been, no doubt, but this was not important. What mattered was the importance attached to this kind of information. Today a handbook of this type would be regarded as merely quaint.

Today in the Army they are almost as ignorant about such matters as we civilians. At the time of Operation Woodrose, which followed Bluestar, an

army newsletter ventured to define an 'amritdhari Sikh' as some kind of terrorist who had sworn to commit acts of violence, totally forgetting that every soldier in a Sikh regiment was required to be an amritdhari Sikh. In the face of such gross ignorance and insensitivity the widespread desertions and mutinies involving Sikh troops are scarcely to be wondered at. Bingley also wrote a similar handbook on the Sikhs; if the top brass had read that, much of the subsequent tragedy might have been avoided.

The IAS officer still spends a fair amount of his service in the field, and a State Civil Service officer may spend as many as fifteen or twenty years. Most of the people they have to deal with are relatively unsophisticated by metropolitan lights, but even in the villages and *kasbahs* an elaborate code of etiquette prevails which a wise field officer would take care not to ignore. A country gentleman lays great store by the manner of his reception by the Deputy commissioner or the Sub-Divisional Magistrate. No wonder he seldom approaches him directly and is willing to move heaven and earth to find someone who will introduce him to the great man. He is particular about his honour, and he hopes that the introduction will ensure a courteous reception. In this world forms of address matter. The Dadwal sarpanch or Katoch nambardar (he may also be a jagirdar) will appreciate the distinction accorded to him when the great man addresses him as 'Mianji.' The thakur from the Simla Hills, impoverished though he may be, and however threadbare his 'pattu' sets equal store by his thakuri. These of course are fairly obvious (I hope), but how many of us- though we may be townsmen-are aware of the fine nuances between honorifics like Mehta, Lala, Shah and Seth? They are not synonyms by any means, and there is nothing pejorative about them.

Why don't we teach these things to our officers in our ATIs and in the LBSNAA at Mussoorie? If handling people tactfully and politely is important - as I think it should be - these things are no less essential than talks on 'sustainable development', the World Trade Organisation or the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs. These are subjects essentially for specialists, IAS officers need only be sensitized to them, they may only have to supervise their implementation, but handling people is basic to field officers.

It may be objected that these are petty and minor points, and that I am making a mountain out of a molehill. Many people are genuinely indifferent to mosques and temples, and historical monuments per se leave them cold. After all even Nehru declared that the dams and steel plants were the 'temples of modern India.' No doubt poverty alleviation programmes and the various rozgar yojnas are more important than the state of preservation of Humayun's

tomb or the garden of Roshan Ara. If the country is going to progress it will be because of the former. But the basic task of the IAS officer is not so much as to implement these economic programmes but to create conditions in which these programmes can be implemented. In the past we have been trying to do too much and everything, as a consequence the basic purpose and objectives of this service have got obscured.

Before Independence the British were quite clear, and for the guidance of their officers there existed elaborate manuals laying down the protocol to be followed when the representative of the King-Emperor had to receive a 'Notable.' Some were required to be received outside in the verandah by the great man himself. In some cases a chobdar or durwan would be sufficient. Sometimes protocol required that the Commissioner or DC should rise to receive him, and there were all the niceties regarding sprinkling of itr and serving of pan. Much of this is now obsolete; the classes to whom these instructions applied are now extinct - I mean the former princes. But in the past, as the famous story about Ghalib's abortive appointment as a Persian professor at the Delhi College suggests, lesser gentry were no less particular, and expected similar niceties to be observed when received in audience. Ordinary notables, the descendants of the old gentry who were included in the lists of district and divisional 'durbaris,' even ordinary zaildars, sufaidposhes, and army officers, expected to be treated with a measure of civility. In those days, before the Indianization of the Indian army, even decorated jamadars and subedars were persons of consequence in civvy street.

In these democratic times most of the cobwebs of the past have been swept away. The highest courtesy extended by superior functionaries of the State is a cup of tea (usually of execrable quality), and may be a biscuit or two. Officially everyone is now a 'shri' or a 'shrimati', apparently the Indian Republic's equivalent of the 'citizen' and 'citizenness' adopted by the First French Republic. But the past and its traditions still linger, sometimes even in the most improbable places.

I remember how, while touring the rural areas of Ludhiana (Punjab's most highly industrialised district), accompanied by the District and Block Development Officers, I decided to look up the sarpanch of a certain village, in connection with the implementation of a scheme to which the government of the day attached the highest importance. We had given no prior intimation, but as his village fell on the way we decided to check him out as well. The gentleman was rather embarrassed by our unceremonious descent; a great functionary ought, according to his lights, be received with a certain degree

of ceremony, with garlands and bouquets and an assembly of panchayat members and village notables in attendance. Not knowing what to do, and expressing his profuse apologies for the absence of befitting arrangements (and obliquely accusing me of a culpable informality), while the DDPO tried to reassure him, he pulled out a hundred rupee note from his pocket, and placing it on his handkerchief in his right hand, palm upward, supported by his other he extended it towards me.

I was taken aback; the DDPO laughed. It was my turn to feel abashed. Seeing my bewilderment he explained, 'Sir he is offering you *nazar*. It will be sufficient if you touch his offering.' Realization dawned; the rituals of faded courts came to life for a brief moment as the sarpanch pocketed his note and I patronizingly explained that such ceremony was no longer necessary.

In this country, two cultures, that of India and Bharat co-exist and will continue so for a long time to come. But only too often, we who belong to India, tend to forget the existence of the latter, whose denizens are frequently regarded as the children of a lesser god. Our modern management and administrative culture tends to totally ignore them, but with a little bit of sensitization to the diverse mores and traditions of Bharat, the administration can acquire a much more human face.

Books Referred

1. Bingley, Capt.A.H., Dogras. Compiled under the Orders of the G.O.I. (Class Handbooks for the Indian Army series) Simla, Govt. Central Printing Office, 1899.

2. Bingley, Capt. A.H., Rajputs. Compiled under the Orders of the G.O.I. (Class Handbooks for the Indian Army series) Simla, Govt. Central Printing Office, 1899, Reprinted 1986 by the Asian Educational Society.

Has Someting Gone
Wrong with IAS

.... Sanjay Kothari*

1. Over the last few years, there has been serious debate as to whether the Indian Administrative Service has helped or hindered the development process in the country. The relevance of a cadre of general administration has also been questioned in this era of liberalization and professionalization of government. Touted as the heir to the Indian Civil Service - the Steel Frame of Indian government - the I.A.S has come in for much criticism both from its own members as well as from the general public. In a recent article, Sri Swaminathan has caustically remarked that the civil service is neither civil nor does it render any service.

2. A little introspection reveals that something has indeed gone wrong with the service. The causes are interrelated, varying from the process of recruitment, the conditions of service which make even the most idealistic officers fall a prey to temptation as well as the attitudes and expectations of the officers themselves. We have put forth a few of the main issues here, and suggested ways to see if some of them can be remedied, if not in full, then, at least in part.

3. **Lack of fixed Tenure of posting :-** The first and foremost is the lack of fixed tenure of posting, when the officer is attached to the State government. The harassment of an upright or an otherwise inconvenient officer through the process of transfer thrives on the internal weakness of the service officers viz. the willingness and availability of the sufficiently elastic officer to fill in the slot vacated by those who have grit and determination. The long term solution to this problem lies in the inculcation of values and ethics for which an effort is being made separately by the training institutions. In the immediate future, the problem looms large. During the ICS days, an officer had a fixed posting of three years as district collector / deputy commissioner and it is said that the commissioner was never transferred without expressing his desire to do so. Now the average tenure of a district collector is just over one year. It becomes very difficult for an officer to learn and understand all

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the issues in a district of population of more than 10 lakhs and more than 600 villages. At times, this tenure is restricted to a few months only and much of the officer's time is spent not in planning programmes but in keeping his posting intact.

4. The situation is even worse when it comes to the posts of Chief Executive of Public Sector Undertakings or Heads of Departments. Each subject is quite unique and it takes the officer a minimum of six to eight months to understand the system. Sometimes he is transferred even before this period is over. Any improvements in the system or new programmes can be effectively implemented only if an officer is allowed to stay put in a job for at least two years. An example which readily comes to mind is that of the Tourism Corporation of a State Government which made substantial strides in the first twenty years when the were only four chief executives. Subsequently, the tenure of the chief executive has been reduced to less than one year and the organization has started having problems. It is not fair to compare the performance of senior managers in the private sector with that of IAS officers when their service conditions are so starkly different.

5. The issue of ensuring tenure of posting has been discussed in various fora, and the feeling is that no State Government will give up its right of transfer. The following points are however worth considering. In the Central Government, officers up to the level of Joint Secretary have fixed tenure and the system is working satisfactorily. In other Central Services, there is a fixed tenure of more than three years. A former Union Home Secretary has proposed that statutory Civil Service Boards be set up at the Central and State level so as to make recommendations regarding the promotions, postings and transfers of officers of the higher civil service. These Boards should operate on the basis of well-publicised and transparent guidelines, rules and procedures and their recommendations should be binding on the State governments. This suggestion was also endorsed by the Mussoorie retreat of the 1961 batch of All India Service Officers as a method of insulating officers form the bane of frequent transfers. As a via media, the system can always be tried by laying down certain criteria about the tenure of officers in a particular post.

6. **Age Limit :-** The increase in age limit for recruitment to the IAS has been the subject of controversy. Though it is felt that candidates coming from rural backgrounds or small towns may be adversely affected if the

age limit is restored to 24 years, one school of thought clearly attributes the fall in the level of idealism to the increase in proportion of older candidates. Generalizations may be odious but it is a definite fact that new recruits who have already spent a few years in another career tend to bring with them some amount of world-weariness and cynicism. Hence we tend to agree with the point of view that the age limit should be reduced to twenty-four.

7. **Camaraderie among officers :-** The ICS was known for its old boy network and feeling of fraternity within the service. Over the years, this feeling has shown a decline in the IAS which has effectively removed a support system and gentle corrective mechanism for the over enthusiastic young officer. This could perhaps be because a greater social miscellany is being recruited now than was the case earlier. The last twenty years has seen a greater rural bias with the structural changes in the reservation policy also having had their impact. The fragmentation of the social fabric of the country as a whole finds its reflection in the civil service also. This heterogeneity has reduced peer group interaction at the social level, which in turn affects the feeling of camaraderie in the infighting between officers and the race for so called 'plum postings'. The pent up frustration is one of the main causes for the early onset of cynicism, especially in young and honest officers. Some of the more radical suggestions have been for officers to give vent to their feelings through the press or to fight for their rights through the courts. These seem to militate against the very principal of the bureaucracy and could give rise to dangerous populist trends. One of the more acceptable solutions for the redressal of grievances seems to be the suggestion of a former home secretary for the establishment of the office of "ombudsman".

We however strongly feel that the 'peer pressure' which both guided and regulated the conduct of the service earlier should be revived in some form. Though we can visualise some role for the IAS officers' associations in this regard, it would require the active and sincere cooperation of all members, especially the seniors who should don the mantle of mentorship.

8. **Entry of Professionals into the IAS :-** If we study the educational background of those joining the service from its origins to the mid seventies, we find that there has been a distinct shift away from those with a liberal arts background to those with a postgraduation in basic sciences. With the acceptance of the Kothari Committee

recommendations in 1979, the weightage for the two elective subjects increased at the expense of the English language and the interview. In the mid eighties, engineering, management and medical science were introduced in the written examination. The whole texture of the new entrants has undergone a major change from those with a liberal arts background to those with scientific training and then to those with professional education. In some batches in the nineties, the percentage of professionals was as high as seventy five percent!

9.   While there is no denying that these officers form the 'best and brightest' of their age group, there is a niggling suspicion that their priorities could be different. The mid eighties has also seen a parallel change of mindset in society with social status being derived from active pursuit of higher salaries and material benefits and less priority being accorded to concern for the poor and downtrodden. For many young officers, the salary, perks and lifestyles enjoyed by their colleagues who have stayed behind in private sector jobs often present a stark contrast to their own. Many families find it difficult to adjust to this situation. Especially when the officer is also confronted with lack of job satisfaction due to short tenure and other factors, these contrasts seem impossible to live with. This is further aggravated by the fact that with the coming of global businesses into the market place, the chasm between private and public sector emoluments has widened considerably, in spite of some consolation offered by the pay revision.

10. The only respite in this direction could be considering liberal deputation to the private sector, as proposed in the report of the Fifth Pay Commission. At present though the rules provide for deputation both to private sector and non- government sector, it is hardly used. Deputation to private sector has evoked strong feelings from many who feel it could result in the officers coming back to government as lobbyists for the company or group, which employed them. However we feel that the benefits would strongly outweigh the demerits, as this would go a long way in reducing the frustration levels among bright and effective officers. Such officers will also be able to appreciate the problems of the private sector better while working on the other side of the table. Lastly, it will give such officers an opportunity to earn money in a legitimate way and maintain their lifestyles and discharge their family responsibilities at a reasonable level.

11. **Attitude of Officers :-** The general impression about the IAS is that

they are arrogant, do not listen and cannot appreciate the other person's point of view. While such an attitude of maintaining a distance from the common man was acceptable in colonial times, it cannot be sustained in the present day. To function effectively, the new breed of officers must mix and interact with the public and learn to respond to their needs with alacrity and sincerity. Power cannot be assumed arbitrarily and acceptability will have to be won by convincing the public regarding the decisions taken and the reasons for taking them. Closely allied is the need to keep abreast of the developments internationally in various fields. The officer of today can no longer be content with the knowledge he acquired before he joined the service. To function effectively in the fast changing world, it is necessary to be the 'eternal student'.

12. In this regard, we would like to briefly touch upon the laws promulgated in the country. The laws drafted before independence have been written keeping in view the ruler-ruled relationship and need a total recasting. The provisions in each Act dwell more on the infringement and penalties, making each citizen an offender unless proved otherwise. In Independent India we have been very liberal in enacting laws on many subjects. Many laws are not implemented because of their unrealistic expectations. Unless this situation is revised and obsolete laws are repealed, we cannot expect the effective implementation of even the most important statutes. It is learnt that the Government has appointed a committee which has recommended the scrapping of nearly 1300 laws out of the 2500 in existence. Making the laws more transparent and people friendly would definitely go a long way in improving the image of those officers attempting to implement them sincerely.

13. **Integrity-financial and intellectual :-** While discussing the problems of the IAS, we have consciously kept the issues of ethics and integrity at the very end. It is not realistic to make comparisons about the integrity of the IAS officers of the immediate post independence era with those of today. This in itself can form the material for one complete article. Summing up, there is an overall decline in the moral standards of our society as a whole, and it is only logical that this has crept in to the civil services as well. The extent varies in different states depending upon the cultural, political and economic environment prevailing in that state. While talking about integrity we must also touch upon the cynicism which often accompanies honesty. Honest officers get frustrated by early setbacks and often choose to become apathetic and negative. This is a remedy, which is worse than the disease itself. If we categorize officers

into four categories based on their competence and integrity, it is an undeniable fact that the number of officers who are both honest and competent has shown a gradual decline from the fifties and an exponential decline in the mid eighties. Unless the officer, however honest, retains a clear vision about his work and a positive attitude towards life, his achievements may be quite marginal. So while choosing subordinates, many straightforward officers choose competence and effectiveness over absolute honesty.

14. Another worrying feature is the loss of intellectual integrity, which is emerging rapidly within the service. The nature of our jobs requires a close working relationship with politicians as we serve as their advisors for making policy and also as implementers of the decisions taken at the field level. Often the associations formed are used to get plum postings or other favours dispensed out of turn, in violation of set rules and procedures. The Mussoorie retreat mentioned earlier also concluded that one of the serious ills of the IAS was the unhealthy inter service rivalries and the nexus between the bureaucrat and the politician leading to growing abuse of power.

Since personal ethics and integrity are very difficult to define or insist upon in such a varied group as the IAS, this article focuses only on the ways to attract more idealistic officers into the service and to see that they are given reasonable service conditions to function effectively throughout their career. As the number of such officer's increases, it is hoped that they will serve as role models for the batches of officers yet to join.

This article evolved from the discussions of three officers-two from the IAS and one from the Customs and Central Excise service, while on 'forced retreat' during election duty. The ideas were presented and took further shape at a training programme at Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration. What started off as a discussion of ethics in the civil services led to the debate on the relevance and performance of the IAS, as a service, in today's changing scenario. While the drawbacks of the IAS were obvious during our introspection, two facts could not be denied: - firstly, that there have been and will always be civil servants who have individually made significant contributions nationally and internationally and secondly, that a generalist civil service will have to exist and may still be the best alternative for governance in India.

This article therefore does not address structural issues or issues of societal change but instead touches upon issues that affect the functioning of individual officers within the existing system. We have focused on suggestions such as fixed tenures in the state government, liberal deputation to private and non governmental sector, keeping up to date with current trends etc, which in the short term will encourage officers to retain their enthusiasm and integrity and maximise their productivity. We have put down our views in writing to appraise the general public about the issues facing the IAS and also to nudge policy makers into considering some of these suggestions along with drawing up an agenda for reform in the long term.

Foreign Capital Flows and Economic Development in Developing Countries: Emerging trends in China, India and Malaysia

*........... Chandra Vanu Som ** *

Introduction

The twentieth century has seen rapid technological progress, growth in international production and increase in international trade leading to improvement in quality of life and transformations in the lives of billions of people around the world. However, the benefits of economic development have not been evenly distributed among the countries. Inequality between the world's rich and poor regions (measured by output per capita) has increased dramatically over time (IMF,2000). It is the global challenge of the 21st Century to ensure that the fruits of development reach billions of people in developing countries, who still remain in poverty. Foreign capital flows have a major role to play in the process of economic development in the developing countries.

Figure 1: World Lorenz Curve 1900 and 2000:

Cumulative percent of world output

Cumulative percent of world population
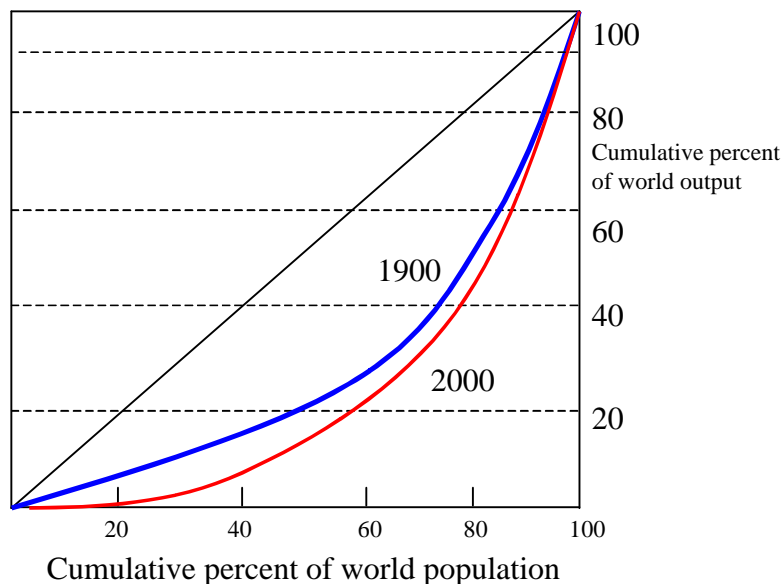
(Source: IMF, World Economic Outlook, 2000)

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Increasing global inequality is illustrated by the change in the world "Lorenz Curve" between the years 1900 and 2000 (based upon average income per capita in 42 countries) as depicted in Figure 1, above. The Gini coefficient - a measure of inequality, ranging from 0 (perfect equality) to 1 (complete inequality) - has risen from 0.40 to 0.48 between these two benchmark years (IMF, 2000).

Economic development can be regarded as a process of growth and change aimed at raising people's living standard and it involves growth in gross domestic product (GDP) and per capita income which is accompanied by fundamental changes in the structure of an economy (Smith, 1994). The rate of growth of economy and the per capita GDP has been the traditional way of measuring economic progress of a country.

Professor Simon Kuznet defined economic growth as "a long term rise in capacity to supply increasingly diverse economic goods to its population, this growing capacity based on advancing technology and the institutional and ideological adjustments that it demands"(Todaro, 1997).

According to Nobel Laureate Professor Amartya Sen , "It is partly a measure of the complexity of economic growth that the phenomenon of growth should remain, after three decades of intensive intellectual study, such an enigma. It is, however, also a reflection of our sense of values, particularly of the preoccupation with the brain-twisters. Part of the difficulty arises undoubtedly from the fact that the selection of topics for work in growth economics is guided much more by logical curiosity than by a taste for relevance. The character of the subject owes much to this fact."

Governments in some of the developing countries have been able to work towards the goal of improving the quality of life and have made considerable impact on the overall economic development in the developing countries. However, in some of the under developed countries inefficiency, rising fiscal deficits and mismanagement of the economy, has lead to the outcomes which are far below expectations. Far reaching developments in the global economy have us revisiting basic questions about government: what its role should be, what it can and cannot do and how best to do it. All these questions are closely related to the process of economic reforms and its impact on the economic development.

The investments made through the foreign capital inflows are essential to reach the projected growth rates in developing countries. If the gap between the savings and the required investment is not fulfilled through the foreign

capital inflows, the country will not be able to reach the projected growth rate. The matter is complicated further because of the existence of huge debts in case of many developing countries. Therefore, a sustained flow of foreign capital over a long period of time may be required to attain a reasonable level of economic development.

2.   Analysis of the trends in Economic Development

According to the World Development Report (1999-2000), "Fifty years of development experience have yielded four critical lessons. First, macroeconomic stability is an essential prerequisite for achieving the growth needed for development. Second, growth does not trickle down; development must address human needs directly. Third, no one policy will trigger development; a comprehensive approach is needed. Fourth, institutions matter; sustained development should be rooted in processes that are socially inclusive and responsive to changing circumstances".

a)   *Analysis of global trends in economic development :*

As a result of the technological revolution in the twentieth century, the quality of life has improved remarkably. The economic transformation of the world has been beyond our expectations. Global output almost tripled in the first half of the twentieth century and increased nine-fold in the second half, greatly outpacing population growth. However, the rising global prosperity, however, has not benefited all countries and regions, and the global distribution of income - measured by average in-comes across countries - remains very skewed (IMF, 2000). The growing inequalities in the levels of income and the economic development between the developed and developing nations is illustrated by Figure 1: World Lorenz Curve 1900 and 2000, earlier in this article.

Table 1: Global indicators: Growth of real GDP for the last three decades:

					Estimate	Forecast
	1966-73	1974-90	1991-98	1998	1999	1999-2008
World	5.2	3.0	2.5	1.9	2.6	3.1
High-income economies	5.0	2.8	2.3	2.0	2.6	2.6
Industrial	5.0	2.7	2.2	2.0	2.6	2.6
G-7	5.0	2.8	2.2	1.8	2.6	2.5
United States	3.2	2.7	3.0	3.9	3.8	2.8

					Estimate	Forecast
	1966-73	1974-90	1991-98	1998	1999	1999-2008
Japan	10.0	3.8	1.5	-2.9	1.3	1.7
G-4 Europe	4.4	2.3	1.7	2.2	1.6	2.6
Germany	4.3	2.0	1.8	2.0	1.3	2.6
Euro Area	5.0	2.3	1.7	2.7	2.0	2.8
Asian NIEs	9.6	8.1	6.0	1.8	3.6	5.4
Low- and middle-income economies	6.2	3.8	3.2	1.6	2.7	4.5
Asia	5.8	6.5	7.6	1.6	5.4	5.9
East Asia and Pacific	7.8	7.5	8.5	0.1	5.5	6.2
South Asia	3.6	5.0	5.9	5.2	5.4	5.2
Latin America and the Caribbean	6.2	2.6	3.6	2.1	-0.6	3.5
Russian Federation	6.6	5.2	-7.8	-4.6	1.0	n.a
Middle East and North Africa	7.8	1.4	2.9	3.2	2.0	3.4
Sub-Saharan Africa	4.5	2.1	2.8	2.4	2.3	3.4

(Source: World Bank, Global Economic Prospects and the Developing Countries, 2000)

World economic growth rate is now estimated to have reached 2.6 percent in 1999 compared with only 1.9 percent at the end of 1998. North America and the emerging market countries of Asia account for much of the stronger growth picture. The world growth projection for the year 2000 has been projected to around 3.1 per-cent. Table 1 indicates that the economic growth picking up in almost all regions of the world and the overall world economic condition have improved.

(b) Analysis of trends in economic development in Asia

In Asia, the growth rate was by 5.4 per-cent in 1999 as compared to 1.6 percent in 1998 on the back of strong export growth and a revival of domestic demand.

Table 2 : Selected Economic Indicators, Asia, (1997-2001)

				Forecast	
	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Gross domestic product (annual change)					
Developing Asia	6.0	2.3	6.2	6.2	6.0
Newly industrialized economies	5.7	-1.9	7.0	6.5	6.0
PRC and Mongolia	8.7	7.8	7.1	6.5	6.0
Central Asian republics	3.3	0.8	2.8	3.0	3.6
Southeast Asia	3.7	-7.5	3.2	4.6	5.0
South Asia	4.7	6.2	5.5	6.4	6.6
The Pacific	-3.2	1.2	4.4	n. a.	n. a.
Inflation (change in CPI) Developing Asia	4.3	5.5	1.6	3.0	3.3
Newly industrialized economies	3.5	3.9	-0.4	1.8	2.6
PRC and Mongolia	2.8	-0.8	-1.4	1.8	2.0
Central Asian republics	21.4	11.4	21.9	15.1	10.7
Southeast Asia	5.5	21.3	7.4	4.7	4.6
South Asia	5.6	7.1	4.1	5.0	5.4
The Pacific	3.9	9.9	10.4	n. a.	n. a.
Current account balance/GDP					
Developing Asia	0.5	4.1	3.8	1.5	0.5
Newly industrialized economies	1.6	9.3	6.4	3.7	2.4
PRC and Mongolia	3.3	3.0	1.2	-0.4	-0.9
Central Asian republics	-4.0	-4.5	-2.0	-2.4	-2.3
Southeast Asia	-3.4	7.0	7.6	3.3	0.8
South Asia	-1.4	-1.9	-2.2	-3.9	-3.0
The Pacific	-0.9	1.8	n. a.	n. a.	n. a.

(Source: Asian Development Bank, Asian Development Outlook, 2000)

Greater strength in the global economy and the dissipation of the contagion effects of the Asian crisis also contributed to the improved performance of developing countries. In growth, the Newly Industrialised Economies, China, and South Asian economies were the strongest performers among developing countries (Asian Development Bank, 2000).

The momentum of economic recovery in Asia has increased significantly in 1999, with economic growth exceeding by a wide margin than earlier expected in some countries. Among the crisis-hit countries, the growth has been strongest in Korea, where GDP increased by a remarkable 10½ percent in 1999, in Malaysia it was 5½ percent, and Thailand also grew solidly by 4¼ percent in 1999 (IMF, 2000).

The average economic growth was 5.8 per cent in the South Asian economies during the year 1999. But the policy reforms in the region need to be accelerated in a more stable environment, if South Asia is to reap gains from the current recovery in global conditions and sustain a rate of growth necessary to achieve significant progress in poverty reduction (World Bank, 2000a).

The economic success of some Asian countries (e.g., Republic of Korea, Malaysia, Thailand) is partly due to the close ties the region maintains with Japan, and to the continued flow of foreign direct investment which has helped to raise capacity and labour productivity (Asian Development Bank, 1992).

Is it possible to have rapid economic development without recourse to foreign capital flows?

During the last century some countries like Japan made rapid progress in economic development without much recourse to foreign capital flows. Most of the East Asian countries managed to achieve rapid economic growth from the 1960s to the 1990s without opening their capital accounts, and in the presence of tight regulation of their domestic financial markets. China and India are two low-income countries that have both significantly boosted their longer-term growth rates without opening their capital accounts to portfolio flows.

It may be possible to achieve rapid economic growth without dependence on foreign capital flows under certain circumstances:

1. Economic development could be financed by export earning growth, if the country's economy is export oriented and has sufficient foreign

earnings to support critical import needs, without the need for substantial foreign borrowing.

2. If the sustained export growth could be achieved with the help of open trade regimes and a policy to avoid overvaluation of the national currency, the foreign exchange earnings through exports, could support the development process.

3. By fostering the efficient development of domestic financial markets, government can promote a high rate of domestic savings and use those savings to finance high rates of investment. Systematic and efficient development of financial markets will include measures to regulate the financial institutions, maintaining positive real interest rates, decreasing the fiscal deficit, reducing public sector borrowings, and maintaining high rates of growth.

4. The markets, technological advancement and skills from foreign countries could be accessed, without the pitfalls of capital market volatility or the systemic financial risks of open capital accounts, by maintaining open-door policies toward foreign direct investments.

Moreover, the risks of externally induced financial crisis are increased in the economies with open door policies to foreign capital flows. The effect of Asian Financial Crisis (during 1997-1998) on India was limited as because of its relative restrictions on private foreign capital flows during that time. India has continued to achieve high rate of growth during this period.
(Source: World Bank, Global Development Finance 2000, World Bank, Washington, D.C.)

However, the economic prosperity in Asia, was at least temporarily jolted by the financial crisis, which precipitated due overheating of the economy, pegged exchange rate regimes and weak financial management systems.

The economic development in the East Asian economies were severely effected by the financial crisis of 1997-98. But there has been speedy recovery due to the timely intervention by governments in these countries (e.g. Malaysia) through right kind of macroeconomic policies. The average economic growth in the region was 5.8 per cent in 1999, in comparison to a poor performance of -7.9 percent during 1998. Growth was accelerated initially by advances in the exports, but broadened in the second half of the year as consumer demand picked-up momentum and the re-building of depleted inventories weighed in to buttress growth (World Bank, 2000a).

b) Analysis of trends in economic development in China, India and Malaysia

Encouraging outcomes are reflected in the strong economic growth in China and India, which together account for about 50 percent of the population in developing countries and which had per capita growth rates of 7 percent and 2 ¼ percent, respectively over the 1970-98 period (IMF, 2000).

Figure 2: Trends of the Economic Growth in China (1970-1999)
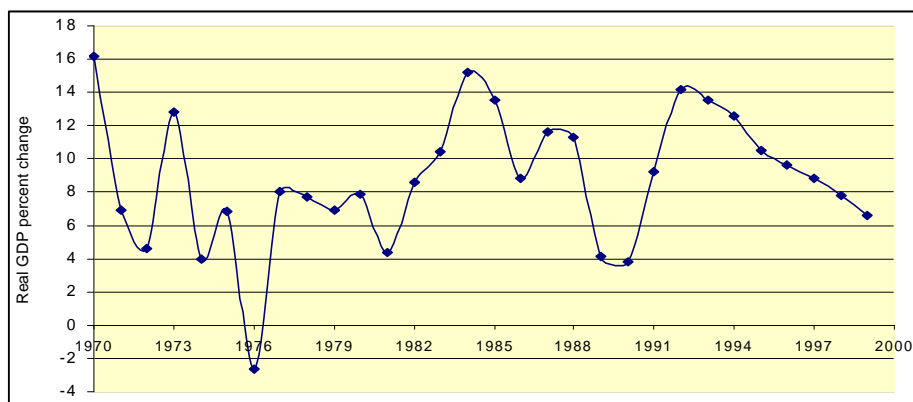
(Source of data: IMF Database: www.inf.org)

China's economy has experienced a strongly cyclical pattern of growth, with periodic episodes of overheating and inflation followed by contractionary policies leading to sharp declines in growth (World Bank, 1996). The cyclical pattern is illustrated by the above graph Figure.2. The economic growth picked-up during the early years of 1990s, reaching a peak of 14 percent in 1993, as a result of the sustained economic reforms. But since then the economic growth has declined steadily, may be due to various internal factors (like political uncertainties) and external factors (like the Asian Financial Crisis).

Unemployment is source of major concern in the Chinese economy in the recent years. Creating an economic environment to facilitate overall development will require employment-friendly growth to reorient employment strategy in three directions: (a) from large enterprises to small and medium-size enterprises, (b) from industry to the tertiary sector, and (c) from state owned enterprises to small and medium-size enterprises and owner-operated businesses in the private sector (Asian Development Bank, 1992).

Figure 3: Trends of the Economic Growth in India (1970-1999)
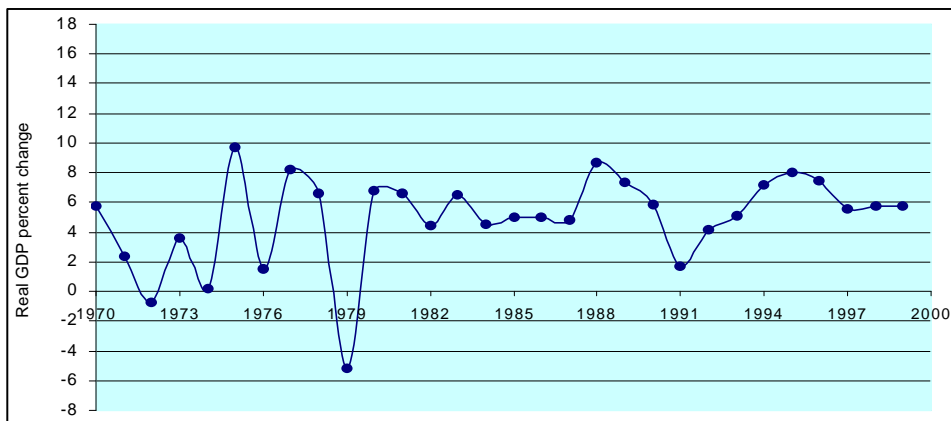
(Source of data : IMF Database: www.inf.org)

India has been amongst the fastest-growing economies in the world over the last two decades. The country has achieved significant improvements in economic growth, literacy, mortality, and poverty rates and the deft handling of monetary policy has helped India to successfully weather the Asian crisis, while maintaining low inflation and a comfortable external position (IMF, 2000). The economic growth increased rapidly during the period 1991-95. Although the growth declined in 1996-97, it has started picking up again in the last two years.

The economic recovery that started at the end of 1998 continued in 1999, but at a slightly slower pace because of less growth in agriculture due to below-normal monsoon in some areas and serious damage from a cyclone that hit the Orissa coast in October 1999 (Asian Development Bank, 2000). India's economic growth in recent years is attributed to several factors like stable political situation, power sector reforms, privatization of public sector, opening of the insurance sector to domestic and foreign investors, reduction of oil subsidies, introduction of new value added tax and other progressive measures (World Bank, 2000a).

Although India's economy has registered impressive growth in recent years, the overall economic development has not been very impressive in last three decades, which is reflected in low per capita GDP (US $ 429.55, in 1998) and high incidence of poverty (52.5 percent population below poverty).

Malaysia was one of the most effected countries by the Asian financial

crisis in 1997-98. Since then it had made speedy recovery as result of the measures taken by the government. During the period 1988 to 1996, it had achieved remarkable economic growth and stood as an example for the other developing nations to follow. Malaysia's open door policy towards the foreign investors, liberalized trade regimes, export oriented industries and overall macroeconomic stability are believed to be the reasons for the country's success. However, the economic progress was at least temporarily, halted as a resulted of the financial crisis during late 1990s.

Figure 4: Trends of the Economic Growth in Malaysia (1970-1999)
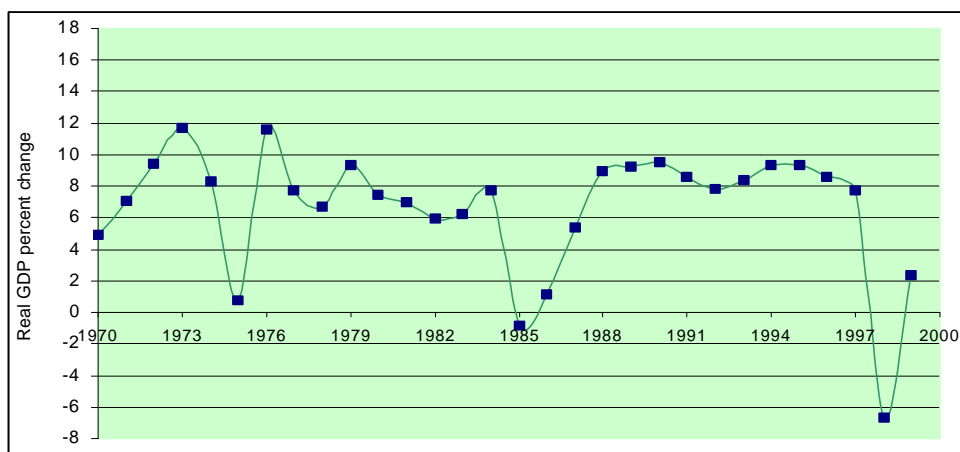
(Source of the data: IMF Database: www.imf.org)

As result of the government intervention with correct policy measures, the economy achieved a robust recovery in 1999, with real GDP expanding by 5.4 percent after having contracted by 7.5 percent in 1998 and the most of the positive signs of economic growth came from greater external demand for manufactured goods and a rise in consumer confidence, as reflected in increased passenger car sales, sales tax receipts, and imports of consumer goods (Asian Development Bank, 2000).

Malaysia has an impressive record of economic development with high per capita GDP of US $ 3411.25 in 1998 , and low incidence of poverty 5.6 percent . The literacy rate is also quite high at 83 percent. Malaysia has been one of the success stories, which other developing nations are trying to follow. Progressive economic policies, export orientated growth and successful economic management are some of the attributes of success in this country.

4.   Changing pattern of foreign capital flows for developing countries

During the 1970s & 1980s the external finance to developing countries traditionally came in the form of official development assistance, commercial bank lending, aid, and loans. Foreign Direct Investment constituted a very small part of the external finance.

In 1974 the OPEC countries quadrupled the price of oil which created an enormous surplus funds for oil exporting countries and there was a necessity to recycle these surplus petrodollars to oil importing countries so that these countries could maintain oil and other import levels assuring sustainable levels of production and economic activity (Eng, et al. 1997). Commercial bank loans to developing countries were funded by these petrodollars. The claims of American banks on Asian countries in 1992 was around US $ 126 billions.

There was a rapid growth in the commercial bank lending to developing countries in 1970s and early part of 1980s. In 1982 the share of commercial bank lending in total net capital flows to developing countries was 35 percent; a decade later, it had fallen to only 3 percent in 1992. Commercial bank lending to developing countries is now confined largely to trade and project finance rather than general balance of payment finance (World Bank,1993).

According to Das (1993), "When measured in terms of net or gross capital flows, the degree of integration of developing countries in the international financial system was less at the end of the 1980s than at the beginning. This was the result of the development of the debt crisis and the resultant reappraisal of the risks involved in the bank lending to the public sectors in the highly indebted LDCs. The spontaneous flows have declined and remained to the developing countries that have not restructured their debt in the recent past".

Countries borrowing unwisely and commercial banks lending unwisely, without taking into account the risk factors associated with economic performance and financial position is one of the primary reasons for the debt crisis (Kitchen, 1993). The interest payments on the debt had risen to such higher proportion that developing countries were unable to service their debt. The starting of debt crisis in 1982, with Mexico's declaration of inability to meet debt repayment changed the scenario for commercial bank lending. The commercial bank lending has reduced dramatically since then as illustrated below in Table 4, on the next page.

Table 4 : Aggregate Long-term net resource flows (in billions of US dollars) to developing countries, 1980-89:

Component	1980	1986	1989
1. Net flows	82.8	51.2	63.3
2. Official grants	12.5	14.0	18.6
3. Official loans	20.1	19.6	18.0
4. Private flows (net)	50.2	17.6	26.7
(a) Private loans	41.1	8.1	4.3
(b) Foreign Direct Investment	9.1	9.5	22.4

(Source: World Bank, World Development Report 1991)

Figures in Table 4 clearly demonstrate that the private loans to developing countries decreased drastically by ninety per cent, within a period of nine years during the 1980's decade (from US $ 41.1 billion in 1980 to US $ 4.1 billion in 1989). As explained earlier, this is the most visible consequence of debt crisis on the foreign capital flows for the developing countries. On the other hand it is interesting to note (in Table 4) that the foreign direct investment (FDI) has more than doubled during these nine years (from US $ 9.1 billion in 1980 to US $ 22.4 billion in 1989). So the trends in private capital flows to developing started changing from debt to equity finance from the 1980s decade.

Between 1983 and 1989, FDI worldwide increased at a rate of 29 percent per annum, i.e. three times the rate of expansion of world exports and four times the rate of growth of world GDP, and by 1989, the total stock of FDI stood at approximately US $ 1.5 trillion (Asian Development Bank, 1992). Developing countries have benefited immensely from this trend, specially the Asian countries. The share of Asian countries in the total FDI inflows to developing countries have increased steadily, as demonstrated by the Figure 5.

Figure 5 : Share of Asia in Foreign Direct Investment in Developing Countries:

The net long-term flows to developing countries totaled US $ 291 billions in 1999, down by US $ 28 billion from the year 1998, which has occurred due to the financial crisis; sharp decline in private debt and portfolio investment flows accounted for virtually all of this decline (World Bank, 2000a).
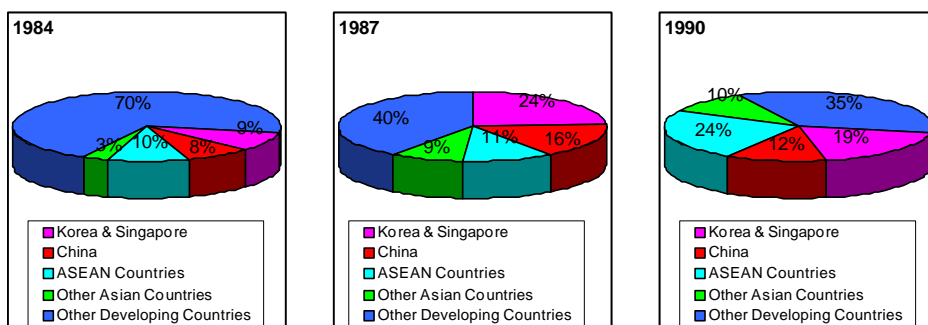
(Source: Asian Development Bank, Asian Development Outlook 1992)

As a result of economic reforms (which have brought about significant changes in the developing economies) the structure of the foreign capital flows have changed from debt to equity financing and from bank loans to private sources of finance as described earlier. The composition of private capital flows has been changing during the 1990s, with the growing importance of foreign direct investment, as illustrated below in Figure 6 (with the example of East Asian countries).

Figure 6 : Changing composition of Private Capital Flows in East Asia
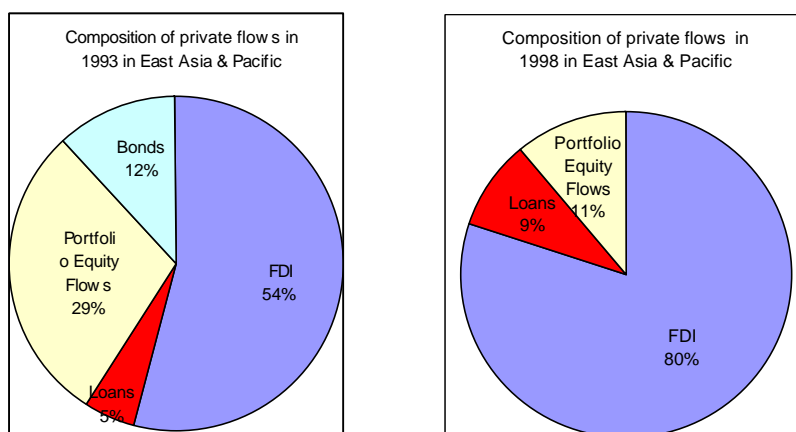
(Source: World Bank, Global Development Finance, 1999)

In the new global economic environment, the foreign direct investment is expected to play a crucial role in the economic development of the developing countries.

5.   Conclusion

The developing countries do not generate adequate domestic savings to finance their economic development. As a result, developing countries have

been dependent on foreign capital flows to accelerate their development process. In the 1970s and early eighties capital flows to developing countries were mainly in the form of commercial bank loans and official development assistance. However, after the debt crisis the private loans have decreased dramatically.

The encouraging development has been the growth in foreign direct investment flows to developing countries. The patterns of foreign capital flows are fast changing. In a world characterized by a new pattern of foreign capital flows, international portfolio diversification and growing integration of financial markets, developing countries need to create an appropriate economic environment to attract foreign direct investment.

According to Nobel Laureate, Professor Amartya Sen , "The 20th-century has seen many radical changes in Asia, and while different parts of the region have taken very different political, economic and social routes, Asia has been moving fast throughout the century. It is hard to imagine that radical change will not continue in Asia with similar rapidity".

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The District Magistrate and the Police: A Thorny Problem of District Administration

.... Prof. S.R. Maheshwari*

The police is an essential institution in the society, for without it the society would just crumble and collapse. Yet the sad fact is that the police enjoys a very poor image in India. This is true not only for today, but was relevant even earlier. As early as 1854 the Torture Commission bluntly commented on the quality of the police: 'The whole police is underpaid, notoriously corrupt, and without any of the normal restraint and self-respect which education ordinarily engenders'. It approvingly quoted the following report:

> *'The police establishment has become the bane and pest of society, the terror of the community, and the origin of half the misery and discontent that exist among the subjects of Government. Corruption and bribery reign paramount through the whole establishment; violence, torture and the cruelty are their chief instruments for detecting crime, implicating innocence or extorting money*[1].

Among remedies the commission recommended, it emphasized the need for more European officials in the districts who, being naturally familiar with the western concepts of governance, would apply them in administration in India.

The East India Company when it was assuming power of governance over India was confronted with a system of policing which was in great disorder. The police system has evolved through a process of trial and error. Even in the early days of the East India Company the district was recognized as the unit of administration and the officer in charge of the district combined the functions of revenue collection, administration of the police and justice. But Lord Cornwallis separated the functions of revenue on one side and the administration of police and justice, and the latter task was entrusted to an officer called the 'Judge Magistrate'. This bifurcated system operated between 1838 and 1845 when the collector looked after revenue administration only and the Judge-Magistrate was entrusted with general administration including

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[1] Quoted in Sir Percival Griffeths: The History of Indian Police, London, Ernest Benn,1971, p80.

the maintenance of law and order and administration of lower criminal justice.

The next development was the appointment of an autonomous commissioner of Police in 1858 based on the proposal of W.W. Robinson who was also invited to submit a detailed scheme. Before the proposal could fructify, Sir Charles Trevelyan, Governor of Madras decided to place the Superintendent of Police under orders of the District Magistrate. It was largely on Sir Trevalyan's philosophy that the Police Act of 1861 institutionalizing this relationship was passed.

The Police Act of 1861 places the law and order administration in a district under the Superintendent of Police. He is made responsible for the discipline and internal management of the police force and is the subordinate of the district magistrate in all matters connected with the preservation of peace. It has been a British principle of administration to associate the magistracy with revenue administration. One thus sees that revenue officers who are in charge of district, sub-district or talukas are also endowed with magisterial functions and power. So the district collector is responsible for the collection of land revenue within his area and he is entrusted with magisterial work also. As such he is called the district magistrate. The tehsildar also carries out magisterial work, though of lesser gravity

In 1854, Madras appointed the Torture Commission to investigate the alleged practice of torture by native police officials. The Commission recommended:

'Police, we consider, do involve a duty entirely distinct from the magisterial. It is to all intents and purposes in its nature executive and although not absolutely incompatible with that of a magistrate, it had better be kept separate for it necessarily involves acts against appeals which should be open to the magistrates. The arrangements calculated for the prevention, next the detection of crime and the apprehension of criminals, we conceive the proper duties of police; the trial and punishment are the duties of magistrates and the court of circuit in their respective gradation.'

The Torture Commission further recommended the appointment of a superintendent of police in each district and this functionary should give undivided time and energies exclusively to the control and supervision of the police force. As said earlier, this recommendation could not be implemented because of Sir Charles Trevalyan's intervention. The Torture Commission was superseded.

One may thus see even at the risk of repetition that police administration

in India does not confer absolute functional autonomy on the superintendent of police in the matter of maintenance of law and order in the district. The Indian Police Act, 1861 expressly obliges this functionary to discharge his responsibility relating to law and order under the supervision of the district magistrate. This arrangement introduces a dyarchy of administration in relation to law and order maintenance. It is a case of dual control: general functional control by the district magistrate, and administrative, technical, financial, professional and organizational control of the police hierarchy comprising director-general of police and others. Magistracy, be it noted, does not control the internal working of the district level police as such. But the superintendent of police is not autonomous in the exercise of his discretion when faced with unruly crowds in the streets; he is put under the control of the district magistrate. The police powers exercisable by the magistracy flow from the Criminal Procedure Code and may be enumerated below [2] :

1)   To apprehend persons committing offenses in their presence.
2)   To order police to investigate non-congnisable cases.
3)   To issue warrants of arrest.
4)   To remand prisoners to custody.
5)   To hold inquests.
6)   To direct house searches and searches of persons.
7)   To approve final reports.
8)   To enquire into police excesses.

One must note that some of these functions have been withdrawn since the eighties but some still remain vested in the functionary.

A view exists that internal security should become the exclusive responsibility of the superintendent of police subject to direction by his own state police hierarchy. Three arguments are advanced in support of this view.

1.   Whatever regulations may say, the district collector does not exercise active control over law and order administration in his district. His hands are far too busy to give the kind of personal attention that his predecessor during the colonial times once did. The collector gets involved in law and order situation only when things have already gone too far, when violence has already broken out in the town. These days

[2] See J.D. Shukla: State and District Administration in India,New Delhi, National
Publishing

he is immersed in developmental activities which is his primary concern. Nor is the collector's heart really located in his district: he dreams of his postings in the secretariat. To sum up, there is thus little that he can contribute towards law and order administration except delay. In bigger cities, traffic problem has become quite serious demanding swift action. The district magistrate has little to contribute in this field.

2. Work relating to law and order requires specialized knowledge, training and experience which the superintendent of police alone possesses. The collector is an amateur though he may be gifted.

3. If the police knows that it is the sole custodian of law and order in the district and does not share it with the district collector who, at any rate, is ill-prepared for this task, its performance would surely improve. It is widely known that law and order administration is much better in cities having the commissonerate system possessing exclusive police responsibility in matters of internal security.

Law and order administration, the other view contends, must not be seen in isolation from other problems. The collector is imbued with a larger perspective because of his vantage point and contacts with other facets of district life. He sees law and order problems as but one part of human response system. There is unity of district problems and this should be borne in mind. The collector, because of his generalist back ground, possesses a synoptic view of district problems. Law and order, for instance, is linked with rapid social change, which has a particular force in a third world country. The collector is better placed to perceive such subtle connections.

Even otherwise, those who have monopoly over the use of instruments of violence must be subjected to external civilian control. This is to avoid arbitrariness of action by the police or excessive use of force by it. The police must be subjected to some external control. Additionally, police is universally distrusted in India. As Bayley observes 'The collector is a visible promise to the public that independent civilian control over the police still exists and at a level they can contact[3]'. If the collector is divested of his responsibility towards internal security, the citizen view that police is a closed corporation gets further confirmed as the level of effective intervention gets further removed from the district and gets located in the distant state capital. The case for making the district collector the district magistrate and putting

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[3] David H. Bayley: The Police and Political Development in India, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1969, p. 355

the police under his control is justified on several grounds, the chief among them being following:

1. The collection of land revenue, which is the responsibility of the district collector since beginning, needs force at the disposal of the latter. The arrangement provides this.

2. The training imparted to a generalist service equips the district collector better to take broader views of the law and order problems.

3. The British philosophy underlying Indian public administration is to maintain unity of direction and command in the district. That is, all public functionaries in the district must come under the control of the district collector.

4. The police force, which necessarily deals with the use of arms, is apt to become rigid and there is a need for the restraining, liberalizing influence of a non-technical district collector. The district magistrate acts as a shock-absorber. The arrangement makes the latter a cushion to counteract possible police excesses in situations of vulnerability. But this aspect needs a more detailed discussion.

5. A combination of magisterial and executive powers is of considerable advantage during emergencies when law and order has broken down or widespread riots have occurred. These are not rare situations in a developing society.

6. District magistrate acts as 'connecting link' between the magistracy and the police.

Because the district collector is vested with the power of the magistracy he has retained formal responsibility for the maintenance of law and order. The Police Commission of 1861 established the principle that police in each district were to be under the 'general control and direction' of the district magistrate. Section 4 of the Act reads as follows: 'The administration of the police throughout the local jurisdiction of the magistrate of the district shall, under the general control and direction of such magistrate, be vested in a district superintendent as the local government shall consider it necessary.' As the district magistrate is responsible for law and order he had to have authority to direct the police. But the police is autonomous with respect to its own internal administration. The superintendent of police is responsible to the district magistrate for what the police does relating to law and order. At the same time he is responsible to his hierarchically superior officers for

the internal management of the police establishment. This is, as said earlier, dual control or dyarchy in administration.

The relation between the superintendent of police and district collector was always special, according to David H. Bayley (The Police and Political Development in India, 1969). Bayley asserts: 'They (the superintendent of police and collector) were not exactly superior-subordinate, but not quite equal either. In the rubric that has developed, the superintendent of police was a colleague of the collector but not the subordinate'.

The Police Commission of 1902-03 lent its support to this principle governing this relation between the two but pointed out that the friction between the two had been encountered even during the colonial period; David Bayley says: 'The relationship (between the two) was inordinately difficult to define in hard and fast terms. It was amorphous and in practice reflected the opinions and personality of different Collectors'. Bayley continues: 'Some collectors did think of their superintendents as colleagues; others conveniently forgot and treated them as narrow-minded advisers fit only for a limited charge'. He concludes: 'Beneath coherence of descriptive terminology there exists a wide variety of operational solutions and these in turn have created a considerable amount of animosity, and inexpediency in the utilization of the police[4]'. S.K. Ghosh who belonged to the Indian Police, dwelt on the magistracy of the British days. The district magistrate functioned as chief executive in the district administrative set up and over a period of time, he came to assume a role of authority, command and control over the discharge of police functions within the district. The district magistrate remained responsible for everything that happened in his district; the superintendent of police was responsible for the discipline of his force. The district magistrate was his director in matters of wide policy, not his superior'[5].

During the British period, both the superintendent of police and the district collector played the game in a cultured and mature way. If there was a difference or problem, enough generosity existed to sort that out. If however a difference was not resolved at their level, both were transferred out so that the district administration did not suffer. Ordinarily, there was better understanding between the two. If there was an emergency or riot both the district magistrate and the superintendent of police visited the scene and the

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[4]   David H. Bayley: The Police and Political Development in India, Princeton, Princeton University, Press,1969 p35

[5]   S.K. Ghosh: Keeping The Peace : For When the Bell Tolls, New Delhi, Ashish Publishing House, 1989, p115

necessary action after mutual consultation was taken. The DM and SP remained stationed at the Kotwali; and not at their houses. Both went round together to see for themselves what was happening. The ICS and the Indian Police were the two arms of the government and they must act unitedly. This motivated the behaviour of the services. Nevertheless, tension marked the relationship between these two functionaries even at that time. Philip Woodruff, the celebrated author of 'The Men Who Ruled India,' listed the qualities of a good superintendent of police, one of these being that 'he must be something of a diplomat to live beside the district magistrate'. He concluded 'Altogether, it was arrangement peculiarly English which worked on the whole very well. When there was pettiness or spite on one side, things were difficult, but usually there was enough generosity on the other side to make up for it' [6].

Independence of the country in 1947 changed the equation and relation between the two is rather strained. S.K. Ghosh, himself a police officer belonging to the Indian Police, testifies to strained relationship between the district magistrate and the police. Ghosh in 1991 writes:' The police are reluctant to open fire to disperse a violent mob as they not sure if DM's support would be available. There is no trust if the DM would not go back upon the verbal instructions given by him to the SP to deal with a situation as happened during the emergency (1975-77) and highlighted in the Shah Commission report. The position today is that the SP acts only on written instructions.' This condition is not conducive to administrative harmony in the district.

Today, the relationship between the magistracy and the superintendent of police is marked by several irritants:

1. The practice requiring the district collector to write confidential reports on character, performance and fitness of the superintendent of police.

2. The district collector sometimes inspects the police stations without the approval of the superintendent of police.

3. The SP is required to inform the collector in advance of his movements away from headquarters.

4. The Collector countersigns the SP's travel allowance.

5. The Collector is entrusted with the power to approve the postings of station house officers.

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[6] The Men who Ruled India, Vol II; The Guardians,p53.

6.   The SP submits to the Collector police plans and dispositions for emergencies.

The role ambiguity involved in the present arrangement needs to be resolved and the primacy of the criminal administration in India re-established. The police laws and regulations unambiguously clarify and emphasize the district collector's superior role though in some parts of the country his position may be slightly different. The district magistrate's authority is well-established in older Bengal, Madras and Bombay. But his authority over the police may be somewhat weaker in U.P. and Punjab. The reasons for such variations lie in history. But the central fact everywhere is that the district magistrate is head of the criminal administration.

Commissionerate System

But the colonial power did not introduce the system of dual control everywhere in India. The British introduced the commissionerate system of police administration in the presidency towns, namely Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Since Independence, several other larger cities like Hyderabad, Nagpur, Poona, Bangalore, Ahmedabad, Delhi etc. have been converted into commissionerate system of police administration and this system has been discovered to be quite different wherever it has been introduced. The National Police Commission (Dharamvir) observes: 'The Commissioner is vested with powers of regulation, control, licensing etc in addition to the usual police powers. An operationally autonomous police force functioning under professional command is as responsible and accountable to the Government, the legislature, the press and the public as the district police force under the district magistrate.' The Commission concludes: 'All that happens is that the police function under their own professional leadership and this leadership is in turn accountable to the Government and the various other forums in our democratic society.[7] An argument against the commissionerate system could be that in it the prosecutor and the judge are the same. This is a valid fear. But it must be remembered that since 1982 when the commissioner system was first introduced in Delhi, only in a couple of cases the decisions of executive magistrates been questioned in the higher courts. This proves that the fear is basically false. The commissioner system does away with multiplicity of authorities by making the police accountable to the Lieutenant government. In commissonerate cities, the commissioner of police is the head of the force and is not placed under any outside magisterial authority. In Calcutta, he functions independent of the state's director-general of police

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[7]   Sixth Report of the National Police Commission, 1981, p39

though in other states he is placed under the latter's control. In Delhi, the commissioner of police is under the control of the Ministry of Home Affairs. He is endowed with all the regulatory and licensing powers under various legal enactments which otherwise are exercised by the district magistrate in a district.

Policing has today become a highly professional and special job and the years to come are to see an intensification of this process. In the Commissionerate system of policing the responsibility for all aspects of policing vests in the commissionerate and the accountability for adequate performance rests with him. In metropolitan and other large size cities, the police officers have necessarily to deal with different aspects of policing. The commissionerate system marks a district move towards professionalism in the police, which is welcome. There is a general view that the commissionerate system should be extended to all metropolitan cities. The system ensures functional autonomy leading to prompt and coordinated police action in response to crime and disorder. Urban areas are peculiarly prone to problems arising out of social tensions, more opportunities for crime and the occasionally spontaneous explosions of law and order situations. These call for extremely quick response from the police at the operational levels and precise, comprehensive and prompt directions from the top. Quick action is an imperative of the situation, which is ensured when the police is organized in unitary chain of command which embraces the two basic functions of decision-making and implementation. The National Police Commission (Dharamvir), therefore, recommended that in large cities that is, those with a population of 5 lakhs and above and even in places where there may be special reasons like speedy urbanization, industrialization etc. the system of police commissionerates should be introduced. The police commissioner should have complete authority over his force and should be functionally autonomous'. But at the same time, he should be answerable to the state government through the director-general of police.

The commissionerate system of police administration is recommend only for metropolitan and perhaps capital cities faced as they are with peculiar problems of urbanization. But for the rest of the country the police must not be left completely free and uncontrolled and it would be unwise to keep it deprived of the district magistrate in the management of the district police. This arrangement makes the former a cushion to counter act the possible police excesses in situations of vulnerability. Non-metropolitan and non-capital areas of the country suffer from inadequacy if not absence of watch dog organisations which are perceptibly vocal in urban centers. They cannot

boast of possessing a network of mass media or non-governmental agencies. Nor is the middle class viable enough to keep a vigil over those enjoying monopoly over the instruments of violence. This calls for subjecting the district police to supervision by an extra-departmental agency. And the choice inevitably falls on the district collector. This functionary must be mature and experienced.

The police image in India is not very endearing, to put it mildly. Citizens' complaints against it are numerous and relate to police in action, non-registration of first information reports, partisan attitude of police officials, registration of false cases, corruption, custodial torture, rape and other acts of misbehaviour and abuse of police power. These are among the chronic infirmities of the police calling for an effective mechanism of surveillance and control over it. Who is to police the police is an eternal dilemma of a civil society. The present day magistracy is not the role model for effective policing. To curb the police high handedness, oversee its functioning and hear citizen complaints the constitution of a state level multi-member police board is suggested. Equally necessary is the need for regular interaction between the police, the executive and the judiciary, which will enable better understanding of the point of view of each wing of the state. More than the type of police administration ideal for India is the question of quality of the district level public functionaries including the police superintendent and the district magistrate. Law and order administration does not rest merely on the system of policing. Today's climate which is patently crime friendly must have to be radically changed.

Cutting Edge Level Official - Non-Official Relations And Managing Human Factors

.... Dr. Yogananda Sastry Chaturvedi*

Pursuant to the 73rd constitutional amendment making it mandatory on part of every state to constitute an election commission, a finance commission and holding elections to local bodies, certain problems of role incongruence and ego rupture are causing concern. In the process of devolution of powers these human factors are likely to be potential clots in the delivery system which may endanger the survival of the cutting edge institutions. The triangle of the official the elected representative and the banker are also leading to triangulation of the problem. Hence, certain issues of immediate concern are identified and solutions suggested. Though these may not be the only solution, they appear to be the nearest possible. The ultimate goal is safe and smooth handing over of the reins to peoples institutions and where needed the official interventions in terms of providing orientation to govern.

There cannot be two opinions about the electrifying impact of the 73rd constitutional amendment in the body politic at the grassroot level which hitherto was not the case despite several committees attempting to provide impetus to the movement for achievement of decentralized governance. In the context of tackling and managing better the poverty alleviation efforts, participation of peoples institutions became necessary to achieve equity with social justice and devolving decision making to collective thinking in a participative model became the vehicle for achievement of that goal. Structures created for planning and implementation of poverty alleviation programmes at district and sub district levels form one angle of the triangle, the peoples' institutions at Zilla Parishad and other two levels constitute the other angle and the financial institutions viz the public sector banks constitute the third angle resulting in triangulation of the problem. At the block (Panchayat Samithi) level the block development officer, the Samiti Chief and the Bank Manager constitute the three podia of the tripod in the delivery

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system. These three also form the triangle and each angle is supposed to play a supplementary and complimentary role to the other two.

While the guide lines issued by the Govt. of India constitute the thumb rule for the official machinery, popularity and gaining political mileage are the foci of the elected representatives, the banker has the interest in playing safe with public funds ensuring prevention of mis-utilization and default. Thus the situation becomes more dynamic with the beneficiary occupying a vantage position expected to shoulder responsibility for the up keep of asset as also prompt repayment of loan at the same time being burdened with one's own pressures and pulls, either enabling success of the scheme or defeating the very purpose of the programme.

In order to build in transparency and accountability into the transactions and programme cycle, guide lines issued from time to time insist on holding of gramsabha and primacy is accorded to views of people's group decision. This is hoped in the long run to give birth to group accountability and responsibility inculcating altruism, sincerity, honesty and sagacity among the officials and non-officials alike. Some of the human factors playing crucial role in this process are discussed below.

1. While officials are rule bound, non-officials are issues bound.

- *Desirable to orient the non-officials with the procedures and rule position and act in that frame without hurting the ego.*

2. Officials are supposed to have respect for rule of law though it need not always be the case with non-officials.

- *Attempt to inculcate respect for rule of law among the elected representatives.*

3. Tenure and job of officials is secure while uncertainty prevails - hence the rush to buttress their interests.

- *Not easy to provide an answer. However behaviour during one term determines continuation or termination. Hence advised to be on guard.*

4. For officials, formal and prescribed educational qualifications are imperative and induction, refresher and frequent interval training is a part of the system while for non-officials, formal educational qualification is prescribed and training provided is occasional and theme based.

- *On getting elected, the induction and refresher programmes during tenure can solve the problem to some extent and orienting to rule and role can defuse tensions.*

5.   Officials are birds of passage and hence are not expected to have vested interests or become stakeholders. The non-officials are the 'sons-of-soil', the stakeholders and have vested interests not just in securing yet another term of office but also ensure dynastic succession to the extent possible.

-    *Not much can be done unless political career is made yet another profession using panchayat as the foundation and super structures like samiti, Z.P, Legislative assembly and elevation to parliament are built into career development. A stage should be gradually reached when serving in the PR tiers and legislative assembly becomes pre-requisites for contesting elections for parliament positions. No doubt minimum educational qualifications, absence of criminal history, impeccable integrity and honesty and record of service and sacrifice enhance the prestige of the Parliament.*

6.   Officials at every level are advised to maintain distance from public mainly to remove scope for subjectivity in dealings and turning into stakeholders. The non-officials cannot deny accessibility to public for their own survival in political arena.

-    *A little more public contact during the Gramsabha can be built in to explain the rule position and other details of the development and welfare activities the officials are responsible to implement. More particularly, sharing the platform with non-officials goes a long way in image building and maintaining transparency.*

7.   The officials bear the stigma that they respect the public opinion the least or minimum unless it involves blame of hanky-panky deals. The non-officials have public opinion as their lifeline since loss of image in public seals the future and steals the present.

-    *It would be advisable to cultivate the trait of respecting the public opinion. This would go a long way in projecting their image as service oriented and dedicated workers.*

8.   Accountability vis-à-vis the financial management is unlimited. It can either bring a garland or a noose round the neck of the official while it is not the case with non-official.

-    *May be some constitutional amendments to build in joint responsibility can be thought of to restrain the non-official from making fraudulent manoeuvres and protecting the official from the coercive forces.*

9. The official is blamed for formal approach and officious behaviour in (i) observing timings, (ii) don't care appearance and (iii) 'answerable only to my line department', utterances; while the non-official cannot afford to be formal and should be accessible to one and all in his/her operational area round the clock.

-   *The unfolding of poverty alleviation programmes diluted the formal stiff-neck and frozen-behaviour of officials and facilitated thawing, leading to reaching out.*

10. The official bears the blame of less service orientation due to several reasons, a few being a) job security, b) promotional avenues, c) assured income and d) congenial service conditions and the demands being prescribed in the job chart. The non-official in public life has no option but be available on call to meet any situation.

-   *By strictly adhering to the job chart and rule book besides socializing the blame gets absolved. More frequent tours and holding Gramsabha meetings may solve the problem.*

11. Gender equality is not recognized both by officials and non-officials. For achieving this, efforts should be made.

-   *Public behaviour in a more disciplined and with self-restraint would absolve them of the blemish of discrimination.*

12. Gender discrimination and non-cooperation from other colleagues and subordinates is a problem experienced by women officials at the Block/Mandal Development office.

-   *Each official should evolve a personal strategy to maintain better interpersonal relations basing on their own strengths and weaknesses. The non-officials also may take this clue in helping achievement of the organizational goals.*

13. Owing to the bifurcation of the erstwhile blocks into smaller segments of Mandals, some mandals are still clamouring for basic infrastructure facilities and transport is shared between two mandals. Most of the women BDOs/MPDOs are posted at the mandals which are still to be developed in terms of infrastructure facilities. The non-officials who share responsibility to develop the jurisdiction also face the same problems.

-   *Solution may lie in negotiating for development of infrastructure more*

particularly at places where women are posted to help improvement in their mobility. They should least depend upon nobility of any body for their mobility.

14. Training is never a one time affair. It is upgradation of knowledge and skills as also an attempt to bring about attitude and behaviour change. With several different types of programmes ushered in or with frequent changes brought in polices and guidelines besides thrust on decentralized governance gaining momentum more frequent orientation programmes become imperative.

- *Solution may lie in more frequent interface sessions between officials, non-officials, bankers, NGOs and target groups for facilitating inculcation of ability to empathise with the conditions of others engaged in rural development.*

15. One of the root causes of indiscipline is demonstration of scant respect for timings by one and all. Either people are irregular, absent for duty on flimsy grounds, too late to arrive and /or too anxious to leave early for home. The non-officials are not bound by timings.

- *The official heading the organization may attempt to set an example in reaching the office earlier than the scheduled time. When boss reaches early and gets known for disciplined behaviour, the boss gets a right to question and correct others. The public also keeps a vigilant eye on the functioning and it is only the disciplined behaviour that begets good reputation.*

16. Irrespective of the busy schedule, the MPDOs need to convene the committee meetings more frequently and at regular intervals enlisting active participation of the non-officials, bankers and the public.

- *This helps in achieving transparency and achievement of objectives.*

17. One of the likely impediments in image building is the absence of awareness of job chart. This also holds good in drawing a line between the functioning of the officials and non-officials in establishing role clarity.

- *At the induction level job expectations need to be made clear to prevent role incongruence and erosion. The non-officials when starting work pursuant to getting elected need special familiarization to their constitutional role vis a vis the officials setting the limits and lines of control. This saves lot of dirty water flowing down the bridge of*

relationship. Particularly the items in the eleventh schedule need to be the focus of familiarization process.

18. The officials need to build trust not only among the subordinates and non-officials but indeed in the public which goes a long way in securing cooperation.

- *The survival and continuation in power for non-official in principle rests on trust and the image built.*

19. The officials are obsessed with file maintenance and paper work. When open lives are available for interaction why hide themselves behind files?

- *Reduction of paper work and more interactions with public would build bridges of communication and better interaction. The non-official is saved of the files and paper pushing.*

20. The officials as well as the non-officials indulge in comparing themselves with their counterparts in other places in terms of the perquisites enjoyed rather than the performance resulting in tangible achievements of objectives and organizational goals.

- *Certain amount of soul searching would help in reduction of embittered feelings and paving way for positive thinking.*

21. Officials tend to pass on the buck for failures and grab credit for good work turned out. The non-officials too do not fall short in this type of behaviour.

- *Owning responsibility for failures and sharing credit for success needs to be inculcated, nurtured and sustained. The whole organizational culture takes a positive turn. The feeling of team work and spirit should be the endeavour of one and all that ensures survival of the principle of cooperation viz., all for one and one for all.*

22. Officials find the smallest excuse to avoid undertaking tour in their jurisdiction. During the early days of independence even District Collectors were making night-halts in villages, touring in the jurisdiction, holding talks with both the haves and have nots and facilitating quicker justice. The vehicle which is meant for reaching into the people is being abused to go away from people and to reach home early. As per the prescribed number, officials need to visit the villages irrespective of the other demands on their time.

- *This would establish rapport with people and non-officials and lower*

*level functionaries follow suit. When the boss herself/himself adopts short
circuit tricks, one loses the moral right to question the other members of
the team.*

23. Both officials and non-officials spend more time on personal problems,
    even in office than attend on` more pressing/begging for attention issues
    officially.

- *In fact good number of committed officials carry the official work home
  and complete on time when they are unable to do justice in the scheduled
  hours.*

24. Another major problem faced by the MPDOs/ BDOs is their constant
    comparison with MRO/Tahasildar. The revenue people any day are
    feared while rural development personnel are taken lightly. The
    comparison with revenue officials in terms of the perquisites and other
    advantages makes the development functionaries more miserable and
    that feeling tells on performance.

- *Comparison is odious.*

25. In order to secure better cooperation from the other employees it is
    necessary to hold staff meetings at regular intervals to review the progress,
    problems experienced and give a collective thinking for problem solving.
    Gone are the days of thinking that boss alone is right. New approach
    advocates collective/group thinking.

- *Rewarding for good work and admonishing for non-performance may
  be done in the staff meetings. To avoid losing face at least, people take
  work more seriously and attempt to accomplish faster.*

26. Ego clash with non-officials usually takes place, which is the main irritant.
    Ability to uphold one's dignity and manage the ego of others is both an
    art and a science. A curt no to a request bruises the ego while a tactful
    expression of inability to accommodate the request enables winning half
    the battle

- *Man and ego management without violating the principles and terms of
  reference is to be built into the human resource development efforts
  through designing appropriate training modules.*

27. The officials tend to take thing easy in the post financial year-end period
    (lean months) and when things come to a pressure mounting stage, rush
    through to complete quantitative targets. The non-officials also take

things light and start building pressure on officials when finances are released.

- *Advance planning through consultative process in the open Gramsabha, staggering the work and spreading it over the entire year ensures qualitative accomplishment. Some changes in orientation are needed.*

28. Not that the officials and non-official do nothing during the lean period. Development/welfare work expectations take back seat and miscellaneous activities gain upper hand in tune with whims of the power centres.

- *When adequate preparation, advance planning, allocation of work, division of labour, cooperation and coordination are thumb rules blending miscellaneous items of work into main thrust areas will not hamper the progress of any item.*

29. The fresh recruits of MPDOs who are drawn from different departments are not well equipped with technical knowledge and such an absence can be a potential obstacle in supervision of technical work. Added to this is the desire on part of the non-officials to buttress their interests, which expose the officials further in the public.

- *Technical sound information provision strategies have to be evolved based upon the job chart expectations and training needs assessment conducted on sound scientific lines. This effort is sure to be of great use in functioning of officials.*

Epilogue

Time management assessment revealed that on an average the official at the Mandal/block invests about 30 percent of official time in attending meetings (both avoidable and inevitable) and in attending on protocol duties for VIPs Visits, 40 percent on paperwork (all and sundry). Some delegation of powers to an able administrative assistant can save 60 percent of the 40 percent time otherwise spent). The residual 30 percent is spent for visits to villages which constitutes the main job. If only the avoidable meetings and insignificant paper work are minimised to take out about 70 percent of time exclusively for visits and night halts in villages to share the problems, the unhygienic conditions, the mosquito menace and unpotable drinking water; development is sure to take place much faster. It would be the fastest if only the top level bureaucracy also undertakes visits on regular basis to remote areas in their jurisdiction

without carrying packed food from five star hotels and mineral water bottles, mosquito nets and other sophisticated gadgets. The country would surely march into glory in less than a decade. Otherwise rural development would remain a five star hotel fancy subject of discussion for decades to come.

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National College for Higher Civil Services : Requirement and Possible Role

.... Meenakshi Hooja* & Rakesh Hooja**

It is well recognized that training forms a key part of the overall process of continuous learning and education. In the contemporary situation of exponential growth of information and knowledge and its equally quick obsolescence, it is even more important to keep abreast of developing and changing trends. This is particularly relevant for officers of the higher civil services at policy-making levels whose ideas, analysis and understanding of the issues and the situation has a vital bearing on the formulation and implementation of policies and programmes.

In-service training for IAS and other civil services received a big fillip in the second half of the 80's when a number of one-week, 2-3 weeks and 4-weeks programmes were initiated for officers of different levels of seniorities. Some of the one-week courses were also part of the vertical integration exercise where officers ranging from Secretaries to Government of India to District Collectors trained together. In addition, officers were also sent for long-term courses (between nine months to a year) in academic and other institutions in India and abroad, mainly for M.A., M.Sc, M.BA and similar 3-4 month courses. However not many 3 month or one year courses were provided within India. The present system of in-service training by and large continues on this pattern with some periodic incremental improvements made from time to time.

The Lal Bahadur National Academy of Administration (LBSNAA) at Mussourie which runs courses for the IAS and other Civil Services, and other Service Academies such as Sardar Patel Police Academy at Hyderabad for the IPS and other Police officers, National Academy for Customs Excise and Narcotics (NACEN) at Faridabad for the Customs and Excise Service and a few other service based academies are the only Institutions that are full-fledged training institutions. These, however, are mainly dedicated to induction training but also conduct some in service training. In the States there are State level Institutes of Public Administration, or Management,

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which do induction level training for State civil Services as also some in-service training. There is no Institute in the country today at the National level which is full time, exclusively dedicated to training of civil service officers at middle (6-10 years) senior (11-17 years) or very senior and policy making levels (20-25 and above). All the one week or 2-4 weeks courses are organized in various existing Institutions/Universities identified, selected and supported for this purpose.

While there is no reason to doubt the quality and impact of training in this manner, which does bring to bear the expertise of a wide variety of institutions and is suited for very short duration courses, there is a requirement, perhaps now more than ever, to think in terms of a dedicated college to train senior and policy making levels of the higher civil services. The national and international environment and the rapid changes that are taking place at State and National levels in all spheres of life, require the civil services, particularly at the higher levels, to understand and appreciate their future responsibilities and potential in a more clear and focussed manner. There is a genuine and strong need to prepare, train and orient civil service officers for their higher assignments of policy-making, advisory, and regulatory etc. positions in Government and providing the required leadership and guidance while holding these posts.

Officers entering the highest policy-making stages of government require widening of horizons and a thorough understanding of various macro and micro issues for a variety of reasons which include the fact that while officers of All India Services (IAS, IPS, Indian Forest Service) primarily move and work within the States allotted to them without necessarily acquiring a clear picture of the situation in other States, or the country as a whole or the international environment, officers of the Central Civil Services basically remain confined to one particular service or type of functions, say income tax, or customs, or railways, and do not always acquire a wider understanding of the situation and issues in other sectors. However policy-making necessarily involves co-ordination between various Ministries of the Central Government, the Centre and the States, among the States, as also a thorough understanding of policies of international organizations, other countries and multilateral groupings and of contemporary trading regimes. Further in the rapidly changing global order, with reforms undertaken by the Central and the State Government, the role of the Civil Service and the tools available to them are undergoing rapid change and accordingly senior officers need to constantly re-equip themselves. It may also not be out of place to mention that the image of the civil services has undertaken a bashing in the last few

years. As governance continues to be a key factor in the overall development of a country and its people, the role performance and accountability of government servants, including those at the highest echelons needs to be firmly and squarely addressed. And training can be a major means to do so.

Long term training (including opportunities for sabbaticals) in foreign Universities, including Visiting Fellowships to Oxford University (UK), though extremely useful in their own right and thus in need of being significantly stepped up, do not serve the purpose of this training requirement. The gap needs to be filled up at the earliest by setting up a National level Training college dedicated exclusively for organizing a basic long duration course for the Higher civil services. The defence forces have an Institution like the National Defence College (NDC), which is a prestigious College for training Defence officers of Brigadier level and equivalent rank over a period of 11 months for higher level command and policy making responsibilities. The training is attended by selected officers from all the three armed services and also by officers from friendly foreign countries and a few civil service officers. In UK there is a Centre for Management and Policy Studies (which encompasses the well known Civil Services College at Sunningdale and is part of the British Cabinet Office) which undertakes and organizes training for Senior civil servants.

The overall goal of such a National College for Higher civil Services would be to raise and enhance the capabilities of civil servants to enable them to provide wholesome and inspiring leadership and to broaden their outlook and thinking both at the conceptual and practical level. Essentially the college would conduct one basic course of about 9-11 months duration and a few short-term modules. As far as the more detailed objectives are concerned the proposed National College for Higher Civil Services could prepare the senior civil servants for:

- Policy Making at State and National levels and Co-ordination and Macro monitoring of Implementation of Policies and Programmes
- Responsibilities with regard to Parliamentary and legislative business, procedures and practices
- Drafting of Bills and Laws and constitutional Amendments
- Preparation of Budgets and Plans
- Co-ordination with other Departments, Ministries and other agencies
- Conduct of Inter-Ministry/Agency Meetings, especially those involving other Departments, Ministries, and other Institutions in the Public and private sector

- Assisting cabinet committees or Group of Ministers, or Committee of Secretaries in their work

- Improving Resource Mobilisation including efficacy of taxation, non tax revenue and user changes, loans and repayment

- Manning higher level jobs in newly emerging areas such as Regulatory commissions, financial Institutions, International bodies in addition to the more conventional Secretary and Secretary level jobs in government

- Interacting with International agencies with whom the GOI and State Governments interact and deal

- Facilitating public sector-private sector partnerships in various fields

- Innovative and Creative ways of administration and Management

- Dealing with natural calamities and other emergencies/disasters/crisis

The Officers could also be familiarised and refamiliarised with the working of:

- Planning Commission, Finance Commission, UPSC, Election Commission and other commissions set up from time to time

- Judiciary and the legal system, functioning of Tribunals

- The Organisation and Government structures at Central, State, district and Panchayati Raj Institution levels and corresponding roles and responsibilities

- Government procedures of decision-making, approvals, purchase and procurement, expenditure, regulation of conduct, leave and service and personnel matters

It could facilitate an understanding and appreciating in a mature way of:

- The Indian society and its diversity and unity

- History, Culture and literature

- Social changes including new movements regarding civil society, consumer movement, women's power, user participation etc

- The functioning of the Polity and the processes of devolution and decentralisation

- Developments in the Economy in various sectors and dimensions

- The emerging role of private corporate sector

- Developments in Science and Technology including IT, BT

◆ Programmes and policies of the Government in social and development sectors

◆ The changing role of the State and Government including its various organs in the Indian and comparative contexts

◆ The role of the defence forces and civilian agencies including the police in national security

◆ The functioning and role of the media

◆ The ethical dilemmas that civil servants face in contemporary society

◆ Modern techniques of administration, management, analysis, decision making, motivation etc and interactions between politicians, opinion leaders, scientists and civil servants, which are essential for a modern administrator

The Trainee officers could widen their perspective by learning about

◆ The International and global environment

◆ Trends in distribution of wealth and power in the global context

◆ Military and Economic alliances

◆ Governmental and economic systems being followed in other countries

◆ The international economic and financial system

◆ Population Dynamics

◆ Trading and Intellectual Property Regimes

◆ Role of UNO and other International organizations and agencies

◆ Global and Meta theories and world views of man's past, present and future

The course members or trainees would also get a chance to catch up with developments in various relevant disciplines of knowledge that have occurred since they completed their formal education prior to recruitment to government Services.

The above-mentioned is only an indicative scope of the course and would be subject to review, revision and regular updating.

It is suggested that the basic eligibility for the long course at the National College for Higher civil Services would be all members of the All-India and Central Services who have been empanelled by Government of India for Joint Secretary level postings. Officers of either 16 to 22 years seniority or 18 to 24 years seniority could be eligible for the course. A rigorous selection

criterion would have to be evolved to select 40-50 of the more promising amongst the eligible officers each year for undergoing the yearlong course. A situation would need to be created whereby selection to the course becomes a matter of great prestige for the Course Members and also help in their career progression. In an article written about 7-8 years ago ("Increasing the Capabilities of the IAS" in Hoshiar Singh ed. Higher Civil Services in India, Nirmal Book Agency Kurukshetra, 1995) the authors had suggested that empanneled Joint Secretaries compete through an examination coupled with appraisal of life time performance in government service to gain admission in the College.

The year long course should be residential with family members being encouraged to stay on campus and being associated with some official College activities since the orientation, values and attitude of the family can greatly influence how an officer functions.

Shorter training modules could also be specially designed for Joint Secretary, Additional Secretary or Secretary level officers who have undergone the long course at the College.

The Methodology

The course and training could be organised and divided into study capsules on the NDC pattern but with focus on the needs of the higher civil services. (It may be pointed out that the 11 month course at the National Defence College comprises of seven studies viz. (i) Socio-Political Study, (ii) Economy, Science and Technology in India, (iii) International Security Environment, (iv) Global Issues, (v) India's Strategic Neighborhood, (vi) India's immediate Neighborhood, and (vii) Strategies and Structure for National Security.) Each study could comprise of:

- Lectures-by Faculty of the Institute and Guest speakers and experts
- Group analysis and presentations
- Seminars and Symposiums
- Sharing and Experiences
- Field visits in India and abroad
- Simulational and Game-play exercises
- Time for unstructured sabbatical like reading, reflection and writing
- Writing and presentation of a thesis by each course member on a subject of his/her choice under the supervision of a faculty member

◆   Co-curricular and extra-curricular activities including those designed for family members to join in

◆   A general test on the subjects covered during the study for ensuring grasp and understanding of basic issues and to supplement the ongoing assessment of all the activities and exercises carried out throughout the year

The National College would necessarily require top quality and distinguished Faculty (including guest faculty) drawn from people with experience in government, the academia and the private sector in India and abroad, and supporting staff and a Campus with well equipped lecture theaters, library and documentation center and residential accommodation for Faculty and Course members (trainees) and their families. Games and recreation facilities would form part of the overall activities and would be based on participation of the faculty, recreation facilities would form part of the overall activities and would be based on participation of the faculty, trainees, staff and their families. The college would mainly run on Government funding but could be supported by other donors who have an interest in the matter.

Induction level training for all government and public sector jobs has long received due importance with long courses being provided to inductees upon recruitment. This has shown results in the large number of dynamic and purposeful young officers to be found working across the country. It is time people entering the highest levels in the civil services also receive major attention through the setting up of a National College for Higher Civil Services dedicated to good governance.

Nation in Multinational Context : Towards a Conceptual Framework with Special Reference to India

.... S.K. Nanda *

Issues concerning nation-building in multinational states constituted one of the major problems in the last century. Admittedly, nationality problems in varying intensity will occupy the politicalscape of various countries even in the 21st Century. As a matter of fact, the enormity of national problems escalated ever since the emergence of new states in the periods of de-colonisation after Second World War. Being a new state and one of the largest countries, India faces the uphill task of reconciling nation-building efforts with accommodation of multiple cultural nationalities within the framework of single polity. It is in this context that a re-examination of the concept of 'nation' in a multinational situation with special reference to India assumes significance.

A clear analysis reveals that much of the nationality problems in multinational states like India stems from an inadequate understanding of nation and nationalism. The present paper tries to ward off much of the confusion surrounding the term nation so as to understand its meaning in different contexts. By offering a double interpretation of nation, the paper also tries to spotlight attention on both political and cultural dimensions of nation. It has been argued that nation can be conceptualised in political terms using a set of political variables. Nation can also be understood in cultural terms following a set of socio-cultural criteria Finally, the paper emphasises that a plurality of cultural nations can be organised under a single political nation.

Multinational states the world over recurringly face the problem of nation-building. Much of the problem in nation building seems to have been aggravated due to a lack of proper conceptualisation of nation especially in the multinational context. Broadly speaking, in the multinational context, nation is understood in terms of either the civil framework of state or the cultural framework of the mainstream/majority nation. Depending upon the context one or the other perspective assumes saliency. One reason for this

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understanding is the strict adherence to the European-statist formula of nation-building; and the other reason is the exclusive reliance on the political interpretation of nation and nationalism.

This sort of reasoning not only distorts reality but also undermines the multi-dimensional nature of the term nation. Further, the synonymisation of nation with state and its equation with mainstream culture creates conceptual ambiguity about the term nation and such other related concepts namely nationality, ethnic group and tribe. It is therefore necessary to begin our discussion by offering a conceptual clarification so as to understand nation in its right perspective. The purpose of the paper is therefore threefold:

a)   to reexamine various approaches to nation so as to avoid conceptual ambiguity.

b)   to distinguish the concept of nation from state especially in multinational context.

c)   to conceptualise nation in the context of India.

SECTION - I

Nation and State : A Conceptual Clarification

The concept of nation is elusive precisely because several criteria such as demographic, geographic, socio-cultural, legal-political and economic are used to define the term nation.

Etymologically, nation is derived from the Latin word 'nasci' 'natio' (i.e., birth or race) or the French word 'nascion' (i.e., to be born) and originally meant a group of people born in the same place or territory (IESS: 1968: 37). By 17th century the term nation referred to describe the inhabitants of a country (Conner : 1978 : 382). This means that in its original conception the racial-cultural content of nation was in vogue; and the political condition sovereignity was not considered as a necessary element. But with the rise of nationalism in Europe in 18 - 19th century, a new socio-political entity called the nation-state (i.e. a culture-congruent-polity) came into being. As a result of this development the cultural content of nation was relegated to the background and its political meaning became preponderant. Logically, therefore nation came to be increasingly identified with a sovereign political entity comprising a body of citizens.

On a closer look, however one finds that historically the formation of nation-state in Europe followed two distinct routes : State-to-nation and nation-to-state (Smith : 1986). The former symbolised the civil-territorial

model and the letter symbolised cultural-genealogical basis of nation-state formation. The civil model arose from the classical-liberal tradition espoused by the writings of the social contractualists, viz, Hobbes, Locke and Roousseau. The cultural model originated in the nationalist tradition of rennaissance Europe and it owed to the writings of Fitche, Herder, Hegel's metaphysics and the social theory of Otto Baur, Lenin and Stalin, (Emerson: 1960: Tilly: 1980: Kohn: 1961).

The civil model emphasised the universalistic political properties of nation such as common citizenship, defined political territory, popular sovereignity, equal legal rights and common administrative systems. The cultural model stressed on the cultural attributes of nation such as one-ness of culture and linguistic unity (esp. in terms of vernacular language Following the civil model, England, France, Holland and Spain established themselves as distinct nations under the agies of centralised constitutional states. However, gradually these countries launched massive state-sponsored nation-building programmes to homogenise the people around the dominant cultural mould e.g., English in Britain, French in France etc. This was done deliberately to make the state coextensive with a broad national base. Thus, in this case state preceded the formation of nation. But Germany, Italy and Eastern Europe followed the cultural route to nation-state formation. In these countries national consciousness aiming at independent statehood arose from a "pre-existent" nation and hence in this case nation preceded state formation.

It is clear, then, that both the civil-territorial and cultural-geneological models finally led to the formation of nation-states in Europe and with that nation become at once a cultural and a political entity. If the referral point was citizenship, nation meant an organised political grouping of citizens; and if it was cultural attribute it meant a socio-culturally homogeneous people.

But the experience of many non-European countries revealed a slightly different trend. Here the states emerged by incorporating several nationalities, ethnic groups, natives, tribes, etc., and hence in this case nation did not become at once a cultural and political entity. In this case nation is largely understood as a broad sovereign political unit. For example, the American nation emerged as a civil-political unit regardless of its mixed nationality or poly-ethnic character.

As far as the Third World is concerned, both civil and cultural models of nation grew in different proportions. At the macro level nation was seen as a political unit and it meant all the citizens of the state. But at the regional-cultural level, nation meant a territorially-based distinct cultural community

with or without an administrative unit of its own. Note, unlike European experience, many cultural communities in the Third World did not tend to produce their own states but rather preferred to co-exist as cultural nations under a common state (Kedouryrie : 1971). Unfortunately, however, the nation-building process of many Third World states systematically overlooked this cultural meaning of nations and heavily relied on its political meaning. This is what blurred the distinction between state and nation even in the Third World context. Nevertheless, the Third World experience revealed three notable features of nation formation : that (a) a political nation can emerge by incorporating several cultural nations; (b) a cultural nation can exist with or without a state of its own: and (c) nation and state need not always be coterminus.

To conclude, if nation in Europe emerged as a culturo-political entity, in most non-European countries it acquired a political form at the broader state level and cultural form at the regional-cultural level. No wonder, then, that nation came to be interpreted in two ways : political and cultural.

The interpretation of nation in political and cultural senses is just not a product of the differing experiences of several European and non-European countries. It is also clearly discemible from some major social science writings on nationalism. An examination of a few studies will clarify this position. J.S. Mill, for example, observed that, " A portion of mankind may be said to constitute a nationality if they are united among themselves by common sympathies, which do not exist between them and others, which make them cooperate with each other more willingly than with other people, desire to be under the same government and desire that it should be a government by themselves or a portion of themselves exclusively' (Mill ; 1861 ; 16). Mill's definition tries to limit the concept of nation to such subjective political variables as general will, common government, sovereignity, citizenship and common territory. Such a definition tends to equate nation with state. Further, Mill's emphasis on common interest changes from time to time and from one context to another.

Scholars adhering to the cultural school try to offer a somewhat more precise definition of nation based on objective cultural attributes. Stalin, for example, in his celebrated article, "Marxism and National question", defines nation as a "historically evolved stable community of people, formed on the basis of common language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up, manifested in common culture". (Stalin : 1995:381). He argued that if any of these attributes is absent, the group ceases to be a nation. William

Petterson, another exponent of the cultural view, defines nation as "…………………people, folk held together by some or all of such more or less immutable characteristics as common descent, territory, history, language, religion, way of life or other attributes the members of a group have from birth onward" (Patterson : 1995 : 28). The problematic part of this definition is the element of immutability.

Some recent social science writings have also emphasised culture as the key attribute of nation. Yet they maintain that common polity and unified economy serve as the reinforcement attributes of nation. It is evident from this that both the political and cultural content of nation are still in vogue. Gellner, for example, observes that "two men are of the same nation if they share the same culture, where culture in turn means a system of idea, signs and association and ways of behaving and communicating" (Gellner : 1983 : 7). He further notes that " a mere category of people occupying a given territory or speaking a common language, or practicing a distinct culture become a nation, as and when the members of the category firmly recognise certain mutual rights and duties to each other by virtue of their shared membership of it (Gellner: ibid). But Gellner basically treats nation and state as identical units. To him, the normative idea of nation in its modern sense presupposes the existence of a state, intended or real. Hence in Gellnerian sense, a nation arises only within the framework of a state.

The most forthright statement on the dual notion of nation came from A. D. Smith. Set in cultural-pluralist tradition Smith observes that two types of nations, i.e., the civic or political and the ethnic or cultural, exists in the world. The independent states represent the civic type and the smaller nationalities contained within such states represent the ethnic type of nation (Smith : 1986 : 217). He further noted that once a civic nation consolidates, it tries to seek cultural roots to lodge the nation in a cultural space, it tries to transcend the ethnic origins and evolve into a civil society (Ibid). Smith further argues that, to exist as a cultural nation the elements of distinct culture and history are not enough. The desire for self-rule and the inherent ability to form and sustain a state are also essential (Ibid). Obviously, Smith here is referring to the concept of "home territory". For most cultural nations, however, the goal for self-rule is realised by opting to retain cultural-territorial identity within the federal (state) framework of a civic nation. Thus, what Smith seems to be arguing is the fact that cultural nations for their existence need not be necessarily linked with independent statehood. This conception of nation obviously differs from the civic nation which is invariably linked with independent statehood.

Having examined the term nation, let us analyse the concept of state so as to understand the distinction between the two. As compared to nation the concept of state is a more simple and definite one. Basically state implies a legal-political association and it is essentially linked with the institution of power and authority. To quote Weber, "state refers to that agency within the society which possesses the monopoly of legitimate violence (Weber : 1947). Pye defines the state as " a legal concept describing a social group that occupies a defined territory and is organised under a common political institution and an effective government" (Pye: 1968 : 334). It is clear that the content of state is necessarily political and it exclusively refers to a people organised under a government which exercises sovereignty over a defined political boundary.

What is common to the people of a state is citizenship which invariably implies identification with a particular state. Thus, sovereignty, citizenship and political territory are the major attributes of state. Of these sovereignty is the key variable while the rest two are emphasised to make the exercise of sovereignty effective. It is thus sovereignty which distinguishes a state from a nation.

As noted earlier, the civic type nation is also identified with sovereignty. In this sense, the concept of civic nation comes closer to the meaning of state. Hence, in case of civic nation the distinction between state and nation is blurred. In case of mono-national state the distinction is blurred too, because in this case the state and nation are coterminus. But, in case of multinational states the nation and state distinction is very clear. As these states contain many cultural nations in their fold, the state and nation do not blend into an inseparable whole. Yet, at the macro-level in multinational states the distinction between state and nation gets blurred, because the macro-unit is conceived as a civic nation.

The distinction between nation and state can be best illustrated by looking at the manner in which state and nation are combined. Some of these combinations are as follows:

1.   One-nation, one-state. This variety is a misnomer. Yet Japan and Sweden can be cited as examples notwithstanding the Korean minority in the former and Palestinian refugees in the latter.

2.   One nation divided into two or more states for idelogical and geo-political reasons (e.g. Pre-unified Germany, former Vietnam and the two Koreas)

3.   Part of a nation constitutes a sovereign state and the other part either

forms an autonomous administrative unit in another sovereign state (e.g. Bangladesh and West Bengal in India; Ireland and Northern Ireland in U.K.)

4. One nation is divided between two sovereign states and forms administrative unit in each of them (e.g. Indian Punjab and Pakistan Punjab)

5. One nation attached to several soveriegn states (e.g. Kurdistan apportioned to Iraq, Iran, Syria, Turkey and Afghanistan).

6. One nation divided between many administrative units in a sovereign state (e.g. Jharkhand area located in Bihar, Orissa, Bengal and M.P. in India).

7. One state and many nations. This has the following varieties:

    a) One state comprising two dominant nations (e.g. Malaya and Chinese in Malaysia; English and French in Canada; Tamil and Sinhalese in Srilanka).

    b) One state and many nations with one being significantly dominant (e.g. English in U.K..; French in Canada; Tamil and Sinhalese in Srilanka)

    c) A plurality of nations sharing a single state (e.g. India and former Soviet Union.)

    d) Parts of different nations come to form a nation for geographical reasons (e.g. Switzerland).

    e) One state comprising many small nations with no one being dominant (e.g. most African states)

    f) A set of migrants drawn from a variety of nations constitute a state (e.g. the USA)

It is clear from the above that nation and state can be combined in the form of one nation, one state; many-nation and one-state; one nation and many-states.

To recapitulate, nation was originally understood in cultural terms. But with the emergence of nation-states in Europe, the cultural content of nations was overlooked and it came to mean a territorially organised political grouping. However, the consolidation of many multinational states has made the cultural and political dimension of nations very clear. This apart, the on-going demands for administrative autonomy by several deprived cultural nations in a multinational state as well as the process of nation-building in it

reamphasised the cultural content of nation. As a result, nation came to be interpreted in a dual manner cultural and political.

SECTION - II

Analysing 'Nation' In the Context of India

In the foregoing section it has been stated that nation can be conceptualised in both political and cultural terms. Let us now examine in which sense India constitutes a nation. Indian has been a compact geographical unit since time immemorial. It is also true that India represents a historically evolved unified civilisation. But so far as India's political and cultural unity is concerned, empirical evidence reveals that the former was of recent origin and the latter was never achieved under any regime in the past; and the likelihood of its emergence in the near future seems rather hazy.

Genuine attempts at India's political unity were made during the reins of Asoka, Akbar and Aurangzeb. Yet throughout her long and chequered history, India never achieved political unity prior to the consolidation of the British power. The biggest jump toward political unity was, however, made after independence when 562 native states were integrated with the Indian Union (Menon: 1971). With this political integration, India became virtually one political entity and its political boundary became nearly co-extensive with its geographical frontiers. Independent India introduced single citizenship and universal franchise throughout her territory. Given these conditions political unity in India is viewed as national unity, civil identity as national identity and Indian State as Indian nation,. Thus viewed, India constitutes a nation, or even a nation-state, albeit politically. But does it constitute a nation, or a nation-state in the cultural sense? Let us examine this point.

Those who treat India as a nation in the cultural sense profess that there exists a mainstream Hindi or Hindu nation in India with a number of religious, linguistic and ethnic minorities. It is the language and culture of this mainstream nation, which establish cultural unity in India. Let us examine to what extent such a monolithic Hindi or Hindu nation exists in India, Let us also find out to what extent Indian nationhood can be identified with a particular language or religion.

The Hindi-speaking population in India constitutes nearly 40% of the total population. But this does not mean Hindi has an all-India spread. Several other languages alongwith Hindi are spoken in India. As per the census reports as many as 1652 languages belonging to indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Sino-

Tibetan and Austro-Asiatic Linguistic families are found in India. Of these, the Indo-Aryan group account for 73%, the Dravidian 25%, Austric 1.5%, and Sino-Tibetan 0.5% of India's population (Nigam : 1971). The Eighth schedule of the Constitution records 18 languages including Hindi as major Indian national languages. Most of these languages serve as official Languages or second language in their respective homelands. This implies that linguistic pluralism, which is the harbinger of cultural pluralism necessitates and recognises multiple communication systems in India, and hence the whole of India con not be identified with Hindi language alone.

In addition, the conceptualisation of Indian nationhood in terms of Hindi language has the following drawbacks. First, less than half of India's population speak and understand Hindi. Second, Hindi reflects a dual character. In addition to its being the Union's official language, it also serves as the official language of six north-Indian states. This implicitly involves and explicityly projects north-Indian cultural domination over the rest of India. It also implies that Hindi nationalism is as regionally biased as the other regional nationalisms. Obviously, therefore, Indian nationhood cannot rest upon a language which has a regional spread. Third, Hindi is invariably mixed up with Hindu religious perception. The 'Hindi-Hindu-Hindustan' slogan smacks of this ethos. This arouses suspicion among members of minority faiths, notably the Sikhs.

Lastly, the idea that Hindi community constitutes a monolithic structure is also a misnomer. Brass for example, noted that identity formation in Hindi region emmanets from enormous dialectal and linguistic diversities (Brass : 1974 : 67). Speech communities like Bhojpuri, Brij Bhasa, Maithali, Awadhi, Bundelkhani, Rajasthani, Haryanavi coexist under the rubric of Hindi language. Most of these communities are not only endowed with distinct cultures, but they are also anchored to their traditional homelands. It follows that these units are nations/nationalities in their own right. Again, religious cleavages in the Hindi belt often impair linguistic unity. That is, religious cleavages in this region create and perpetuate linguistic cleavages, though language is not a barrier in communication between religious groups. For all these reasons an all India nation cannot be conceived of on the basis of Hindi language.

Let us examine the feasibility of conceptualising Indian nation on the basis of Hindu religion. Hindus are the largest religious collectivity in India. But apart from Hinduism, several other world religions as well as some primitive faiths are also professed in India. Oommen has classified these

religions into two types; (a) religions of Indian origin; and (b) religions of foreign origin. The former includes Hindusim, Hindu protestant religions, viz., Sikhism, Bhudhism and jainism; and the "Primal vision" of pre-Aryan indigenous people. The latter includes Islam, Christianity, Zorostrianism, Judaism and Baha'i faith (Oommen : 1983). The members of religion of Indian origin are broadly grouped under Hindus and together they constitute 82.72% of the population (Khan : 1987 : 45). This shows that religious pluralism is an integral part of Indian society and therefore the whole of India cannot be identified with Hindu religion (Oommen : 1989 : 133). Additionally, there exist enormous internal schisms within the Hindus thereby thwarting the development of the horizontal unity among them. Internal disunity in the Hindu society stems from the following factors :

First, in terms of caste, Hindus reveal an asymmetrical pattern. The system of caste-ranking vertically divides the Hindus into numerous strata. Mainly Hindus are divided into three social segments: caste-Hindus (61.21%), scheduled castes (14.80%), scheduled tribes (6.19%). In the official records the SCs and STs are counted as Hindus if they are not converted to foreign religions. But Oommen noted that these collectivities severely protest against Hindu expansionism (Oommen : 1983).

Second, there exists within the Hindu society an archetypal dichotomy between the North dominated by Aryans and the South inhabited by Dravidians. The South sees the Aryan brand of Hinduism as an instrument of Brahminic supremacy, or rather north - Indian cultural hegemony over the south.

Third, Hindus are divided into different nations/nationalities along cultural, linguistic and historical lines.

Fourth, many language-based nations in India reflect religious pluralism. Hence the idea of Hindu nation would create rupture among the concerned nations.

Fifth, the concept of Hindu nation receives internal threats from the Hindu Protestant religions, especially the Sikhs. The Indian constitution counts Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains under Hinduism. The followers of these faiths, however, do not accept such a definition. The response pattern to the Hindu claim varies from one of reconciliation to militant nationalism, e.g. Sikh nationalism (Oommen : l bid).

Lastly, being a secular polity, India cannot be identified with a particular religion. Any shift from this position will undermine India's secular character

and jeiopardize the development of an all-Indian political nation.

In short, caste cleavages, linguistic cleavages, religeous dichotomies among the Hindus impair the growth of horizontal unity among them and hence the concept of Hindu nation is not viable.

To conclude, the conceptualization of Indian nationhood on the basis of language or religion is neither tenable on theoretical grounds nor sustainable by empirical facts. This means that India cannot be considered as a nation in the cultural sense. This is not say that India does not constitute a nation in the political sense. But for the purpose of clarity the more apt description would be that India is a multi-national state with two sets of identities : political and cultural.

Going by the above analysis, the following features are noticed in India;

(a) There exists two levels of identity - one at the all India level and the other at the regional cultural level. The content of he former identity is civil-territorial and the latter is cultural.

(b) Based on the dual notion of identity Indians in general adhere to two circles of loyalty - one, to the Indian state/nation, and the other, to one's own cultural nation/nationality.

(c) Finally, the concept of nationality in India is expressed in both citizenship and cultural terms. The former denotes membership in the Indian state and conveys the political meaning of nation, while the latter refers to membership in a particular cultural community and denotes the cultural understanding of nation.

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Ethics in Services

.... Dr. Pratima Kapoor*

Ethics in Government means that the government including the government servants of all the categories should keep the people in trust and fulfil their needs and aspirations above their personal prejudice, interest and bias. They should not forget that they are the trustees of people and of the society and they should meet the expectations of the public as trustees and should conduct themselves in that manner.

Raziel Abelson in his essay in Encyclopaedia of Philosophy has stated three different interpretations of the term, signifying:

a.   a general pattern or 'way of life',

b.   a set of rules of conduct or 'moral' code, and

c.   inquiry about ways of life and rules of conduct. Thus the term 'ethics' in general covers both formal as well as informal aspects of the government.

Federal Government in the United States has, through an Executive Order urged its public employees to avoid any action that might result in or create the appearance of:

a.   using public office for private gains,

b.   giving preferential treatment to any organisation or person,

c.   impending government efficiency or economy,

d.   loosing independence or impartiality of action,

e.   making government decision outside office channels, and

f.   affecting adversely the confidence of the public in the integrity of the government. To reiterate, Government servants should have fair and impartial character with unambiguous role and duty. As trustees of public interest, they should know the proper procedure of a task. 'A trustee is a person who maintains the trust in the best interest of the owners of the trust for whose interest the trust has been created. They are not the

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masters. Their conduct should not be such as would behold a trustee'. This is the essence of ethics in Government.

Ethic and law are interdependent, interwined and there is substantial overlap between the two. Ethic is informal, unwritten, wisdom based and related to the conscience of a person. Law is formal, written knowledge based and related to the mental capability of the same person. Ethic regulates the behaviour of a person, while law puts restrictions towards it. Ethic is concerned with duties, law on the other hand is centered towards rights. Ethic is spiritual and propagates in a very slow process with the evolution of a society. The two are supplementary to each other, but one cannot completely replace the other. It is a general saying that more the rules, more the loopholes if ethical component of an individual or of the whole society is strong than survival is possible from the adverse effects of incomplete rules and laws.

Judiciary is perhaps the most notoriously unethical component of the state bureaucracy. If one has to highlight the most horrendous example of harassment of innocent citizens by the state bureaucracy, one has to turn to the judiciary. Out dated, codes, manuals and laws along with the inhumane attitudes of the conducting authorities creates adverse effect on the morale of the citizen which automatically destroys the respect for ethics among the people.

Spirit of ethics is moral education. Firstly, it should be inculcated through the media like schools, colleges, institutes of higher education and voluntary organisations apart from families, societies and other informal organisations. Then, there will be an atmosphere of character, honesty and integrity not only amongst government servants but all the citizens of the society.

It is very important to induct ethical components in the recruitment and training of all the categories of government services especially in the Civil Services. They should be made aware of the problems of all the sections of the society including the depressed, destitutes and women and should know how to deal with and control the abusing forces irrespective of their deep rooted networking or connections in the society.

The contents of ethics training course have been classified into three categories - ethics standards (administrative regimes or constitutional and universal or philosophical standards), skills for ethics (moral reasoning and judgement) and moral strength (moral development). All the three components are interrelated and interdependent. Topics like administrative accountability and responsibility, professionalism, ethics legislations /laws, codes of conduct,

corruption laws, and official dissent (whistle blowing) are covered under administrative standards. However, issues like nature, pattern and course of corruption and the effectiveness of various institutional mechanism have not found prominent place in the training schedules at HIPA.

In the training courses, there should be inculcation of honesty, integrity and self-discipline among the trainees. To develop sympathy and understanding for the rural masses their attachment to villages, voluntary organisations and other resource persons should be given greater coverage.

The history of bureaucracy became dominant after the advent of capitalism, consequential industrialisation, urbanisation and establishment of capital states. The major emphasis of bureaucracies was to remain successful in their aims and objectives to fulfil their goals and lead towards formulation of their respective sets of rules, regulations as well as conventions. There was gradual growth of ethical principles along with the development of bureaucracies, but after the passage of time those principles got eroded especially in poor and developing countries.

In the present day context, government servants can be divided into two categories - first consists of those who follow rational and impartial principles and have respect for social and cultural values. The category represents those who are greatly under the political pressure or other regional influences. There is no denying of the fact that the second category at present is predominating our country.

A nation should have a definite, pre-determined and fixed set of ideologies and spirit behind the building of an administrator. He is supposed to work with missionary zeal and enthusiasm to eliminate the prevalent discrepancies in the social order and to fulfil the socially relevant objectives. But it seems to be a purely ideological view, administration today is under the severe attack of media as well as of the general public regarding the distortion of the ideology of administration, deviation in the ethical principles or irrational interference of the politicians.

The general devolution of ethical principles according to Bata, K. Dey are due to inherent weakness in the present state of administration:-

At the time of initial appointment, pledges are taken; bureaucrats are imprisoned, tortured, maimed by hundreds of restrictive and negative clauses, sometimes by too generic, ill-defined principles, like "no government servant should have conduct unbecoming of a government servant". In it, what constitutes unbecoming, remaining undefined? Is it not too discretionary?

Disciplinary procedures are too cumbersome, involved, over-legalistic and time-consuming. In spite of a stringent framework for "night watchmanship", criminality has not ebbed, really. Contrarily, it is on the increase. Integrity is at stake. This clearly proves that law alone cannot stop, nor can it eradicate unethicality. Law may be a deterrent, but if it is not implemented or enforced - yes, because of corruptive practices - then, what purpose does it serve? Focus should, therefore, shift on enforcement, which of course, is a negative check, but can prove positive in the long run.

Development of administration demands creativity, flexibility, innovation as well as freedom of decision making along with the atmosphere of trust and cooperation among the people. Not only is bureaucracy lacking the above mentioned qualities but it also suffers from excessive authority and status consciousness. Bureaucrats work in a very impersonal way which is against the requirements of developing countries, however a bureaucrat may be occupied with a correct procedure but in reality there may be abounding irregularities and improprieties in his work.

Unjustified influence or dominance is another prominent reason for the deviation of administrators from the ethical principles. At time by creating biased or unreasonable pressure, they reduce the morale of the bureaucrats who want secure postings in the position of influence. There is also a tendency among the bureaucrats not to take decisions for the fear that they may be overruled by the political pressure, thus forcing them to adjust and accommodate to the political executives.

Though both the politicians and the civil servants privately accuse each other of moral deviations, the fact is that, today, both have accommodated each other in large number of matters and are thus ungrudging partners in the shady deals, little sensitivity to the large public interest, the politico-administrative culture is characterised more more than anything else by a high level of permissivism. This type of attitude is not only responsible for carelessness and irresponsibility towards the general public, but also creates chances for misusing the administrative discretion and authority.

The unethical practice may include such activities as favouratism, nepotism, conflict of interest, influence peddling, seeking pressure by using official position, favours to relatives and friends, leaking or misusing government information, engaging in political activities or misusing government property for personal gains. The bureaucracy can hardly be said to be impartial. The spirit of public welfare has been largely replaced by pursuit of personal benefit for which laws/rules are floated/ molded regularly and at times shamelessly.

It is a general picture that a large number of corrupt officers escape punishment by employing various shrewd measures, while the minority of honest and upright officers have to face needless humiliation for the work for which they are not directly responsible. It creates adverse impact on the morale of the honest civil servants, and they shirk to act in a bold and fearless manner.

A substantial number of government servants fall under the category of passive participators in corruption. Unethical behaviour and corruption has a very narrow margin. It is not uncommon where people do not directly collaborate with corruption but allow anything, which is highly unreasonable and objectionable. They do not share any gain or benefit but their indifference towards corrupt practices and misdeeds encourages corruption.

According to public opinion unethical practices active amongst officials and politicians are spontaneous and beyond cure. Every work or procedure of the government is infected with the corruption, and one connot do anything without the help of influence, approach and bribery. Now a days it has been ingrained in the mind of the people that corruption increases the efficiency, but no limit is set which can be considered reasonable or within tolerable limit. However, India has been already defined among the top most corrupt countries in the world.

When we talk about the sense of values, it is generally described in terms of the loss of that sense, because the essence of ethics has become highly distorted, mutilated and almost in an irrecoverable state; the spirit of public welfare has been by and large replaced by self interest; rules/laws have surrendered to anarchy; regard for merit has been transformed to favouratism, nepotism and personal benefits and impersonal and impartial behaviour has been lost in the influence of selfish motives.

Ethics cannot be shaped and sustained in isolation. The process requires a supportive environment in which public opinion plays a significant part. In every field of activity, the components of ethical behaviour have to be identified and its dynamics worked out and appreciated. Efficiency, economy, effectiveness, equity and equality of treatment, and excellence, among others are deemed to be commonly the ingredients essential to the conduct of public life and harmonious social relationships. Thus an entire culture and value system of ethical conduct is built up. Thus the big question is what is the solution and how to improve? Let us ponder over the following points and try and contribute to each in our own way:-

- Our educational system should be modified to induct more ethical components reflective of the socio-cultural heritage of our country.

- Similarly in the training courses of various categories of government servants, more stress should be given to the ethical standards. Ethical conventions set by the honest and upright officials should be given due respect and be carefully maintained. Public servants having clean image and moral character should be recognised by the universities and other organisations in the form of honours and awards.

- A tendency should be developed to pay attention to the general public and the attitude of the government servant should be like a public servant, not like the master of the people. The chances of interaction with the general public as well as the intellectual section of the society should be encouraged.

- The means and measures adopted to eliminate corruption should not be introduced in such a way that gradually erode the morale of the honest officers and their ability to act.

- Administration should be given protection from the victimising tendencies of the politicians and be provided with freedom of expression in the policy matter issues.

- It should be ensured from the very beginning that upright and moral persons are inducted into the services. Administration should be made responsive and transparent so that it may become inhospitable to the corrupt and boost the morale of right kind of persons.

- The general practice of punishment transfers to remote, backward or tribal areas should be discouraged. As the subject officer has no interest in continuing there, he pays little attention to the general public, the latter become harassed or ignored by the officer. Sometimes the reshuffling of the posting is so rapid, the government servants become unable to settle into a particular job due to extremely limited period of time, it leads towards to a high factor of incompetence; these practices should be curbed.

- To improve the quality of administration, the administrators with high ideology should be given more respect and consideration and they should be given role to check any kind of misuse in administration.

- In order to sustain the character and honesty among the administrators, there should be opinion polls about the character and morality of the administrators- the respondents may be either amongst the sections of

general public or the government employees in an intra-departmental or inter-departmental manner. The outcomes of the opinion polls should be made public.

• Last but not the least, the preamble, directive principles of state policy and the fundamental duties should be thoroughly incorporated among the ideology of the government servants.

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Emotional Intelligence at Work

.... Dr. Dalip Singh, IAS *

What do the following thing have in common: happiness, fear, anger, affection, shame, disgust, surprise, lust, sadness, and elation and love? These are the emotions which directly affect one's day-to-day life. For long, we have been told that our success at the workplace depends on the level of our intelligence or Intelligence Quotient (IQ) as reflected in our academic achievements, in the exams passed, the marks obtained etc. In other words, your intellectual credentials: you did pretty well in school, maybe you have an engineering degree or even an advanced computer degree. You obtained high scores on your IQ test. That's all fine when it comes to intelligence of the academic variety. But how bright are you outside the classroom; when it comes to life's difficult moments? Here you need a different kind of resourcefulness, termed as emotional intelligence (EQ), which is a different way of being smart.

There is a case study of a CEO of a large public sector company, with 30 years' experience, who has an IQ of 200. He spends much of his day at his desk, sweating out figures in a race against himself and rarely succeeds in going home early. Normally, he works for more than 18 hours a day and takes pride in doing so. He spends much of his energy complaining to his colleagues, "My Chairman has an IQ of 90. My Chairman has no idea what I do! Moreover my subordinates never extend the support I need to get things done right." Is this all true? Is it unjust? The CEO thinks so, and so does his blood pressure. What he hasn't told his colleagues is that his own work is unimpressive in ways that really matter. He is oblivious of the fact that he is a troubleshooter who gets so bogged down in detail that he rarely sees the big picture. He also doesn't notice his Chairman's grimace when he hands him over unnecessarily technical and complex reports that are a painful struggle to decipher. He values rules, regulations, instructions, laws, acts, reports etc. but he has not heard of something called interpersonal relations. It doesn't occur to him that everyone sees him as a big bore and tries to avoid

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* These are excerpts from recently released book written by Dr. Dalip Singh entitled 'Emotional Intelligence At Work: A Professional Guide' published by 'Response Books' (A division of SAGE publications), New Delhi. Dr. Singh is an IAS officer belonging to 1982 batch of Haryana Cadre. He has obtained his doctorate in Management from University of Delhi.

him. The CEO doesn't see why he should spend any time worrying about other people's feelings. After all, he never got any sympathy from them when, year after year, he was neglected for promotion. He has not learned the simple lesson that while thinking may certainly interfere with feelings; feelings do not interfere with thinking. Intellect alone cannot help him navigate the dynamic political, administrative and psychological situations of an office full of people, each with a different set of needs and desires. It takes empathy to guess what a boss wants and learn which projects really carry the most corporate weight, to see a subordinate's tension and not overload him or her with work, and to sense a client's dissatisfaction despite his or her protestations. Were he to learn to raise his EQ, he would find his intellectual capacities expanded and emotional skills enhanced. He would feel more secure in his ability to perceive and respond to his own emotional needs and could therefore risk responding to the needs of others. In doing so, he will move ahead and be able to handle his Chairman more effectively and in the process do something about his blood pressure also. Another example-a receptionist at a Govt. office, who hates her job, puts it like this: 'sitting up here in front and smiling and typing and being friendly-it's all useless. It's just a role, and there isn't any satisfaction in it for me. This eight or nine hours are a waste'.

To put it plainly, eq stands for "emotional quotient" and is used interchangeably with "emotional intelligence". It is borrowed from the term "intelligence quotient" (iq). In the layman's language this could be defined as: knowing what feels good, what feels bad, and how to get from bad to good. To understand emotional intelligence let us examine these simple statements:

- The new manager is too sensitive. He takes everything too personally.

- Management is way out of touch with employees' emotions.

- She is jealous of her colleagues.

- My boss is always in a hostile mood.

- The manager does not understand the feelings of others.

- The production manager is always nagging others.

- The supervisor blurts things out without thinking of others.

The above statements refer to various blends of emotions as reflected through personality characteristics. You may have wondered many a times

how seemingly ordinary people build their way to success. Or how a college drop-out like Bill Gates (of Microsoft fame) managed to build a vast empire for which he is being envied by the entire world. There are many others like him who have made the difference, and which could be attributed to their EQ. For instance, Mother Teresa who is said to have begun social service as a nun with no resources of her own but could eventually arouse world conscience to do something for the needy and the poor. Similarly, people like TN Seshan, Kiran Bedi, N. Vittal tried to be different from their bureaucratic colleagues and succeeded. And someone like Mr.Oberoi, rose from the position of a clerk to build a vast empire of luxurious hotels all over the world. Have you ever wondered how a low-scoring classmate of yours could manage to get beyond you on the corporate ladder? Are you aware that there are many people who could not complete their education and dropped out, but went on to be successful in business and in life? Can you explain why the smartest people aren't always the wealthiest, and why some people are liked almost immediately upon introduction, while others are distrusted?

What doesn't feel good to us normally doesn't feel good to others. But to understand the importance of this, you must first be in touch with your own feelings. Understanding your emotions, behaviours, feelings, physiology, and thoughts will help you plan ways to change them. If an unwanted emotion is what bothers you, it should be tackled first. Don't forget that methods focusing on behaviour or on changing the environment can also be used to reduce an unpleasant emotion, e.g., reducing insecurity and fear by putting better locks on your doors or avoiding someone you are mad at.

However, changing the consequences of behaviour can also alter emotions such as asking your friends to praise your healthy assertiveness and challenge your conformity. And, since we can sometimes change our thoughts, there is great emphasis being placed on cognitive methods. The methods listed here deal with basic raw emotions: anxiety, fear, anger, and sadness. Of course, the same methods can be used for the emotional aspects of any problem. Passive-dependent problems tend to be handled with cognitive-behavioural methods and new skills. Emotions are a crucial part of our lives as well as being fascinating.

We will examine some of the methods which can help us in managing emotions in an organization.

Emotional Skills Managers Should Learn

EQ requires learning of certain emotional skills. Managers have to learn these emotional skills to be star performers. But what exactly are such skills?

Here are some indications inspired by recent research:

- *Self-awareness*

  One of the basic emotional skills involves being able to recognise different feelings and giving a name to them. Equally important is the ability to be aware of the relationship between thoughts, feelings and actions. What thought for instance sparked off a particular feeling? What feeling was behind a specific action? These are the questions we may start asking ourselves to know our emotions better.

- *Managing-emotions*

  It is also important to realize what lies behind feelings. Beliefs have a fundamental effect on the ability to act and on how the things are done. Many people continually give themselves negative messages. On the other hand there are those who feel that hope can be a useful asset. Also, finding ways to deal with anger, fear, anxiety and sadness are also essential qualities. For example, learning how to control oneself when upset is one such asset; another is understanding what happens when emotions get the upper hand and be able to gain time to judge if what is about to be said or done in the heat of the moment is really the best thing to do. Being able to channelise emotions to a positive end is another key skill to raise your EQ

- *Empathy*

  Getting the measure of a situation and being able to act appropriately requires understanding the feelings of others. It is important to be able to listen to them without being carried away by personal emotions. It is necessary to be able to distinguish between what others do or say, and one's own personal reactions and judgments.

- *Communicating*

  Developing quality relationships has a very positive effect all around. What are the feelings being communicated to others? Enthusiasm and optimism are contagious; but so are pessimism and negativity. Being able to express personal concerns without anger or passivity is a key asset.

- *Co-operation*

  Knowing how and when to take the lead and when to follow are both essential for effective co-operation. Effective leadership is not built on domination but on the art of helping people working together to achieve

common goals. Recognising the value of the contribution of others and encouraging their participation can often do more good than just giving orders or complaining. At the same time, there is a need to take responsibility and recognize the consequences of one's decisions and actions and follow through on commitments.

◆ **Resolving-conflicts**

In resolving conflicts there is need to understand the conflict at work. People in conflict are generally locked into a self-perpetuating emotional spiral in which the genesis of the conflict is usually not clear.

Learning to Recognize Your Emotions

Recognizing and identifying feelings through emotional self-reflexive awareness is a prerequisite for developing emotional intelligence. If you are able to recognize your emotions you will also be able to manage them. In the process, you will know how to raise your EQ either by controlling or motivating a particular emotion. How do we recognize our emotions? A senior executive was heard saying, " he does not know when he gets angry. It's only after he has released his pent up feelings that he realizes he was angry". In another occasion, a subordinate was complaining that he "does not know how to identify and recognize the feelings of his boss. By the time I realize what he wants it's all over". In order to properly recognize your emotions, you need higher EQ competencies. People with low EQ tend to push others away. This is the situation for instance, of a high profile career woman working in a nationalized bank. She always gets the feeling that nobody cares for her. You will notice that she's smart, conscientious, well organized, and industrious. She cares about other people; she really does. But each time there is a function and invitations are sent out, she invariably gets left out. She hears chitchat about lunch plans in the making at the office but ends up eating alone at her table. There are reasons why she is not on anybody's guest list. She is an angry woman. Maybe she's angry because she didn't get promoted; maybe she's furious that her mother loved her sister more than her; maybe she is angry that her boy friend had cheated on her. We don't need to explore more reasons. She however, doesn't want to know she's angry. Most of her focus is in pushing away her feelings at which she's really good. She convinces herself through constant mental chatter: "No one ever gives me a chance… they're so unfair… it wasn't my fault." She pushes these feelings right out on herself but right on to everyone else. Because she is unaware of both her own feelings and the feelings of others,

she is always caught off guard and hurt by any direct confrontation. She is therefore always on guard. She defends herself at every turn. If for example, the room feels warm, she'll tell you she is nowhere near the thermostat. When something upsets her, and most things upset her it comes as a complete surprise to her, and her knee jerk response is "I've done nothing wrong". People sense the anger in her and try to evade it and get the vague feeling that they would rather not hang around her. Meanwhile, rather than experience the pain of constant rejection, she becomes endlessly obsessed about how unfairly she is being treated and so perpetuates the cycle.

There is a major difference between experiencing our feelings and recognizing them. We intellectualize our feelings all the time, shifting from feeling to thinking so quickly that we don't even realize we have crossed the line. The same is true of the high profile career woman one has just discussed. She changes her mood, rationalizes and rehearses, and in doing so, she changes the emotion she experiences from internal hurt to poorly hidden rage. Yet, she could learn to remain aware of all her feelings and not be caught off guard by emotional exchanges. Don't you think a higher EQ would give her the ability to stay connected to herself? This ability would permit her to hear unpleasant things without becoming defensive and feel hurt without expressing the hurt as hostility. She could become a much more desirable person to be around with who will be noticed and welcome in the world.

Recognizing your emotions is the ability to use the analytical capabilities of your brain. People who can identify and recognize their feelings are those who have higher levels of emotional intelligence. Being clear about your emotions is necessary for living with a purpose. This ability is what underlies the rest of emotional intelligence. Consider the reticent engineer who doesn't venture out of his office and engage his co-workers. He feels that he and his computer are enough to handle all work-related problems. Why does he behave this way? His isolation might be due to shyness, social ineptness, or simply to being unskilled in the art of teamwork. Whatever the specific cause of his isolation, he is the victim of a learned habit. Yet what has thus been learned can be unlearned-and a more effective habit cultivated instead with less effort and time. The unlearning and learning process occur at the level of the brain connections themselves. As one acquires a habitual repertoire of thought, feeling, and action, the neural connections that support this repertoire are strengthened, becoming dominant pathways for nerve impulses. While connections which are unused become weakened or even lost, those we use over and over grow increasingly strong.

Learning to Empathize With Others

Empathy is the ability to sense how other people feel. It is a key to success in work, in friendships, in love and marriage and in child rearing. Being able to read nonverbal cues that contradict words people say can help you to know what is really going on in a situation. Great personalities like Mahatma Gandhi, Mother Teresa, Florence Nightingale could instantly empathize with humanity at large. In the corporate world, saying little things like 'thank you', or supporting employees viewpoints, or avoiding criticism, or looking for strength in people, are some of the ingredients which build empathy among employees. Understanding the emotions of others is a reflection of the level of your emotional intelligence. People may say, "Hello how are you" in a number of ways; your ability to read the feelings underlying such expressions is what constitutes emotional intelligence. In the changing corporate and business world, the team rather than the individual, is the basic work unit. While working in a team you require a higher degree of empathy and related skills. Modern business now recognizes that the value of these skills is cost effective, and that it pays to have emotional skills in organizations. Traditionally, it has been believed that those who were cognitively the smartest (those with the highest IQ) made the best technical performers. But initial research has shown that it is IT professionals with high EQ who are the real stars.

EQ tells us how to cope with stressful situations. Stress management therefore largely depends upon having an emotional balance between a potential stress condition and an employee's reaction to it. One person's fear that he will loss his job because of his company laying off personnel may be perceived by another as an opportunity to get a large severance allowance and start his own business. The stress potential in environmental, organizational and individual factors doesn't therefore lie in the objective condition of the factors itself. Rather, it lies in an employee's emotional response to these factors. In addition, there is increasing to evidence show that social support - that is, interpersonal relationships with co-workers or supervisors - can buffer the impact of stress. The underlying logic is that social support acts as appellative and mitigating in reducing the negative effects of stress. Only professionals with a higher degree of EQ can develop such an effective support system.

Minimizing Levels In Decision Making

.... Dr. K.B. Rai*

The decision making process in the Government is often criticized for being too slow and cumbersome leading to citizens discontentment. A number of reasons may be attributed to delays in taking major policy decisions such as lack of supervision, resources, fair play, interest, political will etc. But even in routine and repetitive cases, that delays should occur, is unwarranted. In order to cut delays and make the administration citizen friendly, effective and responsive it has become imperative to carry out systematic reforms. Accordingly, the Government of Delhi carried out an exercise to examine the causes for delays in processing the case. It was felt that one of the reasons for this could lie in the fact that decision making involves too many levels i.e. in the prevailing process there are normally too many levels that are involved to arrive at a well-considered decision.[1]

With a view to find ways of keeping these levels to the minimum[2] necessary to arrive at a well thought out decision, a study of Finance Department of Govt. of NCT of Delhi was undertaken keeping in view the following basic principles: -

i)   There should be sufficient delegation of powers at various levels commensurate with their status, role and responsibility.

ii)   A file should be finally disposed of at the lowest level that has been delegated the powers to do so.

iii) The file must be handled by no more than two to three levels upto the level of Secretary (Incharge) of the department.

iv)   There need not be more than one middle level examination between the level of initiation and the level finally disposes of a case. However, an

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[1]   A scrutiny of about 100 files submitted at the level of Chief Secretary revealed that the files were moving through 4 to 5 channels without much contribution at the intermediary levels. In 90% cases the note submitted by the dealing hand was being sent up without any contribution. It took more than 7 to 10 days to reach the file at Chief Secretary level, resulting in avoidable delay.

[2]   The Manual of Office Procedure provides for review of levels of disposal and channel of submission every year and also for level jumping, which is rarely done.

exception can be made in policy matters of grave significance, which may involve one additional middle level scrutiny.

v)   All policy matters, cabinet notes, important references should be initiated at the level of a Gazetted Officer i.e. Superintendent or above only.

Based on the above analogy, delegation of financial powers at the levels of Dy. Secretary, Addl. Secretary and Pr. Secretary was reviewed and rationalized. The channels for processing the case were also analyzed and a revised flow chart was prepared for submission of various types of cases through a single middle level. The following three channels of processing emerged as a result of the study: -

Channels	I	II	III
Level of initiation	UDC / Asstt.	Sr. Asstt.	Superintendent/ Dy. Secretary
Level of middle Examination	Superintendent Secretary	Dy. Secretary	Addl. Secretary
Level of decision making	Dy. Secretary	Addl. Secretary	Pr. Secretary

A well-defined order indicating the level of initiation, middle examination and final disposal was worked out according to the delegated financial powers. To quote a few examples the files can now be submitted by the Finance Department in the following manner: -

S.No	Items	Levels involved
1.	Local purchase of stationery items	
	i) Upto Rs. 5,00,000/- per annum per department	Dealing Asstt.- Superintendent- Dy. Secretary
	ii) Upto Rs. 10 lacs per annum per department.	Dealing Asstt. - Dy. Secretary -Addl. Secretary
	iii) Beyond Rs. 20 lacs per annum per department.	Superintendent - Addl. Secretary - Pr. Secretary

S.No	Items	Levels involved
2.	Printing from private firms	
	i) Upto Rs. 2,00,000/- per annum per department	Dealing Asstt. Superintendent - Dy. Secretary
	ii) Upto Rs. 5 lacs.	Dealing Asstt. - Dy. Secretary - Addl. Secretary
	iii) Beyond Rs. 5 lacs.	Dealing Asstt. - Addl. Secretary - Pr. Secretary
3.	Purchase of staff car/vehicles.	Superintendent - Addl. Secretary - Pr. Secretary
4.	Post fixation	Dealing Assistant - Deputy Secretary - Additional Secretary.
5.	Purchase of furniture beyond the powers of HOD in relaxation of rules or norms.	Dealing Assistant - Deputy Secretary - Pr. Secretary (Finance).
6.	Pay fixation under F.R. 27	Dealing Assistant - Deputy Secretary -Pr. Secretary.
7.	Litigation Cases - sanction of expenditure in pursuance of court order	Dealing Assistant - Deputy Secretary - Additional Secretary - Pr. Secretary (Finance).
8.	Creation/upgradation/abolition of all types of posts.	Dealing Asstt. - Deputy Secretary - Additional Secretary - Pr. Secretary (Finance).
9.	Installation of New Telephone/ reimbursement of Telephone charges at residence.	Superintendent - Additional Secretary - Pr. Secretary (Finance).
10.	Re-appropriation of funds	Assistant Accounts Officer-Deputy Secretary - Pr. Secretary (Finance).

S.No	Items	Levels involved
11.	Police matters of Taxation department.	Superintendent - Additional Secretary - Pr. Secretary (Finance).
12.	Amendments of rules/issues of Statutory notifications.	U.S.F./D.S.F. - Additional Secretary - Pr. Secretary (Finance).
13.	Comments on Cabinet Notes/ legislative Proposals/Policy Notes received from various departments.	Deputy Secretary - Additional Secretary - Pr. Secretary (Finance).
14.	All Policy Matters.	Deputy Secretary - Additional Secretary - Pr. Secretary (Finance).
15.	Cabinet Notes	Deputy Secretary - Additional Secretary - Pr. Secretary (Finance).
16.	Compilation of RE/BE for next financial year.	Superintendent - Deputy Secretary - Pr. Secretary (Finance).

An exhaustive list of about 75 types of cases has been prepared on the above pattern for implementation by the Finance Department, which is now being enforced by them.

While framing the above scheme, it was ensured that Superintendents continue to be incharge of the branch as before to control and coordinate its working. The Superintendents and Dy. Secretaries shall be assisted by their junior functionaries in collection of information in respect of important cases required to be processed and submitted at their level.

To ensure that there are no routine queries raised by the Finance Department, they were advised to prepare checklists for various proposals for circulation in advance so that the departments could adhere to them before sending their proposals. It ensures both transparency and quicker disposal of work. On line file-tracking system was introduced to allow easy access to movement of files and facilitating their monitoring.

The above process has helped in: -

- Reducing the number of channels from existing five to three,

- Reducing the workload of movement of files and cutting subsequent delays at different levels,

- Reducing the workload of middle level officers for better utilization in examining important cases,

- Enhancing the productivity of the staff in terms of disposal of files and reduction of arrears,

- Increasing the level of examination of important cases and cabinet notes from clerical level to Gazetted Officer level.

This initiative could only be introduced with the cooperation of the officers and staff of Finance Department who were briefed about the aims and objectives proposed to be achieved for better results. The scheme had the blessings of the Standing Committee on Administrative Reforms headed by the Chief Secretary, which gave both an authority and morale booster for prompt implementation.

Encouraged by the scheme, all the Secretariat Departments of the Govt. of Delhi have been directed to follow suit. To facilitate its implementation a briefing was done at senior level and necessary assistance provided in formulating the flow charts for different channels regarding submission of files under the scheme.

The departments of Planning, M & PH, Land & Building, Information Technology, Environment and Education have issued appropriate orders for its implementation while the other Secretariat Departments are being pursued. Constant monitoring is being done at the level of Chief Secretary to ensure its quicker implementation.

Issues In Urban Planning and Administration

..........Abhilash Likhi*

In this era of rapid and massive urbanization, urban planning and its administration have emerged as two critical areas of major concern to all governments. It has been universally acknowledged that planning and management of urban settlements has far reaching implications on the economic development, social change, health and political stability of any society. Accordingly it becomes desirable that ways and means must be found to enhance the operational efficiency of our urban planning and administrative construct.

For the past many decades, urban planning has been riddled with inconsistent policy approaches, rural-urban dichotomy, ineffective local government and borrowed western planning concepts. The fragmented administrative system in urban areas along with a host of urban laws and statutes have lacked a systemic orientation. The explosion of knowledge in modern times has facilitated the urban planners in devising new and impressive planning concepts and programmes. But the implementation and management has had to lag behind due to a number of inherent weaknesses existing in the urban system.

The Missing Links and Policy Constraints

Traditionally, planning and implementation have been conceived as separate activities and have been entrusted to different administrative units with vague and weak linkages. The separation of plan formulation and implementation has rendered many plans to be mere statements of intent covering ambiguous objectives without engaging in a specific implementation strategy that may provide necessary investment guidelines. Therefore, translating national development plans into operational programmes has become one of the most critical and difficult tasks facing planners and administrators in developing countries. For without properly implemented projects, development plans become only empty objectives remaining forever elusive. For instance, though balanced growth has been repeatedly

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emphasized by the successive national plans, no sufficient achievement has been made in dispersing the industries from urban/metro centres to backward rural areas.

Interestingly, urban and rural areas have been treated as separate entities for planning purposes in the planning efforts. It is only in the Sixth five-year Plan that some possible effort was made to treat urban and rural areas as interdependent for their sustenance and growth. Besides, urban planning itself has been confined to physical growth of urban areas till recently. The numerous town planning and master planning efforts made so far in India have dealt mostly with land use control and building regulations. The other facets of an urban system like the settlement pattern, economic structure and rural-urban interactions have been widely brain stormed only in recent years. Besides, feasible and concrets steps to integrate the rural and urban streams of development have not yet been worked out.

Another pertinent factor is the fact that urban planning has traditionally been considered a technical function and has been entrusted to agencies like the city improvement trust, development authorities and directorates of town planning. But the implementation has been mostly left to very inadequately equipped civic bodies. Besides, a host of central and state level organizations have prepared sectoral plans to implement the same through their field agencies in an isolated manner.

Over and above these policy constraints, urban planning and administration in India suffers from certain systemic lacunae that need to be analysed closely.

The Political Aspect

The political prospective is perhaps at the core of the planning exercise. The political executive has to formulate certain socio-economic objectives and thereby formulate comprehensive development policies, which in turn are to guide various plans and their implementation. On the contrary, ideas like democratic socialism, gainful employment, welfare society, the rural vs urban debate largely dominate the political activity making the political executive insensitive to the hard realities of the urban system. This has in fact widened the gap between the political executive and the urban managers. The former engaged in their ideological exercise are oriented towards political gains while the administrators are wholly responsible for facing contradictory situations pertaining to myriad issues such as slum control, the recovery of dues, removal of encroachments etc.

Financial aspect

Fiscal planning is a vital link between development planning and its implementation. The financial structure is so framed in India that each lower level government has to depend upon the higher level government. For instance, the local governments in urban areas have only the property tax, which forms bulk of the local finance besides octroi levy in some states. Hence these local bodies have to depend upon the state and central govts for grants and loans in order to carry out their development activities. Actually financing of urban development in India has been very fragmented. The central and state plans have a very restricted view of urban development mostly referring to urban planning, urban sanitation, slum improvement, public health etc. On the other hand requirements of urban water supply, housing, industrial growth, urban transport and communication are still financed through a number of autonomous and semi-autonomous agencies.

Statutory aspect

The legal fabric stipulates the pace of the urban implementation process. Hence the latter depends to a large extent on the laws governing various urban functions. Many states have taken the initiative to reform obslete statutes. For instance in states like Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu town planning Acts earlier restricting themselves to land use control, layout sanction, zoning etc. now also focus on migration, settlement patterns, industrial growth etc. Similarly the jurisdiction of town plans earlier limited to cities has been extended to include hinterlands too. But even now in most states town planning Acts do not focus upon areas of population distribution, greenery, environment, water supply etc. Besides, simultaneous operation of laws like the Land Acquisition Act, the Urban Land Ceiling Act, Municipality Acts, Rent Control Act with their specific objectives, byelaws, rules and regulations create a complex urban situation.

The Haryana Experience

Keeping in view the above lacunae about various facets of urban planning and its administration, it is pertinent to make a mention of the Haryana experience. The Haryana Urban Development Authority (HUDA), a statutory body of Haryana Govt. was constituted under the HUDA Act, 1977. Before the constitution of HUDA, the Deptt. of Urban Estates use to look after the work concerning planned development of urban areas. The functioning of the urban Estates Deptt. was earlier regulated by the Punjab Urban Estates (Development & Regulation) Act 1963 and rules made there under and the

various development activities used to be carried out by different departments of the State Govt. such as PWD (B&R), Public Health, State electricity Board etc. But it was observed that the involvement of several agencies in the development of urban estates at various places gave rise to problems of co-ordination with the result that growth of most urban estates became slow. Besides as the department had to follow the financial rules of the government, the arrangement of finance and sanction of estimates took a long time and the development works could not keep pace with the required standards of physical and environmental development. Also being essentially a government department, it was unable to raise resources from various leading institutions although there were various financial institutions in the country to finance urban development programmes which could be availed of. Thus to overcome such difficulties, HUDA was formed with the following objective:

a) to promote and secure development of urban areas with the power to acquire, sell and dispose off property, both movable and immovable;

b) to acquire, develop and dispose of land for residential, industrial and commercial purpose;

c) to make available developed land to Haryana Housing Board and other bodies for providing houses to economically weaker sections of the society; and

d) to undertake building work.

But despite considerable qualitative success and structural integration, management of urban development in Haryana has been working at cross purposes. The controversy and confusion in the role of Municipal authorities vs urban development authorities in all towns has been a major issue.* As is true for many other states as well, the latter were created for the reason that urban planning and development could be expedited by entrusting the capital works to this agency. But coordinated growth has not been withnessed. Many development projects within municipal boundaries without knowledge and consent of local popular representatives have not been considered desirable both in terms of demand and market analysis. Financially, it has been increasingly felt that urban development authorities utilize the major amount of capital investment in the municipalities for developing residential, industrial and commercial sites and hand over additional maintenance duties to the latter. Besides, sanctioning of building plans has also been a point of contention both in terms of revenue generated and planned growth of towns.

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*   Haryana has 1 Municipal Corporation, 19 Municipal Councils, 63 Municipal Committees as against 27 Urban Estates governed by 4 HUDA circles headed by administrators.

Nevertheless, it needs to be pointed out that administrative fragmentation is the logical outcome of specialization, which again is by product of urbanization. The existence of numerous public agencies either special purpose or local bodies having substantial autonomy is a common phenomenon one comes across in the urban regions world over.

There is no doubt that multiplication of administrative organization in an urban region provides ample opportunity for friction in programme and project formulation as well as in their execution. Even if comprehensive and integrated town planning is conducted there will be scope for overlapping and conflicts under the present system, which is inbuilt in the democratic functioning of modern governments.

In planning and management of urban development, the present adhoc planning and decision making practices need to be replaced by more professional and scientific approaches. Although the 74th Amendment made in the Constitution of India empowers the local bodies with the responsibility of planning and governing the areas under their jurisdiction, the necessary institutional structures with clearly defined roles, reforms in legal and regulatory frame works as well as in the systems and procedures required for effective implementation of the Amendment, have yet to be developed.

The need for treating urban planning and its administration as a continuum is of utmost importance. For this it is pertinent, first and foremost, to set up regional urban development authorities that also subsume municipal functions as an integrated whole. Secondly, there ought to be engagement of a network of planning processes-regional, land use, sectoral and area oriented, in an interrelated manner. For this the experience of urban land use planning through the medium of Master Plan will have to be thoroughly reoriented. Most pertinent to the above systemic structuring would also be the formulation of an extensive data bank and information system on the urban setting that would enable formal linkages with holistic 'development' planning.

Increasing density of population, slum and sqatter settlements, informal activities, energy conscious settlement planning, complex transport system, revolution in communication system would have far greater impact on urban land use planning in years to come. Thus it is high time that we brainstorm on the existing institutional structure that has tremendous scope for improvement. At the same time there is also a need to examine the possibility of private sector involvement in project formulation, resource mobilization, maintenance of selected infrastructure and housing construction by taking up pilot projects in each field.

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Disaster Management

..........*Rakesh Kanwar**

Disaster Management is the latest buzzword in the country. The Gujarat earthquake has jolted the nation. After the quake everyone started talking about poor management of disaster situations and the need to have a proper disaster management plan. Newspapers were full of articles, editorials and special stories for quite sometime. As soon as they got the next big story they moved on. But that is the character of the media. Irony is that the issues highlighted by the media and other experts tend to be forgotten. Nothing can highlight it better than the national apathy and indifference in the intervening period between Orissa Cyclone and Gujarat Earthquake.

The paper takes a look at the disaster management scenario in the country and advocates an integrated approach to disaster management that focuses on fire prevention rather than fire fighting, besides seeking to involve local people through elected bodies at all levels of governance.

The paper also attempts to pin point the problem areas in disaster management and the lack of proper planning in the spheres of disaster prevention, mitigation and post situation management.

Asia-Pacific region is exposed to almost every typed of natural disaster. More than sixty percent of the major natural disasters reported in the world occur in this region. Besides, man made disasters take millions of lives in the region every year. The vulnerability to disasters, both natural and man made, is increasing every year with increasing population densities, unplanned growth, urbanization, industrialization and other global phenomena such as green house effect, social violence, terrorism, civil unrest and conflict.

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Major Earthquakes (TABLE-I)

Location	Date	Fatalities	Magnitude
INDIA (Bhuj)	62.1.2001	50,000	6.9 (8.0)
TAIWAN	21.9.1999	2,000	7.3
TURKEY	17.8.1999	15,000	7.4
COLOMBIA	25.1.1999	1,200	6.3
AFGANISTAN	30.5.1998	3,000	6.9
AFGANISTAN	4.2.1998	4,500	6.1
RUSSIA	28.3.1995	2,000	7.5
JAPAN	17.1.1995	5,500	6.5
INDIA(Latur)	30.9.1993	22,000	6.4
INDONESIA	12.12.1992	2,200	6.8
PHILIPPINES	16.7.1990	2,000	7.7
IRAN	21.6.1990	35,000	7.7

The academic distinction between natural and man-made disaster is of no consequence when it comes to the destruction and loss caused by the disasters. Moreover, the naturalness of many disasters is itself questionable. Even earthquake, the most natural of disasters, does not kill people, the buildings do.

Our world is prone to more disaster threats than our ancestor's. While the traditional disaster threats such as earthquakes, cyclones, volcanic eruptions, floods, droughts, fires and accidents still persist, new threats are looming large over humanity. In fact the damage caused by the old enemies has increased manifold. Growing population alone has forced people to live in disaster prone areas which, previously would not have been regarded as habitable. What is often seen as progress can, in fact, represent a backward step.

New disaster threats that have developed, particularly since World War-II, are far more destructive in their potential than the traditional threats. Increased social violence including Trans-border terrorism has drastically affected many nations and communities. Threats from production, transportation and dumping of hazardous materials and substances endanger unprotected and unaware people. Atomic and nuclear sources pose yet another threat. The possibility of use of nuclear weapons has added a new dimension to the problem of disaster management and mitigation.

Conceptual Framework

There is no doubt that hazards are integral aspects of our environment. For centuries man considered disasters as the work of the evil spirits and tried to please them with magic and other rituals but later he started manipulating nature. Paradoxically this attempt to control nature has exposed the humanity to new threats. Disasters may be result of natural or human induced processes of events with the potential to create loss but exposure to a hazard need not necessarily mean disaster. It is the level of vulnerability of those exposed to the hazard that increases risk and the likelihood of disastrous occurrence.

Disaster management is normally viewed as a post disaster intervention focusing on rescue, relief and rehabilitation in the events such as earthquakes, cyclones, floods, droughts and fires. While this has indeed been the dominant approach to disaster management, its effectiveness in dealing with the problem is limited. This post event approach is not only short term but short sighted also. Fire fighting can never be a substitute for fire prevention.

It has been realized during the 1990s that effects of disasters on human populations can be reduced, if not averted altogether, through integrating disaster prevention and mitigation with development planning. Taking into account the hazard-vulnerability analysis of an area and implementing focused development plans can reduce disaster threats considerably.

The development perspective does not view disaster as isolated random acts. Rather, these are viewed as expected consequence of poor risk management over long-term. They are the outcome of interconnected social and physical processes that increase risk and vulnerability to even modest threats.

Both risk reduction and disaster management are multi-disciplinary processes, engaging experts from various fields and the civil society at large. Any hazard reduction planning must integrate existing development strategies, plans and programmes to achieve sustainable, environment friendly development.

In global terms, disasters need to be mitigated and managed to the optimum extent possible by mutual co-operation. World is already facing a range of environmental and subsistence crisis. Disasters don't care for man-made boundaries therefore nations must join hands to make a sager world. It is being realized that the political, economic and social stability of the world depends significantly on bridging the great north and south divide.

In national terms the impact of disaster results in direct loss of existing national assets in various forms and in diversion of national resources and effort away from ongoing subsistence and development efforts in order to achieve satisfactory recovery.

This indicates a national need to develop a comprehensive approach to disaster management. To be effective this approach clearly needs to cover all aspects of disaster management and to include an appropriate balance of prevention, mitigation, preparedness, response, recovery and disaster related development.

In practical terms, there is a pressing need for a focused, professional approach at all levels of government. But at the same time government must realize that disaster management to be effective has to be a community based response system with disaster driven strategic planning. Disaster management must account for things such as.

- Possible threats
- Resources available
- Organizational requirements
- Planning needs
- Action required in relation to sectors of the disaster management cycle
- Training

Nations must have systems in which both government and non-government organizations are blended together to provide a thoroughly professional disaster management capability.

Yokohama Strategy and Plan of Action for a Safer World, which was adopted in the World Conference on Natural Disaster Reduction, held in Japan on May 23-27, 1994 has laid down the basic framework for the nations for disaster management. The conference highlighted the importance of disaster prevention and community involvement. The principles laid down by the conference are of utmost importance as these emphasize risk assessment, disaster prevention and preparedness while integrating development plans at national, regional, bilateral, multilateral and international levels in the entire planning process. The declaration lists out the action required at various levels. At national level it calls mainly for political commitmentm, increased resource mobilization and involvement of NGOs for disaster management.

The Indian Scenario

The geo-physical profile of the nation is alarming. India is prone to

almost all the disaster threats. Fifty six percent of the area is liable to substantial earthquake damage. Eight thousand-kilometer long coastline is prone to severe cyclonic formations. India is one of the most flood prone countries in the world and accounts for one fifth of the global death count due to floods. Over 30 million people are displaced annually. On an average 16% of the total area of the country is prone to droughts, about 68% of the total sown area gets affected due to various levels of droughts affecting about 50 millions people annually. Landslides and avalanches; various types of fires; air, road and rail accidents; epidemics and industrial accidents are other disasters that threaten the country.

Destruction to life and property annually due to these disasters is enormous. Every year India is struck by one or more major disasters besides innumerable minor ones. Every time a disaster strikes, the post disaster management turns out to be disastrous management.

Major Disasters of 1990-2001

1990	Cyclone In Andhra Pradesh
1991	Earthquake in Uttar Pradesh
1992	Floods
1993	Earthquake in Maharashtra
1994	Cyclone In Andhra Pradesh
1995	Floods in Western India
1996	Cyclone in Andhra Pradesh
1997	Earthquake In Madhya Pradesh
1998	Cyclone In Gujarat,
	Landslide In Uttar Pradesh
	Severe Flooding In Eastern parts
1999	Earth Quake in Uttar Pradesh
	Flooding In Eastern Parts
1999	Orissa Cyclone
2001	Gujarat Earthquake

Source: National Disaster Management Cell, IIPA, New Delhi

Major flood years in India were 1955, 1971,1978, 1988 and 1996, 7,420 million hectare land was submerged, 39.4 million people were affected and over 2000 people died. In 1988 16 million-hectare land was submerged and

floods killed over 4,500 people. Estimated economic loss was rupees 1.8 billions in 1996.

Orissa Cyclone (1999) over 17 lakh house were damaged. Official death toll is 10,000 people and 45,000 cattle heads. Accidents are the other major killers. Death by accident is reported every 2.35 minutes.37 per cent of road accident victims are pedestrians in Delhi.

How poor planning and lack of social responsibility results in disasters is illustrated by fires. It is estimated that 35-40 per cent urban fires are caused by electric faults and in urban areas faulty wiring accounts for residential fires in 33 per cent cases. Fires at Mandi Dabwali and Upahar Cinema are prime examples of tragedies on account of carelessness and casual attitude.

Country's high vulnerability to a wide array of disaster requires a systematic, planned and professional approach at all levels. But no one can beat us when it comes to not doing right things at right moment. We, as a nation, are notorious for having the best databases but being the worst managers in almost all fields and disaster management is no exception. India has the National Hazard Vulnerability Atlas that has exhaustive data on every possible hazard that threatens each and every district of the country. We also have plans to tackle disaster situations. But when it comes calling we are found groping in the dark.

Every tragedy leaves us painfully aware that we need to tighten our belts but every time we don't learn the lessons and it takes another disaster to shake us from slumber. And it is not the government alone that has to be blamed for it as has become too fashionable these days. It is we the people who must share the blame collectively as individuals and as institutions. The civil society at large is responsible for the ills we have. It is aptly said that we get the systems we deserve.

Given the fact that almost all the districts of the country are prone to at least one major disaster and 139 districts are multi hazard prone it is ironic that the country does not have Disaster Management Plans at national, state district and sub-district levels.

High Power Committee on Disaster Management

Government of India set up a high power Committee (HPC) only in August 1999 to prepare Disaster Management Plan for the country for natural disasters, to comprise of national, state and district level plans. The terms of

reference of the HPC have been modified in February 2000 to include all types of disasters. The committee has already submitted its interim report. It has identified more than thirty disaster threats and these have been grouped into five categories (Annexure- I).

The committee has suggested that the district plan would be the main plan to deal with the disasters to which the district is prone. It would lay out prevention, mitigation, preparedness and response plans for the district including plans for corporations and municipalities. Mega corporations will have their separate plans.

The state level plans will have two parts. The first part will have essential details with historical perspective and current data for the each group of disasters. Second part will lay out state-wise or region-wise prevention plan and prevention strategy; mitigation plan and mitigation strategy; preparedness plan and response plan.

The National Plan is supposed to be primarily a Response Plan for the five sub groups with a) prevention plan of inter-state and sub-continental features, b) prevention strategy of inter-state and inter-national issues, c) mitigation plan and mitigation strategy of inter state and international issues, d) preparedness plan at the national level and e) SAARC and international initiative in this regard.

High Power Committee has recommended that every year ' last week of April' be observed as ' updating the plan' week and every year' fist week of May' be observed as 'rehearsing the plan' week throughout the country. It is also suggested that school, college and universities systems be integrated with disaster preparedness and response mechanism. Involvement of NGOs, CBOs PRIs and other institutions is also envisaged.

Another concept advocated by the HPC is Trigger Mechanism (TM) to minimize response time when disaster strikes. Establishment of Civil Defense Warden System involving panchayat members as wardens and providing communication network through wireless stations and HAM (Help All Mankind) radio systems is also key thrust area.

The HPC has also suggested a State Disaster Management Act like the Representation of Peoples Act that would give overriding powers to the government to deal with the crisis situations.

It is indeed a welcome thing that the government has finally woken up to have a national perspective on disaster management. Hopefully it would

lead to better management of disasters. But there are many questions that remain. Given the record of government in handing things of importance, are we really going to have professional system in place? Will the annual rehearsals proposed serve real purpose or turn out to be empty rituals like van mahotsavas? Will the systems work in real situation? More important than all this is the mind set and attitude of the people in general and agencies (both government and non-government), systems and organizations responsible for delivering the goods. Shall we rise to the occasion?

A well-made disaster management plan will not be more that a piece of paper unless the people who have to execute it give their due.

First is the political executive. Will they act responsibly or keep on regularizing the illegal skyscrapers that would turn out to be graves for thousands of innocent people? Are they willing to integrate the disaster prevention and mitigation plans into the development strategies or will continue to be guided by short-term political gains? Are they serious to break the nexus that exists between their fraternity and other thugs? What is the guarantee that our beloved politicians would not politicize the post disaster rescue and relief work? Will the publicity hungry so called VVIP politicians not descend like vultures on the disaster scene?

Then comes bureaucracy that fails every time it is needed. Are they willing to stand up to the politician when it comes to the choice between the good and the bad policies? Are they willing to discharge their duties honestly? Will they not be missing in action next time around?

Normally the buck stops at these two scapegoats. But what about the media that wishes to act as the watchdog of democracy but ends up a sensationalizing agent? Is the responsibility of media limited to serving gory pictures and grotesque details of death, deprivation and human suffering? Will the media undertake the massive job of educating people about disaster threats, the dos and don'ts at the time of disaster? What about the non-transparent fund hungry non-government organizations that keep on asking the government to be transparent every time? They are best at picking up holes but know that their criticism comes without any responsibility. Shall the seekers of a code of conduct from the government conduct themselves first?

There are other questions as well. The thrust given by the HPC on plans at all levels is will meaning but is there any guarantee that it would not lead to more and more commissions, committees, sub-committees, action group

and host of other institutions that would generate tons and tons of paper work and forget the real job at hand.

Besides, disaster management is not a post disaster activity it is also important to have pre-disaster interventions, both structural and non-structural, so that impact of disaster is minimized.

The role of government becomes important in this regard. But the experience has shown the government agencies in a very poor light. Disaster management becomes a management disaster. Bhopal (1984), Andhra Cyclone (1990), Latur (1993), Jabalpur (1997), Orissa Cyclone (1999) and Gujarat Earthquake (2001) have all shown that government fails miserably in management of post disaster situation. Annual recurrence of major disasters also highlights that government do nothing worthwhile in the peacetime to prevent of mitigate the disaster. Many times the golden rule is: call the army. Civil administration must be trained to handle disaster situation on its own.

Earthquakes and cyclone don't give much response time but the massive destruction caused by these points towards callous attitude as regards prevention, mitigation and preparedness aspects of disaster management.

Floods and droughts are also badly managed. Drought, which is known as a creeping disaster occurs every year. Floods devastate millions of hectare of land in same parts of the country in same regions during the monsoons every year but we are unable to do anything. Even though the vulnerable flood and draught prone areas are familiar just like the back of our hand nothing seems to be moving.

Whatever little has been done has proved counter productive. For example, it is believed that dams and embankments can help curtail floods. But reality is that embankments prolong water logging by obstructing the retreat of floodwaters.

Gujarat earthquake has made us realize painfully once again that disaster management is something that should not be left to the bureaucrats alone. There is no doubt it that the role of government is very important in disaster management, but unless NGOs, CBOs and all other local organizations are actively involved in the process the results will not be to the satisfaction. In advanced countries there are family disaster management plans, that kind of preparedness is required. The families are supposed to have supply of high energy dry food items ready along with other essentials such as flash light, signal devices etc. All the members are trained to act in a particular manner in disaster situation to save not only their own life but also the life other

members of family and community. The members must have local and out station phone numbers, common meeting place, contact addresses to reach out to other members of family in case of emergency. We too must strive in the same direction.

Disaster and Development

Disasters and development affect one another. Disasters disrupt normal life, leave tales of loss, misery and suffering behind them and create challenges for those engaged in public management. Disasters affect the economy negatively. However the disasters also present development initiatives. Disasters do highlight high-risk areas where action must be taken before another disaster strikes. The realization of vulnerability after the occurrence of a disaster can motivate policy-makers and the public to participate in risk-reduction activities.

Some times development increases the vulnerability of communities, e.g., by creating employment opportunities, scores of people flock to urban areas to look for jobs and settle on dangerous locations.

Disaster knows no boundaries. Unless disaster management and risk reduction are effectively driven at central, state and local government level and are made compulsory, disasters will be extremely difficult and costly to manage.

Disaster Management: Key Issues

The world over disaster management is seen as an evolving process. There cannot be a single model or approach towards management of disasters. Much depends on the type of disaster, however all efforts and processes must keep the disaster management cycle given below in mind. There is a saying the forces that the more you sweat in peace the less you bleed in war. It applies to the management of disasters as well. Here too prevention is better than cure.

Prevention

Government has a vital role to play in his area. Having a techno legal regime that is enforced strictly is a pre condition and falls exclusively in the domain of either the government or local bodies. But it is here that the failure of state as a regulatory body is the most glaring. Disaster after disaster we learn in the most bizarre manner that the government fails in areas where it must excel. The Gujarat earthquake has brought into forefront the politician-builder-bureaucrat nexus. Everyone proclaims with pride that the laws are

meant to be broken. Public accountability is missing. Where to be spineless is the criterion of excellence it is foolish to expect standards of performance. The story of innumerable Indian towns and cities runs like this: first illegal construction are allowed to mushroom then orders are issued for demolition and after a lot of politicking these are regularized. And when disaster strikes the political game of allegation and counter allegation starts.

Myopic plans do not lead towards a safer tomorrow. But along with the failure of government it is the failure of our civil society. The kind of social structure we have built over the years has made the things worse. Incident of looting and arson are commonplace after the disasters, hooligans flood the area and relief supplies diverted to other places.

After all people must realize that social responsibility does not end by organizing relief supplies to the disaster-hit areas. If the civil society does not demand answers now and would elect the same set of people who keep the lives of people for ransom then we the people are at fault. And we cannot absolve ourselves by blaming the system for every ill.

The prevention planning becomes an integral part of every things we do is the aim for which the all the agencies viz. government, industry, elected bodies, non-government organizations and community base organization must strive.

Community participation can work wonders. Hosts of examples in watershed development and rainwater harvesting are there to show the path. Attempts are being made by way of people's committees to manage natural resources in more and more Eco-friendly manner. More thrust needs to be given to these.

Mitigation

Disaster mitigation refers to measures that can be taken to minimize destructive and disruptive effects of hazards and thus lessen the scale of a possible disaster.

This again is a matter that has to be linked to the entire planning and implementation process. The 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments are a milestone in Indian context, as these have started the process of decentralization by given powers to panchayats to formulate and execute local level plans. All the local bodies and Panchayati Raj Institution (PRIs) must be oriented so that the prevention and mitigation aspects are interwoven in the local plans. Capacity building of all the institution is also a pre requisite.

Not only that they must be trained to handle post disaster scenarios.

Preparedness

Preparedness measures such as the maintenance of inventories of resources and the training of personnel to manage disasters are vital components of managing a disaster. Furthermore, this should be an ongoing, regular function of all the government department at all levels in active collaboration of people. These measures can be described as logistical readiness to deal with disasters and can be enhanced by having response mechanisms and procedures, rehearsals, developing long-tern and short-tern strategies, public education and building early warning systems.

Preparedness is the core area after the plans have been taken care of. There has to be Standard Operating Procedures for every likely scenario. There must be what if and worst case planning. The plan is as good as it is rehearsed. The communication networks, the alternate communication channels, the information flow mechanisms and an efficient management information system are some key points that need to be taken care of.

How prepared are we if a disaster of severe magnitude strikes any part of the country? We don't have to be experts to know the answer. Orissa and then Gujarat have exposed each one of us. More than that is the apathy and inaction on the part of everyone between these two disasters.

Delhi will be flattened within a few seconds even if the earthquake strikes the Himalaya. If an earthquake of magnitude 8.0 (the same scale that struck Kangra in 1905) on Richter scale strikes today in Kangra region, the destruction will be beyond imagination. Dr. (Prof.) A.S. Arya, professor emeritus Department of Earthquake Engineering, Roorkee University has presented the following scenario in his paper on "Earthquake Risk and Disaster Mitigation in Himachal Pradesh":

Completely collapsed houses	1,36,000
Those partly destroyed but will require repairs	2,63,000
Those with partial collapse but repairable	9,16,000
Small cracks and repairable without	
Evacuation	3,58,000
Fine cracks or no damage	1,43,000

The paper has estimated the loss to life on the basis of 1991 census to be 65,000. The month and time of earthquake may raise the number of deaths

and the loss to property considerably. And the damage caused by the above disaster will not be confined to Himachal alone, it would affect J&K, Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Uttranchal.

The kind of preparedness required for this kind of disaster is enormous and it cannot be government based. Entire nation will have to be an active party to the frightening post disaster scenario mentioned above.

How prepared are we exactly? It is shocking to learn that the Rashtrapati Bhawan and the PMO are not earthquake proof structures. Are our hospitals, community buildings, government offices, communication installations, dams, bridges, power houses, food godowns, police stations, educational institutions and other important institutions earthquake resistant? Not only that, how much attention do we pay towards checking the fitness of our resources? Many times the fire personnel are unable to find the hydrants and even if these are located they do not function. Such routine matters reflect upon our preparedness. It is well known that the community responds to the disaster first then why not train a group of volunteers in each locality to carry out the rescue and relief operations in the area after the event. Presently the response is emotive, people come in large number to help their fellow citizens but it would be much better if they were professionally trained to manage such situations.

Apart from police, home guards, NCC, scouts and guides volunteers from each locality must be trained and educated about the rescue and relief operations.

Response

Delayed response in the event of a disaster is criminal. Delays occur if the agencies responsible for handing the disaster situations have no clear plans. A well managed professionally trained team that knows where to go, what to do.... should always be there that can assemble at the shortest possible notice.

Search and rescue plans need to be clear and all role players need to know their role and function. Basic needs such as shelter, water, food and medical care also have to be provided and a plan needs to be in place. Many times our response is ad hoc and casual. Response (including rescue and evacuation) in a non-normal situation is specialized matter and nothing should be left to chance.

Relief and Relief and Rehabilitation

Interventions are also needed after a disaster occurs. In many ways this

is the most difficult period for the victims. Immediate rescue and relief should in a systematic way lead to job-producing activities, construction works programmes may be needed. The victims cannot be forgotten once the immediate disaster has passed. The economy must be brought back on the rails.

Every disaster tells us that there is no dearth of relief material but the distribution is mismanaged.

Required : A Professional Approach

Disaster management requires effort and commitment by all stakeholders. The capacity must be built to handle such events, and training programmes are essential. Duplication of efforts should be minimized and financial resources appropriately controlled. Disasters being non-routine events require non-routine response. Governments cannot rely on normal procedures to implement appropriate responses - they will need to learn special skill, techniques and attitudes in dealing with disasters.

Disaster management as a professional team based effort must be coordinated up to the village level in rural areas and ward level in the urban areas where a team of volunteers must be in readiness to tackle the immediate impact of disasters and at the same time there should be standing instructions to all the administrators in adjoining districts and states to rush to the disaster site with all resources without any formal orders. Normal bureaucratic channels should be by passed in these crisis situations.

Afterword

Carl Sagan in his magnificent, awe inspiring work Cosmos has described human predicament and dilemmas that surround us in the most thought provoking manner:

"The earth is a lovely and more or less placid place. Things change, but slowly. We can lead a full life and never personally encounter a natural disaster more violent than a storm. And so we become complacent, relaxed, unconcerned. But in the history of Nature, the record is clear. Worlds have been devastated. Even we humans have achieved the dubious technical distinction of being able to make our own disasters, both intentional and inadvertent. One the landscapes of other planets where the records of the past have been preserved there is abundant evidence of major catastrophes. It is all a mater of time scale. An even that would be unthinkable in a hundred years may be inevitable in a hundred million".

Our lovely blue planet, the Earth, is the only home we know. Venus is too hot. Mars in too cold. But the Earth is just right, a heaven for humans. After all, we evolved here. But our congenial climate may be unstable. We are perturbing our poor planet in serious and contradictory ways. Is there any danger of driving the environment of the Earth toward the planetary Hell of Venus or the global ice age of Mars? The simple answer is that nobody knows. The study of the global climate, the comparison of the Earth with other worlds are subjects in their earliest stages of development. They are fields that are poorly and grudgingly funded. In our ignorance, we continue to push and pull, to pollute the atmosphere and brighten the land, oblivious of the fact that the long-term consequences are largely unknown.

A few million years ago, when human beings first evolved on Earth, it was already a middle-aged world, 4.6 billion years along from the catastrophes and impetuosities of its youth. But we humans now represent a new and perhaps decisive factor. Our intelligence and our technology have given us the power to affect the climate. How will we use this power? Are we willing to tolerate ignorance and complacency in matters that affect the entire human family? Do we value short-term advantages above the welfare of the Earth? Or will we think on longer time scales, with concern for our children and our grandchildren, to understand and protect the complex life-support system of our planet? The Earth is a tiny and fragile world. It needs to be cherished

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Gram Sabha in Haryana

.... Dr.C.S. Singhal*

The Govt. of India has observed the year 1999-2000 as the "Year of Gram Sabha." To celebrate this year of Gram Sabha, Govt. of Haryana vide its 1999 Amendment in Haryana Panchayat Raj Act fixed two Gram Sabha Meetings on 13th April and 2nd October every year and made it compulsory for Sarpanches and Panches to attend Gram Sabha Meetings. In pursuance to this amendment all over Haryana out of 5998 Gram Sabhas as on 13th April, 1999, 5944 Gram Sabha were organised. This study analyses the impact and constraints of the Gram Sabha meetings organised in the whole state on 13th April, 1999 and suggests measures for strengthening the Gram Sabha meetings.

The attendance in most of the Gram Sabha meetings were less than quorum except in few cases. The women attendance were negligible in most of villages. The reason for less attendance was date of meeting not suiting, lack of awareness and publicity, women not entering the chopal etc. After these meetings, complaints against Sarpanches reduced considerably and the records of Gram Panchayats got updated. Hence officials advocate continuation of such system.

Gram Sabha is an institutional form of participatory democracy. It provides an opportunity to all the people willing and capable to participate in the developmental process. It has an important role of activating the democratic process at the grass root levels inculcating the community spirit, in increasing political awareness, in educating rural people in administrative and political process and in enabling weaker sections to assert their point of view.

The idea of associating the residents of the village with the Panchayat Administration was accepted even by British Administration and it was

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incorporated in the village Panchayat Acts passed by some of the Provincial Legislatures. After the introduction of three-tier system of Panchayati Raj in the country on the recommendations of Balwant Rai Mehta Committee, the Gram Sabha was given recognition in Panchayati Raj Act of most states in the country. However, most of the Gram Sabha meetings in majority of the states could not be organised due to lack of attendance. The village community did not show interest due to lack of awareness about their rights and responsibilities. The Diwakar Committee on Gram Sabha (1962) and Ashok Mehta Committee (1978) suggested several measures for strengthening of Gram Sabha like: Gram Sabha meeting should be held in rotation in each of the constituent villages, they should be held at a time and a day when the villagers are not busy in their agriculture operations, etc. A recreational programme or film should be organised immediately after the meeting of the Gram Sabha.

The Ashok Mehta Committee observed that due to lack of interest on the part of office bearers and apathy on the part of public, the Gram Sabha had not been functioning satisfactorily. The reasons of the same was observed as lack of political interest and administrative indifference. It was suggested to have at least two meetings of Gram Sabha annually.

The Government of India had observed the year 1999-2000 as the "Year of Gram Sabha". To celebrate this year of Gram Sabha, Government of Haryana vide its Haryana Panchayati Raj Act Amendment 1999 made it compulsory to hold two Gram Sabha meetings, one on 13th April and another on 2nd October every year and made it mandatory for Sarpanches and Panches to attend Gram Sabha meetings. In pursuance to this Amendment out of 5998-Gram Sabhas in Haryana as on 13th April 1999, 5944-Gram Sabha meetings were organised. This study analyses the impact, constraints in organsiation of the Gram Sabha meetings in the state of Haryana and suggests measures to strengthen the Gram Sabha. The paper analyses the responses revealed by 25 state and district level officers during a State level workshop on Gram Sabha organised at State Community Development Training Centre, Nilokheri.

Amendments in the Acts

Government of Haryana through Haryana Panchayati Raj Bill, 1999 Amendment, tried to strengthen Gram Sabha meeting. Some of the provisions in the new Act are: every Gram Sabha shall hold two general meetings on 13th April and other on 2nd October each year at a time fixed by BDPO concerned, reduction in number of Gram Sabha members competent to require

calling of extra ordinary general meeting of the Gram Sabha from one fifth to one tenth, abolition of provision regarding reduced quorum for adjourned Gram Sabha meeting from one tenth to one twentieth, compulsion of Panches to attend Gram Sabha meeting.

The Study

The main objectives of the study was to analyse the impact and constraints of Gram Sabha meeting organised on 13th April, 1999 in all the villages in Haryana and suggest measures for strengthening the Gram Sabha meeting.

The respondents were 25 Districts Development & Panchayat Officers, engineers (Panchayati Raj), Sub Divisional Officers (Panchayati Raj) Block Development & Panchayats Officers and 3 State level senior officers of the department of Development and Panchayats. The responses were revealed by the respondents during the state level workshop on Gram Sabha held on September 10, 1999 in State Community Development Training Centre, Nilokheri.

Results

The officials perceived the main advantage of holding the Gram Sabha meeting all over the state as people have not complained against the Sarpanches after Gram Sabha meeting (50 per cent), and the records of Panchayats were completed (25 per cent), the details are presented in Annexuse I

Attendance in Gramsabha

The attendance in Gram Sabha meeting is rarely sufficient in most parts in the country. Because of less attendance most of the time meeting are kept suspended. In view of this problem there was no quorum fixed for the meeting of 13th April. The summarized responses of officials about attendance in Gram Sabha reveals that women attendance was negligible (50 per cent), attendance of members were less than quorum (25 per cent). Some of the officials revealed that attendance was quite good in villages along the highways and in big villages, (see Annexure II). The attendance varies from 2 to 10 per cent in different district (see Annexure III).

Reason for less attendance

The Ashok Mehta Committee (1978) mentioned the main reason as lack of interest on the part of the office bearers and apathy on the part of the public in attending Gram Sabha meetings.

The summarized response of officials about reason for less attendance in Gram Sabha held on 13th April 1999 all over Haryana, cited the season as: harvesting season (33.3 per cent), lack of awareness and interest among Gram Sabha members (14.8 per cent), danger of quarrel (14.8 per cent) women did not come because of Parda system (11.1 per cent), lack of publicity (7.41 per cent) etc. (see Annexure IV).

Suggestions for effective Gramsabha Meeting

The summarized responses of officials suggesting to make Gram Sabha meeting effective were: wide publicity about Gram Sabha meeting through different media like local news paper, cable TV, posters (13.32 per cent) Block level preparation meeting for officials should be organised effectively (13.32 per cent). The fixed date of 13th April and 2 October should be changed, to increase the attendance of women the place of meeting should be school in place of village Choupal, in place of two fixed days the Gram Sabha meeting should be conducted in 10 days, the proceeding should be conducted properly and whatever villagers want that should be recorded and the different departments like ICDS functionaries, teachers and Mahila Mandals should be involved to encourage women participation (see Annexure IV).

Other Observations

The meeting was mainly conducted by officials of Development & Panchayat department. In few districts the officials of other department like agriculture, animal husbandry and revenue were also involved in conduct of meeting. Most of the officials conducted 2 to 3 meetings at different times i.e. 10.00 AM, 1 PM and 4 PM. In Mahendergarh district due to involvement of a NGO "Sanjevnee" women were quite aware. The women presence in the Gram Sabha meeting in the villages were quite satisfactory because of the efforts of this NGO.

One DDPO said "Gaon me meeting ka mahol nahin tha" (there was no environment of Gram Sabha meeting in most villages). One respondent was of the view that publicity was all right. It was also stated that awareness is there about Gram Sabha among people of some Districts. In some places pamphlets about Gram Sabha meeting were placed for awareness. It was observed by one officer that the budget of Panchayat is very less.

In some villages attendance was good in Gram Sabha meetings. However due to shortage of staff, the records could not be completed for many Gram Panchayats 126 Panches did not attend Gram Sabha meeting in one district. The action against those who were absent was initiated.

One officer observed that officials deputed for conduct of these Gram Sabha meetings were ignorant about the Panchayat functioning and holding of meeting. Hence they were shy. They tried to windup the meeting as early as possible. This affected the quality of the meeting.

Suggestions

1. The main advantage of holding these Gram Sabha meetings as perceived by officers were that the complaints against sarpanches after meetings reduced considerably and the records of Gram Panchayat got updated. Hence, this system of holding Gram Sabha meetings all over the State simultaneously should continue in future too.

2. The attendance in most of these Gram Sabha meetings were less than the required quorum except in few cases. The women attendance were negligible in most of the villages. Hence, efforts should be made to increase the attendance of women in such meetings.

3. The reason of less attendance in Gram Sabha meeting was that the date of meeting i.e. 13th April was not suiting due to harvesting season. Hence, the date should be changed to either June/December of March/September.

4. To increase the attendance in Gram Sabha wide publicity should be done through media like local newspaper, cable TV, posters and personal contact.

5. It was reported that women do not enter in the chopal (public meeting place) in Haryana. Hence to increase the women's attendance the Gram Sabha meeting should be organised in a school/temple or other acceptable place in place of Choupal.

6. To increase women's participation the ICDS functionaries, teachers, Mahila Mandals and local NGOs should be involved.

7. For the effective Gram Sabha meeting, Gram Sachiv should update record of Panchayat Samiti, agenda of meeting should be kept properly and whatever villagers want that should be recorded in proceedings.

8. The block level preparation meeting for officials should be organised effectively and some honorarium may be given to government staff for Gram Sabha meetings.

9. For wider publicity, besides personal contact, Munadi (publicity through drum beating) should be done about the date and venue of the Gramsabha meeting through Patwari and record should be made in rojnamcha (a record maintained in revenue department).

ANNEXURE - 1

Advantages of Holding Gram Sabha Meeting

Sl. No.	Summarized Responses	No.	Percentage	Rank
1.	People have no complaint against sarpanch after Gram Sabha Meeting	2	50	I
2.	Record of Panchayats completed	1	25	II
3.	The no. of complaints to against sarpanch has reduced drastically (earlier it was more)	1	25	II
	Total N = 25	**4**	**100**	

ANNEXURE II

Attendence in Gram Sabha Meetings

Sl. No.	Summarized Responses	No.	Percentage	Rank
1.	Women attendance negligible /did not turn up	8	50	I
2.	Attendance was less than quorum	4	25	II
3.	Women attendance quite satisfactory in Mahendrgarh district	1	6.25	III
4.	Attendance was quite good in villages on highway	1	6.25	III
5.	Only sarpanch / panch females attended	1	6.25	III
6.	In some big villages attendance were good	1	6.25	III
	N = 25 **Total**	**16**	**100**	

ANNEXURE-III

Attendence in Gram Sabha as revealed by The Officials

Sl. No.	District	Attendance (Summarized responses) In %
1.	Jind	2-3
2.	Kaithal	4-5
3.	Karnal	5-7
4.	Sirsa, Yamunanagar, Hissar, Rohtak	7-8
5.	Gurgaon, Mahendrgarh	9-10

Note : Attendance in remaining districts were also reported low (attendance varies from 5 to15 per cent of total members in the village).

ANNEXURE - IV

Reason for Less Attendence in Gram Sabha

Sl. No.	Summarized Responses	No.	Percentage	Rank
1.	Harvesting season	9	33.33	I
2.	Lack of awareness and interest among Gram Sabha members	4	14.8	II
3.	Party politics-opposite group members didn't attend as no one wants to come openly because of danger of quarrel	4	14.8	II
4.	Women did not come because of Parda System	3	11.11	III
5.	Publicity (Muanadi) could not be done property	2	7.41	IV
6.	Training for conduct of meeting at block level for officials could not be organised effectively	1	3.7	V

Sl. No.	Summarized Responses	No.	Percentage	Rank
7.	Baisaki (festival)	1	3.7	V
8.	Literacy very less	1	3.7	V
9.	First attempt	1	3.7	V
	N=20	**Total 26**	**100**	

ANNEXURE - V

Suggestions of Officials for Effective Gram Sabha Meeting

Sl. No.	Summarized Responses	No.	Percentage	Rank
1.	Wide publicity about Gram Sabha through different posters, media like local newspaper, cable TV	2	13.32	I
2.	Block level preparation meeting for officials should be organised effectively	2	13.32	I
3.	Gram Sachive should update record	1	6.67	II
4.	In place of 13th April meeting should be in February	1	6.67	II
5.	In place of Chowpal meeting should be in school to increase attendance of women	1	6.67	II
6.	Honorarium of Rs. 100/- may be given to Govt. staff deputed for Gram Sabha meeting	1	6.67	II
7.	Publicity (Munadl) should be recorded in Rojnamcha of Patwari.	1	6.67	II
8.	The time of 13 April & 2 October should be advanced one month	1	6.67	II
9.	The days of meeting could be fixed in June/Dec.	1	6.67	II

Sl. No.	Summarized Responses	No.	Percentage	Rank
10.	In place of fixed days meeting should be done in 10 days	1	6.67	II
11.	Agenda of Gramsabha meeting should be kept properly		6.67	II
12.	Proceeding should be conducted properly. Watever villagers want that should be recorded	1	6.67	II
13.	To increase the attendance of women ICDS functionary, NGO, teacher and other officials of women & child development be involved	1	6.67	II
N=25	**Total**	**15**	**100**	

Empowerment of Women through Cooperatives

.... Dr. Medha Dubhashi*

The Mantra of Empowerment

Gangamma is an illiterate Indian woman of scheduled caste. She used to break granite blocks into smaller stones for a living. The quarrying contractor, Ramji would pay Rs. 10/- per day. Her entire family was bonded to Ramji because her husband once borrowed money from him secured on their quarter acre of land.

Then the villagers formed a cooperative to break the hold of contractors. The SEWA Mahila Co-operative Bank advanced her a loan to pay off her debts.

Gangamma and her husband took Rs. 1,000 to Ramji and told him that they wanted to repay the money they had borrowed eight years ago and reclaim their quarter acre. Ramji was not inclined to take the money and told them to come back in two or three years. But Gangamma and her husband were adamant: they told Ramji they would plough their land the next day. This is an example of empowerment of the poor by timely assistance of a cooperative credit society.

Empowerment is exercising control over ones lives. This has two aspects. The first is control over resources (financial, physical and human). The second is control over ideology (beliefs, values and attitudes).

Empowerment starts with changes in consciousness and in self-perception. Psychologically, it is creative, energy-releasing transformation, one from which there is no looking back. Empowerment taps reservoirs of hope and enthusiasm among people used to viewing themselves negatively.

Governments, NGOs and other institutions create a supportive environment but ultimately it is people who empower themselves.

Empowerment of Women: A Global Perspective

It is now two decades that the United Nations helped focus public

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attention on the important role women can play in the socio-economic development. From Mexico to Cophenhagen and Nairobi to finally Beijing, the issues relating to gender equality and gender equity have been brought centre stage. The International Cooperative Alliance (ICA) conducted regional workshops in India and Kula Lumpur on Gender Integration in Cooperatives, as a step towards gender sensitizing members, cooperators, leaders and office bearers of cooperative business.

Among the conclusions and recommendations suggested by the Regional Consultation of ICA office for Asia and Pacific (1992) were:

♦   **Gender awareness of cooperative leaders**

Cooperatives were established to help bring about a more just societies; both socially and economically. To be conceptually and spiritually prepared to work with women on gender related issues, gender awareness training must be given to all the leaders especially the male leaders of cooperatives at all levels including the ICA. Moreover to have the long-term impact, gender programmes must address questions of the power structure and empowerment of women.

♦   **Prepare women for leadership role**

Most women need to be prepared/trained to develop the capabilities and competencies necessary for leadership. Affirmative action such as quotas, on Board level or managerial positions will work effectively only when thee are capable women to fill these positions.

♦   **Women Cooperatives**

Women's groups and cooperatives must be promoted/supported and where ever possible integration must be aimed.

Role of Women in Cooperatives

If women's potential is fully recognised and utilised, women can contribute to cooperative growth and effectiveness. The report of the National Commission of Self-Employed Women and women in the informal sector expresses that "Cooperative is an important instrument through which women can get access to credit, production inputs, marketing facilities and other forms of support". Cooperatives provide a forum for women to come together and thereby acquire better bargaining power.

Women are active in many types of cooperatives such as banks, dairies, consumers, fishing and allied activities, thrift and credit, producers societies and industrial cooperatives.

Corresponding to the number of cooperatives women participation in cooperatives has been increasing. The number of exclusive women cooperatives has grown.

TABLE -1

Progress of Women's Cooperatives In India

	90-91	91-92	92-93	93-94	94-95	95-96	97-98
No. of Societies	5799	5772	6175	6866	7195	8171	8714
Membership	580.3	586.4	685.4	715.7	591.7	692.6	897.8
Share Capital	114.2	128.3	130.1	188.5	150.5	179.3	204.23
Working Capital	684.9	1053.3	1295.4	1406.1	1478.9	1408.1	2041.4
Turnover	326.9	224.0	342.8	446.2	592.6	811.3	984.5

Women Participation in Leadership and Decision Making Bodies in Cooperatives

Women play a vital role in all these cooperatives; yet they remain invisible. They have not been represented in the elected bodies, or committees or in top management in numbers proportionate to their contribution.

Some notable findings that emerged from a workshop on Gender Integration in Cooperatives[1] were:

1. As compared to the total number of cooperatives, the number of women cooperatives is still small. Exclusive women cooperatives constitute only 1.7% of the total number of cooperatives.

2. The participation of women is more in middle management than senior management.

3. Women have not been represented on elected bodies or in top management in numbers proportionate to their contribution.

4. Women have no significant role in the decision making policies of these federations.

Because of the above mentioned points, the qualitative participation of women in cooperatives leaves much to be desired. Hence legal and policy measures need to be taken to improve the qualitative and quantitative

1. Sub-Regional Workshop for Central and South Asia on Gender Integration in Cooperatives conducted at VAMNICOM, by the Author (April, 1996).

participation of women in economic and social development.

If we look at the (quantitative) participation of women in three major apex federations viz. National Cooperative Union of India (NCUI), National Consumers Cooperative Federation (NCCM) and National Agricultural Cooperative Federation (NAFED) the picture is as given in Table 2.

TABLE - 2

Organisational Structure

	NCUI			NAFED			NCUI		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Board of Directors	47	2	49	40	1	41	16	-	16
Executive Committee	9	-	9	10	-	10	-	-	-
Top Management	28	6	34	133	6	139	120	4	124

Where M= Male, F= Female, T= Total

Source: Report on the sub-regional workshop on Gender Integration in Coops., 1996

The above table reveals the very meagre presence of women in committees. In top management level women comprise hardly 17.6%, 4.3% and 3.2%. The very less representation of women in the Board and Committee levels shows that women have no significant role in the decision-making policies of these federations. Therefore, there is not much headway in the involvement of more women in cooperatives, much remains on paper only. As a result, the cooperative movement has lost the benefit of additional human resources which women cooperators could provide in the successful promotion of social and economic objectives. If we look deeper into the qualitative participation of women i.e. their involvement in elections, decision-making and financial matters, the following picture emerges:

TABLE - 3

Qualitative Participation (Nafed)

Activities	Women	Men
Elected on the board	1	40
Take part in the decisions about cooperative activities	1	40
Examine the financial situation	1	40

The principle of democratic member control states that cooperatives are controlled by members who actively participate in setting policies and making decision. Men and women serving as elected representatives are accountable to the membership in primary cooperatives, and members have equal voting rights. Cooperatives at other levels too are organised in a democratic way. Like male members, women as members should also democratically control the business of their cooperative. Members have rights of participation, a right to be informed, a right to be heard, and a right to be involved in making decision?

However, the above figures reveal that women have no active role in decision making. Is it because they are less capable? How can the capabilities of women be strengthened? What are the impediments in this process?

Gender discrimination in work places

A National Consultation on Women Executives in Cooperatives - Gender Discrimination in work places was organised in collaboration with ILO-COOPNET.[2] A charter was released with the mission of empowerment of women and advancement of women in cooperatives. The forum made the following recommendations:

1. Ensure gender equality and justice
2. Enable mitigating discriminatory practices against women through hostile, intimidating or threatening acts.
3. Promote an affirmative policy that would encourage the advancement of women in decision making bodies.
4. Provide a gender friendly environment with easy access to information and resources.
5. Develop net working with national and international partners in cooperatives.

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[2] National Consultation on Women Executives in Cooperatives - Gender Discrimination in Work Places, conducted by the Author in collaboration with ILO-COOPNET (April, 1998).

6. Conduct training and education programmes of women members officer bearers and managers in cooperatives.

Empowerment of Women Through Cooperatives In Maharashtra

There has been some change in the legal climate in general but it has not helped in the mobilisation of women in the economic activities. The Government of Maharashtra, was one of the first state in India which amended the Cooperative Societies Act by introducing a compulsory provision of 30% representation of women on the Board of Directors. This will enable the women to be a part of the decision-making process.

The 1992 amendment of the Maharashtra Cooperative Societies Act introduced reservation of seats on committees of societies for women members. Under section 73 B, committee of each society will have representation of women members as follows:

(a) One seat on the committee consisting of not more than 9 committee members.

(b) Two seats on the committee consisting of 10 or more, but not exceeding 19 committee members.

(c) Three seats on the committee of 20 or more committee members.

Gender Sensitization

It is perceived that though this positive change is welcomed at the policy level, at actual workplaces, there is a need for greater gender sensitization. This is true for cooperatives. Other measures to ensure gender justice and equity include:

1. Providing access to resources

2. Ensuring transparency in office practices.

3. Evaluation procedures must be objective, quantitative, on merit and not subjective and influenced by gender prejudices and bias.

4. Monitoring

Conclusion

Women can play a valuable role in cooperatives. But at present their place and presence in cooperatives is marginal. This gap in deficiency would be obliterated with more affirmative action like adequate representation of women from the grass-roots to the highest level of the movement, greater access to education and training, improved HRD strategy focussed on women participation and commitment of top management. Such an approach would lead to a sustainable cooperative development.

Participatory Forest Management Scenario In India - A Peep through SWOT Analysis

.... Alind Rastogi*

Present day forest management calls for effective delivery systems, capacity building with the delivery agents and the institutionalization of participatory management processes. The natural resource manager of the 21st century shall have to look at the resources in a holistic perspective. The existing strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats associated with the institutionalization process are to be well comprehended. The present paper deciphers these attributes through a SWOT Analysis involving three participatory management structures in India. The view points of people, NGOs, Forest Department officials were assimilated to derive the results. The understanding of these attributes shall facilitate pro-active strategies and contingency plans to support the participatory efforts.

Key Words : Institutionalization process, Joint Forest Management (JFM), Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats.

The National Forest Policy of India, 1988 envisages the strategy of people's participation in forestry development, conservation and protection efforts. Consistent with the policy directive, twenty state governments have embarked on participatory institutions through enabling resolutions, supporting greater participation of village community and non-governmental organizations in the regeneration and management of degraded forest lands. Joint Forest Management (JFM) strategy was evolved in which people protect forest lands and help in their natural regeneration in lieu of rights of collection of dead and non-dead wood, forest products and share in timber. The present shift in forest management practice favours people's involvement, the social fencing approach, empowernment of community, sharing of authority, focus on NTFP and continuous harvest of usufructs. It has been fully realised that people's participation is sine qua non for effective forestry.

The strategy of Joint Forest Management (JFM) in India accommodates socio-economic aspects, livelihood needs of the people, a market oriented

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approach and forest productivity and sustainability issues. The structure involves many players such as government and its departments, NGOs, society officials, villagers and political leaders. The staff has to take up managerial duties and responsibilities so that they may be groomed to make the programme effective. Systems have to be in tune with changing requirements. Styles of work are to be updated. Understanding of the changing environment and related strength, weakness, opportunities and threats will go a long way in shaping the required interventions regarding policy formulation, planning, organisation structuring and support programmes.

Methodology

The present study was aimed at assessing the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and emerging threats and challenges associated with the participatory processes and it's institutionalization. For conducting the study three participatory structures were chosen: Van Panchayats (VP) in Uttar Pradesh Hills; Village Forest Co-operative Societies (VFCS) in Kangra, Himachal Pradesh and Hill Resource Management Societies (HRMS) in Sukhomajri, Haryana. These participatory structures provided immense insight into the processes because of their varied age, success rate and experiences of the people and the Forest Department. The survey mechanism was made participatory by involving 108 people distributed over 26 randomly selected villages in three areas, 30 NGOs, 63 Foresters/ Forest guards working in those areas and 60 senior officials associated with the management and training process. The survey was conducted through a questionnaire and focused group interviews. The data and view points, thus generated, were compiled and collated after necessary statistical analysis.

SWOT Analysis

Strength	*Weakness*
◆ Presence of technically skilled foresters/FG in each village area. ◆ NGOs and Media support ◆ Policy Support ◆ Research Backup ◆ Constructive Criticism by NGOs ◆ People's Experience and Knowledge	◆ Fears in the minds of foresters ◆ Conflicts ◆ Socio-cultural incompatibilities ◆ Immature Recipient System ◆ Increasing Biotic Pressure. ◆ Limited and Scarce Resources. ◆ Long Gestation Period ◆ Non quantification/monetisation of intangibles ◆ Lack of harmonized legal support

Opportunity	Threat
• Diversification • Value addition to NTFPs • Market developments • Backward and forward linkages • Linkages with Industry • Massive funding /Investments • Labour intensive activity • Serve the poorest in remote area • Vast patches of degraded lands • Productive asset creation • Entrepreneurial base for rural economy	• The pace of formation of FPCs • Non flexible styles • Structural anomalies • Skill deficiencies • System incongruities • Style incompatibles • Behavioural inconsistencies • Non acceptance of interdisciplinary roles

The views expressed from each category were assimilated to identify the existing strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats.

Disscussion : The weakness and threats are the prime concern for the natural resource managers. The holistic perceptions of existing problems is thus a pre-requisite. It also calls upon the creativity and innovativeness of foresters to transform the weakness and threats into opportunities and strengths. The subtle issues of weaknesses and threats associated with the process are detailed as under.

1. WEAKNESSES

1.1 Fears in the minds of foresters

Certain inherent fears and apprehensions in the minds of implementers were deciphered from the study which serve as inhibitors to the entire process of JFM. The foresters possess following fears in mind.

- Doling out subsidies in concealed manner through JFM by the Government.
- No increase of Government Revenue.
- Loss of control, power, identity and intellectual mastery.
- Fear of frequent transfers and over sensitivity to allegations.
- NGOs closeness with authorities is breeding sense of alienation from the process.
- A pursuit for fulfilling hidden agendas.

- Insensitivity of other departments,
- Lack of self-discipline in VPs /VFCs/HRMSs and mutual faith and trust.
- Increased litigation and complexity in protection administration.
- Limited scope of sharing.
- Incentive distortions and information pathologies.
- Lack of faith in the efficacy of Micro-planning and PRA.
- Answers to JFM queries are beyond their scope of work.
- All success models are turning non-sustainable.
- JFM may delay the degradation but it is inevitable.

These fears are to be alleviated and conflicts resolved. How to impress upon foresters that "through empowernment the real power with foresters and control over the resources increase"? The seniors as well as the juniors are asking more questions about the process. Nobody appears to be in a mood to learn the process the hard way through experimentation and replication. Emmanual (1994) has also confirmed short tenure and lack of continuity of staff as a major weakness.

1.2   *Conflicts*

There exist several conflicts like role conflicts, resource need conflicts, management conflicts, social conflicts, cultural conflicts, conflicts within and with other departments. The structures needed for the conflicts resolution are to be evolved at local, range, division and circle and state level and the skills of negotiations and conflict resolution are needed. The unattended conflicts are the reason for differential performance of JFM (Rastogi, 1997) in India. The challenge lies in creation of social institutions with the objective of securing social equity and ecological sustainability matching resource endowment and management requirements.

1.3   *Socio-cultural incompatibilities*

Villagers often have patterns of culture which are integrated with forest cycles, from collection of NTFPs to harvesting of crops. Identification of government officials as "Mai-Bap", monopolisation of credit and market facilities by rural elites, demographic heterogeneity, polarisation of social energies (Saxena, 1997), migration, cultural superiority / inferiority based on caste, income, occupation, land ownership, in-built gender biases, characterisation of rural poor by fatalism, familism,

traditionalism, low empathy and aversion to risk taking (Rastogi, 1995), are some of the socio-cultural incompatibilities serving as attenuators in adoption. The resistance to new processes arises from unrealistic expectations, misperception, poor communication and a lack of understanding between actors.

1.4   *Immature Recipient System*

There exists no tradition of voluntarism and absence of equity in profit sharing. There is no training to the rural residents to harness potential from productive assets sustainably. The power of punishment shall remain with the department for effective control as proposed by the people. Lack of concern for the commons or for group dynamics prevails in village environs.

1.5   *Increasing biotic pressure on limited and depleting resources*

People are aware of scaring of natural resources. When asked about the reconciliation in increasing biotic pressure and limited carrying/ regenerative capacity of the landmass, the suggestion received is to reduce dependence on forests and establish alternatives: establish industries or induce commercial activities for employment. Are the foresters in a position to provide such alternatives?

The question was asked about the shift of pressure for fuelwood from protected patches of land to the unprotected area. The people affirmed that there is no alternative to fuelwood for the villagers. They expect fuel efficient cookers or (chulhas), bio-gas plants for energy requirements and other alternatives. The forest department can't expect behavioural change amongst people without offering a viable alternative. The cosmetic protection of one area at the cost of another is a major weakness in the process. Emmanual (1994) identifies it as a major threat.

1.6   *Long Gestation Period*

People expect quick and short-term economic returns and relegate the long-term ecological security to least priority as revealed from the survey. The following average ranks were given by the foresters to various incentives which motivate the people.

Incentives	UP	HP	Haryana
Economic Returns	3	4	4
Seasonal Employment	2	2	2
Entrepreneurial activity	5	5	1
Fuel wood /Fodder security	1	1	1
Long term ecological gains	6	6	6
Quantum of usufructs	4	3	3

It was revealed that long-term ecological gains did not motivate the people. It was only economic gain which ultimately matters. Was a forester equipped to motivate people through immediate economic benefits? A survey in Nainital District about "what the people want" by Shrivatava (1996) revealed that poverty has changed their perception. Everyone wants to be self-reliant before contributing to common good of society and looks for quick payoffs.

However the long gestation period associated with forestry crops makes the case weak. Use of obsolete technology, poor application of research to the field have been identified as major weaknesses by Emmanual (1994). The short rotation crops such as Poplars, Willows, Poulownia, Eucalyptus, agro forestry crops, medicinal plants, herbs, grasses and other innovations need to be adopted for ensuring quick economic returns.

1.7 *Non quantification/monetisation of intangibles*

Research organisations like ICFRE and State Forest Research Institutes should work for quantification/ monetisation of all the benefits accruing to the society. Quantification of out turns of certain NTFPs are not available. The market/price information is not available at field level. Besides these lags in the information channels, the intangibles could not be monetised so as to give people the pride of economic value of forest areas in terms of aesthetics, tourism and educational value.

1.8 *Lack of harmonised legal support*

The legal structure in forest administration is weak. During the survey people came out with several instances wherein they resorted to civil courts for disposal of their cases rather than forest administration. The VFCS quarrel with FD for restoration of their existing rights. The Van Panchayat Niyamvali, 1976, is yet to be revised. The JFM notifications

have not taken note of the potential legal conflicts arising from customary rights and concessions extended to the people under the Forest Act. Further, creating a new group such as Forest Protection Committee (FPC) and giving them special overriding usufructuary and terminal rights is legally problematic, besides being ultra vires (Singh, 1991). The Forest Act has no provisions to empower the co-operative or the Panchayat or FPC to impose punitive fines on the offenders (Raju, 1993). It calls for harmonisation of JFM rules with the existing set of legal instruments, structures, use rights and right regimes (Rastogi, 1997). It is also necessary to provide participatory effort a legal base.

Emmanual (1994) has mentioned poor motivation, poor communication skills, lack of publicity and incentives, inadequate funding and investment as major weaknesses. How to transform these weaknesses into opportunities is a major challenge facing foresters. The visualisation of threats is of paramount importance as it provides the scope to ward off future complications through suitable policy and planning interventions. Caution must be exercised using risk minimisation plans.

2.   THREATS

2.1   *The pace of formation of FPCs*

The hasty formation of FPC under the compulsion of target achievement will face problems. A feasibility study beforehand is essential wherein the resource endowments and sustainability aspects are assessed. In Orissa, over enthusiastic NGOs formed FPCs under compulsions. It took two years by Orissa FD to bring the FPCs on the right track. Mere formation of a committee is not an end in itself. Its viability is more important than mere existence. The hidden agendas of politicians, NGOs or FDs cannot be fulfilled through the formation of FPCs.

2.2   *Structural anomalies*

Shah (1993) opines that if we are really serious about JFM we should have started with structural changes in Forestry Institutions. It appears that we are putting the cart before the horse. Some of the structural anomalies were deciphered through this study. The information structures in the process are weak. Whatever information is expected by the people is not shared, as much of this information is not available. Do we have the mechanism to provide this adequate information?.

The information sharing structure is weak. We have to understand the information pathologies and corrective measures. Among institutional problems faced in Sukhomajri is the collection of water charges and other dues. All HRMs face this problem. The situation is compounded by the fact that proper and regular records are not maintained in most of the villages (Kaul et.al, 1995). The incentive structures are inadequate. People want linkages of forestry activities with industry, innovative schemes for raw material production, diversification, marketing of forest products, entrepreneurial development at village level and promotion of non-forestry activities for reducing dependence on forests. Is a forester equipped with necessary incentive design skills? The emphasis is on economic incentives rather than ecological benefits accruing after 50-60 years. Are the foresters ready to serve the people with desired incentive structures?

The Market structures involved only favour rural elites. Twenty two per cent of the foresters/FG did not have any knowledge about the market size, market intermediaries, market prices, margins of profits and marketing related aspects. Further on the questions of market interventions, 90% respondents expressed their inability to take up measures for market development and structuring. Though 78% foresters claimed to possess the knowledge, they yet lacked ability to implement specific measures for market development. Some respondents also felt it to be out of their domain of work as these activities are taken up by forest development corporations or cooperative societies.

Organisational structures require thorough revamping. Thirty per cent officers feel that foresters get enough time for taking up JFM work besides their normal duties whereas 70% officers feel that foresters don't get enough time for these works besides their normal duties. Sixty per cent NGOs felt that with present existing workload Fr/RO can take up additional responsibility of JFM. Forty per cent NGOs felt that present existing workload of Fr/RO is too heavy to concentrate on people's institutions. The various alternatives, suggested by these NGOs are as under:

- To increase manpower for JFM.
- To modify organisation structure and create parallel workforce.
- To work with same staff with different training and orientation.
- Other alternatives suggested are:

- Delineation of Division/Range/Beat boundaries.
- Changes in control system.
- Changes in attitude.
- Changes in system and styles of functioning.

The coordination structures are swayed by shadow boxing, professional rivalry, manoeuvres for better control. All the foresters felt that Society/Panchayat/Co-operative should co-ordinate the efforts of various other departments for betterment. FG/Fr also accept that they have limited knowledge of schemes of other departments. Sixty per cent of the people interviewed affirmed that they shall strive for eliciting support of other co-ordinating agencies whereas 40% expressed their inability to do so. Even in Haryana where the JFM model is considered successful, there is not much difference with other states.

The formation of Parishad as enabling body for effective conflict resolution mechanism has been stressed upon (Raju, 1996). The role of state level working groups as a structural intervention at the state, division and the range levels for framing policies, conflict resolution and collective decision on protection, management and development of forests has been appreciated. To overcome the deficiencies a process of structural reorganisation is suggested, reducing overlap and rationalisation of workload and frequent interaction between staff and communities. In Nepal one of the identified constraints to PFM is lack of interdisciplinary procedures for co-ordination, direction and co-operation and very few experienced and motivated staff at both the planning and executive levels.

2.3   *Skill deficiencies*

The training received at the recruitment stage remained the first and also the last for a majority of the service life of foresters. Unjustifiable reliance is placed on the job training for which there are neither training manuals nor trainers. The institute of foresters at different levels in terms of their role profiles have undergone sea change demanding a change in contents of the training. Professional competence in forestry today consists of technical, social and integrative skills. The technical knowledge and skill deficiencies relate to monitoring, valuation, documentation, information management, sustainability assessment, socio-economic analysis, integrated conservation and protection efforts, increase in productivity, NTFPs management, canopy architecture etc. Unlike the current mode of function the forester may be called upon to

handle many new areas to which he might not have been exposed during his forestry training. These new areas may be soil conservation, social forestry, NTFPs, horticulture, sericulture, lac/mushroom cultivation, bee keeping etc. In social skills updation relates to varied roles performed by the foresters as communicator, conflict resolver, negotiator, co-ordinator, facilitator, self-help promoter, motivator, team builder and trainer. The foresters have to update their integrative skills where an appropriate admixture of technical and social skills is needed. These skills relate to planning, leadership, problem solving, decision making, entrepreneurial development and incentive design.

The initial experiences of the implementation of JFM in various states shows that it is essential that the PCCF along with other senior officers be given the necessary reorientation first. Senior level staff need exposure to issues relating to planning, investment, tree improvement programme, wildlife management, bio-diversity considerations, integrated watershed division. The junior staff should be given more area specific training apart from forestry training. The training to foresters can be taken up with training to the villagers. These interventions shall make the recipient systems mature to absorb the benefits easily.

2.4   System incongruities

2.4.1 Communication

No listening is practised by 28.7% foresters. No proper communication exists as reported by 26% respondents. It may be people's manifestation of anger with the FD. In Masoompur in Haryana, Kusumal and Bhagotla in HP people were highly critical of FD. However, these causes are to be looked at as there may be number of reasons for the same. Foresters have pleaded it otherwise. People rarely call foresters for meetings, consultations, information sharing whereas foresters call people as per requirement. This level of interaction was considered adequate by 61% of the foresters whereas 19% respondents considered it moderately sufficient. A few respondents felt that more familiarity breeds contempt so a distance should be maintained. 20% of the foresters considered it inadequate. Foresters revealed that average time spent by them with the people is 3-4 hours daily. People join foresters/ FG during patrolling and field visits and come up with problems and seek advice when required.

Communication is to be institutionalized in the framework of strategy for extension. The quality, quantity, direction and pace of

communication systems are to be improved. Seniors don't listen to subordinates as perceived by the subordinates. What kind of participatory culture do we want? There is a breeding sense of fear while working for JFM. Who will alleviate these fears through effective communication and how?

2.4.2 Controls

Fifty two percent foresters perceived that their control has lessened whereas thirty seven per cent felt that extent of control remains the same. Eleven per cent foresters feel that the extent of control has increased as the dependence of people has increased for the society's work. 73% of the respondents felt less satisfied with the present degree of control over the resources because many issues remain out of their domain of works. Further newer dimensions of control systems i.e. Transparency, Accountability, Responsibility, Right to information have become a cause of concern for the foresters perceiving less control.

2.4.3 Planning

Fifty four per cent of the foresters considered micro-planning exercise of high utility whereas 20.6% did not consider it relevant. However, 25.4% of the respondents did not receive any training on micro-planning exercise. The seniors have a different perception of planning exercise altogether. 80% of the senior respondents don't consider micro-planning a fruitful exercise because of a paucity of funds. A further 30% seniors are not sure of its integration with working plans. 75% of the officers consider Working Plan of very limited to redundant use in its present form. If that be so, can something be done to improve the planning process? Emphasis has been laid on decentralised and participatory planning. The old process/ systems have turned redundant in the present context and the new systems have not attained maturity. Shall we live with at least two decades of unplanned forestry or shall forestry be subjected to crisis management?

2.4.4 Motivation

Fifty five per cent of senior respondents feel that the efforts of subordinates are linked with Annual Confidential Reports (ACR), wherein 45% respondents perceive no linkage of efforts of foresters with the ACR. Because of poor manpower planning and blocked promotional avenues foresters don't care for ACRs. FG/Fr in many cases shall retire at the same level or get at the most one promotion to

become Dy. Ranger. Forty per cent officers proposed recognition, twenty seven per cent proposed promotional avenues, twenty per cent preferred improvements in present performance appraisal system whereas thirteen per cent pleaded for financial remuneration.

Eighty four per cent respondents feel that the people look for quicker economic returns through forests for their livelihood whereas 16% respondents see no such dependence of people on forest resources. There exists no significant difference (at 5% level) in the perceptions as revealed from the table 2.4

Table 2.4

	UP	HP	Haryana	Total
Y	18	19	16	53
N	3	5	2	10
	21	24	18	63

In certain areas a myth that "villagers will never join the programme unless some monetary incentives is offered" had created block to change. Further in many cases villagers don't consider themselves capable of being a partner of forest development and conservation programme. However, the recipient system is to be made more mature to absorb the benefits.

2.4.5 Sustainability

According to all the foresters the people are aware of scarcity and limits of resources. 74.6% respondents think that JFM is not sustainable with limited resources and increasing population pressure. Amongst seniors 65% of seniors appear to be confident about its sustainability whereas 35% are either sceptical about its sustainability or brand it unsustainable. People proposed the following options for sustainability in case population pressure increases.

◆   Income augmentation
◆   Reduce dependence on forests
◆   Employment
◆   Entrepreneurial activity
◆   Incentive design
◆   Information on other ventures

Does a forester possess skills to work for these options for ensuring sustainability? The sustainability of water harvesting structures in Sukhomajri, ecological sustainability of Arabari, poor conditions of Van Panchayats and Forest Co-operatives pose a big challenge before the foresters. On the issue of sustainability of dam structures in Sukhomajri the cost involved in repairs of dams are beyond the capacity of HRMS. Only 20% dams have adequate water pipelines. They don't have technically sound advice on repairs and maintenance. Committees see the repairs and maintenance as the responsibility of HFD. With the decline of CPRs the reduced range and quality of employment and income options for succeeding generations of those dependent on common resources will widen inter generation in-equity and lead to non-sustainability (Jodha, 1996). Premature harvesting and lopping of trees to make up for reduced availability of plant material are eating away the permanent natural assets and eroding the producing base. This scenario is not inevitable provided the poor are offered alternatives options that will reduce dependency on the common resources and that will regulate the usage, enhance the regeneration and raise the productivity of CPRs.

2.5   *Style incompatibilities*

Style incompatibilities relate to non-flexible styles, behavioural inconsistencies, non-acceptance of interdisciplinary roles, leadership vacuum, non participatory decision making processes and gender biases. If the style of working of FDs is reviewed and evaluated, it could be known whether or not the congenial environment to participatory culture is being provided.

2.5.1 Flexibility

Eighty five per cent of the people confirmed that FD is very rigid, whereas 15% consider FD officials moderately flexible. This flexibility was revealed more in Haryana. On the other hand 53% senior FD officials favoured flexibility with strings whereas 47% didn't favour flexibility at all perhaps due to the fear of sacking. Perhaps the rules/regulations/fears/control systems don't favour flexibility, but it has been exercised in Haryana. There is no reason why it may not be introduced in UP or HP. Flexibility implies experimentation. Who shall bear the associated cost?

2.5.2 Leadership

Sixty three per cent of the senior officials considered the FD provides

leadership to JFM whereas 37% respondents feel that people themselves shall steer the programme. These 63% thought in terms of how the effective leadership could be provided. For sustaining leadership amongst the people, the NGOs suggested that the forester as a facilitator/ enabler should resort to following options:

- Command respect and gain confidence of the people: trust building through constant interaction, support, guidance and regular meeting, transparency and probity.
- No imposition of views, ideas and decision but assist in evolving consensus and collective decision making.
- Be one among the local people, frequent communication; be accessible.
- Serve as guide and resource person as technical advisor to the people with sound technical knowledge.
- Play catalytic role in problem solving.
- Work as an incentive designer.

Do foresters exercise the options as suggested by NGOs?

2.5.3 *Women's Participation*

Seventy two per cent people when asked about involvement of women, wanted to encourage and allow women to participate in the process whereas 28% on one pretext or the other did not favour women's participation. Times are changing whereby women are becoming more assertive. Socio-culturally the women were not allowed to participate in the past. In UP Hills it was women who started the CHIPKO movement in 1987. Further, on account of traditional customs and practices women find it inhibiting to sit with men and participate in the decision making process. It will take more time to shed their shyness and reservations. Sarin (1996) shares the study in Gujarat wherein it was revealed that women as a category are institutionally excluded from direct participation in defining the collective choice arrangements, and unequal powers inherent in gender relation prevents them from openly protesting against the inequitable impact of the rules.

2.5.4 *Participatory Decision Making*

Sixty three per cent of the people confirmed that the FD officials don't consult people before making decision. Of the remaining 37%, 65% respondents hail from Haryana. So the system appears more mature in

Haryana than in UP and HP. Within the department how participatory is the culture? The poor forester in the field was never consulted about the purpose and viability of JFM. Even today the orders and targets for forming FPCs flow down the hierarchy. Nobody appears to be concerned about its feasibility and sustainability!

3.   STRENGTH AND OPPORTUNITIES

Sharma (1997) opines that today's globalisation calls for versatility, learning new skills and creating a society of knowledge. The change agents have to create opportunities in innovative and creative ways. There is need for debureacratisation, a flexible and loose relationship, proactive and entrepreneurial endeavours in FDs. How foresters leverage the strengths to identify, hold and create opportunities is also a challenge. To exploit the opportunities may not be a difficult proposition, once the weaknesses and threats are addressed. In consonance with the above findings, Emmanual (1994) also mentions growth of agro-forestry and farm forestry and inter agency co-operation as major opportunities.

Society is concerned with the welfare of the new born baby. Nobody is interested in listening to the description of labour. It is ultimately the success which matters. However, times are changing. The description of labour in the present context may be structural anomalies. These are threats to the institutionalisation process of JFM.

On the basis of the discussion based on SWOT analysis it was revealed that there is general appreciation of the role and effectiveness of participatory management of forests in India but there is a lack of clarity on the methods of its implementation. The study reveals issues of harmonizing structures, styles systems, staff, skills and shared values according to the strategy, which need to be properly understood, and pro active interventions and contingency plans evolved to overcome these difficulties.

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Agriculture and Agribusiness Institutions in South Asia

.... Sanjeev Chopra *

What is Agriculture?

In a general sense, agriculture is a term used to describe most activities associated with the cultivation, exploitation and breeding of plants and farm animals and also scientific and technological studies of agricultural processes and the means of increasing production[1]. The Oxford English Dictionary (1933) describes 'agriculture' as the "science or art of cultivating the soil and rearing animals and including allied pursuits like raising livestock; tillage husbandry, and farming." Ludden[2] (1999) describes agriculture as the "social organization of physical powers to produce organic material for human use." So we notice that in many ways, agriculture is 'a manipulation of nature'. The world's first farmer, sowing a seed in a spot, s/he has selected for her/his own reasons launched the human race on its bid to control and exploit the environment.

When the term 'agrarian revolution' is used, the reference is usually to the transformation of 'farming' from the growing of subsistence crops to agriculture as a profitable business enterprise. Ghosh[3] (1998) describes 'agrarian revolution' as connoting "the sweeping and radical processes leading to macro-structural transformation in agriculture - specially encompassing areas of access to land & other assets in agriculture." It has immense social and political implications. The GR technologies symbolize the great spurt in

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1. According to one school of thought (Taimni, K.K., 1997), everything that is included within the mandate of the Department of Agriculture would come within its purview. As such, agricultural co-operatives are an important 'sectoral concern' of the Departments of Agriculture throughout South Asia.

2. 'The New Cambridge History of India - An Agrarian History of South Asia' 1999, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

3. National Professional Officer, Food and Agriculture Organization, India, and a commentator on India's agricultural policy.

4. The SAARC Region shows all stages of agricultural development - from Jhum (shifting cultivation) and terrace cultivation in Nepal, Bhutan and North-East Region of India - to the advanced biotechnological interventions in Punjab(s) (India and Pakistan) and Maharashtra. Such differences naturally imply different rates of return - and different levels of marketable surplus. Market surpluses bring to the fore, the role of institutions, which transact businesses with farmers.

agricultural production in a region/country as influenced by the specific actions, processes, technology or inputs geared to improving availability of food/access to nutrition. This has tremendous social and ecological consequences. While several parts of South Asia have experienced the GR - (which is how the region could overcome the specter of drought and hunger), areas under rain-fed conditions still exceed those that come under irrigation[4].

Agribusiness

'Agribusiness' has been described as an industry involving the production, sale and distribution of farm products. This term also includes industry that supplies goods or services for agricultural production. It has been described as agriculture conducted on strictly commercial principles. It deals with agricultural produce and services required in farming. It is a blend of agriculture and business[5]. The extended definition of 'agribusiness' given in Encyclopedia Britannica, Volume-I (1980) describes it as "agriculture, regarded as business, more specifically, that part of a modern national economy devoted to the production, processing and distribution of food and fibre products and by-products. In highly industrialized countries, many of the activities essential to agriculture are carried on quite separately from the farm. These include the development and production of farm equipment, fertilizer and seeds; in some countries the processing, storage, preservation, and delivery of products have also been separated from basic farming. In consequence, farming itself has become increasingly specialized and businesslike. Some business firms even raise crops, as in the case of a winery that operates its own vineyards and processes and bottles its own wine or a large commercial producers of fast-frozen vegetables that maintain their own farms." The Hutchinson Encyclopedia (1997) defines agribusiness as "commercial farming on an industrial scale, often financed by a company whose main interests lie outside agriculture; for example, multinational corporations. Agribusiness farms are mechanized, large in size, highly structured and reliant on external inputs."

Researchers like Goldberg (1968) visualize that "an agribusiness commodity system encompasses all the participants involved in the production, processing, and marketing of a farm product. Such a system includes farm suppliers, farmers, storage operators, processors, wholesalers, and retailers involved in a commodity flow from initial inputs to the final consumer."[6] For

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[5] New Oxford English Dictionary, 1998.

[6] For a discussion on recent trends in agribusiness industry please refer to 'Agriculture and Technology Survey' (The Economist: March 25, 2000) and Chopra's (2000) paper, 'Co-operatives as Trailblazers: Choice and Control of New Technologies in Agricultural Co-operatives' Humphrey Seminar Series, Cornell.

Duft (1979) "it includes all business enterprises that buy from or sell to farmers." He describes "the agribusiness industry as being very diverse and complex. It comprises large corporate giants and small single proprietorships. It includes the manufacture, distribution, storage, wholesaling, retailing, and marketing of varied products, commodities, and services." In the typical U.S. scenario, the agribusiness industry (despite its functional diversity) comprises four main organizational forms of businesses. The Table 3.1 illustrates the major differences between organizational characteristics of individual proprietorships, partnerships, corporations, and cooperatives. Ten major characteristics are listed to highlight the differences, and these are self-explanatory.

Table No. 1 : A Comparison of Organizational Forms of Agribusiness Enterprises

Organizational Characteristics	Individual Proprietorship	Partnership	Corporation - Investor Owned	Cooperative- Patron Owned
Management control	The Proprietor	The Partners	Board of Directors	Board of Directors
Management orientation	The Proprietor	The Partners	Investors	User-Members
Functions	To buy, produce, or provide goods & services for sale	Same as proprietorship	Same as proprietorship	To purchase and provide supplies and service or market & process commodities
Objectives	Profit for the proprietor	Profit for the partners	Profit for the investor - Stockholders	Savings for the member-patrons
Users	The Public	The Public	The Public	Member - Patrons
Ownership Representation	The proprietor	The Partners	The Investors - one vote per share owned	Members - usually one vote each
Legal base	Unincorporated	Legal agreement of associates under state law	Incorporated under state law	Usually incorporated under special state enabling legislation

Organizational Characteristics	Individual Proprietorship	Partnership	Corporation - Investor Owned	Cooperative- Patron Owned
Liability	Assets of the proprietor	Assets of the partners	Assets of the Corporation	Assets of the Cooperative
Proceeds to recipients	The Proprietor	The Partner	The Stockholder - proportionate to ownership	Members - proportionate to patronage
Return on invested capital	Unlimited	Unlimited	Unlimited	Limited by law

Source: Kenneth D. Duft (1979), Principles of Management in Agribusiness, Prentice Hall, New York.

The classification however has a rather limited application in South Asia, where most agricultural production was not geared for the market, but meant for self-consumption. In fact, before the GR technologies were introduced, most agricultural production took place under what Shanin[7] (1984) would call the 'peasant mode of production'. Ludden (1999) has also described "how the social systems evolved in agrarian South Asia to appropriate the surplus from the land." It therefore, becomes clear that the interface with the agribusiness organizations mentioned in the Table 3.1 has not been very pronounced.

Money Lenders and Parastatals

In fact, Duft (1979), Goldberg (1968), Seetharaman and Shingi (1997) and most others who discuss agribusiness enterprises overlook the fact that in India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Nepal, the major transactions of a farmer are not with either of these four forms of agribusiness. Their transactions are with the institutions, which do not fit into the organizational form that has been detailed - viz., moneylenders and parastatals. To an extent, it can be said that the moneylender can fit into the category of an individual proprietor - but the domain, centrality and 'hold' of a moneylender in South Asia was quite pronounced[8], till modern development institutions: like State Trading Enterprises (STEs) and Co-operative Development Finance Agencies (CDFAs) were consciously created by governments to curb the pernicious

[7] Refer his work 'Peasants and Peasant Societies: Select Readings' 1984, Penguin, Middlesex.
[8] Read Malcolm Darlings's classic 'The Punjab Peasantry' (1925: Oxford University Press) and David Hardiman's 'Feeding the Bania' (1999: Oxford University Press) to get an idea of how the moneylender controlled every aspect of agrarian production and appropriated a substantial portion of the surplus.

control of the moneylender on rural economy. This phase also saw the rapid expansion of the co-operative sector under state patronage which was apparently 'producer controlled' but functioned directly as an instrument of State policy.

So a peculiar phenomenon of South Asia is that while agriculture has grown, agribusiness has not. In fact, it has in addition to Investor-Owned Firms (IOFs), genuine cooperatives also suffered. Their place was taken by Food Corporation of India (FCI), Jute Corporation of India (JCI), Agriculture Marketing Federations (MARKFED), Indian Farmers' Fertilizers Co-operative (IFFCO), Krishak Bharti Co-operative (KRIBHCO) and National Agricultural Cooperative Marketing Federation (NAFED) in India, Pakistan Agricultural Supply and Services Corporation (PASSCO), Rice Export Corporation of Pakistan & Cotton Export Corporation (CEC) in Pakistan, Bangladesh Agriculture Development Corporation (BADC) and the Cooperative Wholesale Establishment (CWE) in Sri Lanka. Also included in this category would be private firms, which were conferred state guarantees/monopoly rights like the Pelwatte Sugar Company and Nestle in Sri Lanka, and Dru'k in Bhutan. They occupied the legitimate area and space in which agribusiness firms could have operated, and grown organically if the distortions on account of state trading in agriculture had not occurred.

The Effect of Parastatal Organizations on Agribusiness Opportunities

As mentioned earlier, these parastatals functioned as an instrument of State Policy rather than with an entrepreneurial focus. At a particular stage in the development of agriculture and food security in a country, it is very important for these parastatals to offer an 'insulated field.' However, as the political economy of agricultural production is not a static phenomenon, but a dynamic interplay of several variables, it is imperative that policy changes reflect both political opinion and market trends.[9] Moreover, changes in the technology of production, storage and value addition affect prices of agricultural commodities. As such, while the FCI does provide Minimum Support Price (MSP) and stocks to the PDS, the wheat milling (flour) industry operates only at 40 percent capacity utilization in both India and Pakistan, and therefore cannot hope to become a global agribusiness leader in wheat milled products on account of poor capacity utilization[10]. Also, as long as the industry can make profits in the domestic market at 40 percent capacity

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[9] Please see Acharya's (1999) paper "Agricultural Marketing in India: Some facts and emerging issues' in the Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics (Vol. 53 No. 3).

[10] Lecture Notes, Seminar on Food Security, NSDART, LBSNAA, Mussoorie, November 15 -17, 1998.

utilization, it has no incentive to match global efficiency norms. Likewise, the present system of FCI/state agencies handing over paddy for conversion to rice by rice millers at fixed percentage levels also leads to distortions, waste and huge inventories which add significant losses to the exchequer. Other distortions include corruption and political patronage in administration of price support schemes for domestic production, politics of determination of the purchase price and/or sale price of domestic production and imports. The management of production and processing of domestic goods, purchase and sale of all or significant percentage of domestic production based on the predetermined floor and ceiling prices also leads to distortions[11].

Productivity versus Profitability

It must be understood that while the 'nation-state' is interested in productivity gains in agriculture for ensuring 'food security' and `national self-sufficiency' in meeting the requirement of food, especially staples, the farmer is more interested in the profitability of these operations[12]. Thus even while (agriculture) production capacities have grown in South Asia, these have not translated themselves into profit for farmers on account of distortions in the agricultural policy[13] and curbs on the development of agribusiness enterprises which add value to farmers' produce. The fact that governments have discriminated against agriculture is now borne out by empirical studies conducted by World Bank and other multilateral agencies as well. In their extensive study on this subject, Brandão & Martin (1993) state that in the early stages of development, the relatively large share of agriculture in the economy, and in exports (and the relative ease of collection of border taxes) predisposed governments to taxing agricultural exports.

Two countries from the region (Pakistan and Sri Lanka) were included in this study on agricultural pricing policies for the period, 1960-84 which

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[11] This is drawn from Merlinda Ingco & Francis Ng's paper 'Distortionary Effects of State Trading in Agriculture: Issues for the Next Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiation' (1998). They have argued forcefully that the subsidy regime should be withdrawn forthright. However, they acknowledge that all state interventions are not equally distorting. They hold STE operations on quality control, export related services and maintenance of emergency stocks as admissible.

[12] The fact that the predominant economic activity in the SAARC region is agriculture, creates an impression that investing in the agricultural growth and prosperity would be the most logical development strategy. However, traditionally, as Tadoro (1994) points out in 'Agricultural Transformation and Rural Development' (Economic Development) the role of agriculture in economic development has been viewed as passive and supportive. As development was being studied purely from the point of view of GDP, economic development was seen as requiring a rapid structural transformation of the economy-from one predominantly focussed on agricultural activities to a more complex modern industrial and service society.

[13] As a result, agriculture's primary role was to provide sufficient low priced food and manpower to the expanding industrial economy which was thought to be the dynamic Lead sector.

covered 18 representative countries. The broad objective was to uncover the nature and extent of taxation on agriculture in these countries. Some of the findings, which have a bearing on agriculture in SAARC are:

i)   most (sample) countries taxed agriculture, either directly or indirectly,

ii) effects of indirect policy measures such as exchange rate overvaluation, and industrial sector protection were stronger than the effects of direct policies, and

iii) direct policies were used to 'importables' even when they were staple foods, while 'exportables' were taxed.

Terms of Trade: Agriculture versus Industry

Not only were the internal terms of trade of agriculture vis-à-vis industry biased in favour of the latter, in international trade also the developing countries were getting an unfair deal. While bulk of the primary agricultural production was located in the developing world, most agribusiness operations were taking place elsewhere. Datta (1999) points out in his paper[14] that production gap and trade gap between the developed and developing countries had moved adversely against the developing countries.

He has argued that between 1961 and 1992, although the developing countries produced an increasingly higher proportion of the world output in respect of certain agricultural cash crops, compared to their developed counterparts, their share in the world exports in value terms did not displayed the same pattern. Datta suggests that the solution for the farmers lie in the new institutional arrangements of dynamic agribusiness enterprises. In discussing the relevance of agribusiness co-operatives in South Asia, Datta and Singh[15] (1998) argue that it may be worthwhile to examine whether co-operatives have any transaction cost advantages relative to IOFs in generating values which can give the former a competitive edge over the latter. According to Porter (1990), a firm gains competitive strength by creating a value over and above the collective cost of undertaking all the required activities either in the nature of forward and backward linkages.

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[14]"Public Management & Poverty Reduction in a Market Economy - Role of Appropriate Institutions", Reading Material of 'A Module on Co-operatives for IAS Officers'. LBSNAA, Mussoorie, India (1999).
[15]"Relevance of Business Opportunities for Agribusiness Co-operatives in the New Economic Environment." The Administrator 41 (4): 109-122.

Transaction Cost Advantages for a Co-operative

Given Porter's paradigm, the comparative advantage of a business enterprise would depend on the strength of the 'contractual-institutional' design through which a firm has to strike alliances with the various stakeholders of the business enterprise. This is where the transaction costs theory as developed in the writings of Coase (1973), and others, has an important bearing on the comparative strength of co-operatives vis-à-vis IOFs. Co-operatives can cut transaction costs by evolving governance structures, which harmonize exchange relations across parties. Datta and Singh have analysed three major ingredients of transaction cost economics - bounded rationality, opportunism and asset specificity. Human agents are assumed to be subject to 'bounded rationality'. They are also subject to opportunistic, that is, 'self-seeking' behaviour - a tendency, which increases with greater uncertainty. Besides, the parties engaged in trade and contract are required to make substantial investments in transaction-specific assets, which is a set up cost and which often locks them in a bilateral trading relation with one another. A co-operative organization has the potential to economize on transaction costs on all the three counts.

Datta and Singh (1998) argue that a suitably integrated co-operative organization, by virtue of its continuing relationship with the members and pooling of resources, is capable of hedging the uncertainties of autonomous market contracting and the associated problem of opportunistic behaviour on the part of unknown and external trading partners. A genuine co-operative organization owned, controlled and managed by farmer-producers enjoys by design a unique transaction cost advantage as compared to a private enterprise. Whereas all factor suppliers other than the investor(s) are in a vendor relationship vis-à-vis the firm in a private enterprise[16], a co-operative can avoid a major chunk of the implied agency costs by eliminating possible alienation across membership and conflict with management - at least on the part of its members. Besides, producers' co-operative provides a useful forum for resolving cross-farmer conflicts.

As many assets and skills are specific to agriculture and do not have alternative applications, both the producers and consumers within the agricultural sector suffer from asset specificity problem, which hinders investment in such assets - both material and non-material. Membership in producer and/or consumer co-operative, by ensuring long-term commitment on the part of the relevant parties, can help overcome the potential hazards and thus substantially reduce the implied transaction costs.

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[16] As such a lot of transaction costs are incurred by private enterprises in designing and enforcing suitable contracts for the factor-suppliers.

Are Co-operatives Still Relevant?

In his recent article, Van Dijk (1997) argues that the historical five reasons namely, countervailing power, access to capital markets on favourable terms, scale economies, risk management and income improvement are to be re-interpreted and recast in this changed context. Since it is still not possible for individual farmers to influence the market behaviour of industrial trade partners in the market chain even after liberalization of government trade policies, the historical first reason, that is, creation of countervailing power, has obtained a new content. Co-operation is needed to create a firm that can provide an interface between the highly sophisticated global market, on the one hand, and the primary farms seeking sustainable methods of production within the rural settings, on the other.

Regarding the second reason of gaining access to capital markets, co-operatives are still in need of permanent risk-bearing capital first from their members, and also from non-member sources. But as co-operatives typically do not want to give away their control, they seem to have a preference for capital markets other than regular stock exchanges. In the changed scenario, with intensive uses of information technology, co-operatives can provide banking alongside other services through network so as to allow the farm economy to keep pace with the fast moving technologies[17].

With opening up of competitive markets, new requirements like diversification and variety at the consumer level also become important. The huge costs and risks of biotechnology, for example, seem to have highlighted the need for large-scale operations and purposeful strategic alliances[18].

The historical fourth reason of risk management is also undergoing fast changes with forward integration. While the profit margins are higher with more value addition at customer level, so too are the risks. This changing risk profile of co-operatives has stimulated new forms of ownership and special company structures with subsidiary companies and holding companies[19]. In North America, a set of New Generation Co-operatives (NGCs) have come

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[17] See Edgar Parnell's "Reinventing the Co-operatives enterprises for the 21st Century' (Plunkett Foundation, Oxford: 1995).

[18] This point has been made in the paper 'Biotech to the Rescue: Shaping the Contours of Policy debate in India' by Chopra (2000). In the Indian context it is suggested that IFFCO and NABARD should be at the forefront in the introduction of biotechnology.

[19] Bager (1997) has applied the neo-institutional organization theory to explain why European agricultural co-operatives are increasingly getting converted into hybrid organizations and limited companies. Harte (1997) has reported that due to diminished need for vertical ownership in the Irish agricultural sector, limitations of the co-operative organizational form and a general shift of the economy towards the market mechanism, some leading Irish co-operatives are finding it an efficiency-enhancing step to transform themselves into public companies with farmers' co-operatives as controlling shareholders.

into being, which are investor-driven and focusing on value added activities.

The fifth reason - namely, to improve farmers' income through suitable handling of situations of oversupply is still very relevant in South Asia where lack of warehousing and cold storage infrastructure tends to depress prices for primary producers.

The newly emerging co-operatives are following an investor driven strategy, where open membership is no longer the normal rule. With considerably greater production orientation, these new co-operatives seem to have resolved the co-operative property rights issue by putting restrictions on open membership through elaborate asset appreciation mechanisms, delivery right mechanisms, proportional patronage distribution, base equity capital plans etc.

Product Markets and Labour Markets

It can therefore be argued that agribusiness co-operatives and other agribusiness organizations and rural enterprises are important if the gains from agricultural productivity are to benefit the farmers. In the absence of these structures (agribusiness enterprises, co-operatives, farmers organizations etc.) the institutional ground rules and the framework of development will not emerge/be delayed.

The land holding structure (147 million land holdings in SAARC) and the fact that many agricultural operations in the region are still characterized by an absence of forward (markets, value addition etc.) and backward (credit, inputs etc.) linkages, which in turn leads to the cycle of low productivity, low surplus, low investments, low savings, and zero to negative rates of growth highlights the significance of these institutions, especially in employment generation and in converting labour value into product value. As Kinsey (1987) puts it, "agribusiness and rural enterprises occupy an important intermediate position between farms and consumers of farm products, and their expansion can be a catalytic factor in stimulating rural development at all levels."[20]

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[20] Agribusinesses and rural enterprises have the potential to improve income distribution by increasing the number of workers participating in the labour force, improving income earning possibilities for small scale farmers, and, in the case of very small establishments, providing landless families with the opportunities to become entrepreneurs rather than labourers. New opportunities for the agricultural labour are particularly important in the developing countries where expanding rural populations and a sluggish economic growth have resulted in a large and growing pool of the unemployed. Moreover, while product markets have remained reasonably responsive, and prices for products have risen fairly consistently, real wages have not. The theoretical proposition therefore is that people whose incomes come from the sale of products have a better potential future than those who must enter the depressed labour markets.

The Fallacy of Transposition

However, this is easier said than done. Most countries in the region extended financial managerial and policy support to rural development banks, co-operatives and agencies devoted to agricultural development. But the fact that a new formal structure is established supported by the state and or multilateral aid agencies does not mean that the earlier institution/arrangements will disappear like a pack of cards. Bardhan (1989) calls this the 'fallacy of transposition'. Thus recent studies of credit institutions in both East and West Punjab[21] have shown that even after the introduction of GR, irrigation system and village level credit societies, rural indebtedness to the *Arthiya* (intermediary) is not declining. The entire MSP operations of the Governments of India and Pakistan work with the support of these intermediaries. In the non-GR (Rainfed areas) where the production surplus is not too high, the MSP mechanism does not/cannot work on account of low volumes, and agriculturists have to depend solely on these intermediaries - as linkages to the market are not well established. Thus, even though the 'political elite' has always conveyed an impression that the interests of the farmers (especially those with small and marginal landholdings) has been uppermost in their minds, the reality is that State policy has not been favourable to agriculture or agribusiness organizations, including co-operatives.

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Story of an Alternative Development Model : Village Raj-Samadhiyala, District Rajkot, Gujarat

.... Hareet Shukla*

Before going into details about this village it should be understood what makes it unique. Some of the things which I recollect are:

- When all around the area villages are reeling under severe drought, this village is self sufficient in water. Water is supplied through pipes and tankers. No water tanker from government has come to the village in the past 15 years.

- As you enter the village there is a huge entrance gate welcoming you. The village is very clean. It has wide roads, which are spotlessly clean.

- The village has already received the state award for its achievements in family planning - the last decade has seen its population grow by less than 200.

- The village bagged the first prize of Rs. 25,000 as the best village panchayat in Gujarat under the State Government sponsored Gokul Gram Yojna.

- Every house has electricity and piped water supply. Facilities like telephones, TVs, refrigerators and other electric gadgetry is common in homes here. People have grown rich by means of agriculture alone.

- Even the most economically backward person owes a pucca house.

- There has been no crime in this village for the last 10 years now. Police is not allowed to enter this village. No police complaint has been launched in the last 20 years.

- No political party is allowed entry in this village. Even a political poster is not allowed inside the village and yet if anyone fails to vote, a fine of Rs. 51 is levied.

- Almost all politicians and senior bureaucrats have visited this village. All the TV channels like BBC, CNN, Star, etc have featured this village in their programs.

- The fair price shop is in the name of Gram Panchayat and a family is

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named to manage the affairs every month. The shares of all the households is fixed and there is no dispute.

This Village Raj Samadhiyala is 22 kms. from Rajkot. It has a population of around 1700 and a geographical area of around 2692 acresc. The main occupation of the villagers is agriculture. There is one primary school which has an education facility till class 7, there is one middle school also which has classes till class 10. Students from 19 villages come to study in this school. The Harijanvas in the village has electricity, piped water, drainage facility and pucca houses. The village has a huge playground which is maintained regularly. It was constructed from contributions from villagers. The village has a total of 51 water bodies, including lakes and checkdams. According to rough calculations the total income of the village has increased from Rs. 1 crores to 4.5 crores.

Who are the people behind the transformation of this village from an ordinary village to a model village in every respect? Although there are so many people and the village is actually governed by a committee of 11 people, the main man behind this transformation is Hardevsinh Baldevsinh Jadeja, a local resident from the Thakur community who became sarpanch in 1978. A graduate in English literature from Saurashtra University, Jadeja was appointed sarpanch when he was 26. He was selected for group A service through Civil Services exam but gave up that offer in favour of being Sarpanch of this village. Today he has an air-conditioned car and house, a cell phone and an annual income of over Rs. 10 lakhs, but above all he has transformed the lives of his fellow villagers.

Jadeja recalls the conditions in the village 15 years ago, when Raj Samadhiyala village was declared a desert zone. Nobody wanted their daughters to wed men from this village. Today the situation has undergone a tremendous transformation, thanks to soil and water conservation. While parts of the state and surrounding villages are in the grip of drought, drinking water is not scarce in this village. There is water enough even for irrigation. This has been possible because the village community has been harnessing rainwater to meet their water needs. The villagers have built 52 check dams and planted trees. From 1,600 trees some years ago, the figures have now reached 15,000.

It all started in 1978 when for some reason villagers came to Hardevbhai to ask him to take over the leadership of the village. He said if they wanted to have him as sarpanch they would have to obey him. He made a committee of 11 people, giving representation to all the castes and communities, including people who had some influence over their people. Then he decided a some

rules to be followed by all. This "11 member observation committee" had to ensure compliance of these rules.

Some of the rules were:

- Littering   Fine Rs. 51
- Drinking Liquor   Fine Rs. 151
- Gambling   Fine Rs. 251
- Selling Gutka   Fine Rs. 51
- Fighting and abusing in public   Fine Rs. 51
- Refusal to give evidence   Fine Rs. 25
- Not voting   Fine Rs. 51
- If cattle eats leaves of any plant Fine Rs. 11 @per leave
- Going straight to police   Fine Rs. 500

All the fines was doubled for Panchayat members and members of Observation Committee. It is the responsibility of the committee to catch a thief in case of theft. If it fails to do to in 24 hours it must pay full compensation to the affected party.

The result was that in the first year Rs. 30,000 was collected as fine, but there was tremendous improvement in the lives of villagers. Hardevbhai also paid 1600 Rupees as fine. After some time, cleanliness and harmonious living became a part of this village.

So what is different about this village? How did it develop when others failed?

Very clearly it found a leader, who dared to dream and had the strength to implement what he thought right. He was not there to please any audience. There is no vote bank to look after. Hardevbhai says 90 per cent of the villagers are good while just 10 per cent are a 'nuisance'. He set about mobilizing the support of these 90 per cent people to transform the village and dealt with the other 10% with an iron hand. He says today that we have too much freedom in this present democracy and in the process we are compromising discipline. The system he has established is certainly based on keeping the government away. As police etc are not allowed to enter the village and elected members of Panchayat work under the 11 member committee of village, there is hardly any government presence, But this village has utilized the money under every possible scheme and as a result have all the necessary infrastructure possible.

Leadership is a thing which every village may not find, but the problem which is common with the present development model based on Panchayati

Raj Institution is that most of the people are indifferent to the issues of village. People also tend to get divided on lines of caste and religion and politicians utilize this to gain power. With the coming of Panchayati Raj, corruption has tickled down to lower levels, almost all sarpanches and local leaders have turned into contractors and are making money, people at large are not motivated enough to go into details and check this process. Can this model of representative Gram Shabha be a solution to this problem? Introduction of one more level in the Panchayati Raj establishment may be a good idea if it results in improving the effectiveness of these institutions.

Another lesson which can be learnt from this model is that taking harsh steps is sometimes necessary to bring discipline in lives. Initially they may be difficult to digest, but when the benefits come out people begin to accept them. Pride is also a feeling which can be utilized to motivate people. People of this village have made it a matter of pride that they will not ask government for water and other common requirements. The stream of visitors to this village motivates them to keep up their good work.

Rich Land & Poor Peasants : An Institutional Analysis of Marginal Farming in the Uttarakhand Himalaya

.... *H.C. Pokhriyal**

At present, largely, in public policy debates on the mountain cultivation and its marginality, more weightage is given to the 'short-cut' and 'fast-track' technical remedial measures neglecting people's participation. The institutional dimension of sedentary mountain farming has largely been ignored in the main stream approach to sustainable management of land resources. Even in many of the policy documents, the mountain farming has been identified as one of the land erosion activities carried out by the villagers. This perception has resulted due to macro policy negligence without realizing the role of traditional mountain farming in conserving the bio diversity along with income security to the people. The local peasants consider mountain farming as one of the core activities to sustain and support the food security along with the sustainability of environment. Land has always remained the nucleus of all the economic activity in the mountains. Consequently, land management is needed to be analysed as per the perception of the people living in the mountains. The mountain farming system has remained the main livelihood support to a large proportion of the rural population. Especially, the women workers devote their whole time in cultivation, animal husbandry and other primary activities related to the basic livelihood support. As pointed out earlier, inspite of the inherent potentialities of mountain cultivation, these opportunities are not being used at large. Some experimental efforts have also demonstrated the high profitability in any mountain farming system. But, due to absence of the proper institutional mechanism, the benefits are not shared among regions and sections in the mountains. The gender component is also very weak in many of the experiments and innovation done within the mountain farming. These conditions are largely found in all the mountain areas in India, specifically in the Uttarakhand Himalaya.

It is critical to contextualise the mountain perspective and weightage in policy strategies is needed to be given to the institutional dimensions and the

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learning from people should be used to analyse the process of improvement in cultivation in various micro regions within the mountains. This necessitates a decentralised and participatory approach to develop the sustainable terraced cultivation in the mountains. The paper starts with the preposition that locally adapted and suitable strategy is needed in different micro and agro-climatic, and socio-economic regions in the mountains. It is, in this context, that the Uttarakhand Himalaya is selected as the study area for analysing the marginality issues related to mountain cultivation and other primary economic activities in the rural areas.

The objectives and justification of the approach

The *Primary aim* of present paper is to suggest, on the basis of analysis, few policy options to improve the mountain farming systems in the Uttarakhand Himalaya, broadly keeping in view the tiny nature of terraces and women cultivators. Hence, the objective of this paper is to *analyse* the development process of mountain sedentary cultivation in the Uttarakhand Himalaya by adopting an institutional approach. The investigation will also highlight some of the *research inadequacies and gaps* needed to be filled in future.

Efforts are also made to *recommend some of the policy measures* to improve the livelihood of the people, especially women, who largely depend on the hill cultivation. The traditional and conventional wisdom and experiential learning of the people, which has been accumulated through generations, is been given a fundamental importance in the analysis.

The *institutional dimension* mainly concerns with the 'attitudinal' and 'ownership' aspects of the agricultural development in the mountains, which make the people aware of their potentialities, capabilities and ablility to harness the expanding opportunities for utilising market advantages available within the village surroundings and beyond. In this approach the 'collective strength', 'positive freedom' and 'cooperation' among each other along with sharing of the mutual benefits are taken as the advantages over present practice that treats improvement in cultivation as merely a technical problem. In some other publications, the specific aspect of institutional frame work, like agrarian structure, is also studied (see Pokhriyal, 1988 and 1994). In this dimension, a comprehensive perception of a developing web of relationships among people, group of people and government and people is adopted, where land (including the cultivated land and cultivable waste)has been taken as a systematic entity. It is not only concerned with proprietary rights in land and tenancy, but more importantly the lands are treated as an integral components

of the social system. In this conceptual framework the totality of the livelihood, rotating around the land resources, is given a foundational importance. The institutional approach does not undermine the crucial role and importance of the farm technologies, rather it emphasizes the inadequacy of the technological approach and advocates the complementary role of each of these to understand the totality of the mountain farming system. The awareness about the environmental sustainability is not the only factor responsible for mountain focused policy, where the environment is taken as a 'dead' phenomenon. The second stage of the awareness, which is more significant now, is related to human environment, where marginal cultivators are kept in the core of any policy debate. The awareness about the beneficial characteristics of the bio-fertilizer produced food grains, higher quality of traditional variety of seeds, utility of the traditional skill and knowledge base and above all the bio-diversity issues have created conditions to re-think about the mountains in general and its farming systems in particular. The re-emergence of mountain focussed strategy to improve the livelihood of the people living there, especially after 1992 (post Rio,UNEP scenario), could be fully appreciated by using the institutional dimension to analyse mountain-farming systems.

Generally, in analysing the mountain agriculture, the *technological dimension* is over emphasized. In some of the studies, the agricultural techniques have been identified as the sole solution to the problems of mountain cultivation. The bias towards the technical side of the farm development strategy is quite understandable. This is mainly due to convenience and search for the short sighted quick fix solutions, those can be easily grouped under the technological explanation. In understanding the totality of the complexities associated with the mountain cultivation, especially in the Uttarakhand Himalaya, the long term institutional dimensions are to be complemented along with the short termed technical solutions. In the institutional approach of studying the issues of mountain agriculture, the whole historical processes of land settlement pattern and tenancy system of the mountains are essential to be analysed. The specific historical trends and pattern of land management provide various clues to policy analysts, which help in understanding the regional peculiarities of the mountain agriculture. In this context, the 'marginality' syndrome of mountain farming communities can be understood comprehensively. The future strategy to develop the mountain farming practices will possibly be more nearer to totality if the institutional aspects are thoroughly investigated.

Keeping in view the above raised issues, the development of *sedentary*

mountain cultivation is analyzed in the historical sequences along with the presentation of mountain specificities of the traditional cultivation. The evidences of endless endeavors of the peasants can be investigated through various land settlement reports published since 1815 AD in the Uttarakhand Himalaya. In a more broader term, the cultivation pattern and institutional framework in the Uttarakhand Himalaya can be divided in to three broad phases, namely the feudal phase (pre 1815), the colonial phase (1815 to 1947) and the post independence phase (after 1947). The feudal phase could be seen as a stage where the perpetuation of the 'Khaikary' (occupancy cultivation) cultivation was found lacking any optimism. Contrary to it, the coloniel phase in the major part of the Uttarakhand could be seen as the massive expansion of the 'hissadari' (proprietary) cultivation with an up thrust in expanding the cultivation on the contours of sustainability. The post independence phase for all practical purpose remained as the continuation of the colonial initiatives (with indifferent attitudes of the officials and macro policy negligence) and also witnessing a heavy 'partial-migration' of male workers to the urban centre and service sector. It is significant to review the issue of marginality of the mountain cultivation in the institutional paradigm for providing a better diagnosis of the problem. The systematic investigation of the problems of cultivation in the Uttarakhand will provide a natural way to see the possibilities and analyse the potentialities by improving the capabilities of the cultivators in the rural areas.

The *methodology* to analyse the institutional dimension of the mountain cultivation would be largely based on the secondary data and land settlement reports published since 1815 AD. The main points of some of the studies and work published in the last ten years on the Uttarakhand Himalaya are also reviewed. Apart from other sources, some of the policy documents on the Uttarakhand Himalaya are also studied to assess the importance given by the government to analyse the problems of the hill agriculture. This also gives us an opportunity to evaluate the importance given to the mountains in the macro policy framework.

The Present Status of Cultivation in the Uttarakhand

The *politico-geographic identity* of the Uttarakhand Himalaya has gone through a very interesting historical process. Presently, it contains ten districts of the Garhwal and Kumaon commissionaries in the UP State in India. There were only eight districts till 1998, namely five in Garhwal (Pauri Garhwal, Tehri Garhwal, Uttarkashi, Chamoli and Dehradun) and three in Kumaon commissionary (Nainital, Pithoragarh and Almora). Now two new have been

districts carved out from Nainital (Udhamsingh Nagar) and Almora (Bageshwar), one district from Chamoli and Garhwal (Rudraprayag). The whole of Uttarakhand Himalaya covers 51125 square km of area (17.4% of the total area of UP state) and a population of 5926146 as per 1991 census (4.4% of the total population of the UP state) inhabiting in 15166 villages. More than 20 per cent of the population is from the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe category. More than 80 per cent of the population lives in the rural areas, out of which 60 percent people are literate. A considerable proportion of male workers (60 percent of workers) and almost total female workers (more than 95% of the workers) are engaged mountain cultivation. In this situation, more rigorous efforts are needed to redesign the agricultural development policy for getting maximum benefits out of the agro-ecological potential available in the mountains.

It is quite important to note that although the whole of Uttarakhand is taken as the Himalayan region, but three broad agro-ecological, economic and socio-political zones could be tentatively carve out. These can be termed as the 'high land and Bhot Himalaya', the 'main land of Garhwal and Kumaon Himalaya ' and 'Tarai, Bhaber and Dun colonisation'. The details are shown in the following figure I.

The interesting part of the whole setting can be found in the context of three different spatial delineation of the Himalayan region. The 'Bhot area' is largely snow bound. Below the snow lines some summer villages are found mainly dominated by the erstwhile trading communities descended from Tibet origin. They played a crucial role in trading between the Indian states and the Tibet till time of Indo-China war of 1962. Besides the trade, they were also cultivating and producing traditional varieties of wheat and barley, and other local products. In the present scenario, this area is most suitable for growing medicinal plants and other useful herbs. The technologies are available, which need to be adapted in these areas. It requires a special strategy, possibly initiating the land rights. The Tarai and Bhaber colonisation has become a major political issue in the recent days. The resettled Sikh farmers were rehabilitated here after the Indo-Pakistan partition of 1947. This is an area producing huge amount of agricultural surplus procured through market and public agencies. As discussed above, a new district, Udhamsingh Nagar, has been carved out essentially covering the Tarai portion of the Nainital district. It is interesting to note that this sub-region utilised maximum of the opportunities in the name of hill area development in the last fifty years. The Dun area is mainly urbanised and practically not reflecting any sign of marginality.

Figure I : Three sub-regions in the Uttarakhand Himalaya
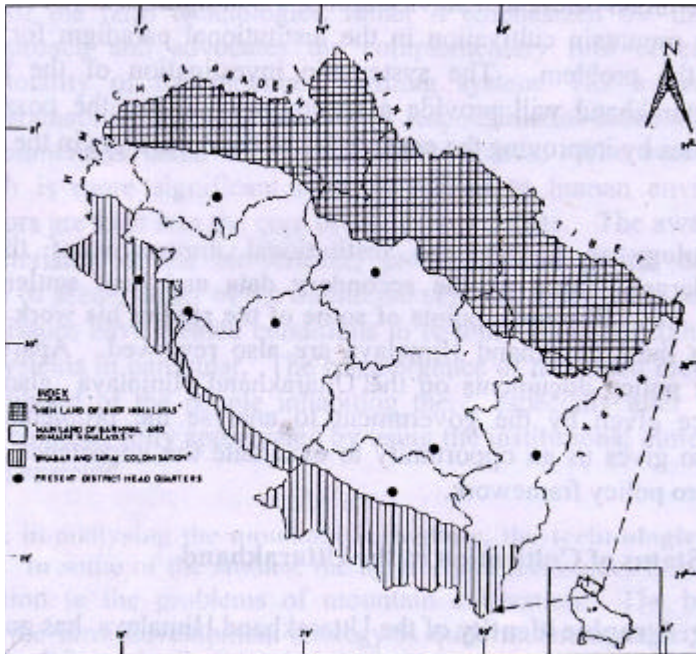
The socio-polically and econmically most signficant sub region is the mid Himalaya or the main land of Garhwal and Kumaon. This area is also exhibiting an exceedingly high rate of partial male migration to the other regions and the issue of marginality of mountain farming is predominantly concerned with this sub-region. In terms of political dominitation for formulating some of the policies, the elected representatives and other leaders coming from this region could play a major role.

The land related institutional complexities are distinctively varied among theses sub-regions. Accordingly, land settlements have been carried out separately to cater to the deviant requirements of these sub-regions since 1815 AD. This also highlights the need for context specific policies to improve farming practices. Unfortunately, in almost all the policy documents, the whole of the Uttarakhand was taken as 'homogeneous' entity and accordingly policy initiatives have been advocated.

The policy perspective for improving mountain-farming systems is equally important in the present context. As discussed above, the intra regional variations within the Uttarakhand region were highlighted in the

beginning, like in 1978 -79, (see Government of UP, 1980). But after the initial enthusiasm, these variations were not analysed in their proper perspective. The issue of intra-regional inequalities has been hidden under the hill development policy in the official publication and discussions till recently. In some recent policy documents the major 'constraints of development' have been identified. These constrains are related the topography, terrain, climates, soil cover, limited cultivated lands, large number of marginal holdings, scattered settlement pattern and lack of physical accessibility. The realization towards the distinct features in agricultural setup came very late, like the Ninth Five Year Plan (1997 - 2002) points out that, ' so far the agricultural policy has largely been uniform for the entire hill area' (see Government of U.P. 1998, p 38). In the policy framework, the diversification of agricultural activities has been emphasised along with reducing the transportation cost and focussing on the women cultivators for improvements. The need for land use capability classification was also highlighted. Still, in the recent policy literature, more emphasis is given to the new technological interventions like tea plantation, herbs and medicinal plants as well establishing the organizations including horticultural college (see Government of UP, 1999, Budget Speech of Minister of Hill Area Development, 1999-2000). Largely the policy papers contains a short term approach lacking proper perspective.

In assessing the marginality issues and designing the policy for improving the mountain farming, the understanding of the over all land utilization aspects become significant. The trend in land utilization is shown in table 1.

Table 1: Land Utilization in the Uttarakhand Himalaya (in per cent)

Category	1977-78	1980-81	1992-93	1996-97
Forest	65.8	64.6	63.3	63.94
Barren & uncultivated land	4.46	5.5	5.6	5.55
Land put to non agricultrual uses	2.02	2.2	2.6	2.57
Culturable waste	5.57	5.9	5.9	5.93
Permanent pasture & other grazing land	3.82	3.5	4.1	4.24

Category	1977-78	1980-81	1992-93	1996-97
Land under miscellaneous trees and groves	3.78	4.1	4.2	4.07
Current fallow	0.44	0.4	0.1	0.14
Other fallow	0.56	0.6	1.2	1.2
Net sown area	13.53	13.2	12.4	13.36
Total reported area	**51750***	**53270***	**53590***	**53624***

Note : "total reported area" is in square km and categories are the per cent to total area, variation in "total reported area" is due to measurement process

Source : Government of UP. 1977,1998 and 1999

The total reported area is around fifty three thousand square kilometers showing some variation, which is due to measurement and other technicalities. But the proportions among the main land use categories remain constant in the last twenty years. In the livelihood process, the inhabitants also use the forest resources for their felt needs and role of forests in improving the basic conditions for cultivation is well established. As a result, the requirement is to understand the total perspective rather than simply sticking to a particular land use category. From the management point of view the land can be divided into two broad categories, namely the forest department managed land and the land managed by the revenue department. The forest managed land comes mainly under the 'forest' category, which is around fifty percent of the total area. More than twenty per cent of the area comes under 'civil soyam' (16%) and 'panchayati' (8%) forests. Here it is interesting to note that within the 'forest' category of land, dense forests cover only 44.3% of the total reported area. If we exclude the 'open forest' (9.9 % in 1996) along with the dense forests, still 23.7 % of the area within the 'forest' land is barren. These statistics show the urgent need in terms of planting trees within the forest land. Even in the extreme situation, extending the cultivation could not encroach the forest land managed by the forest department of the state.

After adding the 'net sown area' and 'fallow land', the total comes to around 14 % of the reported area. Another interesting point is related to the 'culturable waste' category of land, which is around 6 % of total reported area. The culturable waste is an area left fallow after cultivation continuously more than five years. By definition this land is mainly under the private

ownership (in the context of Uttarakhand) and under the present set of regulation this land can be used for expanding the cultivation. After adding these categories, total possible cultivable area comes around twenty per cent. This proportion turned up to 1053159 hectare (see govt. of UP, 1999, pp. 2-3), which means that as an average more than 66 hactares of cultivable land resources are available in a single village having average population of 300 persons. In the context of horticultural development, around eight per cent of the land of the total reported area is available. In the diversification process the expansion of horticulture on the land specified above (land not suitable for cultivation), can be thought about. This needs a proper blending of appropriate technologies available and settling the ownership issues over the land. The net result of the present analysis shows that merely pointing about the 'limited cultivated land' is not going to provide the sustainable answer. By simply looking into the database, the possibility of expansion of cultivation on the culturable land can be thought about. Presently, the suggested approach seems unatainable but the future lies with the bountiful nature and innovative efforts of the local people to improve the quality of life under a self dependent development initiatives. It is critical to visualize how one looks upon the mountains- a 'burden' (as seen in the official documents) or a 'possibility' for future survival and for improving quality of life. There is a need to go into deeper analysis. The deeper analysis, from macro to micro (namely district-block-cluster and village) will give us more optimistic results.

Apart from expansion of the cultivated area, the qualitative dimension, related to possibilities of irrigation expansion, is vital in any discussion on the marginal farm improvement programmer. The irrigation proportion is shown in figure II.

Broadly, it is found that around thirty five per cent of the net sown area is under irrigation. This per cent is on the higher side due to inclusion of the irrigated area of Tarai and Dun farms. In the mountain region of the Uttarakhand Himalaya, the official data show 10 to 15 per cent of the net sown area is having irrigation facilities (as shown in figure II).

If we compare the data on irrigation (excluding the Tarai and Dun areas) of the last forty years (govt. of UP, 1981 and 1999) in term of water availability and possibilities of construction of gravitational channels, a very high potentiality could be seen. This potentiality can not be seen in the official statistics. In presenting the alternative perspective, a case study of Tehri Garhwal is given here. In analysing the water availability for irrigation, it is

found that only 16.52 per cent of the villages (335 villages out of 2027 villages in Tehri Garhwal) are not having any irrigation facilities. It also means that the other 84 per cent of the villages have irrigation potentiality and this can improve the irrigation facilities to increase the crop production. The present irrigation data do not explain how far the potentials are being utilised. Lastly, it shows the minimum level not the maxim possibilities. The micro level evidences point toward the possibilities. In one of the studies it is found that 49 percent of the unirrigated area can be put under irrigation by using both the traditional and new technical options (see Pokhriyal, 1993,pp. 109-110). It is equally important to mention that in spite of governmental efforts, still the irrigation potential is not properly utilised. It has two reasons, firstly the efforts made by the government are of a very bad quality and higher financial leakage is found in the channel construction activities and in some places due to road construction the traditional channels are damaged. Secondly, due to partial male migration in some of the places the net sown area is being converted into culturable waste resulting in loss of irrigation. Again, some micro level evidences suggests that large proportion of the government channels are defunct due to faulty design or just waiting for funds for repair. It seems that all the above mentioned factors have been working in a causal manner, which reduced the cultivation activities to those who could not partially migrate to the other areas. In some of the cases the irrigation area is reduced. But the future optimism could be seen in the awareness generated in the last few years, which will provide a base for thinking differently in terms of providing sound and sustainable base for quality of life.

It is found that the mountain farming remained as one of the neglected sectors due to factors mentioned above. The short-term approach to earn money through partial migration of the local male workers is equally responsible along with the official pessimism and indifferent official attitudes. With the result, the intra-regional disparities have widened and the 'Tarai and Dun' colonisation exploited the larger share of the financial assistance provided through government hill area development programmes. The neglect resulting both by the 'local factors' (including partial male migration) and 'indifferent official attitude' some how also seen in the productivity data. Mainly, four traditional crops, paddy, wheat, Mandua and Jhangors are grown in different districts along with other millets and pulses. The details of per hectare productivity is given in table 2.

Table 2 : Per Hectare Productivity of Main Crops Grown in the Uttarkhand Himalaya in 1995-1996 (Quintal/Hectare)

District	Maize	Paddy	Mandua	Jhangora /sawan	Wheat
Nainital	10.41	29.22	16.75	11.15	26.47
Almora	11.90	12.16	9.63	10.10	11.65
Pithoragarh	12.16	13.55	17.40	12.39	15.52
Chamoli	12.08	13.34	14.27	14.68	14.00
Uttarkashi	10.80	16.54	17.45	12.75	18.35
Tehri Garhwal	10.44	14.14	14.17	12.43	14.32
Garhwal	10.63	10.22	12.93	12.92	12.71
Dehradun	10.33	17.40	11.82	10.85	17.72
Uttarkhand total	11.10	19.77	13.10	12.17	18.35
UP State	13.74	18.62	13.08	10.72	24.45
Himachal Pradesh	14.97	12.36	na	Na	12.14
Jammu & Kashmir	25.25	20.80	na	Na	7.12

Note : Average production of HP and J&K state is give for comparison purpose, na-data not available.
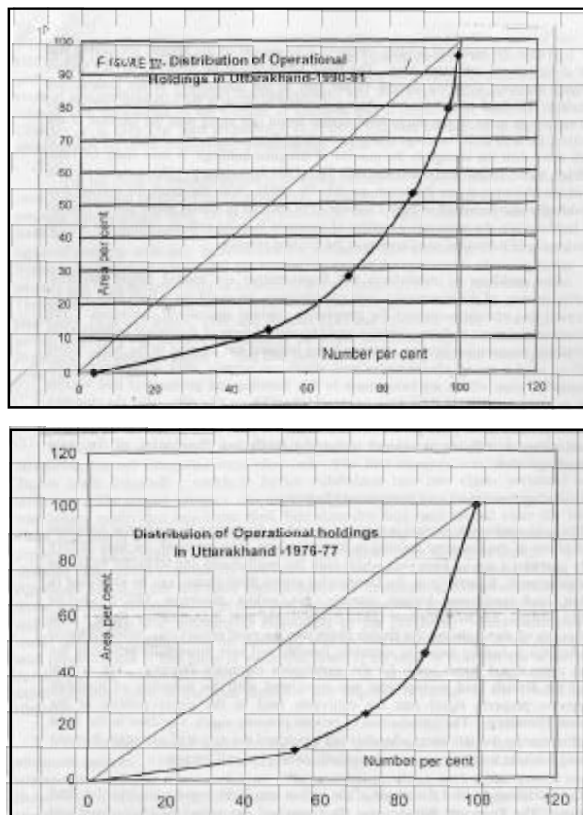*Source : State Planning Institute, 1999*

Comparably, low productivity in the conventional crops is easily visible in the table Under the present situation, even the per hectare productivity shown above is a consoling factor to those peasants, especially women, working very hard to continue the life in the hill cultivated terraces. Considering the high rate of male migration and inability to make use of the irrigation potential, the productivity pattern in the mountain districts is in itself evident to explain the potential of the marginal cultivation. The productivity data shown in the table 2 are unable to capture the totality of the situation of the hill cultivation. The conventional terms, like cropping pattern, cropping intensity, cultivation practices prevailed in the mountains. It is important that the traditional skill in cultivation is a critical input to further improvement in future productivity. There are many varieties of crops grown in the mountain fields, those are not captured in the simple productivity data. There is a need to go beyond existing negative mind sets to revitalize the neglected farming activities. There is lot that could be learnt from the local

people, which can really empower the marginalised communities in the mountains.

In the emerging context of bio-diversity, the encouragement to continue the conventional wisdom about cultivation practices is most significant. Now, awareness about the quality of traditional seeds, bio-fertilizer based farming is increasing and in such a situation it would be worthwhile to strengthen the people's learning accrued through generations and help them to go for other initiatives and practices of sustainable mountain farming. Interestingly, at the global level many groups under various titles are struggling hard to re-establish the conventional wisdom of sustainability and quality of life. But at the grass roots there is no incentive to really continue the self-dependent food and nutrition security. In the process of improving the marginal farming in the mountains this dimension needs to be given more weightage.

Tiny *land holding pattern* is another basic attribute attached with the hill cultivation in the Uttarakhand Himalaya. The tiny holdings could be taken as the natural adaptation of collective survival in the specific ecological settings. In the official publications a very low level of average operation holdings and unequal distribution of these tiny holdings were taken as the constraints to development. The alternative to the official perception about the land holdings could visualize this situation as an opportunity to really produce high value product on the virgin mountain soil. Yes, some of the institutional measures to reduce the time and money costs are urgently needed to be initiated. These are related to 'mountain cooperative farming' and 'consolidation of land holdings'. The average size of land holding in the Uttarakhand region comes to .94 hectares, which is almost equal to the average of the UP state (see State Planning Institute, 1995 and 1999). In Himachal Pradesh the average size of land holdings comes to 1.21 hectares. Within the Uttarakhand region, the average size of holdings varies between .54 and 1.67 hectares (Nainital- 1.67, Almora- .62, Pithoragarh- .54, Tehri Garhwal- .84, Uttarkshi- .98, Chamoli- .87, Garhwal- 1.28 and Dehradun- .97 hectares). The distribution of the land holdings is relatively unequal, but not to that extent to creat any social and political conflicts in the region.

Following the land holding category, the National Commission on Agriculture identified a standard classification, which is now adopted in the whole of India. As per this classification more than seventy five percent of the holdings are having less that one hectare of cultivated land. The marginal holders (less than one hectare of cultivated land) control only thirty percent of the cultivated area. The details of the land holding distribution is shown by a Lorenz curve in figure III. In figure III, two time interval holding data are shown (1977-78and 1995-96), depicting constant inequality ratio.

FIGURE III. Distribution of Operational Holdings in Uttarakhand-1930-31

Distribution of Operational holdings in Uttarakhand -1976-77

Within the marginal holding category, fifty percent of the holders are having less than .5 hectare of cultivated land. The focus group would be from .02 to .05 hectare category peasants, covering around 46 per cent of the landholders in the Uttarakhand Himalaya. The land records show a constant increase in the marginal category of cultivation. Some of the micro level studies found that along with the increase of the numbers, the area under holdings is also increasing. Surprisingly, the change in the area is much more than the change in the number of marginal holdings. In case of Tehri Garhwal district, based on the land settlement data from 1924 settlement to 1981, revenue records also point out this result (see Pokhriyal, pp. 53-55, 1993). With the result, the average size of holding has also increased in Tehri Garhwal. The analysis presented above shows that the tiny holdings are the necessary condition of mountain farming system, which is a natural consequence of ecological conditioning of the farming practice.

The problems of subdivision and fragmentation need proper attention. Keeping in view the topography we could see a high time cost on horizontal

and vertical movement for completing various agricultural operations. The institutional solutions to these problems could be seen in term of systematic (and voluntary as well) consolidation process and cooperative farming practices being initiated and adopted in the hills. These solutions need a strong administrative zeal, which can actually work at the grass roots. Fortunately, some efforts are being made in this direction and government also accepts these as the priority areas (see government of UP, 1999, pp.47 - 48). But the objective of consolidation is difficult to achieve under the inefficient functioning of the state government agencies.

Learning from the Land Settlement History

The land settlement process is largely ignored in discussing the technical solutions to the problems of the marginal farming in the mountains. Nevertheless, the land history definitely provides a strong base over which both the institutional and technical solutions could be structured. Especially, in the Uttaranchal region three phases can be identified in the land settlement history, namely, per-Gurkha phase (pre 1803), Gurkha phase (1803 - 1815), the British phase (1815-1947) and post independence phase (post 1947). Among all these phases, the British phase was the most remarkable period in terms of providing the sedentary nature to mountain farming and very powerfully providing the legal and institutional frame work for the sustainable mountain farming. The crucial feature of the British land management was associated with the induction of hissadari rights (private property right) into the cultivable land in the major portion of the Uttarakhand Himalaya. The Britishers carried out the introduction of private property rights in the most effective manner. This policy initiative was combined with the traditional mountain farming skills of the local peasants along with the innovative capitalistic concept of self interest.

The British divided the region into three broad categories for land management. The Tarai and Bahaber, the Bhot area and the main land of Garhwal and Kumaon (excluding the Tehri Garhwal Native State, map 1 also depicts the same variation). Three type of land settlements were conducted by different British land settlement officers since 1815. About the difference between Tarai and mountain land management, the remarks of a British land settlement officer is worth mentioning here, who said, "Tarai differs considerable from the rest of the districts" (Nevill, 1904, p.88). In the present context, the British land settlements for the main land of Garhwal and Kumaon are very crucial to understand the roots of sustainability in mountain farming system. The British conducted more than thirteen land settlements in the villages of Garhwal and Kumaon from 1815 to 1915. Contrary to it,

only one land settlement (in 1964 - 65) was conducted in the post independence era in the Uttarakhand in the last fifty years.

The net result of the institutional innovations carried out by the British could be seen in terms of stabilizing the sedentary mountain farming with adequate entitlements and nutritional security in the villages. With the induction of the right to private property into cultivated land, the shifting cultivation was almost abandoned and all the Katil and Ijran lands (shifting cultivation) were converted into permanent terraces. The rights of peoperty were only inducted into the cultural land excluding the forest land. Besides, the British encouraged the peasants to extend the cultivation adjoining to the terraces which could be transferred in their names in the new land settlements. The land records show a considerable reduction in the waste area in subsequent settlements (see Traill, 1828 and Batten, 1851 and Buckett 1865 and Atkinson 1886). The right to private property was seen as a massive movement of the whole nineteenth century initiated by the British. The peasants began to "feel that they had rights in the land and these feelings grew" (see Pauw 1896). Consequently, the positive framework for farming development had been structured over which the peasant could take innovative initiatives.

Total cultivable land was divided into four broad categories and within these categories, the sub categories were identified. The first category was identified as the Talaon land (irrigated), which is further subdivided into two classes - perennial and temporary. The second category was marked as the Upraon or Ukher (unirrigated). That was further subdivided into home shed, first class dry land and second class dry land. Third and fourth categories were mainly covering shifting cultivation, known as Ijran (intermittent cultivation) and Katil (periodic cultivation). The British settlement reports analysed these details exhaustively (see Pauw 1896, Beckett, 1867 and Batten, 1851). The significant aspect is that still these classifications are in operation, except the Ijran and Katil cultivation. The only post independence land settlement follows the line and length of the land management established by the Britishers. This classification would be critical in delineating the cultivated area for individual holdings in the process of land consolidation. The point is made that there is no need to reinvent the wheel for developing the mountain farming. The need is to learn from the innovative experimentation done in the time sequence and improve it further in the Uttarakhand Himalaya.

The British period could be seen as the golden era in the sustainable land settlement process. At that time the partial male migration was also found, but not in the widespread manner as it is found now, especially in the mid

Himalayan region. The post independence period has opened more channels of livelihood in service sector and in the urban areas. It triggered the male migration processes and the women remained the only carrier forces to continue the traditional cultivation process. It is quite interesting to note that more than sixty per cent of the male migrants settle themselves in their native villages after completing their employment. The capabilities of returned migrants should be used for initiating further improvement. Hence, as a policy conclusion, the capacity building exercise for improving the quality of farming practices needs immediate attention in the mountains urgently in a participatory manner.

Policy suggestions to improve farming practices

On the basis of our learning from the present set of situation and the lessons learnt from the historical sequence of land settlement, it could be said that the land resources are there for sustainable survival, but need appropriate strategic institutional interventions. The British period is seen as a very important phase in the whole process of sustainable land management of cultivable resources. The hissadari rights transformed majority of the waste land and shifting cultivation into sedentary mountain farming. The scope to extend cultivation is still there inspite of the pessimism in the official reports. The irrigation factor is to be systematically explored. It seems that present proportion of irrigation is less than the irrigation proportion in the British time. The partial male migration, which is due to push and pull factors, could be seen as an opportunity to be utilised in capacity building by using their capabilities. The tiny and even the fragmented nature of the mountain cultivation could be taken as an opportunity to guarantee the food and nutritional security to a large extent. But this needs a reorientation by induction of voluntary consolidation process. The new awareness about the bio-diversity definitely provides an excellent opportunity for getting both the geographic advantages and economic profitability along with distributional equity. Some tentative suggestions drawn from the preceding analysis are given below.

It would be better if the whole of Uttarakhand region is subdivided into three sub regions, as discussed in the paper. On the basis of the specific requirements, the farm improvement strategies can be chalked out. Especially in the official policy documents it should be mentioned and accordingly the allocation of the plan expenditure be made. This aspect focuses more on reducing the intra- regional inequalities and the public policy made on the basis of this delineation will utilise more fruitfully the inherent potentials of the mountain farm sector.

There is an urgent need to start a new land settlement process in the mountains to initiate some positive vibration in the rural society. This will enable the real stakeholders identification of in the process of mountain farm improvement. It will also open gates to new technical possibilities.

In the new land settlements, initiating land consolidation, initially on the voluntary basis, is essential. Land consolidation is needed to be done through stages. The commitment of the government machinery is a must. It is hoped that through these initiatives the experience of British period will be repeated in the twenty first century.

The *panchayati raj institutions* should also play a pivotal and proactive role along with revenue officials in expanding the consolidation process and in initiating new land settlement process. It is also important to take cooperation of the non-governmental organizations and other interest groups in participatory land settlement process.

With the adoption of the institutional measures, the economic viability of the mountain holdings will be increased along with the spread of a new social awareness in the rural area. Besides, the ownership should also be extended to the women cultivators.

It is now high time to utilise the cultivable waste area for suitable food and horticultural crops. Not only the technical but also settling the ownership issues could be able to convert the cultural waste into productive land resource.

The mountain farming is to be seen as an opportunity for future survival. In this context participation of women in these long term strategies are some of the basic attitudinal issues needs to be settled systematically. Especially, the governmental agencies need to be reoriented and further trained to work as a facilitators in the process of re-establishing the upper hand of the mountain farming systems in providing sustainable livelihood and improving the quality of life of the mountain communities. These initiatives have wider implications in the context of optimizing the benefits of globalization and the agro-bio-diversity prevalent in the mountains. A mere technocratic and administrative angle to perceive the mountains farming system needs alteration. It is important to learn from people and help them to solve their livelihood problems and also in situ conservation of the rich bio-diversity in term of traditional food, seed, medicinal plants and skilled cultivating practices.

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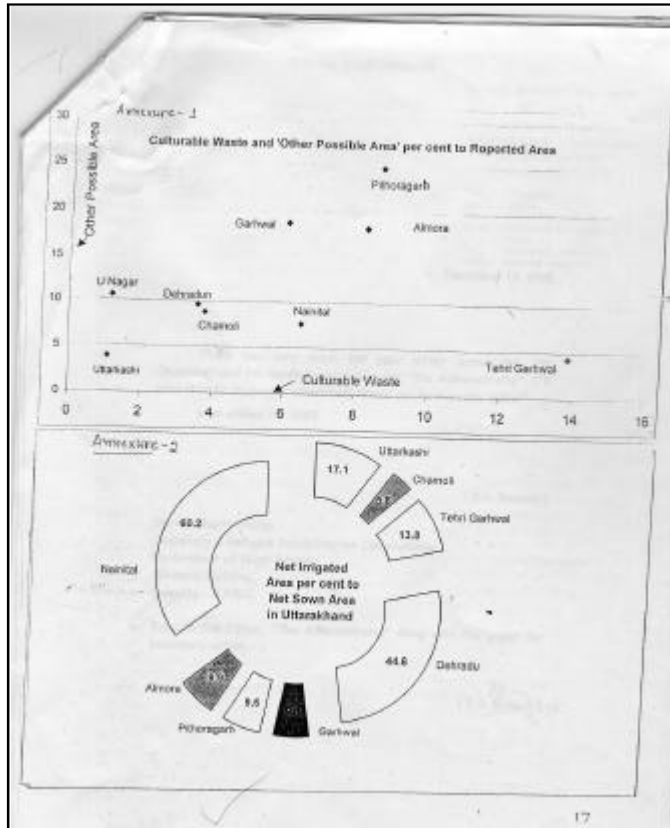
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Participatory Generation of Water Resource through Community Action in Institute Village Linkage Programme

.... *A.S. Mishra* & J.S. Samra***

A unified process of participatory research and technology transfer is expected to take care of a wide range of micro-situations especially in resource poor, complex, diverse and risk-prone conditions. Simultaneously joint consideration of socio-economic and biophysical constraints analysed with participatory rural appraisal (PRA) techniques internalizes complementaries of different components of farming systems. Sustainability can also be realized by harmonising synergies of emerging technologies with traditional local knowledge, skills and materials.

The paradigm conceptualised for the demand driven process was experimented under the Institute village linkage programme (IVLP) in three watersheds of Doon Valley. This programme was initiated in 1996 in four villages viz. Kalimati, Badasi, Bhopalpani and Sodasaroli representing three micro watersheds having 403 small production system families. Biophysical and socio-economic constraints for low productivity of wheat, rice maize, pulses, horticulture and fodder were analysed in rural setting through PRA. The major problems identified by stakeholders were lack of irrigation for rabi crops, shallow and gravelly soils and non-availability of quality seeds. The interventions were carried out in a total 2063 trials on 363.90 ha during a period of 3-1/2 yrs. Community based interventions covered 125 farmers and 41.6 ha. agricultural lands. Participatory water resource was generated through community action by harvesting interflow sub-surface water for irrigation. The achievement was unique in hill and mountain eco-system where agriculture is under rainfed micro-situation. Farming operations are associated with rain occurrences resulting into high risk of crop failure and uncertainties. It was urgently needed to tap water resource available for crop production in the adopted villages.

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Introduction

The Indian Council of Agriculture research has launched Institute Village Linkage Programme in 1996 for socio-economic improvement of stakeholders. In order to achieve sustainability in agriculture augmented productivity; stability, equitability were the main criteria of the programme for development through integration of technology. Agro-eco-system analsis through participatory rural appraisal was conducted at initial stage to know the resource availability in the village. The main feature of the programme was shift of paradigm to have democratic decentralized decisions with bottom up approach for transfer of agriculture technology. This was to inculcate empowerment among villagers for decision making and changing erstwhile top down supply driven extension approach to bottom up demand driven. To achieve all these in extension participatory research was experimented at farmers fields of adopted four villages in terms of verification trial and on farm research.

Central soil and water Conservation Research and Training Institute was identified to implement the programme on watershed basis. There were four villages in three watersheds selected under the programme. In view of agriculture production farmers had been classified under three categories viz; commercial, green revolution, and critical diverse risk prone or small production system farmers. Adopted villages namely Sadasaroli, Kalimati, Bhopalpani and Badasi were situated in the selected watersheds. In all, 403 farm families of small production system were adopted under the programme. Agro ecosystem analysis with pattern analysis of space, time, flow and decisions on Participatory Rural Appraisal was taken into consideration at the village to identify specific and community problem. Priority and preferences of the identified problems were anlyzed by the farmers in their informal rural micro situations. Considering biophysical and socio-economic constraints and the problem cause analysis, 29 interventions were selected with joint venture of farmers and service providers every year. The urgent need of stakeholders on top priority was requirement of irrigation water.

Villages selected had low crop production inspite of so much of hard labour, due to unfavourable hill toposequence and gravelly soil profiles associated with rainfed farming system. Even in rainfed condition agriculture was the livelihood source of farmers. Rain water was not utilized for production system properly. It was going waste untapped and without use runoff. Availability of water resource for harvest was indicated by farmers on their experience and traditional wisdom while systematic transect walk

of farmers and the scientists was performed in the village. There was a meager surface flow and was required to be tapped to generate water resource in the village through community action.

An intervention of water resource through community action was developed by farmers in rural gathering for generating the available water resource and sharing the same for equitability and profitability to enhance productivity in the village. Another village Bhopalpani had the same challenge of water scarcity for agriculture. For lack of irrigation water during rabi season agriculture lands in the village remain fallow. There was mono cropping system and the stakeholders were harvesting only one crop of monsoon season i.e. of kharif and that too under rainfed micro situation.

Empowerment

Farmers of adopted villages under Institute Village Linkage Programme were hesitant and not able to come forward to express their problems. They were poor and had very limited means of their livelihood and pulling on agriculture in difficult micro-situation of hilly terrain. By and large they were not able to harvest even sufficient grain from the land to meet their needs.

Bottom up participatory approach in presence of professionals as
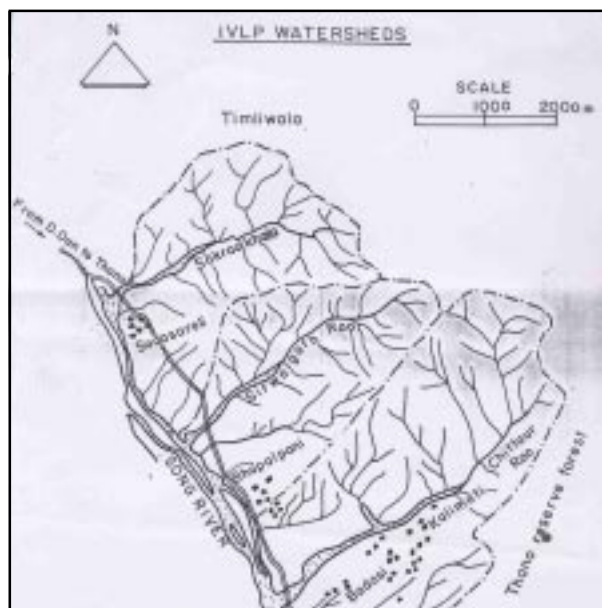
Three watersheds in the project area associated with reserve forest on the eastern side and Song river on the western side. The hamlets of the 4IVLP villages viz; Sodasaroli, Bhopalpani, Kalimati and Badasi are indicated in the respective watershed.

facilitators created confidence among farmers. Stakeholders actively took part in PRA for revealing the ground realties of the village and socio psychological information. Collective common decisions for improving their condition on spot snalysis was of paramount importance. Extending views to overcome problems by ranking and prioritizing them had great values in problem solving holistic approach. They were confident that their decisions would be accepted by authorities. Behavioural changes and capacity building enabled them to come ahead for interaction with outsiders for discussion and programme development. Successfully conducted interventions in their fields were extrapolated by them in view of profitability. Stakeholders were also sincere for development of horticulture, acceptance of new varieties of crops, income generating activities and generating water resource even in adverse and unfavourable micro-situation of hill and mountain system, undulating topography and bouldry soil profiles.

Participatory Community Action

Analysis of rainfall pattern in the project villages revealed bimodal pattern of rainfall. Maximum rainfall is received during monsoon season in the month of July and August. Rainfall practically ceases during mid of March and one or two hailstorm may occur in April and May. Dependable good amount of rainfall is also received during winter in the month of October, January and February. Despite ample rainfall in the Doon valley, there are long spells of moisture stress due to temporal variability in rainfall distribution. Supplemental irrigation to crop is required especially in *rabi* season. Non-availability of irrigation water was analysed as a major biophysical constraint during the PRA exercises at IVLP villages. Farmers of the adopted villages expressed serious concern over scarcity of irrigation water. In order to overcome the problem of water resource in the village participatory water resource development was taken up thorough community action. The matter was discussed in the joint meeting with farmers and scientists to explore the possibility of generating water resource for the farming community. A systematic exploratory transect walk of the village was undertaken to know the ground water availability. A location which had shallow subsurface flow, was identified and critically discussed with the farming community. In an informal gathering of farmers and Block Paramukh, the details were discussed further to integrate technology with the traditional experience and local wisdom. Farmers indicated sub surface interflow and assured enough resource availability by means of their indigenous technical knowledge. Another walk was made to select a suitable place for water harvesting structure near the flow. The design of the structure

w   a   s
discussed in an informal rural setting by scientists. Farmers interacted with
professionals and came forward with many suggestions and alternatives. In
the light of discussions, structure design was modified at regular intervals to
reconcile with the divergent views of farmers. A Gram Sabha meeting was
held to evolve a written agreement about contributions from the farmers and
day to day management of the construction work.

Joint efforts for generation of water resource

In a joint meeting of farmers and the scientists, it was finalized that entire
labour input would be provided by beneficiaries. The Institute would provide
externally available inputs, such as, stones, cement, cratewire nets, and the
mason, which were not available at the local level. Later on the villagers
offered to collect stones locally, as their usufruct right on lands and asked the
institute to hire labour for day to day work. This suggestion was later
incorporated in the revised agreement. This kind of flexibility of the
participatory process made the work easier and cost-effective. The
specification of dugout tank (21m. x, 8 m x 2 m) were agreed jointly. Three
sides of the structure with gabion pervious walls and cement plaster at the
top were made. One side was plastered to retain water in the tank. The idea
was that pore space available in gabion walls between boulders would act as
inlet and allow sub-surface water flow to collect in the rank. In order to lift
the harvested water from the storage structure, a pump house was constructed
near the tank. A diesel engine and pump set was purchased jointly by the
farmers by paying anshdan.

Table : I - Water harvesting tank at village Kalimati, Block Raipur under

IVLP		
	Parameters	**Specifications**
1.	Implementing Institute	CSWCRTI, Dehra Dun
2.	Intervention	Resource management through water harvesting by introducing community action
3.	Structure mode	Dugout type, surface and sub-surface water harvesting
4.	Mode of working	Participatory approach

5.	Participants	Farmers and CSWCRTI inter disciplinary core team.
	Parameters	**Specifications**
6.	Size of the pond	21x8x2m
7.	Storage capacity	260 cu.m.
8.	Institute contribution	Rs 1,29,212.00
9.	Stakeholders' contribution	
	a) labour	Rs. 32,550.00
	b) cost of stones made available	Rs. 36,165.00
	Total (a+b)	Rs. 68,715.00
10.	Total cost of construction	Rs. 1,29, 212 + 68, 715 = 1,97,927.00
	A. Farmers' contribution	35%

B. Institute's contribution   65%

C. Year of completion   1998

Participatory Sharing of Water Resource at Another Village

Village Bhopalpani is located on downstream of Kalimati village but there was no water resource for irrigation to rabi season srops. Water requirement to rice crop was supplemented with irrigation from diversion of seasonal flow from nearby streams. This flow dried-up and was non-existent during winter season. In the village, monocropping system was prevailing and during rabi season agricultural land remained fallow. As the water available from dugout tank in Kalimati village was more than the requirement and village Bhopalpani was located at downstream of Kalimati, possibilities of carrying this water for irrigating to rabi crops in Bhopalpani were explored. An underground conveyance system by PVC pipeline of 1.68 km. Length, 110 mm dia (4kg/cm2) having 2.09 percent hydraulic gradient at 14.3 1/sec discharge was designed with the villagers to transport water through gravitational flow to village Bhopalpani. Interactions in general body meeting between the farmers and team members was held for development of a general consensus on varieties of issues relevant to the conveyance system. Several meeting of both villages and water user societies took place to resolve

the issue. Like Kalimati village, a water users society was also constituted at Bhopalpani in joint meetings of both villages and interdisciplinary team of scientists to manage the resource generated for irrigation to the crops.

Contribution

In participatory mode of generating water resource farmers took part as partner and worked with interdisciplinary team of scientists hand in hand. Stakeholders extended their contribution as labour input and locally available material for interflow water harvesting tank. Farmers of the village used their traditional wisdom to suggest and indicate to the professionals if anything went beyond their expectation. There was mutual understanding for the resource development and its management by constituting users society of the beneficiaries. On completion, contributions were worked out and it was observed that inspite of being resource poor, stakeholders contributed 35% of input in terms of labour and local material where as rest 65% was shared by the institute in creating the resource. In the year 1998 the structure was completed and farmers had made their sincere efforts in purchasing a pumping set by paying Anshdan (a part of total amount). They were so enthusiastic that in the same year they used the generated water resource for irrigation to their rabi crop. For the first time in the field they had seen such a good crop of wheat. In the process of execution of the participatory water resource generation, stakeholders went through the four psychological stages of contractual, consultative, collaborative and collegiate action of participation. Having observed the success of village Kalimati interflow water harvesting structures, stakeholders of Bhopalpani had made their efforts in transporting the generated resource through gravity by means of underground conveyance

system in participatory mode and got share of the natural resource.

Table : II - Details of participatory community action for developing underground water conveyance system

Parameters	Specifications
Programme	Institution Village Linkage Programme
Intervention	Participatory Water Resource Development
Material	PVC plastic pipes, GI pipes

	and GI risers
System	Underground conveyance system
Mode of working	Participatory approach
Parameters	**Specifications**
Implementing agency	CSWCRTI, Dehra Dun
Length of pipeline	1680 m
PVC pipe	Diameter - 110 mm
	Pressure - 4 kg/cm2
	Diameter - 80 mm
	Assembled with 100x80mm
	GI Tee, Nipplem GM, Gate value and 90 bend
Head	34.29 m
Discharge	14.31/sec.
Hydraulic gradient	2.09 percent
Area of irrigation	2 ha/day
Year of completion	July 2000
Villages involved	Kalimati and Bhopalpani
Number of beneficiaries	125
Command area	- Kalimati - 16 ha
	- Bhopalpani - 25.6 ha
	- Total - 41.6 ha
Farmers contribution (in terms of labour and local material)	Rs. 50,000
Institute contrition (in terms external material, skill and supervision etc.)	Rs 2,18,000
Total cost (A+C)	Rs. 2,68,000
Percent Contribution of	

(a) Farmers   19%
(b) Institute   81%

(c) Year of completion   2000

In order to install underground water conveyance system to village Bhopalpani about 1.68 km away farmers contributed 19 of the cost in terms of labour input for digging trenches, fixing pipes and providing local material like sand and bajri (gravel). They agreed to install risers on their own in the field. The project contributed in the form of external material for installing the system such as plastic, G.I. and R.C.C. pipes, cement, bricks and skilled labours. Transparency was maintained for development of participatory common resource in the village. This was achieved by recording proceeding of the meetings, decisions taken and accounts of various expenditures in the register which were made accessible to all for verification of various expenditures suggestions and refinements. The success was achieved with the consent of both the villages namely Kalimati and Bhopalpani. Stakeholders of the village Kalimati had expressed their first right over the water resource as they had created the asset and had higher contribution in constructing the structure.

Resource Management and Generation of Social Fund

A water user society was formed to sell and share the amount of water to the beneficiaries with equity and mutually- agreed payment basis. In due course of time the society was expected to generate enough social funds by selling water. The fund generated in this process was to be utilized for maintenance and community development work in the village. It was thus a self- generating financial support to stakeholders in executing socially-required community activity for welfare of the village. The construction work of the tank was completed in 1998 with joint efforts of inter-disciplinary team and farmers participation. In all, 33 families from Kalimati village and 17 from Badasi village participated in generating the water resource for irrigation on 16 ha of land. Specifications of the structure with estimated cost and monetized farmers contribution are given in table - I. In 1999, the farmers of Kalimati started generating social fund from the sale of water for irrigation. During the first year it was about Rs. 5,000 (Rupees five thousand) from sale of water of rabi season crop. It increased to Rs. 10,400 for village Kalimati and Rs. 4,800 for village Bhopalpani in the year 2000. The performance of improved wheat varieties with irrigation water was excellent. An old farmer of the village expressed that they had not seen such a good crop ever before in the past. At village Bhopalpani for the first time in history wheat was grown and agricultural operation was initiated before time. It was an unique experience of farmers and unbelievable feelings of crop

performance due to irrigation. The water user society had fixed up, with general agreement, a rate per hour to provide irrigation water to beneficiaries. There was use of diesel engine for lifting water to channels by the pumping set and for that machine repairing, maintenance and fuel were required. Taking into consideration all relevant aspects the committee of village Kalimati and Bhopalpani got approval of the farmers general body for irrigation water charges @ Rs. 40/hr. Out of forty rupees 10 was for social fund to have maintenance of the pumping set, Rs. 24 for the cost of diesel and rupees six for the operator who would start and close the pump machine. He would have the responsibility to follow the roster and timing schedule of the irrigation water as per the amount paid by the beneficiary. The available water was shared by 50 farm families to irrigate about 200 bighas (16 ha.) of land at village Kalimati and Badasi. The rate would be revised time to time in view of the diesel price and skilled labour wages in joint meeting of water user committee and the professionals of research Institute. Like village Kalimati, water user society of village Bhopalpani took agreement of stakeholders about the rates of water charges/hrs. It was accepted as Rs. 25/- out of which Rs. 10/- would be paid to Kalimati water user society, Rs. 10/- to the Bhopalpani society as social fund and Rs. 5/- to the operator at Kalimati. The water charge per hour was less at Bhopalpani as the water flow was with gravity and there was no use of pumping machine or any other additional cost.

Conflict Resolution and Equity

Cooperation and conflicts are two important aspects in participatory mode of common resource development. In order to share the resource with equity, in community, differences and conflicts come across. While water harvesting structure was being dugout stakeholders cooperation were achieved to greater extent as expected. Conflict was observed, sometime, on social and technical issues. As the conflicts were for better cause, they were resolved smoothly by means of negotiation and the mediation of professionals. However, upstream and down stream conflicts appeared between Kalimati and Bhopalpani villages, and their resolution was important to share the water resource developed by Kalimati villagers. A general body meeting of water users societies of both villages were called to discuss equitable sharing of generated resources. The water user society was responsible for sharing of water on payment by hourly charges. It was unanimously agreed that a fund in village Kalimati and Bhopalpani was needed for repairing and maintenance of the underground conveyance system.

The underground water conveyance system from village Kalimati to

Bhopalpani was laid out in participatory mode after resolving all conflicting issues. In resolving conflicts the best method of negotiation was adopted so that farmers could interact in presence of facilitators with a congenial climate and have equity of the generated water resource. They were allowed to express their suggestions, modifications, changes, expectations, complications in informal free and frank atmosphere of the rural gathering. The success of conflict resolution was very high and both the villages agreed to share the resource by way of mutual understandings.

Appropriate Technology

Generation of water resource through community action in participatory mode is an appropriate technology for development of rural areas. Large reservoirs are required for the larger area having more population in big watersheds. In order to construct big reservoirs more investment is needed. It does not serve the immediate need of the stakeholders dwelling in interior rural areas and the hill watershed. Small water harvesting structure is more appropriate to collect water at small scale and meet out the requirement of irrigation to the crop. The resource generation at village Kalimati and Bhopalpani has shown its impact. By harvesting increased crop, farm families achieved enhanced production of crops. Previously under rainfed situation crop condition was disappointing with low yield. The situation has changed with the availability of water resource and agriculture is now quite different.

Small structures of water harvesting has comparatively low cost, low per head investment, longevity and less maintenance cost. Its impact and effectivity is very high for increasing cropping intensity at village level and it can be constructed on participatory mode with *shramdan* and social contribution. Stakeholders get a feeling of ownership and responsibility to protect the structure as they have been involved in that by putting labour for construction. Confidence, capacity building, decentralized decisions, community mobilization, and farmers empowerment are the outcomes. This is an appropriate technology as it fulfills the immediate need of stakeholders. Available resource is properly managed for problem solving in participatory mode.

A comparative study of reservoir and water harvesting structures has been depicted in table III. It reveals that water harvesting structures is a low cost technology for problem solving and meeting farmers requirement by

extending immediate benefit for more period with less maintenance cost and higher ground water recharge. The harvested water increases favourable climate for vegetation and crop growth.

Table: III - Comparative study of reservoirs and water harvesting structure

Sl. No.	Items	Reservoirs for water resource	Water harvesting structure of
1.	Plan	Planning at national level	Planning at village level
2.	Size	Bigger in Size	Smaller in size
3.	Technology	Complex and used for multipurpose objectives	Simple and used for irrigation purpose to enhance crop production
4.	Design	Complicated	Easy
5.	Gestation period	4 to 5 years	4 to 6 months
6.	Life sediment	Longlife of structures planned on sediment deposition rates as the siltation is very high	Less deposition of in the structure
7.	Per ha investment	Approxi. Rs. 90,000/ha	Approxi. Rs. 12000/ha
8.	Catchment	Water is collected from big catchment	Water is collected from small catchment
9.	Treatment	Catchment treatment in larger area	Catchment treatment in small area.
10.	Community participation	Not possible	Community participation always possible.
11.	Benefit	After long period	Immediate benefits
12.	Cost per head	Very high cost	Low cost about 4000/head
13.	Maintenance	Maintenance cost is high	Maintenance cost is low
14.	Equity	Equal sharing is not taken into consideration	Equitability in resource sharing is more
15.	B.C. Ratio	Low	High

| 16. | Area of construction | Very big | Very small |

Transparency

Having completed the PRA and identifying problems, farmers general body meeting was organised in presence of public representatives, Block Pramukh, Pradhan of the gram sabha and head of the Institute. Farmers agreed to contribute their labour input, local material in generating the water resource whereas the external material and skill labour was the share of the Institute. Payment to labour or any other items concerning intervention was made with the consent and approval of the village representatives. A water user society of eleven members was constituted in the farmers general body meeting. Minutes and proceeding were recorded properly and made public to the villagers so that each and every decision could be known to all concerned. Expenditure of accounts and meeting proceeding suggestions were documented in duplicate in two register. One of them was kept with villagers and another with scientists for record. Attempts were made at every step of community action to maintain transparency.

Adoption of Children - A Misplaced Priority

.... *M.P. Vijaykumar* & Supriya Sahu ***

Adoption is one of the most beautiful ways of building a family. In our country Adoption or Duttak custom has been practiced for centuries and many scriptures and mythologies have mentioned about the adoption of children specially adoption of a son by the childless couples. The adoption in ancient India was done mainly to retain the family property within the family. It was very common to adopt a male child from the relatives. The practice of adopting a child from the relatives is common even now among the Indian couples. Many Indian families prefer to adopt within the family as they want to be sure of the religion and the family background of the child they are going to adopt.

However one can see a spurt in the number of Indian couples who wish to adopt a child from an Institution rather than from the relatives. The myths about the colour, sex and the religion of the child to be adopted are disappearing fast. The encouraging response of the Indian couples reflects a very positive attitudinal change on one hand but on the other the increasing demand for adoption of children has opened up a plethora of Issues which need to be addressed to streamline the entire programme of adoption in the country.

The entire gamut of adoption and related issues came in for review during a public litigation petition filed by Lakshmi Kant Pandey Vs Union of India in the Supreme Court in the year 1982. The case brought in sharp focus various issues concerning the Adoption of Indian children both in India (In country) and abroad (Inter-country). Following the Judgement of the Supreme Court, the Government of India laid down detailed guidelines for streamlining the adoption of children. The guidelines were modified in 1995. The Government of India also set up Central Adoption Resource Agency (CARA) in 1990 to deal with all matters concerning adoption of Indian Children. It

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plays an important role in monitoring of adoption and ensuring that the procedures laid down for adoption of children are adhered to.

Adoption of children in the states is monitored by the Directorates of Social Welfare. The Government of Tamilnadu has set up an Adoption Cell in the Directorate with the Objectives of Promotion of adoption of abandoned and destitute children as a best alternative to provide for the growth and development of a child in a family environment, monitoring and regulating the working of licensed child welfare placement Agencies doing adoption, licensing of new placement agencies for in-country adoption and recommending the agencies to CARA for inter-country adoption, collecting quarterly data from the licensed agencies about the programme of adoption in the State of Tamilnadu and keeping a watch over the adoption programme and designing and formulating of programmes and policies in favour of adoption of abandoned and destitute children.

One of most important issues confronting the programme of adoption is the total lack of information available to people on this subject. Simple details like whom to approach and where to go for adopting a child are not available easily. The lack of information often leads couples to unscrupulous agencies which literally sell the babies by demanding hefty sum of money.

This lack of information is not confined to general public alone but many times the government functionaries specially Juvenile Welfare Board members, Police officials, Health and Education Department officials are themselves not clear of their role in the programme of adoption. Many of these functionaries do not know the procedure to be followed for a proper and legal adoption, agencies involved in the adoption programme and other related issues. Very often District Collectors have given away abandoned or orphaned children to childless couples without knowing the correct procedure to be followed to ensure the safe future of the child.

One of the important reasons for this lack of information is that most of the licensed Agencies for adoption are concentrated in the Metros. As a result, people from the other districts do not have easy access to these adoption agencies for adopting a child as approaching the institutions based in metros again and again is very time consuming and expensive and it acts as a major deterrent in adoption. It is therefore essential to have licensed Adoption Agencies in other districts as well. There is no nodal officer also in the districts to coordinate the adoption issues and guide the people willing to adopt.

The Health department plays a very important role in handling the

abandoned children. A better coordination between the Departments of health and police can solve most of the problems of handing abandoned babies. The Government and private hospitals and clinics need to be informed about the addresses of the licensed agencies so that in case of an emergency they can inform the agency to pick up the baby. Likewise all the Police Stations should have a list of the licensed Institutions in their area for immediately informing them if any abandoned child is found in their locality.

Sensitisation of the Juvenile Welfare Board members, Police officials and Health Department officials can play a very important role in not only making these functionaries know their roles but in also ensuring that the abandoned and destitute children find a loving and caring home without any delay and complications.

Organisation of brainstorming sessions between licensed Adoption Agencies, Non Governmental Organisations, Voluntary co-ordinating Agencies, Scrutinising Agencies and Departments of Health, Education and Police will go a long way in thrashing out the important issues and solving of the bottlenecks in the adoption programmes.

In addition to these essential steps, distribution of pamphlets, handbills, posters and publishing of the information through newspaper advertisement etc. can go a long way in spreading information about the adoption programme and help the couples planning to adopt. This is possible only when there is a Budget allocation for the adoption programme. However many States do not have separate or adequate Budget allocation for the adoption programme. The lack of money seriously jeopardises the entire programme of adoption. State Governments need to allocate adequate amounts not only for promoting adoption and spreading awareness but also for organising interactive sessions and sensitisation programmes for all concerned with adoption.

The list of parents waiting in the queue to adopt a child is growing day by day. The waiting period could be anywhere between 2 to 6 months. The Agencies licensed by the Government are finding it difficult to meet the growing demand for the children. This is the situation on one hand and on the other a number of children are languishing in the government and private orphanages who could be given in adoption. There is a need to have a serious look at the situation of children spending most tender years of their life deprived of love and affection of a family. The first step in this direction could be the exposure of the staff of these Institutions to the problems of long term Institutionalisation on the tender age of the children. Making the officials and other staff aware of the harmful consequences of keeping the

children in the Institutions can definitely help in bringing a positive attitudinal change towards adoption of these children. A number of private institutions horde abandoned and orphaned children in their homes when these children could be easily given in adoption. There is no doubt that some institutions provide good quality services to the children but the fact remains that no institution can replace the love and affection of a family. Efforts need to be made to transfer all the eligible children to the Licensed Institutions so that they can be given in adoption.

All the records pertaining to an adopted child need to be preserved carefully for the future. These records could be of immense help for some adopted children who come back in search of their roots. This is specially observed in case of children adopted outside India. At that time every little detail could provide them a sense of completeness and prevent them from the feelings of frustration. As per the guidelines of Government of India, regular reports are received in the Licensed Agencies and also in the Adoption Cells, about the adopted children. However, the way these records are kept leaves much to be desired. The Adoption Cells should have special record rooms for preserving these records. The collection of data about the adopted children is also very poor which results in the poor follow up of the cases of adopted children. The data collection and monitoring needs to be strengthened to help the monitoring agencies in the better follow up of the adoption cases and close monitoring of the working of the Adoption Agencies to take action against the corrupt agencies who undertake adoption as business and not as a social service.

The entire process of adoption may take 2 to 6 months. Most of the parents willing to adopt find the entire process of adoption very cumbersome and long. The legal channel of adoption involves preparation of a number of reports like Home Study Report, Child Study Report etc. A number of clearances have to be obtained, and the deed of adoption has to be registered. However the time required in all these steps can be considerably reduced by the involvement of all the concerned organisations. It is a fact that the entire process of adoption could be sometimes frustrating for the couples, however we should not lose sight of the fact that legal adoption is the only way to adopt a child without any complications in future. It not only ensures the right of the child in the family but also gives mental peace and satisfaction to the adoptive parents about their right over the child.

In brief the Adoption Programme needs the attention it deserves from all the authorities to make the life of the destitute and abandoned children full of the warmth and affection of a loving and caring family.

Book Review

Title of the Book	**:**	**Management of Internal Security**
		and Related Issues
Author	:	Dr. Krishna Mohan Mathur
Publisher	:	Gyan Publishing House, 5-Ansari Road, New Delhi
Year of Publication	:	1995

The book under review, is a collection of essays, which analyse and discuss the various aspects of internal security from a managerial perspective. A complex set of communal, social, economic, ecological and political factors have brought issues related to internal security to the centre of national agenda. The proxy war waged by Pakistan trained mercenaries and terrorists has in the past one decade killed approximately 17 thousand people in Kashmir. At the same time approximately 8 thousand militant and Pakistani agents were killed by the law enforcement agencies during last one decade. Similarly insurgency and ethnic conflicts in north-eastern state like Tripura, Manipur and Assam have caused great sense of insecurity among the people.

The book has been organised into six chapters and four appendices. The first chapter provides a managerial approach to internal security. Its problems and various dimensions have been properly highlighted by the author. Unbridled pursuit of drug trafficking and narco-terrorism by money laundering have posed serious threats to the internal security of the country. Ethno-religious nationalism, the erosion of moral values, the changing social norms, dynamics of unemployment and criminalisation of politics have created a growing resurgence of disruptive forces threatening peace, security and economic well-being of the people. Growing lawlessness in police, organisational deviance, custodial 'deaths', police strikes, wanton misapplication of penal powers against innocent persons, arrogant and brutal handling of law & order situations, fake encounters, connivance in vice, rackets like gambling, prostitution and smuggling are some of the ugly facts of police indiscipline. Planning calls for preparedness for meeting future eventualities and surveillance through pro-active decision making. India's

intelligence set up has to collect intelligence & disseminate it to the concerned organizations. CRPF, BSF, CISF, Railway Protection Force, Indo Tibetan Border Police, Assam Rifles, National Security Guards, Special Protection Group, coastal Guards, CBI, Army and Civil State Police are some of the organisations dealing with various challenges of internal security. High level coordination and staffing are needed for control room management.

Control of firearms & explosives, media management training & motivation of internal security forces are some of the important managerial aspects. Decision - making and strategic management for security organisations call for managerial professionalism. The author has elaborated about the resource allocation for national security through a diagram and has suggested a system's approach to the various challenges of internal security. "Plural Executives" have the responsibility of managing security problems of the nation. Generally plural executives are formed on adhoc basis through various special task forces or executive committees. There is an urgent need for framing a long-term national security policy after getting the inputs from all intelligence agencies and its proper analysis by security experts and National Security Council. Planning, organising, staffing, co-ordination, decision-making, strategic management are some aspects analysed by the author.

The second chapter "Improving Police Performance through Training Search for Thrust Areas" deals with evaluation of police performance and various components of a training system. According to the author there is need for effective human resource development for providing total service of the highest quality to the community by effective, efficient and good quality policing. Police behaviour in India needs modifications and radical changes in view of the democratic pluralistic nature of Indian society. The police should formally participate in community planning in all cities and towns and community policing should be encouraged. Centres for excellence in various fields of training should be created in police organisations with adequate infrastructure and motivated faculty members. Audio visual aids and films could be useful for police training. Regular vertical interaction programmes and management courses should be organised for human resource development in police organisations. The third chapter deals with rural unrest and agrarian movement in India. There is an urgent need to critically examine the nature, magnitude and coverage of rural tensions in depth with a view to studying the socio economic problems manifested in them and to suggest remedial measures at the policy level to minimize rural tensions. Rural unrest is clearly visible in the states of Maharashtra, Tamil

Nadu, Gujarat, Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. An important dimension of agrarian unrest is the social conflict arising out of mal treatment and atrocities on harijans, girijans and weaker sections of society. Political will is needed to redress the grievances of the farmers. A suitable strategy needs to be worked out by the State Governments through intelligent use of radio, T.V. and press to ensure that agrarian harmony is built up in rural areas through various socio economic and political actions. Masses should be mobilized to keep a violence free rural India.

Conflicts of plural society and their impact on internal security have been dealt in the fourth chapter. In plural societies, economic exploitation and political domination give rise to conflicts between various ethnic groups. Conflicts arise in the distribution of scarce goods and resources between different groups. In north eastern states four type of conflicts are noticed: 1) Diffused conflict at the ideational level; 2) Conflicts within the tribal communities 3) Conflicts between various ethnic groups and 4) Conflicts between tribal communities and other socio economic groups of the state. The Naxalite movements in Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and other States have their own characteristics and ideological base. India today finds itself embroiled in combating an effective low-intensity conflict in Kashmir, fomented by Pakistan agents. Plural societies have to carry out the difficult task of compromising and coalescing many different and conflicting group interests within the broad national interest. Intelligence agencies and policy planners have an important role to play in combating conflicts.

The fifth chapter analyses the Management of Disasters and Crisis situations. The task of disaster management calls for effective coordination, good planning, effective response to disasters and various long-term and short-term measures to provide relief and rescue operations on war footing with cooperation from all national and international agencies. There are numerous problem areas and implementation gaps in rescue & relief operations at ground level. The author has carried out case study of Andhra Pradesh Cyclone of 1977 and drawn lessons from Maharashtra Latur earthquake. Disaster management and prevention plans are required to be drawn up for each district. Political will, public awareness and support and preventive measures are all essential pre-requisites of disaster management. Rehabilitation of people after disaster involves long term financial and administrative support.

Internal security operations and their impact on human rights have been brought out beautifully in the sixth chapter by the author. Human rights have

been covered in this chapter in a very holistic perspective, giving details of various allegations against police force regarding violations of human rights. Various factors responsible for human rights violations by Indian police have been elaborated and references of various special laws have been made. The dilemma faced by security forces in dealing with armed insurgents, terrorists and criminals has been explained by the author. Need for human rights training to police and security forces has been highlighted by the author. Various tables given at the end of this chapter provide useful statistical data on human rights and other related issues. Appendix "A" provides the full text of universal declaration of human rights (1948) and Appendix "B" make a comparative analysis of fundamental rights under Indian constitution and UN declaration of human rights. Appendix "C" gives section wise references to human rights in Criminal Procedure Code (1993). Appendix "D" reproduces the inaugural address delivered by the author on the occasion of 38th Internal Security Seminar for Deputy Inspectors General of Police at Mount Abu.

The book is educative, informative and a valuable contribution by the author. The book is written in a textbook style with scholarly inputs from various authentic sources. The author presents an exhaustive empirical review of India's internal security challenges and the complex issues concerning their management. The hard work put up in carrying out this study seems to be very creditable and outstanding. It is useful for policy makers, members of the police and security forces, scholars and national security experts. Any research and reference library would feel proud to get enriched with such a valuable volume. The print and get up are impressive and book will be useful to all activists of human rights to get proper perspective on human rights. This book is a unique contribution by the author on management of internal security and perspectives on human rights. The book gives an excellent exposition on the concept of management of internal security and other related issues and shall be interesting for the enlightened citizens and the general

public. The book under review contains lot of references and has dealt with various subjects in most scholarly manner. The author deserves our compliments for the erudite work on a relatively unexplored field of management of internal security.

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