
UNIT 15 MOBILISING VOLUNTARY ACTION

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15.1 INTRODUCTION

After attaining independence most of the developing countries embarked on the path of modernisation to catch up with Western countries in the shortest possible time. The national elite in these countries bent their energy to accomplish this task. The experience gained during the first two development decades amply showed that the two concepts of modernisation and development were most inadequate to solve the problems facing the people in these countries. Although some economic growth was registered, the process

brought in its greater dependence on Western countries and widened the gulf between rich and poor in different countries. At some places this led to the emergence of powerful social movements. This invited a backlash from vested interests tending to promote parochial and obscurantist values which militated against the goals of modernity.

Aims and Objectives

After going through this Unit, you will be able to understand

- how to mobilise Voluntary action;
- the role of social movements for mobilising Voluntary Action;
- the role of NGOs for mobilising Voluntary Action

15.2 DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIETY

Development is a social process through which human organised communities try to satisfy their needs. Development is considered to be “human” if its objective is the substantial satisfaction of everyone’s needs, and “sustainable” if satisfaction today does not prejudice that of tomorrow. Moreover, development has a low human content when it lets the normal human tendencies towards competition and selfishness degenerate into violence and prevarication; this occurs when the tendencies are not balanced by the other ones (equally normal) tending towards co-operation and social life. Thus severe imbalances are generated and the development determined actually benefits only a fifth of the world’s population.

15.2.1 Social Exclusion

Social exclusion must be considered as a precise indicator of development with low human content and so it is a phenomenon that concerns all citizens. Since exclusion is a clear signal of the lack of space and participation of a great number of people, it is also a clear sign of the low quality of the democratic processes that, instead, should be the basis of equilibrated and lasting development. Development would be the natural outcome of the adventurous and creative spirit of single individuals. It is principally the outcome of the guide-role of stronger persons, usually more bold and aggressive, that compete for success and associate to form strong groups. The competition between these groups would create development, benefiting all.

15.2.1.1 Exclusion from the Society for the Purpose of Development

Exclusion is not an occasional event. It is the supporting element of the present forms of social organisation. It is created by the fact that the individual qualities of human beings are opposed to the social ones, instead of being harmoniously combined. It is like if, during a storm, the helmsman would throw overboard all the rest of the crew to save himself. Probably, in this way, no one could be saved.

Exclusion deprives human society of the great potentialities that are generated from the natural tendency to associate to solve problems that singles could not solve alone. Nevertheless, many consider absolutely natural that those who have success in the struggle for life should assume the absolute guide-role excluding the rest.

The others are the ones who remain behind, the beneficiaries of the initiatives of the stronger groups. They are, substantially excluded, to various extents, from the most meaningful moments of development: information, development, decision-making, management

and evaluation. They are framed in programmes and actions not chosen by them. The various political systems try to capture their consent. Some in a rude way (authoritative and demagogic regimes), others more gently (the democracies which, through parties, election and parliaments, promote everyone's formal participation to social life). Substantially, though, the overwhelming majority of the people do not have the chance to be really active in the more general development processes. Social organisations based mostly on the individual's personal initiative generate systems in which some count meaningfully, and others have less and less importance, until they have none at all.

15.2.1.2 Main Mechanisms of Exclusion

Economic and social development is generally implemented with the lack of participation of the population. The following are the main mechanisms of exclusion.

- Centralism, that is the fact that all the most important decisions that concern a great number of persons that live in different and far away areas are taken in few central seats. Centralism can be corrected with decentralisation that allows public and private actors at the local levels to take a large amount of decisions on matters that can be solved locally and to be active in processes that imply central decisions.
- Hierarchy, that is the straight transmission from the top to the base of decisions regarding users and operators of public and private utilities; it can be corrected with the activation of various forms of information, communication, discussion and confrontation through which, whoever takes the decisions can keep in mind the different point of views of the operators that have to put them into practice and of the potential beneficiaries, while these can take into account the necessities of co-ordination, efficiency, cost saving etc., that managers face.
- Decision making, that is the fact that many decisions are taken without any consultation with the parties concerned, with the idea that it is better to respond, although in an imperfect way, rather than leaving matters unsolved; it can be corrected with the participation of the social parties concerned, adopting simple mechanisms which can avoid the rising of possible conflicts.
- Sectoralism, that is the fact that every aspect of economical and social life is treated separately, fragmentarily, in a simplified and non-communicative way; it can be corrected with an integrated approach, according to which, the different sectarian aspects can be treated as a whole, as function of the more complete solution of the problem that has to be faced.
- Welfarism, that is the fact that subsidies and aids are given to people in difficulty, increasing their dependence and passivity, incurring into extremely high costs; the welfare mentality is common to whoever thinks of poor, handicapped, weak groups and excluded as a dead weight for development and that their survival must be assured for pure humanitarian duties; the most severe degradation of welfarism is the institutionalisation, that looks upon a person as pure segregated objects. It can be corrected by adopting work methods that stimulate and favour the autonomy and the active role of the weaker disadvantaged, showing how, each person, notwithstanding the difficulties it faces, is a resource for development and can be viewed as an occasion for improving human relations.

The need to create a different model of development is generated by the indisputable

assertion that the models prevailing in the past have stimulated unbalanced development, which brings about a dangerous menace against pacific living and humanity's future. A defining feature of any democratic system is that decision-makers are under the 'effective popular control' of the people they are meant to govern.

15.3 WHAT MAKES LOCAL INSTITUTIONS ACCOUNTABLE?

Decentralisation – on its own – will not necessarily produce systems that are more effective or more accountable to local needs and interests. The three broad conditions under which local political bodies can be made more accountable to poor and politically marginal groups in society are:

15.3.1 The 'Role' of Civil Society

Central to much thinking about governance and accountability is the notion that effective and responsive governments require strong and vibrant civil societies to keep them in check. Perhaps the most recent and influential manifestation of this is Robert Putnam's assertion that societies with high levels of social capital (defined in terms of norms of trust and reciprocity and networks of engagement) will organise to demand better government. Underlying this proposition is the notion that 'civic engagement' – participation in a wide range of political and non-political organisations – correlates strongly with effective and responsive government. Civil society is often understood as a 'sphere' of voluntary action, which sits between the family and the state. Included here would be 'third-party' organisations (such as domestic and international NGOs), membership organisations (such as trade unions, farmers' associations, credit groups, water-user associations, etc.), political parties, Mafia arrangements, religious affiliations (formal and informal) and firms (i.e. organisations that engage in competitive economic exchange). The value of defining civil society in this way is that it attempts to differentiate between groups and relations that are organised on principles of hierarchy and control and ones that are based on the relatively altruistic motivations of the nuclear and extended family unit (Harris, 2001).

Studies of decentralisation suggest two important links between civil society organisations and local accountability. One emphasises the importance of local mobilisation. A second assertion is that external civil society organisations (i.e. organisations that exist outside of the affected communities) can empower poor and marginal groups in society (Crook and Manor, 1998). NGOs, for instance, have been shown to empower poor people by connecting them with a wider circle of allies, with whom they can mount a more effective political lobby (Johnson, 2001). Second, and related to this, they can absorb some of the costs of engaging in political action (e.g. transportation, communication and so forth). Third, and somewhat less tangibly, they can encourage what Samuel Popkin (1979, p.243) has described as 'new conceptions of identity and self-worth.' This they can do by encouraging poor people to engage in collective action (White and Runge, 1995) or by transmitting information about constitutional rights, potential allies and other political opportunities.

15.3.2 'Enabling Regimes' and Local Autonomy

Judith Tandler's study of governance and primary healthcare in Northeastern Brazil (1997) helps to illustrate the ways in which extended interaction between government health workers and local communities was able to foster a culture of accountability between

public officials and the rural poor (Tendler, 1997). Central to Tendler's analysis is the 'paradoxical' notion that the effective delivery of primary healthcare was dependent on external support from 'higher-level' echelons within government. This is consistent with a wider literature on decentralisation, which suggests that central governments can foster local accountability in a number of ways. First, as Crook and Sverrisson have argued, central states can provide an important 'counter élite' to groups that would resist efforts to make local bodies more democratic (Crook and Sverrisson, 2001, p.52).

Second, and crucially, they can structure incentives in a way that allows local participation and public accountability to take root. Such incentives would conceivably include career trajectories, 'earmarked funding' (Ibid, p.51) for local bodies and status within society (Crook and Manor, 1998).

Meenakshi Sundaram (1999, pp.66–7) argues that effective decentralisation is dependent on the existence of three necessary conditions:

- Strong political commitment from higher level authorities within government;
- Relative autonomy of the local body in decision making and implementation of local schemes;
- The availability of internally generated resources at the local level.

These are broadly consistent with the conclusions reached by Crook and Manor (1998), in which:

- Elected bodies at local levels had adequate funds;
- They enjoyed substantive autonomy; and
- Lines of accountability existed between elected representatives and citizens, and between nonelected bureaucrats and elected representatives.

In other words, devolution can foster accountability when local institutions have the autonomy to decide matters relating to local revenues and resource allocation. Tendler found that accountability and good governance were contingent upon the following conditions:

- Government officials spent extended periods of time with beneficiaries;
- This, in turn, created a situation in which officials were affected by ('embedded in') the opinions and sanctions of community members;
- Good performance carried high prestige, both within the community and within the civil service;
- Central government was instrumental in supporting these initiatives.

In theory, local taxation and the threat of the vote would strengthen the autonomy and accountability of local bodies. As Jha (2000, p.115) has argued, the logic behind transferring taxes which are local in nature to the local bodies is to endow these bodies with strong revenue base that can be utilised according to their own development plans.

In practice, however, the decentralisation of taxation may be a difficult undertaking. As Manor (1999, p.111) has argued, the central dilemma here is not necessarily the lack of taxable surplus (although this too is a problem), but the political and administrative costs

of collecting public resources, the reluctance among many central governments to grant the authority that activities of this nature would require and the (somewhat ubiquitous) reluctance among residents to in fact pay their taxes. Lacking a means of ensuring transparent budget allocation, there is also little guarantee that the creation of financially autonomous bodies will not simply perpetuate further corruption of local resources or, worse, encourage local politicians to eliminate certain services entirely (Crook and Manor, 1998, p.301). Such findings are highly consistent with the problems most commonly associated with decentralisation in India (Sections 3 and 4).

15.3.3 Elections, Parties and Competitive Politics

Crook and Manor's study of decentralisation in South Asia and West Africa (1998, pp.302–4) highlights the challenge of encouraging a culture of accountability in local political processes. Reflecting on the relatively successful case of Karnataka (India), they argue that accountability required the existence of:

- Competitive political parties;
- A widely distributed free press and
- A 'professional civil service,' in which officials were willing 'to develop a constructive but law abiding relationship with elected politicians.'

Reflecting on the findings of a USAID study of democratic decentralisation, Blair identifies six mechanisms:

- Free and fair local elections;
- Strong and competitive political parties;
- Strong civil society organisations;
- A vigorous and accessible electronic media;
- Public meetings;
- Formal grievance procedures.

As Blair has argued, periodic elections provide an important means of ensuring government responsiveness and accountability on broad social issues. At the same time, he observes, 'elections are crude instruments of popular control, since they occur at widely spaced intervals . . . and address only the broadest issues' (Blair, 2000, p.27). Elections therefore constitute an imperfect yet vital component of any democratic system. However, their ability to encourage effective responsive governance is highly dependent upon three important variables:

- the degree to which parties and politicians campaign on substantive policy issues, as opposed to populism or, worse, clientelism and vote buying;
- the quality of information voters have at their disposal; and
- the strength of civil society organisations.

15.4 VOLUNTARY ACTION

The modern notion of voluntary action has its origins in Protestant Christianity. Conceptually,

it just means anything we involve out of our own choice without any compulsion. Having a purpose or meaning in the action is important for an action to be voluntary. The need for voluntary action arises when individuals feel that the existing socio-political and economic structures of the society are not paying sufficient attention towards some aspects of the society. Or it could be that those structures are not in a position to respond to some issues arising in the society. The motivation to do such action is very often unrelated to one's self-interest.

However, Rajni Kothari argues that voluntarism is the essence of Indian civilisation. The core of the Indian civilisation is cultural rather than political. Historically, Indian states were always marginal and limited in their sphere of action. The real functioning of the society was enabled by voluntary organisations that are based on caste, religion and commercial interests. If one says that voluntarism has been an enduring feature of India, it only means that many people at many places are engaged in multifarious action without being asked to do so by an external agent-political, bureaucratic or market-propelled. The perception of a dichotomy between state-directed and voluntary initiatives has arisen only in recent decades after the modern state and its institutions either began to impede the voluntary ethos of Indian society or forced themselves on what people did on their own (Kothari, 1970).

15.5 MOBILISING VOLUNTARY ACTION THROUGH SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

15.5.1 Social Movements

Social movements are a type of group action. They are large informal groupings of individuals and/or organisations focused on specific political or social issues, in other words, on carrying out, resisting or undoing a social change. Charles Tilly defines big social movements as a series of contentious performances, displays and campaigns by which ordinary people made collective claims on others (Tilly, 2004, p.3). For him, they are major vehicle for ordinary people's participation in public politics. He argues that there are three major elements to a social movement: (i) Campaigns (a sustained, organised public effort making collective claims of target authorities); (ii) Repertoire (employment of combinations from among the forms of political action i.e. creation of special-purpose associations and coalitions, public meetings, solemn processions, vigil, rallies, demonstrations, petition drives, statements to and in public media, and pamphleteering); and (iii) WUNC displays (participant's concerted public representation of worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitments on the part of themselves and/or their constituencies) (Ibid., 4).

15.5.1.1 Types of Social Movements

Who is changed	How much change		
		Limited	Radical
	Specific Individuals	Alternative Social Movements	Redemptive Social Movements
	Everyone	Reformative Social Movements	Revolutionary Social Movements

Based on Aberel (1966)

Sociologists distinguish between several types of social movements:

Scope

Reform Movements – movements dedicated to changing some norms usually legal ones. Examples of such movement would include trade unions, green movement advocating a set of ecological laws etc.

Radical movement – movements dedicated to changing value systems. Those involve fundamental changes, unlike the reform movements. Examples would include American Civil Right Movement.

Types of Change

Innovation movement – movements which want to enable particular norms, values etc. for example, the singularitarianism movement advocating deliberate action to effect and ensure the safety of the technological singularity.

Conservative movement: movements which want to preserve existing norms, values etc. For example, modern movement opposing the spread of the genetically modified food.

Targets

Group-focus movements – focus on affecting groups or society in general, for example, advocating the change of political system by joining it or by remaining outside the reformist party.

Individual-focused movements – focused on affecting individuals. Eg. Religious movements.

Methods of Work

Peaceful movements – which are seen to stand in contrast to ‘violent’ movements.

Violent movements – various armed movements e.g. the Rote Armee Fraktion

Old and New

Old movements – movements for change have existed since the beginning of society. Most of the 19th century fought for specific groups, such as working class, peasants, whites’ atrocities etc. They were usually centred on some materialistic goals like improving the standard of living.

New movements – movements which became dominant from the second half of the 20th century like the feminist movement, environmental movement, nuclear movement, peace movement etc. Sometimes they are known as new social movements.

Range

Global movements are social movements with global objectives and goals.

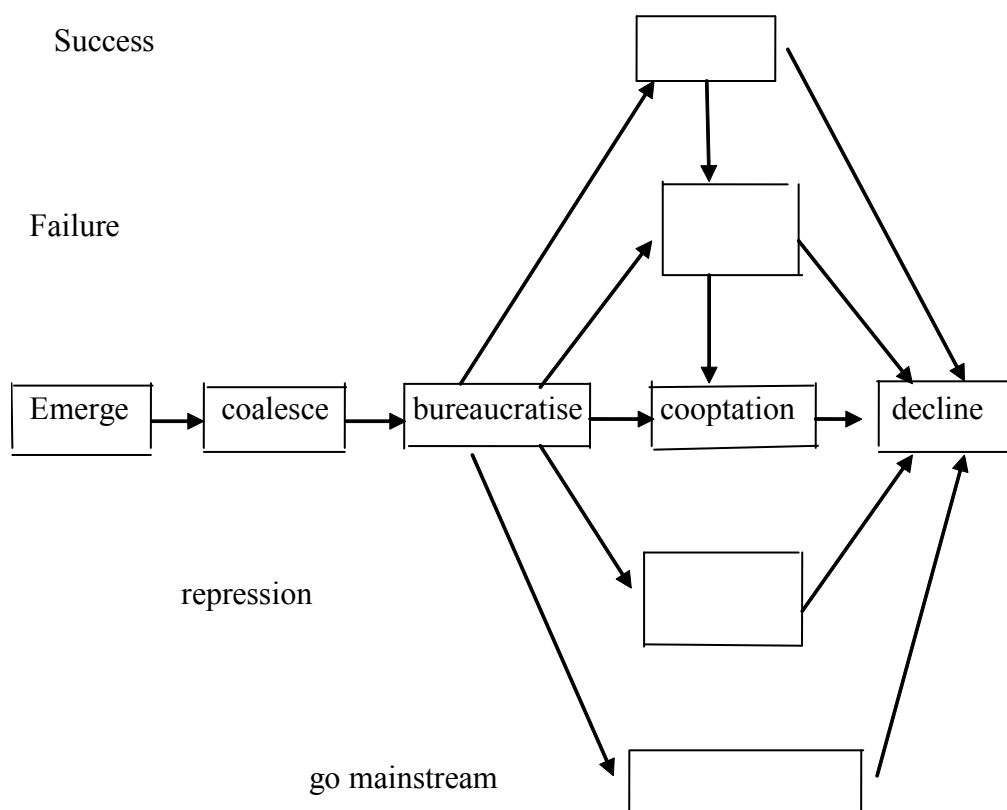
Local movements – most of the social movements have a local scope. They are based on the local or regional objectives, such as protecting natural area etc.

Multi-level movements – social movements which recognise the complexity of governance in the 21st Century and aim to have an impact at the local, regional, national and international levels.

15.5.1.2 Dynamics of Social Movements

Social movements are not eternal. They have a life cycle: they are created, they grow, they achieve success or failures and eventually, they dissolve and cease to exist. They occur in liberal and authoritarian societies but in different forms. But there must always be polarising differences between groups of people: in case of 'old movements' they were the poverty and wealth gaps. In case of the 'new movements', they are more likely to be the differences in customs, ethics and values.

Stages of Social Movements



Adapted from Tilly (1978)

15.6 EMERGENCE OR NEED OF VOLUNTARY ACTION

People's movements are emerging out of peculiar contradictions within societies and cultures in transition. They may also arise out of contradictions and weaknesses that appear in the role of the state and in the division of labour resulting from the intervention of transnational capital. These social movements are also bringing about the horizontal integration of people instead of hierarchical integration. Ecology movements constitute transnational, universalised and moral movements. Their basic commitment and fundamental ideology not only transcend the human categories of caste, class, race, religion and nations but also the categories of species divisions and the divisions of the organic and inorganic world also.

15.7 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND VOLUNTARY ACTION

The earliest of social movements in India could be traced to the Gandhian efforts of Sarvodaya. Gandhi recognised the need for social change. But he believed that the change

has to come from the bottom to top if it has to be non-violent, successful and permanent. Sarvodaya was the direct offshoot of Gandhi's Constructive Programme.

Since 1970s a number of social movements emphasising on a range of basic issues have come to animate the sphere of civil society. They are 'new' in contrast to the old trade union and working class movements, which were political in the sense of having an alternate political vision of the state itself with revolutionary ideals. But the people's movements, as they are called, are the result of broader-based people's responses to ecological or gender or caste conflicts. The distinguishing feature of these movements is that they are not homogeneous and differ in their origins. In many cases the local initiatives merge and give rise to the formation of a large-scale movement at the intervention of intellectuals backed with media support. Some of the people's movements have been sustained over time, others are eruptions and die down after a while. Similarly some of the grassroots experiments represent seeds of change, while others are mere bubbles. A seed can be identified with such broad aims as equality and access to resources; equality of social, political, cultural rights; real participation in all social decisions affecting work, welfare, politics etc; the end of division between mental and manual labour and the use of technology appropriate for this purpose. It is not, however, merely a matter of stating these objectives: genuine participation, self-production and self-management, autonomy, solidarity and innovativeness. A bubble on the other hand, is a soft process and may not last, for a variety of reasons. However, he alerts us to the fact that bubbles should not be outrightly dismissed as they may represent entry points to change and some can be transformed into seeds through additional sensitisation and conscientisation programmes, training of facilitators and change agents. Self-employed Women's Association (SEWA), the Chipko movement, the Kerala Science movement (KSSP) and the Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) Samiti are seeds in point. There are innumerable other movements as well differing in degrees of mobilisation, conscientisation and organisation for development and democracy.

All these initiatives may not always proceed in a uniform pattern of development. Within the political space available, there have been interventions in the socio-economic system. In the case of smaller experiments, someone with an advanced consciousness initiates dialogue and a group activity, for example, landless labourers, poor women or a (youth) group trying to do something as a means of living, or a social activity, such as a health or environmental sanitation programme; the process can move forward to become a seed or stay as a bubble until it bursts.

15.7.1 Some Important Social Movements

Following are given some of the important movements that have highlighted issues of great concern to people and ecology.

15.7.1.1 Chipko Movement

First and foremost of all of them is Chipko movement. This movement started in the early 70s and got organised under the leadership of Sunderlal Bahuguna and later spearheaded the Anti-Tehri dam movement starting 1980s, to early 2004. In Hindi, "Chipko" literally means "to stick". Chipko movement later inspired Appiko movement in Karnataka. This being a non-violent resistance movement, embodies the Gandhian spirit of struggle. Bahuguna's noble contribution to that cause, and to environmentalism in general, was his creation of Chipko's slogan "ecology is permanent economy".

15.7.1.2 Social Movement of Anna Hazare

Another major social movement has been that of Anna Hazare who has been fighting since more than two decades for bringing about transparency in bureaucratic apparatus of the state. His movement has changed his village Ralegan Siddhi in Maharashtra into a model village. His movement emphasises the right of the common people to know the information regarding government initiatives and the implementation procedures of the welfare schemes. The government is being pressurised to enact the ‘Right to Information’ act. This legislation would entail the right of the people to gain access to government records and thereby bring transparency and accountability in the functioning of the government. This would ultimately serve to check corruption and rent-seeking practices.

15.7.1.3 Narmada Bachao Andolan

Another important movement of the present times is Narmada Bachao Andolan Samiti, led by Medha Patkar, has sensationalised the issue of building huge dams as a solution for growing stress on water resources. This movement has mobilised tribal people, adivasis, farmers, environmentalists and human rights activists against Sardar Sarovar Dam being built nearly to 3000 major and minor dams across the Narmada river, Gujarat, which would submerge an estimated 3,50,000 hectare of forest land and 2,00,000 hectares of cultivated land. About one million people are estimated to become ousters.

15.7.1.4 Other Social Movements

There have been a number of other struggles prioritising issues related to women, dalit empowerment, land use and pollution related issues. Women’s movements, though lacking a tradition equivalent to that of French and English feminist movements, have reached a point where they are able to identify common cause with all those movements which would further the advancement of the values of democracy and sustainable development. Dalit movements are also heading forward in the same direction.

15.8 NGOs AND VOLUNTARY ACTION

Non Governmental Organisations or NGOs is a legally constituted non-governmental organisation created by natural or legal persons with no participation or representation of any government perform multifarious jobs for the development of the people and society. These organisations are defined as “civil society organisations” or referred to by other names. They are non-profit voluntary groups organised at the local, national or international level. Non-governmental organisations either campaign or advocate sensitive issues, work on capacity building programmes, concentrate on social research, or provide significant networking opportunities. NGOs are not directly involved in the structure of the government but at the same time they cannot work without the support or help from the government. NGOs bring up issues and concerns of the people to the government and policy makers.

15.8.1 Types of NGOs

In India, there are several types of NGOs performing a particular job or jobs. The sectors have been wide spread across the country especially in rural and remote areas. The NGO type can be understood by their orientation (like charitable, Service, participatory and empowering) and level of cooperation (like community based, city-wide, national and international). Apart from these, NGOs in India include volunteer sector, civic society, grassroots organisations, transnational social movement organisations, private voluntary organisations, self-help actors, non-state actors and many other related organisations.

Non-government organisations are heterogeneous. A long list of acronyms has developed around the term “NGOs”. These include:

BINGO:	business-friendly international or big international NGO
CITS:	helping scientific community by motivating young talent towards research and development
CSO:	civil society organisation
DONGO:	Donor Organised NGO;
ENGO:	environmental NGO, such as Global 2000;
GONGOs:	are government-operated NGOs set up by governments, look like NGOs in order to qualify for outside aid or promote the interests of the government in question;
INGO:	international NGO, for eg. Oxfam is an international NGO
QUANGOs:	quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisations;
TANGO:	technical assistance NGO;
GSO:	Grassroots Support Organisation;
MANGO:	market advocacy NGO;
CHARDS:	Community Health and Rural Development Society.

Therefore, NGOs cover areas that include welfare of street children, women and old people, youth, slum dwellers, child labourers, sex workers, and landless workers. India is estimated to have more than 2 million NGOs at present. The figure is continuously increasing. Some of the important NGOs in India are India Red Cross Society, Child Relief and You (CRY), CARE and National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development (NIPCCD).

15.8.2 Mixed Response of NGOs

The co-opting of NGOs by governmental agencies in implementing its policies has evoked mixed response from the scholars. While some view it as a positive development, some do not share this view. They feel that this is an encroachment in the sphere of civil society by the state and it is done by the state for encouraging neo-liberal agenda. Sarah Joseph claims that “the spurt in voluntarism, or what came to be called ‘grass roots politics’, after the emergency in the late 70s provided the hope for a while that a new style of politics was emerging which would regenerate democratic institutions in India. A more participatory model of democracy would emerge it was hoped as a result of popular pressures and the work of voluntary organisations which were involved in organising and mobilising the people, was extolled. Their intervention could, it was felt, help to articulate the needs and priorities of the people and lead the state to devise more people-friendly schemes”. Though the governmental and the international agencies also have noted the phenomenon of grass roots activism and the role of NGOs, she points out that the official interest was in using them as sub-contractors for more targeted and efficient delivery since it was felt that they might be more committed and honest and acceptable to the people than the bureaucracy.

15.8.3 Importance of NGOs

The importance of NGOs in the developmental terrain does not, however, lie in the quantity of their work but in quality. The quality of NGO activities can be judged in the following manner:

- i) People's participation
- ii) Technical excellence
- iii) Cost-effectiveness
- iv) Equity-concern for the deprived, and for women
- v) Institutional, financial, and environmental sustainability
- vi) Accountability.

15.9 SUMMARY

Beyond these very basic principles, democracy also implies a wide range of rules, norms and customs through which citizens can exercise 'effective popular control' over public officials. Included here would be an independent judiciary, a free press, systems of transparency, and freedom of association and speech. The greater participation in local political affairs will improve the quality and reach of government services, particularly ones aimed at improving the lives of poor and politically marginal groups in society (de Souza, 2000).

15.10 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. What do you mean by Voluntary Action? How will you mobilise it?
2. Discuss the role of Social Movement for mobilising voluntary action.
3. Discuss the role of NGOs for mobilising voluntary action.

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